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M.A. THESIS

MILTON AND THE ZOHAR

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ABSTRACT

This research is a comparative investigation of Milton and the Zohar divided into six Chapters. The similarities in ideas are discussed and possible indebtedness to the Kabbalah is duly noted where appropriate.

In Chapter One the central symbolical code of the 'tree of life' is related to the philosophical structure of Paradise Lost and Comus, divided into the ensuing sections: intellect and passion; beauty; justice and mercy; intellect and intuition; the crown; the evolution of man and the journey from sephirot to sephirot; the four worlds in the universe and the three aspects of the soul.

Chapter Two is concerned with the creation of the universe and due attention is given to the following: the revelation of the future to Adam; the emanation of matter from God; the process of creation from darkness; the transcendence of God; the existence of sin or the need to justify creation; the creation of Adam; the implied creation of Adam as an androgynous being; the sexuality of the stars and other planets; creation based on duality; creation as an emanation from thought; the loss of direct communication with God.

In Chapter Three the fall from a paradisaal innocence and the position on marital affairs in Milton's works and the Zohar is investigated including: the victory of carnal appetite over the higher mind; seduction in Samson Agonistes; the transformation of Adam's and Eve's ethereal bodies after the fall; 'appetite' while in the Garden; attitudes towards divorce; soul mates; procreation.

In Chapter Four the discussion includes reference to Satan or Samael in the Zohar and the ensuing sections: a comparison between Sin and Lilith; the fallen angel Azazel; the goat as an evil animal; the 'evil eye'; Adramelec and Balaam; the sorcery of Balak (the demonic bird).

Chapter Five continues with an investigation of the left-hand path or sitra-ahra focusing on: hell as a locality; hell as a psychological reality within the individual; hell as the 'shadow' within the subconscious; the left-hand path and judgement; Satan, Samael and Hitler; the chariot of paternal deity.

In the final Chapter various aspects of the Messianic kingdom are considered: the apocalypse and the millenium; the arbor vitae of Eden and the second paradise; the promise of a future redeemer foretold by Michael or Raziel; the removal of evil from earth; the coming of the Messiah as a cosmic cycle or shemittah; the rainbow as a herald of peace.

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this research is to compare the ideas prevalent in the Zohar with the complete works of Milton. A brief historical synopsis of the importance of Kabbalism and the Zohar in the seventeenth century is an important first step to undertake: the term Kabbalah signifies all the esoteric trends in Judaism that evolved from the end of the Second Temple period. The most important work in the esoteric literature of the Kabbalah is the Zohar which in translation means The Book of Splendour and consists of a diverse body of literature united under one title comprising five volumes. The Zohar is in the form of a commentary on the Pentateuch and is written partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew. Moses de Leon first published the Zohar as the work of Simeon ben Yohai professing to have done so from ancient texts which he had in his keeping. Modern scholars have unanimously rejected these claims and the commonly held view is that the Zohar is a vast body of literature composed by different individuals at different periods, (its complexity and contradictions are a result of the lack of homogeneity in its origins). As a result of the Kabbalah's diversity of origin there are passages that include inter alia mystical speculation, cultural concerns and abstruse esoteric subjects such as phrenology.

There is substantial support for the widespread influence exerted by the Kabbalah in the seventeenth century and its relationship to neo-Platonism has been noted by such

commentators as Adamson in his article The War In Heaven: Milton's Version of the Merkabah,¹

... for the Cabbalistic documents were basically Neo-Platonic, although modified in terms of Old Testament teachings ...

Marjorie Nicolson argues that Milton had accepted Kabbalistic doctrines in the same manner as he had imbibed contemporary neo-Platonic thought, and she takes the matter further claiming that an intermingling of these two separate traditions had transpired,²

By the seventeenth century, cabbalism had become so fused and intermingled with other ways of thinking that we look for it less in defined doctrine and creed than in an attitude towards a question.

From the advent of the Renaissance Kabbalism had a substantial impact on contemporary thought and this is not surprising since there had been a revival of interest in Plato, Plotinus, Philo and Pythagoras, and there is a concordance rather than a discordance between the kabbalists and the Platonists. Saurat asserts that all of Milton's philosophy except his materialism is to be found in the Zohar and he in turn notes the close relationship between Kabbalism and neo-Platonism.³ For instance, the change towards an acceptance of the divinity of matter in the seventeenth century is seen to be a direct influence on neo-Platonism from the kabbalists. Nature is not seen by the neo-Platonists in the seventeenth century as a degradation (orthodox Platonism) but is perceived as an expression of the divine unity of creation. It is important to stress that the Kabbalah was not some unorthodox, arcane system rejected by the mainstream in the seventeenth century but rather an integral part of the esoteric development, another fountain-head from which wisdom was seen to flow: the Kabbalah was more relevant to Christianity than the Talmud or

Midrash because of its (the Kabbalah's) easy identification with Christ (the Heavenly Man or Logos (Adam Kadmon) was seen as the first emanation from God).

In the sixteenth century Cordovero and Luria printed their acclaimed works on the Kabbalah remaining 'bound within the Jewish tradition', but from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the so-called Christian kabbalists paved the way for the influx of this Jewish esoteric wisdom into the mainstream of esoteric development. Pico della Mirandola (1463-94) was the first initiator of this osmosis as he showed that there was an uncanny correspondence between the Kabbalistic doctrine and the tenets of the Christian faith. He published 900 theses arguing for the basic tenets of Christianity and translated the Kabbalah into Latin, thus influencing the more orthodox theologians in their acceptance of this knowledge. Knorr van Rosenroth was another learned scholar who translated the Kabbalah into Latin in 1667-8 thereby assisting in its dissemination and he, like Pico della Mirandola, was hopeful of converting the Jews through his finely drawn parallels to Christianity. In 1494, as Nicolson notes, Reuchlin (1455-1522) developed these ideas further and influenced Renaissance thought as he sought to prove in the Verbo Mirifico that all knowledge or wisdom originated with the Bible and all doctrines of Christianity are found in the Hebrew Kabbalah. In 1516, his De Arte Cabbalistica was published which spread the teachings to Spain, Palestine and England.⁴

In the latter half of the seventeenth century in England the Kabbalah reached its peak as far as influence is concerned through the efforts of Henry More, a Cartesian philosopher who recognised the immense value of the Zohar in reconciling

religion and science. More resided at the same Cambridge college which Milton attended and his work, the Conjectura Cabbalistica, was published in 1654. His volume was divided into three sections or three ascending levels of interpretation in an attempt to demystify the text for those perplexed by its range of interests, id est, literal, philosophical, mystical. He accepted the Bible as the divine word of God but felt compelled to justify its tenets within the boundaries of reason: neither (the Bible and rationalism) should be excluded, nor should faith and reason be at variance with one another. More was both an orthodox theologian and an advanced scientific thinker and it is no wonder that he needed to resolve any potential conflict between the two. He accordingly praises reason and considers this to be an aspect of the divine.⁵

In applying the dictates of philosophy More reached the conclusion that Platonism was yet another form of Hebraism since Christianity showed parallels to both of these traditions. Another startling assumption was that Plato was 'Moses Atticus' and that God had appeared thrice: in Moses, Plato and Christ.⁶ (More's interest in Kabbalism also led him to an acceptance of the passions within man in preference to the orthodox Platonic designation of them as negative.) The works of More were immensely popular and their impact was widespread which, together with Fludd's reliance on the Zohar in the formulation of his esoteric system, did much to spread the word of the Kabbalah. Furthermore, Donne mentions Cordovero and the Sepher Jetzirah in his Essays in Divinity proving that it had not gone unnoticed by the literary world.⁷

The question which must now be addressed is the extent to which Milton was familiar with the Zohar or Kabbalism: Saurat suggests that Milton was familiar with the Aramaic text of the Zohar and that he was sufficiently proficient in Aramaic to understand its contents.⁸ In addition he would have been exposed to the Kabbalistic ideas prevalent in the Latin translations of the Zohar and, of course, to the Christian kabbalists: Pico della Mirandola, Reuchlin and More. Thirdly, Milton could read Hebrew and would have been able to comprehend difficult tracts, or he may have relied on translations. Rosenblatt, for example, claims that Selden's rabbinical works in Latin were the primary source for Milton and that these volumes included both the Talmud and the Zohar,⁹

... Selden, who cites in addition to this midrash all the major rabbinic sources to which Milton refers or alludes - other midrashim, the Talmud, the commentaries of the Biblica rabbinica, Maimonides, even the 'Zohar'. (Emphasis added).

Another possibility is the existence of further Kabbalistic publications brought about by the increasing knowledge of Hebrew in the seventeenth century. Milton may have gone to the originals or used translations in Latin, or consulted authorities such as More. In the words of Adamson, commenting on the Merkabah (the chariot associated with Ezekiel's vision),⁹

Milton could have learned of such an interpretation of the Bereshith and Merkabah from either More or Gill and possibly from Rosenroth, or he could have found and utilised the same sources on which these men drew.

The reason that Milton probably made no explicit statements as regards his indebtedness to the kabbalists was that they would not have been accepted by the Protestant Church.

Hanford has noted Milton's wide reading of abstruse texts which include: Bernandius Ochino, Jakob Boehme, the kabbalists, Henry More and the Cambridge Platonists, Giordano Bruno, Michael Servetus, the Quakers: he claims that although none of these sources are listed in the De Doctrina Christiani Milton would probably have suppressed 'dubious' authorities' (Hanford, 235-6). In the Divorce Tracts, however, Milton has referred to both Maimonides and Philo in defence of his argument justifying the value of divorce: both of them were considered Talmudic scholars or Jewish philosophers and Milton was not going too far out on a limb in using their assertions in his favour, but to openly acknowledge his interests in the Kabbalah would have been a perilous undertaking (in spite of its popularisation by Henry More). The Kabbalah was associated with occultism and thus connoted an involvement with heretical concepts unacceptable to the church, while Jewish philosophy remained within a rational paradigm.

In the ensuing chapters the emphasis will be placed on the similarities in ideas that prevail between Milton and the kabbalists with particular reference to the Zohar, but where he may have relied directly on a particular section of the Zohar his indebtedness will be stated in the appropriate paragraph. Reference will also be made to the views of the theosophical school of thought which will demonstrate the survival of many of these ideas in modern occult studies. (All references to the Zohar are taken from the Soncino edition.)

FOOTNOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. J.H. Adamson, 'The War in Heaven: Milton's Version of the Merkabah,' Journal of English and Germanic Philology LVII (1958): 690.
2. Marjorie H Nicolson, 'Milton and the Conjectura Cabbilistica,' Philological Quarterly VI (1964): 6.
3. Denis Saurat, Milton Man and Thinker (London: Dent, 1944) 231.
4. Nicolson 4.
5. Nicolson 6.
6. Nicolson 7.
7. Saurat 232.
8. Saurat 232.
 cf. 'The Zohar was written partly in Aramaic and partly in Hebrew'.
 Isidore Epstein, Judaism (Eng.: Penguin, 1980) 239.
9. Jason P Rosenblatt, 'Milton's Chief Rabbi,' Milton Studies XXIV (1988): 57.
10. Adamson 702.

CHAPTER 1 - THE 'TREE OF LIFE'

In this chapter the aim is to relate the 'tree of life', the primary symbolical code in the Kabbalah, to Milton's theological teachings. The 'tree of life' represents the cosmic energies in the universe and the focal centres within man (or woman) mystically portrayed as Adam Kadmon. At the base or in the earthly kingdom are found malkuth (kingdom) and yesod (foundation): the latter sephira emanates directly from the former. These represent the lowest physical dimension and need to be controlled by the higher faculties to prevent avarice from predominating in the individual concerned. Milton, likewise, emphasises that the lower kingdoms, and the passions, must be controlled by the higher faculties of reason and wisdom, otherwise known as binah (understanding) and hochmah (wisdom) in the Kabbalah,

Be strong, live happy, and love, but first of all
Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
His great command; take heed lest Passion sway
Thy judgement to do right,....

(PL, VIII. 633-6).

The higher faculties must always remain in command of the lower centres as their energies are transmitted downwards towards malkuth. Within this symbolical framework there is an order which must be maintained, a balance between active and passive, outer form and inner wisdom, if man is to function as he is supposed to do. As one moves up the 'tree of life' on the left-hand side is hod: this is representative of outer expression, or intellect, which is balanced on the right-hand side by nezah which stands for emotional relationship. As seen in the above quotation passion or

nezach must be balanced by reason which in its lowest form on the tree manifests as hod (majesty). To Milton the idea of harmony and balance is crucial; his emphasis on the necessity for desires to be given expression within an ordered framework is a basic principle of his work. It is only when passion is unrestrained that desire is transformed into lust and this view is supported by Plato whom Milton admired.¹ In other words, nezach or unfettered emotional expression, must be counterpoised by moral restraint or hod.²

As one moves further up the tree inner beauty or tiphereth is encountered symbolising the inner centre, the essential self of an individual and this corresponds to the heart as far as the physical organs are concerned. This inner centre is to be found in the same column as kether (crown), the highest aspect of man, and together with the crown constitute what is termed the mandala in the east or the inner Christ in Blakean terminology. Once a man has totally awakened his latent spiritual potential and has developed on all planes of his being or has become aware of all the sephiroth, the hidden sephira of daat (knowledge) will manifest and this one is also to be found in the middle column above tiphereth and beneath the sephira of kether. Milton in his support of the Puritan reaction stresses the notion of an inner light or Christ within and the need for the development of this light, which is one of the reasons that ritualistic religion and a hierarchical priesthood was of little importance to him.³ He knew that an impoverished craftsman may contain more of the divine spirit within him, and have more understanding, than an artificially elected

bishop.⁴ His concern with the inner light relates to the concept of tiphereth in the Kabbalah as he focuses on the necessity for personal growth and personal responsibility through an inner awakening.

Once again, as the cosmic journey is continued, justice is discovered on the left-hand side balanced by mercy on the right. In Paradise Lost this antithesis or counter-balance is of cardinal importance as Milton sets out to justify the ways of God to man. If God and Christ are divine love why should it be that man is punished for his transgressions: why are sins not forgiven and paradise instantaneously restored without further torment? Milton makes repeated references to the relationship between justice and mercy throughout the text. He explains in his poetry that there is a need for justice or divine retribution because man has been given free will and his actions are a consequence of his own choice and justice or punishment a direct corollary, although God paradoxically remains merciful in His concern.⁵ This emphasis on justice corresponds to the Kabbalistic teaching of divine retribution where it is axiomatic that no action fails to produce an effect in the universe and whatsoever a man has created will return to him at a later date in the form of either reward or punishment; he merely meets his own creation governed by the causes he has unleashed in the ether. In Christianity the doctrine of 'as you sow so shall you reap' is often referred to as an illustration of the same idea, and Milton is attempting to demonstrate how God operates, how punishment and mercy are counter-balanced; this dichotomy is similar to the sephirothic structure of the 'tree of life'. Thus, as the Cambridge neo-Platonists were

aware, man can create either a heaven or a hell in his own life, but divine justice cannot be dispensed with; for if justice were to be suspended, free will and conscience would cease to have any relevance.⁶ In the Zohar the same explanation for suffering is given as man has the free will to choose his destiny and cause either divine favour or reprobation. (Once the idea of cause and effect is extended through successive incarnations the mystery of Job's apparently inexplicable suffering can be resolved: in other words Job may have been afflicted as a result of a misdeed committed in a previous lifetime.)

Some critical writers have contended that justice relates to a punitive Jehovah and mercy to Christ but this argument is misleading because Milton viewed Christ as both a messenger from God and as an executor of divine will: as explained above, it is impossible to separate justice and mercy; they remain inextricably bound together in spite of their separation ab initio when God contracts.⁷ Mankind has been expelled from paradise for his sinful deeds (as stated in the Zohar) and he must labour to redeem himself in the world and only then will the Messiah re-appear and evil be removed as a destructive cosmic energy. It should be noted that the coming of the Messiah, which can be interpreted as relating to the second coming of Christ, is regarded by some Kabbalists, such as Isaac Luria, as the dawning of a messianic age rather than the incarnation of a divine spirit.⁸ Thus, the return of the golden age referred to by Plato would correspond to this Kabbalistic viewpoint and is in accord with the Eastern teachings that the age of kali yuga has ceased and the age of Aquarius has

dawned: the age of Aquarius which succeeds the Piscean era will in the course of time usher in the messianic reign of peace. Milton's interpretation is at face value more fundamentalist as he sees the resurrection of deceased souls and a last judgement on the arrival of Christ as redeemer, but until such time the chariot of wrath or divine retribution will remain intractably in force. Justice is a tool of God with which He moulds his subjects transforming them into perfect souls, but in spite of these punitive measures mercy remains still higher than justice on both the 'tree of life' and in Paradise Lost,

... in Mercy and Justice both,
Through Heaven and Earth, so shall my glorie excel,
But Mercy first and last shall highest shine.
(PL, 111. 132-4).

Proceeding upwards from this middle section of the 'tree of life' we come to the most elevated faculties within the human with binah on the left-hand side representing pure reason or understanding and hochmah on the right-hand symbolising wisdom or spiritual intuition.⁹ In theosophy reference is made to the septenary nature of man which corresponds to the 'tree of life' and this system refers to the highest triad as manas (mind), bhuddi (intuition) and atma (supreme spirit).¹⁰ These higher centres must remain in control of the lower dimensions or chaos will reign if they are ousted by the lower passionate, sensuous energies. Milton placed stress on reason as the controlling divine faculty because he knew that brute passion was a dangerous force and he clearly portrays its destructive power in Comus, in which the antagonist's degeneracy is in stark

contrast to the Lady's virginal purity. The Spirit admonishes her to remain chaste and beyond reproach to offset the encroaching danger or brutal influence of the debauched Comus. It is the development of the higher aspects symbolised by the Lady which will lead to spiritual growth and the coarse lower self is to be overcome by the exercise of intellect and wisdom,¹¹

Love Virtue, she alone is free,
She can teach ye how to climb
Higher than the sphery clime.

(Comus, 1018-20).

In the Kabbalah the connections between the separate sephiroth also denote different stages of spiritual growth or pathways culminating in the supreme spirit of kether. There is a symbolical journey commencing at malkuth on the earthly plane, ascending through yesod, nezah, hod, geburah (justice), hesed (mercy), binah, hochmah and kether. Within this system of paths is contained the idea of an esoteric ladder up whose rungs the individual must progress, and this idea of ascension is not foreign to Milton.¹² He refers to Jacob's ladder, and his division of mankind into an elect group of souls superior to the rest as well as his depiction of a hierarchical world suggests an endorsement of an evolutionary system, although he never mentions paths existing between the various faculties or sephiroth. It is interesting to note that the twenty-two paths of the 'tree of life' correspond to the twenty-two major arcana in the Tarot system commencing with the journey of the 'Fool' and culminating in self-realisation with the card entitled 'World'. In order to complete the spiritual journey towards self-knowledge it is necessary to develop the higher

faculties in particular and Milton reiterates that 'Reason' must be in control and this can only occur if an individual is functioning as he should on the higher intellectual and intuitional planes.¹³ Direct perception or spiritual intuition mentioned in the systems above must be balanced by an abstract mental development: once this has occurred the supreme spiritual energy or kether can shine downwards through the individual soul. It should be noted, however, that even after complete self-realisation the kabbalists state that an absolute knowledge or experience of God is never comprehended, and Milton is in agreement with this viewpoint.

The supreme illumination or highest spiritual essence in man is kether or crown which has evident royal connotations: man becomes the monarch or king of his own being when he has attained this spiritual pinnacle and it is informative to note that Milton similarly refers to the Godhead in royal terms,

Confined, and pestered in this tifold here,
Strive to keep up a frail, and feverish being
Unmindful of the crown that virtue gives
(my emphasis) (Comus, 7-9).

A certain allowance must be made for poetic adornment but considering that Milton was violently opposed to the monarchical system and even supported regicide, it is surprising that he has maintained the idea of a crown at the supreme point of the Godhead. This usage of the crown reflects the extreme difficulty of expressing higher truths in a language which is both evocative and abstract.

It now remains to consider some of these ideas in more detail. The relationship between intellect and intuition is

described by Raphael as he instructs Adam in connection with man's evolution (id est, an individual's progress),

To vital Spirits aspire, to animal,
 To intellectual, give both life and sense,
 Fancies and understanding, whence the Soule
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,
 Discursive, or Intuitive, discourse
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours
(PL, v. 484-9).

It is clear that there is a gradual ascent through the animal and intellectual to the soul. There is an evolution from the lower to the higher faculties within man himself, and accordingly it is his responsibility to ascend the ladder. The angel is concerned to admonish Adam to aspire towards the utmost spiritual elevation, to move away from the physical kingdom. In the Kabbalah there are four worlds which inter-penetrate and through which man can pass if he develops his highest faculties. According to Z'ev ben Shimon Halevi, a modern commentator on the Kabbalah, the average man lives in the assiatie world or world of action but he has access to the higher domains if he develops in consciousness.¹⁴

Furthermore, Milton places the idea of evolution into the mouth of Raphael and he makes the extraordinary observation that eventually 'Your bodies may at last turn all to Spirit' when evolution has reached its zenith (id est, the collective progression of the human race in this instance). If this is compared to theosophical teachings the parallels are striking because here too the evolution of man through the development of ever-refined race groups is postulated until at the advent of the seventh race and in the seventh round perfection on earth will be attained.

This is a subject to which I will return in a subsequent chapter but the important points are the notion of ascension and that Milton does not have a narrow definition of 'Reason' but includes both 'discursive' and 'intuitive' knowledge, the former being favoured by man and the latter by the angels. As the above extract indicates he is well aware of the relationship between intellect and intuition, binah and hochmah in the Kabbalah, and includes these faculties under the notion of 'Reason'. He also in effect avers that the soul consists of 'Reason' and 'receives' her, which corresponds perfectly to the upper triad on the 'tree of life'. The highest aspect, kether, emanates downwards into hochmah and binah forming the first triangle which is closest to God. If this triad is compared to theosophical lore it is interesting to note that the upper faculties of binah (manas - mind), hochmah (bhuddi - intuition) and kether (atma - supreme spirit) are said to comprise the soul which after death detaches from the body and continues into devachan (heaven) before the next incarnation commences. A second point of interest is that man contains an astral and etheric body and after death he moves around within these incorporeal bodies which notion sheds light on Raphael's observation that one day man will be as pure and non-material as the angels are. In other words, since man already has the subtle bodies, it is quite plausible that the need for the physical dimension on earth will disappear and he will exist within these intangible bodies alone after the evolutionary process is completed.

In Book VIII of Paradise Lost the angel instructing Adam reiterates the notion of ascension towards God and

explains how the relationship between man and woman should be conducted which corresponds to the kabbalistic teaching that it is a man's duty to wax and multiply, that celibacy is contrary to the divine plan. It is copiously recorded that Milton believed in physical union within the context of marriage, even if he supported polygamous unions, and his attitude stems from a fear that 'misguided desire will lead man into 'carnal pleasure' and degrade his soul,

What higher in her societie thou findst
 Attractive, human, rational, love still;
 In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
 Wherein true Love consists not, love refines
 The thoughts, and heart enlarges, hath his seat
 In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale
 By which to heav'nly Love thou maist ascend
 Not sunk in carnal pleasure,...

(PL, VIII. 586-93).

I have quoted this passage at some length because I wish to show how it corresponds with poignant force to the 'tree of life' and the relationship between the sephiroth. The angel commences with the statement that Adam should love the soul of Eve rather than her physical body. If love is considered in this context as tiphereth or inner beauty then it is love which controls and 'refines' thought (hod) and 'enlarges' the heart or emotions (nezah) which are both below tiphereth on the 'tree of life'. Then the angel proceeds and exclaims that 'Love' (tiphereth) has its 'seat' in 'Reason' which relates to the highest triad on the tree. In other words, love is controlled by intellect and intuition and in turn controls lower thought and emotion: it should be noted that the energy emanating from kether should be seen as a lightning flash as it descends downwards from sephira to sephira, or path to path, until malkuth is reached and that the means of transference along this imaginary pipe is known

as zinor. There is a maxim that 'In Kether is Malcut, and Malcut is in Kether'¹⁵ because the sephiroth or energy fields remain inextricably inter-connected and it is impossible to separate any of the sephiroth any more than one could amputate a leg or arm and expect the human body to function adequately.¹⁶ Milton certainly endorses this idea of an organic whole, demonstrated not only in the passage above, but also in his belief that the soul remains bound to the physical body and is only freed after the resurrection from the dead. In his organic conception there is clearly a hierarchy of human faculties and it is through love that man may journey back to the Godhead or kether. This hierarchical system exists within the political realms in addition to the physical or spiritual where the government should be read in the place of kether: the same principles of the rule of 'Reason' or the highest triad are applicable here. When 'Reason' is usurped within the individual or the state then 'true Libertie/Is Lost' (PL, XII. 83-4) because 'upstart Passions catch the Government/From Reason, ...' (PL, XII. 88-9).

It is the idea of order within opposing forces which is central to both the kabbalists and Milton. The various sephiroth work in conjunction with one another but there is a dynamic tension which exists between them. There is, as stated, a balance which must be maintained between for example justice (gebura) and mercy (hesed), and between understanding (binah - feminine principle) and wisdom (hochma - male principle).¹⁷ Within the organic whole there are forces which must of necessity exist as opposites, but none of the sephiroth should seek dominion over his 'partner' or

aim to rise above his designated station. It is true that Milton never creates a symbolical system in the same way as the kabbalists or Blake but the notion of order or harmony is fundamental to him and he repeats continuously the dangers of disobedience and the dominion of 'Reason', ' ... But know that in the Soule/Are many lesser Faculties that serve/Reason as chief ... ' (PL, V. 100-102).`

At this point it is informative to digress into a discussion of the four worlds contained in the Kabbalah and the three constituents of the soul, both of which relate to the idea of ascension so central to the 'tree of life' and Milton's explication. I will show that the doctrine of evolution of consciousness and the progress of spiritual energy through the four stages of vegetable, animal, human and divine is adopted by Milton in his poetry.¹⁸ In the Kabbalah the constitution of the soul is composed of three aspects: nefesh (animal soul), neshamah (human soul) and ruah (pure spirit) and these three dimensions relate in ascending order to the three triads in the 'tree of life'. If an individual is governed exclusively by his passions or lower nature he remains at the level of nephesh or the lowest triad and never perceives any elevated spiritual truth. (It is further worthy of note that after death the animal soul or nephesh dies with the body as the more elevated components, neshamah (human soul) and ruah (pure spirit), continue on the journey into other planes of experience.) Secondly, if a person develops his higher nature he will contact or activate neshamah, the human soul, and thirdly, if an individual has progressed with strict discipline and resolute devotion to the level of the tzaddik (righteous man) he may reach the

third stage of ruah (pure spirit) although this is a rare occurrence. Milton does not divide the soul into three aspects as do the kabbalists but his concern with human evolution is of paramount significance. There is a hierarchy to be found in the animal kingdom and the natural kingdoms as is attested in the following passage,

The grosser feeds the purer, Earth the Sea,
 Earth and the Sea feed Air, the Air those Fires
 Ethereal, and as lowest first the Moon;
 (PL, V. 416-18).

He goes on to explain how the moon exudes her vapours to higher orbs: there is a natural order of an evolutionary nature in which each animal, each element, and each planet has its designated position within the cosmos as does earth itself and the human being. In theosophical teaching it is a basic premise that energy ascends through the mineral, vegetable, animal and human kingdoms but this premise does not suggest that the human being is an evolutionary extension of the ape as Darwin asserts but rather a soul that 'Hath had elsewhere its setting' and has descended into a physical form to pass through certain experiences on earth.¹⁹ In the Kabbalah the transmutation of energy as it moves from the lowest sephiroth of malkuth or the physical dimension to the higher sephiroth of kether or pure spirit is a central principle. There are twenty-two paths between the various sephiroth and each of these paths represents a higher stage of evolutionary development, a further step along the ladder which reaches from earth to heaven.

The distinction between the animal and human kingdoms is drawn with marked clarity in Paradise Lost as it is in the Bible where it is repeatedly stressed that man has dominion

over the animal world and that man alone has a conscience and the free will to regulate his actions.²⁰ It is the ability to distinguish between right and wrong that places an additional responsibility upon the shoulders of mankind, as he can choose to live either nobly or ignobly. Milton describes the situation as follows,

Man hath his daily work of body or mind
Appointed, which declares his Dignitie,
And the regard of Heav'n on all his waies;
While the Animals unactive range,
And of their doings God takes no account.
(PL, IV. 618-22).

In other words man alone can exercise his free will and find himself 'growing up to Godhead' (PL, IX. 877) as even Satan acknowledges that there is a scale which '... out of Hell leads up to light' (PL, II. 433).

As stated, there are four worlds denoted in the Kabbalah which exist in ascending order and similarly relate to the triads on the 'tree' and to the levels of soul-development divided into nefesh, neschama and ruah. The lowest form or world is that of action (assiah) followed by formation (yetzirah), briah (creation) and atziluth (emanation from the divine source). It is from the mysterious realms of En Sof (the absolute) that a light slowly develops and finally shines through into manifestation as the world of atziluth or emanation develops and spreads out into the lower worlds or lower sephiroth.²¹ Milton is aware of the extensive galaxies in the universe which correspond to the kabbalistic sub-divisions although he is never as specific as William Blake who divides the individual realms into Ulro, Regeneration, Beulah and Eden. The stress Milton places on redemption and evolution can be seen again in the following

extract,

Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
 Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd
 They open to themselves at length the way
 Up hither, under long obedience tri'd,
 And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, and Heav'n to Earth
 (PL, VII. 156-160).

If Milton's explication is compared to the four worlds of the Kabbalah it is necessary for man to obey his conscience and to travel from earth (assiah) to heaven (atziluth) or in Blakean terminology from Ulro to Eden. There is a subtle but significant connotation implied in the verb 'chang'd' as it suggests that man will 'literally' transform the earth into a utopian existence through his own efforts. Man must redeem himself and the planet or in the words of William Q. Judge, 'The processes of evolution, therefore, in some departments, now go forward with greater rapidity than in former ages because both Manas and matter have acquired facility of action'.²² There is a prophetic strain in Milton's writing as the poet attempts to awaken mankind to an acceptance of responsibility towards both himself and the planet: he concurrently speaks of the paradise that lies at the end of the road and the state of bliss to be found within the individual (it is 'A Paradise within thee, happier farr' than the Garden of Eden from which he plummeted).²³

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. 'In Plato's scheme the life of pleasure corresponds to the rule of the lowest faculty of the soul. Appetite, the 'many-headed monster', has three main desires: food, drink and sexual gratification ... Still the evil is not in appetite but in its resistance to control; and Plato takes care to distinguish between necessary and unnecessary desires, and between their attendant pleasures, honourable and dishonourable'
Irene Samuel, Plato and Milton (New York: Cornell UP, 1965) 71.
 2. cf. 'But they (Renaissance writers on psychology) also thought that if love is cut off from its true source, which is God, it grows irrational and immoderate becoming not so much a passion as a perturbation.'
C.A. Patrides, Milton and the Christian Tradition (London: Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 169.
 3. cf. 'It may be added that, though never formally attached to the Quakers, he had considerable sympathy with their trust in 'the inner light'
He had no conscious need of personal attachment to any church and its ordinances.'
F.E. Hutchinson, Milton and the English Mind (London: English UP, 1949) 152.
 4. "Because they believed that it required no special learning to read Scripture rightly and that the poorest and most ignorant man might have more of 'the Spirit' in him than the scholar or clergyman, they saw no need for a separation of clergy from laity."
Lois Potter, A Preface to Milton (London: Longman, 1971) 62.
 5. cf. K. Swain's comment on 'Lycidas' -
'In the course of the poem what we might call the Eumenids vision is achieved; justice becomes mercy - positive, regenerative, ordered and ultimately Christian.'
K.M. Swain, 'Retributive Justice in Lycidas: The Two Handed Engine,' Milton Studies II (1920): 125.
- and, 'It is especially in this context that justice ... must be understood: as an indispensable instrument of the divine creative process ...'
D.M. Hamlet, 'Recalcitrance, Damnation, and the Justice of God in Paradise Lost,' Milton Studies VIII (1975): 272.
- and, even the monarch is subject to the hand of justice, 'Apologists for the regicide found it expedient to stress that justice was the keystone, the essential element of divine law.'
Michael Fixler, Milton And The Kingdom Of God (London: Faber, 1964) 156.

but F.E. Hutchinson is critical - "His anger and threats, His insistence upon 'rigid satisfaction' for 'man's offence' and the hard legalistic tone of His speeches fastening blame upon fallen men and angels, make a more vivid impression, than His mercy."
Hutchinson, 163.

6. "Nobody elaborated the theme more repeatedly than the Cambridge Platonists. To quote again from Whichcote, 'Men are of dull and stupid Spirits, who think that the State which we call Hell, is an incommodious place, only ... For Hell arises out of a Man's self ... So that both Hell, and Heaven, have their Foundation within Men.'" Patrides, 176.

7. cf. A.Low agrees with this view,
'The vision of perfect justice is as essential to Paradise Lost as the vision of perfect happiness in Eden before the fall ... Therefore, one essentially misreads the poem if Gods' justice seems merely vindictive, or punitive ... The Son does not replace justice with mercy; he reconciles them.'
Antony Low, 'Milton's God: Authority in Paradise Lost,' Milton Studies IV (1972): 24.

8. "The person of the Messiah was of little importance to Luria since redemption does not come 'suddenly, like a thief in the night', but is a long, gradual process extending back to creation. Luria gave man an active role in the restoration of the divine sparks: each generation must fulfill its quota of 'restorations'." Gershom Scholem, Kabbalah and Counter History (Harvard UP, 1982) 80.

9. Note the relationship between the messianic age and hochmah,
'The Zohar here expresses the idea that the Messianic era will usher in a period of unprecedented enlightenment. Messianism, representing the essence of hope and optimism, grows out of the indelible belief that there will be an eventual triumph of world harmony over confusion ... This victory, declares the Zohar, is inextricably bound to Hochma (wisdom), and dependant upon the dissemination of true knowledge, the sublime wisdom of the Kabbalah.'
Phillip S. Berg, Kabbalah for the Layman (Jerusalem: Research centre of Kabbalah, 1981) 49.

10. cf. 'They say that the power of the senses is great. But greater than the sense is the mind. Greater than the mind is Buddhi, reason; and greater than reason is He - the Spirit in man and in all.'
The Bhagavad Gita, trans. by Juan Mascaro (London: Penguin, 1962), 60.

11. cf. "The Lady's making temperance a virtue arising from natures' 'sober laws' follows St. Thomas's ideas that 'since every judgement of human reason is derived in some way from natural reason, it must necessarily follow that all moral precepts belong to the law of nature.' James Obertino, 'Milton's Use of Aquinas in Comus,' Milton Studies XXII (1986): 23.
12. "Milton said that this world is a wilderness, a wide wilderness between a lost state of innocence and a golden age to be restored ... The pattern of 'Paradise Lost' has been described as one of movement from the depths of darkness and ignorance to the fountain of light. By obedience and love man ascends to God; so God with man unites. The stairs or ladder is a homely symbol of this vital spiritual movement." George Wesley Whiting, Milton and this Pendant World (Texas UP, 1958) 61.
13. cf. 'The most important thing of all is to purify the mind in the test of thought and to examine oneself in the course of the debate so that if the slightest trace of a shameful thing is found one should reject it. And one should always admit to the truth in order that Beauty, the quality of truth, be found there.' Moses Cordovero, The Palm Tree of Deborah (London: Vallentine, 1960) 109.
14. 'Man lives in the Assiatic World. He does, however, have access to the upper Universes should he evolve and refine his being to be able to become aware of these realms. In order to do this he has to acquire more than the physical body Nature has supplied. He must organise out of the substances and energies permeating his being a new vehicle for each World.' Z'ev ben Shimon Halevi, Tree of Life (London: Rider, 1977) 77.
15. The Kabalists have a saying:-
'In Kether is Malcut, and Malcut is in Kether'. This can be taken many ways, but in this case it is like the analogue of a seed. Within the tough dense kernel of a chestnut resides not just one possible new tree, but a whole forest of generations. Another meaning is that within the thickest of matters is spirit: imprisoned, yes, but present and always ready for the reascent back to the Absolute. This is Malcut, the lowest of the Sephiroth yet the most loaded with potential.'
ben Simon Halevi 29.
16. cf. Safran refers to the organic nature of the tree as follows:-
"... Brain and heart cannot be 'separated'. They have the same origin, work together and also achieve a common result. The external duality of feeling and reasoning

constitutes an inner unity."

Alexandra Safran, The Kabbalah (New York: Feldheim, 1975) 217.

17. cf. 'Kether gave rise to two parallel Sepirot, Chochmah (Wisdom) and Binah (Understanding). With these two, there enters the principle of dualism which, according to the Kabbalah, runs through the whole of the universe, and which it denominates by the sexual terms of male and female. Applying this principle of the first triad, Chochmah is the father, or the masculine, active principle in that it contains in itself the plan of the universe in all its infinite variety of forms and movements. Binah (Understanding), on the other hand, is the mother, the passive, receptive principle ...' Epstein, Judaism 236.
18. cf. "As explained by Rand, Augustine distinguishes seven steps or degrees by which the soul climbs to perfection. The first is animatio, physical life, which the soul shares with trees and other living things. The second is sensus or feelings, which animals also have. The third is reason, which is peculiar to man alone ... The fourth degree is attained when the soul becomes good, abstracts itself from the flesh and whatever defiles, applies the Golden Rule, follows wisdom, and believes in God. In the fifth degree the soul, purged and fixed in virtue, contemplates the truth which is in God. In the sixth stage the soul enjoys the beatific vision of the things that really are, the supreme truth. In the seventh and final stage the soul reaches an abiding phase of 'delight and enjoyment of the highest and true good'." Whiting 67.
19. Wordsworth, Intimations of Immortality 61.
20. cf. 'Milton's life and work show a single basic opposition of Christian virtue against pagan lust. Though there is opposition rather than synthesis ... his pagan forces are always given that respect which their dangerous insistence deserves, while Christian virtue remains pre-eminently a thing of pride and power.' G. Wilson Knight, Chariot of Wrath (London: Faber, 1942) 22.
21. 'From the mystery of Ein-Sof a flame is kindled and inside the flame a hidden well comes into being. The primordial point shines forth in being when the well breaks through the ether (i:15a). It is as if all the possible images were assembled together within the description.
... In another organic image Binah is compared to the roots of a tree which is watered by Hokhmah and branches out, into seven Sefirot.'
Gershom Scholem, Kabbalah (New York: Quadrangle, 1974) 19.

22. William Q. Judge, The Ocean of Theosophy (California: Theosophical UP, 1973) 66.
23. "Many readers of 'Paradise Lost' have found these two promises of paradise, with their suggestions of a happiness greater than that to be found in the unfallen bliss of Eden, sufficient reason to suppose that the ultimate justification of God's ways to men lies in the higher fulfilment which is, as it were, the final cause of the Fall."
Thomas H. Blackburn: "Paradise Lost And Found: The Meaning And Function Of the 'Paradise Within' In 'Paradise Lost'," Milton Studies V (1973): 192-3.

CHAPTER 2 - CREATION

'There are more things in heaven and earth,
 Horatio,
 Than are dreamt of in your philosophy'.¹

In this chapter the similarity in thought between Milton and the kabbalists in regard to the creative process in the universe will be scrutinised. An attempt will again be made to show that they are in agreement in respect of many key points, and that Milton may well have relied on the Zohar in formulating his own conceptions.

One striking instance of this similarity in the formative process is that after Adam is created he is shown the future of all the generations of mankind by the archangel Michael and this revelation is not to be found in the Bible, although it is quite clearly stated in the Zohar. In Milton's Paradise Lost Michael leads Adam to the most elevated hill in paradise and shows him the future demise of civilisations,

To shew him all Earth Kingdomes and their Glory
 His Eye might these command wherever stood
 City of old or modern Fame, ...
 (PL, XI. 354-6).

In Book III of the Zohar R. Isaac and R. Jose commenting on Genesis V.I. replied to rabbi Simeon that,

We were taught, they said, 'that this verse
 indicates that the Holy One showed to the first man
 all the future generations of mankind: all the
 leaders, all the sages of each period.'
 (Z, III. 219).

This idea is also contained in Book I of the Zohar where reference is made to the 'light of the eye' through which God was able to reveal the future to Adam from one end of the earth to the other. In esoteric parlance this 'light of the eye' is otherwise referred to as the astral light: it is

possible to travel along this astral plane to other planes, and it is significant that Milton in the above extract also refers to 'His Eye' (366), the exact word used in the Zohar, Book I. Adam was in complete communication with God or His messengers and as such has access to the vision of the impending decline of mankind.

The second marked similarity is the concordance between Milton and the kabbalists as far as the relationship between God and matter is concerned.² Milton is adamant that matter was not created ex nihilo and further that God is responsible for the creation of each and every particle in the universe. If matter was not constructed from nothing, the obvious question which follows is how form or substance originated.³ In other words, did God create the world from matter which always existed or did matter originate from God at some point of time prior to earth's formation? Milton answers the question in no uncertain terms,

... that matter, I say, should have existed of itself from all eternity, is inconceivable. If on the contrary it did not exist from all eternity, it is difficult to understand from whence it derives its origin. There remains, therefore, but one solution of the difficulty, for which moreover we have the authority of Scripture, namely, that all things are of God.

(A Treatise On Christian Doctrine, 178).

Now, it is a cardinal principle in the Kabbalah (since Isaac Luria, a notable commentator on the Zohar in the sixteenth century, otherwise known as 'The Lion'), that God withdrew or the En Soph contracted in order to create a space from which the sephiroth could emanate outwards into the material form. It is quite clear, therefore, that creation is a part of God⁴ and that Milton's statement quoted above that 'all things are of God' and his later comment 'that if all things

are not only from God, but of God, no created thing can be finally annihilated' (Christian Treaty, 181), are in accordance with the kabbalistic teaching of the unity of all creation and the indivisibility of the four inter-penetrating worlds. It is true that Milton makes no explicit reference to the process of tsimtsum or retraction introduced into the kabbalah by Isaac Luria, but there is some reason to suppose that he was conversant with this doctrine. Saurat argues that as God is to be found in all things, creative separation could only have been accomplished by a retraction of God Himself, and he refers to lines 170 ff. in Book VII of Paradise Lost where Milton seems to make metaphoric use of the idea of retraction. It is certain, however, that Milton did not visualise a creator who "retires" physically in an anthropomorphic sense or as a transcendent force which exists and remains detached from earth or as man himself (Milton does not depict God as an aged sage).⁵ The divine spirit is infused into the entire system,

... but on the watrie calme
 His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
 (PL, VII. 234-5).

The process of creation itself in both Milton and the Zohar needs to be examined in greater depth to elucidate the affinities in thought.⁶ God is often referred to in the Zohar in a metaphorical sense as a King or grand architect who is responsible for the construction of the universe in its minutest detail. Alternatively, in more abstract terms, Elohim or God is referred to as the supreme cause, the 'Cause of causes' (Z, I. 93) which is responsible for the chain reaction of causes that result in the existence of the

material world. Each cause, incidently, needs permission from the cause above it before it can function: a hierarchy of causes exists each of which has dominion over those inferior to it. Another mode of expressing the same truth is the teaching that there exists a succession of lights and that each light is dark in comparison to the one above it until the 'Supreme Cause' (Z, I. 94) is reached which dims all the inferior lamps. It was in fact this 'supernal primordial light' (Z, I. 94) which radiated into the universe from the highest source when God said, 'Let there be light in the firmament of the heaven' at the inception of earth (Genesis, I.V.14): yet another attempt to convey the creative structure is contained in the image of a flame which ascends towards the highest degrees of wisdom. The letters Yod, He, Vau, He, which spell out God's name, (Yahweh) are revealed to be the synthesis of all the worlds both upper and lower, and the 'primordial supernal point' represented by the letter Yod issued from the mysterious limitless region or En Sof (Z, I. 163). From the depths of this unknowable En Sof issued the first thread of light which radiated into all the other lamps (Z, III. 358). Krakovsky explains further that the idea that the creation was perfected in the Torah actually means that the Torah is equivalent to the supreme light.⁷ Maimonides, the Jewish philosopher, who was the most respected religious thinker during the twelfth century in Spain, similarly explains that the power of God radiates firstly through the spheres and stars, and only then reaches earth; thus, the stars and spheres which contain the primordial light also possess souls and knowledge.⁸ Plato

also regards the world as 'a compound of body and soul',⁹ and Schaya (an interpreter of the Kabbalah) states that everything from the highest angels to the most insignificant worm lives in Elohim and through Elohim (id est, God).¹⁰ It is now necessary to demonstrate how all of these notions are contained within the thought of Milton including his reference to the sexuality of the planets and the living energy throughout the universe, but excluding the notion of the stars or spheres as possessors of souls.

Milton has also included the teaching that 'God the Father is the primary and efficient cause of all things' (Christian Treatise, 176) which is similar in conception and language to the Zohar's reference to the cause of causes or supernal light.¹¹ All life proceeds from God and when the breath of life is withdrawn again to its source, that particular life - force ceases to exist,

... every living thing receives animation from one and the same source of life and breath; inasmuch as when God takes back to Himself that spirit or breath of life, they cease to exist,

(A Treatise on Christian Doctrine, 188).

It is in addition very likely that Milton had in mind the iridescent light emanating from the limitless, inexpressible En Sof when he alludes to the creation of light in Genesis as follows,

Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure
Sprung from the Deep, ...

(PL, VII. 244-5).

The En Sof is sometimes thought of as a void or nothingness because it is beyond conception and here Milton has not said that the light merely came forth but that it arises 'from the Deep'. In the Zohar the light issues from darkness, 'Out of

this unknowable issued a slender thread of light ...' which bears a notable resemblance to Paradise Lost (Z, III. 358). If Saurat's example of the adoption of the notion of retraction is borne in mind, the parallel becomes even more profound: God "retires" or withdraws to create space, the darkness retracts and light issues forth,¹²

Though I uncircumscrib'd my self retire,
And put not forth my goodness, ...
(PL, VII. 126-7).

The corollary of God's existence in all things is His absolute transcendence beyond the boundaries of human intelligence,¹³ an idea which is stressed repeatedly by both the kabbalists and Milton.¹⁴

Adam, however, who in many respects stands for mankind in general, is not content initially not to understand the celestial motions and he exhorts Raphael to illuminate him; Raphael's reply is that Adam should rather consider those aspects of his life which are more worthy or relevant to daily existence. Adam is bemused that God should have created the vast galaxies, all the stars and other orbs, merely for the sake of man and earth; Raphael does not condemn this curiosity and explains that the vast heavens appear as the 'Book of God' (PL, VII. 67) but insists that God was wise not to divulge his secrets for fear that they may be abused. It is apparent that Adam in Paradise Lost is a construction from Milton's imagination and in many respects embodies the kind of doubts and questions which must have disturbed the poet. In this habit of questioning, which the biblical Adam does not do, there emerges a tension between Milton's original thought and the theological restraints under which he laboured. There are doubts and

uncertainties, placed in the words of Adam, which Milton was having difficulty in repressing and Adam's later reference to possible existence of future life on one or other of the various globes in the heavens is again evidence of the heretical nature of the first man (Protestant theology forbade speculation of this nature). Raphael even postulates the idea of other life existing on another planet,

Which two great Sexes animate the World,
Stor'd in each Orb perhaps some that live.
(PL, VII. 151-2).

These are heretical ideas but they are introduced because Milton can not be content with a religion which leaves so many questions unanswered, although prima facie he remains within the limitations of Christian doctrine.

In truth, Milton is at pains to stress the vast dimensions of space and the endless horizons in comparison with which earth is but a fragment,

..., this Earth a spot, a graine,
An atom, with the Firmament compar'd
And all her number'd Starrs ...
(PL, VIII. 17-19).

There are endless spaces, and endless stars, and the creation of earth must be viewed against the background of the entire universe. The creation of 'Adam or his race' (PL, VII. 45) is seen by Milton as only the existence (emanating from God) of the race of men on earth, which suggests again that mankind, although made in the image of God, is not omniscient or even perfect because superior races may exist elsewhere. If Adam were omniscient he would not need to be admonished to keep his feet firmly planted on the ground and concern himself with earth instead of the other realms,

Dream not of other Worlds, what Creatures there
Live, in what state, condition or degree ...
(PL, VIII. 175-6).

The continual reference to Adam and his race suggests the presence of other races elsewhere.

The discovery of the poet's era that the earth travels around the sun and not the reverse must have severely shaken the notion that man was the most important creation in the universe because if the earth itself was no longer the centre of the solar system the vision of man as the centre of creation must have come under fire. Milton feared that man would become overwhelmed by metaphysical or stellar speculation and to prevent such extra-terrestrial preoccupations he stressed the importance of daily tasks and self-development. Adam, satisfied by the advice of Raphael, formulates this philosophy,

..., but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime Wisdom, ...

(PL, VIII. 192-4).

It is as if Milton himself, using Adam as a mouthpiece, formulates this ideal to keep the inquiry within acceptable theological restraints but also to prevent the dangers of occult speculation at the expense of daily duties. The Ptolemaic system was threatened by Galileo and Copernicus, and the debate which is included in Book VIII shows that Milton was starting to doubt the pre-existing world view, but he did not want matters to get out of hand.

The kabbalists themselves are not content with traditional answers to religious questions and they query the need for creation (and the pre-existence or predisposition to sin in man). For example, they refer to the notion that the entire universe is constructed of layers and layers of coverings or shells and Milton uses similar language when he refers to 'Cycle and Epicycle, Orb in Orb' (PL, VIII.

84).¹⁵ The Zohar states,

They are all coverings one to another, brain within brain and spirit within spirit, so that one is a shell to another. (Z, I. 84).

It is the aim of the kabbalists to pierce behind the veil of the written word to arrive at the truths which are concealed within the Torah and Milton uses his imaginative powers to fill in the lacunae and expand his inquiry. There are certain acceptable forms of interpretation which are listed by the rabbis such as allegory, analogy, deduction, and so forth. For Milton, as stated, the Bible also remains the revealed word of God but by using his powers of reason otherwise heretical conceptions are justified or made to fit the written word. No attempt has been made here to deal with these problematic issues in depth as a separate chapter would be needed for such an undertaking.

Another example of this discursive reasoning or philosophical enquiry is to be found in the treatment of sin. The colleagues of Rabbi Simeon are perplexed that God should have created man with the innate capacity for good or evil. In other words, it is a disturbing phenomenon that man should have been created if God knew that he would sin and that the demise of his race was an inevitable consequence. The answer given is that if man had not been created with this duality there would be no opportunity for virtue and that the Torah is created for him with due punishment for the wicked and rewards for the righteous. One cannot avoid asking why man was not created perfect without any so-called evil possibilities and the inevitable consequence of countless atrocities and hardships thereby avoided. Milton

is not oblivious to these problematic areas and his stated intention to 'justifie the wayes of God to men' suggests that he needs to defend God and justify his creation against the inevitable doubts and speculations which had arisen in the minds of certain independent thinkers (PL, I. 26). He invokes the Heavenly Spirit to assist him in this daunting task so that he may 'assert Eternal Providence' or prove that the workings of God are justified and virtuous; philosophers such as Sir Francis Bacon had already made an impact in the seventeenth century and Christianity needed to be defended (PL, I. 25). Milton in fact commences his grand epic with the words 'Of Man's First Disobedience, ...' and then explains how Adam and Eve ate the forbidden fruit which resulted in the advent of death in the world and all other suffering (PL, I. 1).

There are, however, questions which he does not attempt to answer, such as the reason why subsequent generations should continue to suffer for the sins of their original parents of whom they know nothing or, even if the tasting of the fruit is interpreted symbolically, why some are born into favourable circumstances with greater gifts than others who are born into squalor and misery. The kabbalists have managed to resolve the problem of inequality by introducing the belief in reincarnation and the need to perfect oneself in order to pass onto a higher plane of experience, which is similar to the Hindu and Buddhist doctrines that transmigration or reincarnation ceases once perfection of the soul has been achieved.¹⁶ As Saurat points out this is the one area where the kabbalists and Milton part company.¹⁷

Somerset Maugham points out in his book The Summing Up

that it is well-nigh impossible to explain or justify the inequalities on earth unless reincarnation is adopted, but Milton, in my opinion, as do the orthodox Christians, or orthodox Jews, fails in his attempt to justify God's ways because anyone who sees the flagrant injustice in the world is at a loss to comprehend apparently unjustified suffering unless reincarnation and karma are adopted.¹⁸ He does admit, however, that not all knowledge has been imparted to man and that permission has to be received from higher sources before it can be vouchsafed to human ears. Raphael replies,

Thy hearing, such Commission from above
I have receiv'd, to answer thy desire
Of knowledge within bounds, beyond abstain
To ask, ...

(PL, VII. 118-122).

The implications of this statement are profound because it again suggests that even the Bible itself does not contain all the knowledge about the universe. Milton seems to anticipate that new knowledge may come to light at a later stage as he has done in presaging man's enquiry into existence on other planets. If we compare The Secret Doctrine by Blavatsky, which is in many ways the occult Bible of the nineteenth century, a parallel is to be seen in that she too claims that the knowledge given out in her work, in spite of its novelty and gravity, remains limited in scope. Even after extensive training the occultists or kabbalists can impart only knowledge which has been transmitted to them from a higher source and this is thus limited.

At this stage it is convenient to discuss the creation of Adam himself and the process which this act entailed.¹⁹ Milton is unoriginal in this instance as he relates how Adam

was formed from the dust of the ground and God exhaled the breath of life into his nostrils, which is almost an exact replica of Genesis 2.7. Milton again relies on Genesis 2.22 and 23 in relating how Adam remembers being drugged while a rib (on the left side) is extracted from which Eve is formed. In the Kabbalah the androgynous aspects of Adam are stressed as he has been formed with both the male and female aspects embodied within him, a doctrine that is supported by Blake and other occultists,

R. Isaac said: 'Adam was created as a double personality (male and female), as previously explained. (Z, III. 169).

and,

He replied, 'My friends, it is not so, since the Man of emanation was both male and female, from the side of both Father and Mother, ... (Z, I. 92).

It is submitted that Milton has implicitly also adopted the doctrine of the androgynous creation of the first man, not only because Eve was fashioned from his rib (a Biblical account), which in itself suggests that Adam contained the female within him, but for the presence of certain cogent statements in Paradise Lost: Adam, after lamenting that he has no partner, whereas all the beasts of the earth do, explains to God that He does not need human solace or companionship because He is ineffably perfected but that he (Adam) is not,

Thou in thy self art perfect, and in thee
Is no deficiency found; not so is Man,
(PL, VIII. 415-16).

The consequences of this imperfection have been discussed earlier and need no further comment except that the very race of mankind, in spite of containing the spirit of the Divine, must still progress towards the heavens: God then replies to Adam's exhortations explaining that He was aware of Adam's

dire need for companionship and that He had previously planned the formation of Eve: He assures Adam that He will bring,

Thy Likeness, thy fit help, thy other self,
(PL, VIII. 450).

Now, if Milton has used the term 'thy other self' it could possibly imply that Adam and Eve were one self or united at a certain point in time prior to the formation of Eve. Adam had previously told God that he was 'In unitie defective, ... (PL, VIII. 425) which quite clearly refers to an androgynous state of existence but, in justification of his desire for a soul-mate and separation, he explains to the Almighty that it is necessary for him to have connubial love and to further propagate the race of man on earth. It is true that a distinction exists between the implied androgynity of God (a perfect state) and the androgynous condition of Adam (an unhappy one), but Adam himself has explained or referred to these two separate states of unity using numerology. God did not procreate or divide from Himself because he is 'through all numbers absolute' (PL, VIII. 421), in contrast to Adam/man who exists in a state of 'single imperfection' (PL, VIII. 423) and as such needs his 'image multiplied' (PL, VIII. 424). The state of oneness or androgynity can be perfect or defective.

Another instance of the androgyn^de concept can be seen in the treatment of the sun and moon: Milton adopts the view that the sun and moon are male and female respectively and suggests that the moon does not generate light by itself but reflects the light of the sun. A more extensive quotation will elucidate his attention to astronomical detail,

...; and other suns perhaps
With their attendant moons thou wilt descry

Communicating male and female light,
Which two great sexes animate the world,
(PL, VIII. 148-51).

As Fowler in note viii points out, the relationship of the planets also has a bearing on Milton's attitude towards the sexes in that the sun or male is the dominant, light-bearing party while the moon is responsible for reflecting the masculine energy, a predominantly submissive role (405). His reference to the division of the sexes among the stars and their attendant moon and other planets, in addition suggests that the planetary system itself has some life-force which is similarly 'of God' (the stars are taken to be suns in reliance on Nicholas of Cusa). If the moon or moons in the universe are only the reflections of the sun or stars, and both are designated sexually as male or female, it follows that the moon itself must at some point in time have been joined to the sun and as such the sun was androgynous, as was Adam at the dawn of time. In the Kabbalah it is also averred that the moon and sun were one planet before separation occurred. Secondly, it is stated that the moon receives light from the sun as the following two passages will illustrate; to my mind, this is yet another startling parallel between Paradise Lost and the Zohar as even the planets and their functions correspond. The first extract which is quoted here refers to the androgynous nature of the sun and moon, and the second supports the argument that the moon acts as a refractor of light,

The words "he gathered up his feet into the bed" indicates that the sun was gathered in unto the moon. The sun does not die, but is gathered in from the world and goes to join the moon. (Z, III. 387).

From that time she has had no light of her own, but derives her light from the sun. (Z, I. 85).

Theories as to the moon's origin were only adopted in the nineteenth century after the physical mechanism for tidal evolution was recognised by George Darwin. Three theories were advanced all of which are different to the one adopted by Milton: id est, the moon and earth were originally one; the moon was formed elsewhere within the solar system and captured by earth; the moon was found formed from circumterrestrial debris which was not used by the earth.

The creation of the universe by God is based on duality and the separation of the sexes in both Milton and the kabbalists runs through not only the vegetable, animal and human kingdoms but the planets themselves. The creative process initiated by the Grand Architect of the universe is based on separation and division, positive and negative, which commences when He separates light from darkness (it should be noted that creation itself is part of the fall). Milton's image of a pair of 'golden Compasses' is employed to suggest how the universe was scientifically or geometrically circumscribed with exactitude (PL, VII. 225). This image itself, although suggesting perfect harmony, is one which accentuates division as it has two legs which together form the circular motions central to the creative process. If Donne's use of the compass in his poem A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning is recalled it will be remembered that however far the two lovers may travel from each other they still remain bound together by the central axis, and likewise Adam and Eve remain inseparably bound as they are of one flesh. The male and female principles can never separate and when Adam discovers Eve's sin he partakes of the forbidden fruit in preference to separation from his own kind. The

sun and the moon, being of androgynous origins, can never separate from each other. In other words, in spite of the division which exists in creation there remains an immutable unity and inseparability.

The reference to the pair of compasses does, however, intrinsically suggest some limitations because the boundaries for operation are demarcated and controlled although Milton's reference to them as golden does indicate an affirmation of the process in contrast to Blake whose depiction of Urizen circumscribing the earth with his compass indicates a scientific, intellectual stultification of the artistic freedom within man. In the Zohar this image of God as a grand architect of the world is maintained in the language of rabbi Simeon,

We must picture a king who wanted several buildings to be erected, and who had an architect in his service who did nothing save with his consent. (Z, I. 91).

Some of the further parallels will now be discussed in brief but they are also of interest in demonstrating the affinity in thought. In the Kabbalah we find that emphasis is placed on God as a designer and that his thoughts are the origin from which creation commences. This emphasis on thought as the fons of creation is not exclusive, as was seen earlier in discussing the emanation from a void, but it does represent one of the ways in which God's workings are depicted. Safran has described this process,²⁰

The Kabbalah also describes the 'ayin' as "Supreme Thought". First it initiates movement around itself but it also gives rise to a beginning of existence: all that exists is first to be found in the thought of its author.

It is necessary first to have an idea before any constructive process can commence; it is imperative for a designer to

have a model of his intended creation before the work is initiated. Now, if Milton's illustration of the Divine is compared to that above another direct parallel is to be seen,

Thence to behold this new created World,
Th' addition of his Empire, how it shew'd
In prospect from his Throne, how good, how faire,
Answering his great Idea ...

(PL, VII. 554-7).

Firstly, it is clear that earth has been formed as an extension of the solar system and not the other way around as reference is made to the 'addition of his Empire', a further dimension to His vast kingdom. This, of course, confirms Adam's suspicions that earth may not be the most important orb in the universe in spite of its fairness and beauty. Secondly, it is stressed that earth is a reflection of God's 'great Idea' or, in other words, that the idea preceded the building of this planet and man himself. God is seen as a king who formulates this plan to create a new planet to replace the vacuum caused by the treacherous rebellion of Satan and his rebel angels when they were driven out from the kingdom of God. Milton's vision spans and sometimes unites religion, astrology, astronomy, science and philosophy: the design is perfect and preparation for construction carefully worked out on all dimensions. (There is certainly a Platonic influence in addition in the inclusion of a 'great Idea' or grand plan and this must have irked established theological opinion.)

There is one further parallel which should prove beyond doubt that Milton and the kabbalists viewed creation or Genesis in much the same light. Both Adam and Eve were constantly in touch with God and were accustomed to hear voices from the divine source but as a consequence of their

sin and fall from grace this benediction was withdrawn from them. This interpretation is based on 3.8 in Genesis, 'And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden ...', but it is the kabbalists who have expanded its meaning as per se it is not stated in the Bible that Adam and Eve were in continual communication with God,

He who is drawn after evil may not abide with the Tree of Life. Before they sinned, the human pair used to hear a voice from above, and were endowed with the higher wisdom; ... When they sinned they were not able to stand up even before an earthly voice. (Z, I. 165).

It is the kabbalists who have concluded that our first parents were in direct contact because in 3.8 the voice of God is only heard after they have transgressed and God is seeking them out to inflict due punishment: in other words this is an innovative interpretation by the kabbalists in which they claim that Adam and Eve conversed with God before the fateful sin. In Book X of Paradise Lost Adam's loss of divine discourse and expulsion from the kingdom of God is included in the text. Adam bemoans his fate,

Accurst of blessed, hide me from the face
Of God, whom to behold was then my highth
Of happiness: ...

...
...
...

... O voice once heard
Delightfully, Encrease and multiply,
Now death to heare! ...

(PL, X. 723-5, 729-31).

The voice of God has been abruptly wrenched away from the first parents and they are destined to wander the earth without direct knowledge of their maker; direct communication has ceased and the tragedy of man's journey into darkness is about to commence.

It has been seen that there are parallels in a number of

crucial areas, which are not necessarily exhaustive, and these cover: the revelation of the future to Adam; the emanation of matter from God; the process of creation from darkness; the transcendence of God beyond human comprehension; the existence of sin or the need to justify creation; the creation of Adam; the implied creation of Adam as an androgynous being; the sexuality of the stars and other planets; creation based on duality; creation as an emanation from thought; the loss of direct communication with God. In the next section I will concentrate on the fall from grace and the sexual nature of mankind.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Hamlet 11.1.165-7.
2. Krakovsky agrees with Milton,
'But we who are at the nethermost point, can only grasp the material side of the nether beings on our own place, and the upper spiritual places are beyond us. Therefore we find it difficult to conceive of matter issuing from Spirit. But in the truth of creation there is no question whatsoever.'
Levi Isaac Krakovsky, Kabbalah, The Light of Redemption (New York: The Kabbalah Foundation, 1950) 27.
3. cf. E. Haich makes an interesting point:-
'... It's the resistance of matter that keeps the earth and all creation from disappearing and being annihilated. Everything that has appeared in this recognisable world has fallen out of a point in the universe, and this point has then become its own centre. Through the fall it became matter.'
Elizabeth Haich, Initiation (London: Allen, 1972) 226.
4. cf. 'In the abstract, it is possible to think of God either as God Himself with reference to His own nature alone or as God in His relation to His creation. However, all kabbalists agree that no religious knowledge of God, even of the most exalted kind, can be gained except through contemplation of the relationship of God to creation.'
Scholem, Kabbalah 88.
5. cf. 'Here is Milton in his old age still the lover of nature, still seeing it vividly in his mind's eye, and still glorying in it as a manifestation of God's goodness and power.'
Bernard Arker Wright, Milton's Paradise Lost (London: Methuen, 1968) 150.
6. cf. The position of the angels in the cosmos:-
"Milton asserts that the angels were also created by God and thus they are spirits (The Christian Doctrine, pp.184-5). St Augustine explains the nature of the angels, 'Certainly it is not at all true, as some have thought, that Augustine stated absolutely that the angels have bodies, no matter how subtle and refined this body might be imagined ... On the other hand, it cannot be denied that Augustine remained hesitant and undecided about this question to the very end. He once states that our bodies, after the resurrection will be 'like the bodies of angels.'"
Eugene Portalie, A Guide to the Thought of Saint Augustine (London: Burns, 1960) 143.

"The first (v.400 ff.) reveals that the angels are capable of assimilating food, and the second (VIII. 615ff.) that love-making in heaven resembles love-making on earth. Did Milton admit the corporeality of the angels? Here is the question fundamental to both his 'heresies' and the answer must be emphatically appreciative though not without qualification."
 Patrides, Milton and the Christian Tradition 47.

7. Krakovsky 34.

8. 'Just as we maintain that the Holy One, blessed be He, performs signs and wonders through the angels, so do these philosophers maintain that all these occurrences in the nature of the world, come through the spheres and stars. They maintain that the spheres and the stars possess souls and knowledge. All these things are true. I myself have already made it clear, with proofs, that all these things involve no damage to religion.'
 Twersky, A Maimonides Reader 468.

9. '...: the world, itself a compound of body and soul, is everlasting though not eternal, it moves the pieces of the games which are ourselves up or down according to our way of life. And every individual soul is thus responsible for its own little province. Thus the vigilance of the gods is vindicated and man must bear the responsibility for his own life.'
 Georges Grube, Plato's Thought (London: Methuen, 1935) 174.

10. '... Everything created, from the hayoth and the serafim (higher angels) down to the smallest worm on earth, lives in elohim and through elohim.'
 Leo Schaya, The Universal Meaning of the Kabbalah Trans. Nancy Pearson (London: Allen, 1971) 67.

11. cf. Plato's commentary:-

'The creator as a creator is pure myth, but he represents soul in its perfect state (intellect and the power to move), a force at work in the world through a multiplicity of souls human and divine, and upon which everything depends.'
 Grube, Plato's Thought 177.

12. "In Milton's system, since God is all things, the creation of separate beings must be their separation from God ... This creative liberation can only be accomplished by a 'retraction' of God upon Himself:"
 Saurat 236.

13. cf. St Augustine:-
 '... He never wearies of saying that neither our concepts nor our words can exhaust the infinite.'
 Portalie 127.
14. The Sufis' have the same idea,
 'The Godhead in Its unmanifest quality is above every quality we could ascribe to It. This is the Divine Essence about which one can say nothing, for any description would only serve to limit or bind it. Divine Essence manifests Itself, however, in the direction of Creation through stages, the first of which is the Archetypes, the possibilities contained within the Absolute.'
 Lalen Bakhtiar, Sufi: Expressions of the Mystic Quest (Singapore: Thames, 1976) 13.
15. cf. 'In thus considering nature in all its aspects as an expression of the will of God, Milton was thinking in terms of standard seventeenth century Protestant theology. He also shared with his contemporaries a belief in a universe intricately organised. This belief was made vivid in the figure, deriving ultimately from Plato's Timaeus, of a chain of being.'
 Theodore Howard J. Banks, Milton's Imagery (New York: Columbia UP, 1951) 97.
16. Plato is in agreement with the kabbalists -
 '...: They will be fashioned into mortal bodies; they will all have the same opportunities at the first birth (at the first incarnation all will apparently be men!) and if they live a good life they will return to this star seemingly for ever; otherwise in their next life they will be women, then animals, and sink or rise according to the way they live.'
 Grube, 166.
17. Saurat 233.
18. 'What explanations have the theologians to offer? Some say that God has placed evils here for our training; some say that he has sent them upon men to punish them for their sins. But I have seen a child die of meningitis. I have only one explanation that appealed equally to my sensibility and to my imagination. This is the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.'
 W. Somerset Maugham, The Summing Up (Middlesex: Penguin, 1963) 174.
19. St. Augustine's teaching is similar to that of Milton,
 'We should believe then, ..., that man was made on the sixth day in such a way that the causal principle for the human body lay hidden in the elements of the world, but

the soul itself was created and once created lay hidden in the works of God until in His good time he breathed upon it ... and placed it in the body formed from the shrine of the earth.'
Portalie 141.

cf. Blavatsky gives an unorthodox view:-
"Very soon the day will dawn, when the world will have to choose whether it will accept the miraculous creation of man (and Kosmos too) out of nothing, according to the dead letter of Genesis, or a first man born from a fantastic link - absolutely 'missing' so far - the common ancestor of man, and of the "true ape". Between these two fallacies Occult philosophy steps in. It teaches that the first human stock was projected by higher and semi-divine Beings out of their own essences", The Secret Doctrine 87.

20. Safran 256.

He comments on the En Sof (the absolute) which is closely related to the concept of Ayin (non-existence), as follows:

The 'Zohar' uses the following words: "Infinite, 'Ein Sof', is applied to that which man will never understand, that which will never come to an end because it never had a beginning."
Safran, 257.

CHAPTER 3 - THE FALL FROM INNOCENCE

In this section the fall from innocence and the nature of sexual influence, the respective positions on marriage and divorce, and further evidence of Milton's indebtedness to the Kabbalah will be examined. The idea of a fall from some state of paradisaical bliss is central to biblical teaching as our first parents are seen to err in judgement and taste of some forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden. This central, much-discussed myth is emphasised by both Milton and the kabbalists, and their account of the cataclysmic event is basically dealt with in a similar manner.

In the poem, Paradise Lost, the consequence of the fall is seen in the triumph of carnal appetite over control by the higher mind,¹ and unexpectedly Adam and Eve gaze upon each other with different lustful eyes,

Carnal desire enflaming, hee on Eve
Began to cast lascivious Eyes, she him
As wantonly repaid, in lust they burne.

(PL, IX. 1013-5).

The nature of sexual desire is a primary concern of the visionary poet and he reveals no excessive puritanism in emphasising the role of sexual desire in partnership: in fact Adam and Eve have sex before the fall but this is certainly of a different, more ethereal kind.² It is a lower sexual desire that is a contributory factor in the demise as Eve, and then Adam, is overcome by a base sexual craving. It will be shown that this stress on sexuality is also to be found in the Zohar but that the Bible in Genesis 3.7. only states that after the forbidden fruit was eaten 'they knew that they were naked', which does not necessarily

imply that they suddenly indulged their sexual appetite or became dominated by avarice. It may simply mean that they became conscious of their animal bodies and were ashamed of their sin to such an extent that they take care to hide their genitals with fig leaves. In the Zohar, on the other hand, the incident of carnal desire after the fall is highlighted on more than one occasion,

After the man had addressed all these words to the woman, the evil inclination awoke, prompting him to seek to unite with her in carnal desire, and to entice her to things in which the evil inclination takes delight ... (Z, I. 157).

The kabbalists seem to see this lower sexual energy as a consequence of man's temptation and he is accordingly less purified than he had been in the garden. They refer elsewhere to the painful consequences of this sin as man is wrenched away from the 'tree of life', or tree of wisdom in this case, and is left without the celestial union which previously illuminated his life,

But when he was reduced by his desire to know what was below, he weakly followed it until he became separated from the 'Tree of Life', and knew evil and forsook good:.... (Z, I. 165).

The central position which carnal or sexual desire plays is again stressed in an account of the Israelites who, having escaped from the Egyptians with the assistance of God, fall into temptation and start to worship the golden calf: the result of this action is to invite yet again the impurity of the serpent back into their lives, which had been removed when the Hebrews stood before Jehovah at Mount Sinai. The 'carnal passion' (Z, I. 165) which had been 'suppressed among them' (Z, I. 165) is allowed to gain dominion once more as the lower energies triumph over the soul. (It is interesting

to note that the serpent, the subtlest beast in the field, stands simultaneously for carnal passion and the evil inclination, id est, the baser elements.) It is the presence of unchastity which is responsible for alienating the Shekinah and separating the two He's of Jehovah's name preventing the Vau from coming in (the Vau represents the 'tree of life' and needs to be nourished by the two He's of His name),

i.e. for the sin of unchastity Israel has been sent into captivity and the Shekinah also, and this is the uncovering of the Shekinah. (Z, I. 105).

In Samson Agonistes sexuality and temptation or seduction are fundamental and Milton's decision to write on Samson rather than another biblical hero is indicative of his obsession with sexual guilt. The relationship between the temptation of Adam by Eve and the cunning seduction of Samson by Delilah is explicitly referred to in Paradise Lost, and there can be no doubt that they are to be read together. After describing the loss of innocence and opening of our first parents' eyes he refers directly to the plight of Samson (in Paradise Lost), this heroic man with one critical weakness,

So rose the Danite strong
Herculean Samson from the Harlot - lap
Of Philistean Dalilah, ...
(PL, IX. 1059-61).

Adam and Samson are akin in their weakness when confronted with the seductive wiles of woman and they fall tragically in a similar fashion.

It is to be remembered that Milton was unhappily married to Mary Powell and he may have in some respects regarded her as his downfall, as his Eve or Delilah drawing him into a

clandestine sin. It has been remarked by at least one critic that Milton did not evince quite the same degree of confidence in the Divorce Tracts as he did in his other prose works. There may well have been some small voice which rebuked his conscience although he argues for divorce with such a defiant vehemence.³ Milton, like Samson, may well have cried out,

But fool effeminacy held me yok't
Her Bond-slave; O indignity, O blot
...
...
The base degree to which I now am fall'n,
(Samson Agonistes, 410-14).

It is woman who is intricately bound up with man's transgressions and Samson plunges inexorably into her snare, a veritable spider's web,

Then swoll'n with pride into the snare I fell
Of fair fallacious looks, venereal trains
Softn'd with pleasure and voluptuous life;
(Samson Agonistes, 532-34).

The sin repeatedly relates to pleasure or sexual desire, a demise into a bosom of decadence, and Delilah in this instance becomes synonymous with the proverbial serpent in the garden: the Chorus are not deceived and call her 'a manifest Serpent by her sting' (SA, 991) as her treacherous designs are carefully concealed from the unsuspecting Samson. Did Milton not perhaps regard his own fall from grace as a consequence of his susceptibility to woman? He certainly enjoyed female companionship and casual flirtation. I will return to the Divorce Tracts where his arguments can be considered in more detail. There is certainly a fear of spiritual collapse through sensual indulgence and a contrary anger at being trapped which seethes beneath the surface of the Divorce Tracts and this

is evident in his treatment of Delilah. Like Hamlet he could have cried out 'Get thee to a nunnery' (III.1.124). In the Zohar we find a statement that whoever eats from the 'tree of life' 'renders himself guilty of ... adultery' (Z, I. 135) because the act of tasting the forbidden fruit is an invitation to the lower nature to enter and sex is one of the prevailing causes of a decline.

In case the above examples are not sufficient evidence of Milton's preoccupation he wrote Comus as well, which (as stated) delineates the purity of the Lady and the beastly, gross advances of Comus whose abhorrent characteristics are only rivalled by Caliban's rudimentary responses to life in The Tempest. But the question must be postulated as to why Milton had this need to divide Comus (animal) and the Lady (spirit) or Satan and Christ with such finite precision? As stated, he was aspiring towards perfection or purity and the lower passions needed to be subordinated, including sexual appetite. Milton is arguing that there will always be temptations of a subtle, voluptuous nature and only a shield of virtue can protect a man or woman against its advances. In this sense the fall or demise is a recurring phenomenon and man is ever-susceptible to its influence; the Lady's Elder Brother has some sobering admonitions,

'Tis chastity, my brother, chastity:
She that has that, is clad in complete steel,
(Comus, 419).

It was not easy for Milton to come to terms with the physical body and his innate puritanical nature led him to battle between extremes, as is so visible in his earlier poems, L'Allegro and Il Penseroso. The former reflects the joyous response to existence while the latter is a melancholy

withdrawal from the world.

The consequence of the fall is that the bodies or physical vehicles of both Adam and Eve are transformed into grosser elements with a concomitant heaviness. The lithe and nimble etheric bodies (which now comprise the invisible covering or sheaths to our physical bodies in terms of esoteric science) are cast aside and here is to be found a cogent likeness, if not a reliance upon the Zohar. It is lamented that they are compelled to gird their loins with fig leaves as the Red Indians were accustomed to do in Ancient America,

And with what skill they had, together sowed,
To gird their waste, vain Covering if to hide
Thir guilt and dreaded shame. O how unlike
To that first naked Glorie

(PL, IX. 1112-5).

This subsequent covering is important because it shows that their original, pre-lapsarian nakedness was vastly different to the nakedness of shame which they were later exposed to. There is an implied reference to the previous airy nature of their bodies in the lines,

Nor hee their outward onely with the Skins
Of Beasts, but inward nakedness, much more

...
Araying cover'd from his fathers sight.

(PL, X. 220-3).

Suddenly their bodies need to be covered by the skins of beasts as they are exposed to the bitter elements and require protection: these garments were unnecessary before the fall.⁴ The atmosphere has become more cloudy and the animal in man has emerged. In Book IV of the Zohar the clothing of Adam in a material body is also alluded to as the legion of angels desert him and evil is allowed to enter his woeful domain,

But after he sinned he was stripped of those garments and clothed in profane garments, made out of vicious stuff and evil spirits,....
(Z, IV. 208).

In Genesis 3.21 it only states that God made 'coats of skin, and clothed them' which significantly does not mention the word beasts and there is no reason to assume that God formed these coats from animals or evil spirits. Thus, both Milton and the kabbalists have amplified the original text to suggest that the new bodies of our first parents were beastly in their construction and immediately degenerate. All that remained from Adam's previous body were the fingernails (according to the Zohar). On p.281 of Volume IV the rabbis take up the issue once again and in a lucid exposition clarify the problem of bodies, ethereal or otherwise: no soul enters this world or the earthly form without first being clad in terrestrial raiment; and even the angels first clothe themselves in earthly garments before delivering a message in this world (Z, IV. 281). In the reverse situation any soul which is to ascend into the heavenly worlds must be clad in appropriate ethereal attire and no doubt the heavy physical body must be shed. Once Adam was driven into the world he needed suitable 'attire' to survive in this physical vibration and he was duly 'clothed',

As soon as he was driven from the Garden of Eden and had need of forms suited to this world ... Formerly they were garments of light, to wit, of the celestial light in which Adam ministered in the Garden of Eden.

(Z, IV. 281).

When the archangel Michael decides to descend to drive Adam and Eve from paradise in Book XI, he comes with a cohort of cherubim and it is noteworthy that he has to undergo the

required preparation. Milton explicitly states that 'th' Archangelic Power prepar'd/For swift descent' (PL, XI. 126) which suggests that he may have had to subject himself to a transformation before entering into the earthly dimension.

In the Kabbalah the separation of Adam from Eve after the fall is mirrored in the mystical severance of the Shekinah (feminine aspect) from Israel on more than one occasion. When Israel is holy the Shekinah or holy bride returns, but when She is recalcitrant the Shekinah deserts her and She is left in travail. On the 'tree of life' the Shekinah is synonymously represented with malkuth and the kether and earth must be re-united at all times. In their mystical vision of the repeated conquests and exiles the kabbalists see the workings of infidelity which is represented in sexual terms. Interpreting verse L.I. of Isaiah they claim,

i.e. for the sin of unchastity Israel has been sent into captivity and the Shekinah also, and this is the uncovering of the Shekinah.

(Z, I. 105).

The Shekinah is comparable to the holy spirit which has deserted mankind and Milton saw the redemption of the holy spirit through the coming of Christ. The influence of Christ and the messianic age will be the subject of another chapter, but it is axiomatic that the Shekinah or holy spirit must be re-united with mankind to usher in a new golden age. On the Morning Of Christ's Nativity expresses this idea,

For if such holy song
Enwrap our fancy long
Time will run back, and fetch the age of gold,
(On The Morning Of Christ's Nativity, 133-5).

There is a cardinal sexual undercurrent that lies at the root of Hebrew imagery, mirrored in the passages on the Shekinah, and Milton has shown a deep indebtedness to this

suggesting his Judaic strain. This imagery of marriage, adultery, harlotry and so forth is far more prevalent in Judaism than in Hinduism or Buddhism where the repression of desire is generally advocated. In the Bhagavad Gita Krishna advises Arjuna on the battlefield to 'Be a warrior and kill desire, the powerful enemy of the soul'. This focus on abstinence is quite different in emphasis and stands in direct opposition to the Judaic injunction to wax and multiply. Hosea's prophetic outbursts are laden with sexual overtones and he is advised by God to take a whore as his wife since the land of Israel 'hath committed great whoredom' (Hosea, I. 2). Milton's confirmation of this trend is stressed in his hostility towards Papacy where celibacy is celebrated and the anathema he pronounces on sexual degeneracy is testimony to his indebtedness.

There is one final issue which deserves further attention before a consideration of divorce per se and that is the question of appetites whilst within the pure state of being. Milton, as stated, refers to the sexual relationship between Adam and Eve which prima facie seems to be straining beyond the boundaries of comprehension and he certainly departs from the orthodox view on this point.⁵ He is at variance with the opinion of St. Augustine,⁶

But for St Augustine the unfallen sexuality is purely hypothetical: when he describes it he is describing what the act of generation would have been before the Fall, but he does not think it ever took place. Milton asserts that it did.

To Milton paradise was not a state of existence where our original parents were motionless or did nothing whatsoever, but rather a location where they performed certain of our functions in a more etherealised manner. They labour in the

garden collecting wood and flowers, they converse normally with each other and they have sexual encounters. Now, if we examine the Zohar it is to be found that even the higher beings, who are discarnate, indulge in certain physical functions, which is again certainly an unorthodox viewpoint from a Jewish perspective. In Book IV on page 331 the following extract is indicative of this point,

Note that those in the higher realm are bidden only to eat and not to drink. For he who already has a cask of wine needs something to eat with it, and since in that realm is the precious 'wine of creation',....

(Z, IV. 331).

It is also to be borne in mind that Milton's angels eat and drink and this raises the question about the exact nature of these higher celestial realms as well as the original paradise. Milton has postulated the idea that there are spheres within spheres or worlds within worlds: there are different locations or stratified areas within the universe and paradise itself appears to be only one of these spheres which exist in a purer dimension.

The next issue to be examined is the nature of marriage and the respective attitudes towards divorce. Milton's own relationship with Mary Powell was not altogether satisfying and a separation did occur although Potter suggests that the civil war could have been a contributory factor here.⁷

Traffic between the royalist Oxford and parliamentary London was a perilous journey in 1642 which could have prevented any attempt by Mary to return to her lawful husband. Only after the Battle of Naseby was a reconciliation brought about at the instigation of friends. A compounding difficulty was the conflicting viewpoint of Mary's family and her husband's radical opinion which must have exacerbated an already

explosive situation, but according to Wagenknecht his forgiveness of her misdemeanour and condemnation of her desertion (when he accepted her return) proves that he loved her dearly.⁸ It is difficult to judge the accuracy of these historical accounts but it is certain that Milton was not contented at one stage and his Divorce Tracts are a profound testimony to this inner frustration.

How then did the young Milton view a marital union and what were his experiences of the true domestic condition? Firstly, he considered marriage to be a sacred union between two individuals who are compatible in soul, mind and body; any disharmony of souls would lead to an institution which is a farcical arrangement. He spared no vitriolic spleen in chastising a marriage bereft of compatibility,

... and that to grind in the mill of an undelighted and servile copulation must be the only forced work of a christian marriage, oftentimes with such a yoke-fellow, from whom both love and peace, both nature and religion mourns to be separated.

(The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, 196).

He further bemoans the forlorn circumstances where a single, chaste man who has been virtuous (in contrast to a man who has had successive sexual encounters) is far more prone to err in judgement owing to his lack of experience: this vulnerability seems contrary to the intention of God to bind souls together in a holy, reciprocally productive union. In Paradise Lost this idea of mutuality and a sacred union is stressed in such lines as these spoken by Adam,

Union of Mind, or in us both one Soule;
Harmonie to behold in wedded pair
(PL, VIII. 604-5).

It is a sacred alliance and should therefore be fulfilling or it is contrary to the divine plan to remain

together, and yet Milton was setting sail against the wind again as divorce has been expressly forbidden by Christ in the Gospels.⁹ This will be considered in due course, but the point which needs to be accentuated at this stage is that marriage is a divine union of souls and is not to be viewed superficially. In the Zohar the same idea is postulated and marriage is a sacred bond which is effected by God through His ethereal servants and the two souls are, as it were, destined to meet. The concept of soul mates is repeated time and again throughout the script and this is because Judaic tradition considers matrimony to be a pivotal centre within the community,

But the possession of a good wife comes to man only from God. For God makes couples before they are born, and when a man is worthy he obtains a wife according to his deserts.

(Z, III. 333).

This union is a divine communion of body and soul and God is accordingly careful to bring together souls of a mutual nature,

When their time for marriage arrives, God who knows each spirit and soul, joins them at first, and proclaims their union.

(Z, I. 300).

Marriage unions are stated to be as difficult for the Holy One as the precise division of the Red Sea and similarly as at that time there were those who stood on one side and others who were drowned, so there is weeping for some and joy for others. At times God even allows one man to die and gives his wife to another but these are sublime mysteries (Z, IV. 90). In other words, the Zohar allows for the possibility of a wife being temporarily attached to a husband although she is ultimately destined for another man, which

lends support to Milton's argument that separation may at times be divinely inspired. When Shakespeare contends that impediments should not interfere with the 'marriage of true minds' he expresses the idea (although not in so many words) that destined souls have no faults (Sonnet LXVI. 1). The story of David and Bathsheba illustrates how the divine force or the Holy One is in control of proceedings behind the veil.

It will be recalled that David sent Uriah to battle (knowing that he might be killed) with the intention of marrying his wife Bathsheba. There was no legal problem as it was customary for a soldier about to enter battle to give his wife a bill of divorcement, but the question of moral responsibility remains a vexed question. The Zohar suggests that David sinned only against the Holy One and not the husband because she had been destined to be his wife before their birth. The point of interest here is the handiwork of God in all marriages and the possibility that a separation is valid:

"And David comforted Bathsheba his wife" (2 Sam XII, 24), which is a proof that she was considered as David's lawful wife, destined for him since the beginning of time, since the day whereon the world was created:

(Z, III. 325) (emphasis added).

Milton was in a sense compelled to return directly to the Old Testament for support of his argument in favour of divorce, (an ingenious one indeed), and, as Belloc points out, within four years of his death the indissolubility of marriage was nullified.¹⁰ He was ahead of his time in rejecting a yoked union and he was proved to be correct in his reliance on Deuteronomy XXIV.1. which is explicit: 'if a man finds no favour in his wife because of some 'uncleanness' he has the

right to issue her 'a bill of divorcement', and give it in her hand, and send her out of his house'. Milton argued that a coercive union was un-Christian and immoral, referring to the procedural rules of the Jews which permitted divorces to be concluded by the rabbis alone, thereby even ousting the jurisdiction of the secular courts. Christ, he exhorted, had never intended loveless unions,

... for antiquaries affirm, that divorces proceeded among the Jews without knowledge of the magistrate, only with hands and seals under the testimony of some rabbies to be then present.

(The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, 242).

His reliance on Jewish sources is expressly mentioned in these tracts and he includes both Maimonides and Philo in support of his contention. He can not accept that a permissive law allowed in the Mosaic code could be rejected by the current interpretation of the Gospels since the latter is supposed to be a liberation and extension of the former. He reaches a climactic note in pointing out the paradox of this phenomenon where 'the gospel should be put to beg a most necessary help of mercy from the law' (251).

His arguments in favour of polygamy are similar where he supports his assertions by quoting from the Bible and noting this institution in operation in the case of both Abraham and Solomon. It is not that Milton is guilty of an innovative misogyny but rather an endorsement of the old Biblical system of family law and tradition. In the Bible the man remained the head of the family, the paterfamilias whose rights were protected and his welfare cared for often at the expense of his spouse. This right of supremacy is God-given (according to biblical tradition) and it is expected that the man will exercise his authority, and it is this failure which

contributed to the fall from grace: God berates the hapless Adam,

Was shee thy God, that her thou didst not obey
 Before his voice, or was she made thy guide
 ...
 Thou didst not resign thy Manhood, and the Place
 Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
 (PL, X. 145-8).

In his reverence for male fulfilment Milton reveals an acute psychological insight into the marital state, the reality beyond the idyllic, romantic representation. It is in this sphere that the visionary poet is compelled to confront the reality of day-to-day existence in relationships and to rue his initial infatuation with Mary. He achieves his objective only to discover that it is inadequate; he realises that beauty is but an aspect of a relationship and his wrath is scarcely concealed,

...; and who knows not that the bashful muteness of a virgin may oftentimes hide all the unliveliness and natural sloth which is really unfit for conversation?

(The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, 196).

If marriage is to be a holy sacrament then there must be a compatibility 'not of burning lust, but of burning loneliness' (in the words of W. Parker¹¹), or as Belloc notes¹² it must be 'a perfect companionship'. Whereas Yeats burned with desire for a woman he could never marry and recorded his agonised despair after his rejection by Maude Gonne, Milton achieved his beloved union only to suffer disillusionment; but true to his courageous character he does not indulge in mournful self-pity but goes onto the offensive impugning the institutions of his time and shattering romantic myths about relationships. A man may have the unfortunate experience of sexual compatibility

coupled with sterile conversation, and should have the right to escape,

... yet often with a mind to all other due conversation inaccessible, and to all the more estimable and superior purposes of matrimony useless and almost lifeless.

(The Doctrine and Disciple of Divorce, 190).

It is true companionship which is the desired state, a bond that is mutually supportive. In Book II of the Zohar it is claimed that God 'creates souls in couples and sends them down' to provide 'companionship both on high and below' (Z, II, 212). The key word here is companionship which suggests harmony (as opposed to a discordant affair), and this is affirmed in Book IV where male and female are viewed as halves of one indivisible whole: it is only when 'the two halves are united, they become one body and are called one' (Z, IV. 340) which is reminiscent of the passages on the androgyne. But it is clear from the passages discussed earlier that the wrong spouse may be attached to another man for a period of time (perhaps as a learning experience) before the higher powers intervene to effect the divine union as in the case of Aaron and Elisheba (Z, IV. 402) or David and Bathsheba. In other words, Mary may not have been Milton's destined soul mate and as such he had the divine right to divorce her, in terms of Judaic law and the Kabbalah. An explicit and informative account of the process behind the world of the senses is contained in Book II of the Zohar where it is unequivocally explained how a true soul mate may be transferred to another man until such time as the true husband has rectified his wayward acts,

..., that man perverts his ways, and then his mate is transferred to another until he rectifies his ways, or else until his time comes, and then the

other is removed to make way for him and he comes into his own.

(Z, II. 333).

If a man goes over to 'the other side' completely then a woman will be attached to him from 'the other side' and he will be met with successive ills and recriminations. When God is pleased with a man's deeds, in contrast, He provides him with a virtuous and prudent wife who redeems him. (An example of a contaminated woman is one who has been twice widowed as the angel of death has taken possession of her although unknown by most people, and the rabbis advise that a marriage with such a woman should be avoided) (Z, III. 310).

The vehemence of Milton's objections continues throughout the divorce tracts but he also reveals a rare touch of sentimentality in his plea for the divine right to love again. He seems correct in his assertion that only the virtuous and only those sensitive enough can be affected by a ban on divorce decrees,

... so there is none that can estimate the evil and the affliction of a natural hatred in matrimony, unless he has a soul gentle enough and spacious enough to contemplate what is true love.

(The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, 254).

He concludes The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce with a statement with wider ramifications than he may have realised when he asserts that charity supercedes the commandments of Christ, that this is His divine will. In the 'tree of life' the side of mercy is considered to be superior to that of justice or judgement, and certain of the biblical figures are said to have been born under the side of either mercy or justice; Abraham was on the plane of mercy while his son Isaac was within the sphere of justice. Mercy is

superior but if applied consistently it means that any law or Christian decree can be tempered by the hand of compassion if this is considered equitable. This conclusion is unlikely to have been Milton's intention but its broader implications can not be overlooked,

..., that God the Son hath put all other things
under his own feet, but his commandments he has left
all under the feet of charity.
(The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce,
273).

In the realm of procreation the poet again appears to adopt a Judaic rather than a Christian stance, a stance where he considers it a duty to marry and an obligation to beget progeny. Paul does not advocate matrimony as a desirable state for the disciple and there is no concomitant injunction to procreate,

This is the will of God, that you should be holy:
you must abstain from fornication.
(The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the
Thessalonians, I.4.3-4).

In the Zohar, in contradistinction, the waste of semen is considered a dire sin and the failure to have a child disqualifies the heavenly bliss which otherwise awaits a devout father. The only remedy for a childless man is to allow his brother to impregnate his wife and avert an otherwise tragic conclusion,

He who dies without leaving children will not enter
within the curtain of heaven and will have no share
in the other world,....
(Z, II. 213).

It is also interesting to note that the unborn soul 'hovers round about' while it awaits 'to enter the seed of procreation' (Z, II. 214). As reincarnation is so central in the Kabbalah, the souls who await re-entry onto the earth-plane are not new souls but those who need to perfect

themselves on earth. God plants trees but if they do not flourish He uproots them and replants them from time to time so that they may reach perfection (Z, II. 216). Jehovah wanted the House of Israel to grow and prosper, to wax and multiply, and the birth of progeny was regarded as a holy, sacred duty. (Theosophists elaborate, claiming that souls on the other side in fact choose their parents, place of birth and the prevailing circumstances, taking into account karmic links in past lives and the lessons needed for that particular soul's evolution.)

In Book IV of Paradise Lost Milton depicts Adam and Eve retiring to their inmost bower to have a sexual relationship as they abandon all rites and make love in a pure form, without the social pretences of modern man, without the 'troublesom disguises which wee wear' (PL, IV. 740). They share connubial bliss without shame or guilt, and Milton takes the opportunity to assail the Catholics and others who denounce physical unions as a stain on innocence¹³: he rails against them as 'Hypocrites' (744) who defame what God has ordained as pure and labels their abstinence as Satanic,

Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain
But our destroyer, foe to God and man?
(PL, IV. 748-9).

When Adam has sinned he bemoans the injunction to increase and multiply as he will now only increase 'curses on my head' (PL, X. 732). The point is that procreation is as much a sacred duty to Milton as it is to the kabbalists and any attempt to encourage its decrease is a diabolical intrusion. Milton's views here are not necessarily Christian nor are they Platonic (Plato regards homosexual love as the highest form of relationship in The Symposium) and he is again

compelled to rely on Hebrew sources. It is 'wedded Love' (PL, IV. 750) which is the 'mysterious Law' (PL, IV. 750) from which all offspring are produced, and the usage of the word 'law' suggests that the divine force is in operation in effecting unions and governing their descendants: this reference to 'law' harks back to the kabbalistic emphasis on a divine law controlling twin souls and their offspring.

In this closing paragraph it is worth noting some further evidence of Judaic influence on Milton as far as the question of divorce is concerned. The passages in the Divorce Tracts referring to Maimonides and Philo are another indication of the extent to which Milton valued these commentaries, and some familiarity with their works can not be questioned. Maimonides had stated that divorce was allowed by Moses to keep peace in the family and his statement provided an excellent source to justify the poet's defence of separation. The reference by Clara Codd (a leading theosophist) to Milton's involvement and reliance on the Zohar, is worth bearing in mind,¹⁴

But then it must be remembered that Milton was a student of the old Jewish esoteric scripture, the 'Zohar'.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. "The moral of this is that men have contrived foolish and unnecessary divorce laws, but surely there is a voice of Milton beneath saying 'I have been perverse' and 'mine is the responsibility'."
E.M.N. Tillyard, Milton Rev. Ed. (London: Penguin, 1966) 124.

2. It should be noted that Milton's philosophy includes but transcends sexuality as is recorded in 'prolusion VII':
'Now almost everyone agrees that contemplation alone is a cause sufficient to lead the mind, drawn into its own sphere, and without the help of the body, from which the mind is aloof, to imitate with incredible joy the eternity of the immortal gods. Yet without Learning the mind is completely sterile, joyless, and indeed nothing. For who can worthily look upon and contemplate the Ideas of things human and divine, about which he can know almost nothing, unless he possesses a mind enriched and perfected through knowledge and study? Thus, every entrance to the happy life seems to be closed 'to the man who lacks learning.'
J. Milton, 'Prolusion VII, A Speech in Defence of Learning' in The Prose of John Milton Ed. by J.M. Patrick and J.M. Max (New York: Anchor, 1967), 17.

3. cf. 'Were Milton's the feelings of the pining lover or the scornful man who felt he had made a fool of himself? We do not know. But he was a proud man; he was an inward, spiritual man. It is hard for woman who attract the passionate devotion of spiritual men, because with one part of themselves they despise the very object of their passion, and if there is any danger of their pride being wounded, they easily fall out of love.'
Wilson 117.

4. cf. 'Backed as it now is by momentous issues, by a sense of tragedy and disaster, their love takes on a much deeper resonance than it has had before. And Milton reminds us that this is partly their own doing, that Adam is deliberately throwing his happiness away.'
J. Peter, A Critique of Paradise Lost (New York: Columbia UP, 1960) 133.

5. cf. 'But sex was one of the few activities and emotions he could show Adam and Eve engaged in; and distinguished from postlapsarian sex, he is able to make important points about the results of the Fall. So unfallen sexuality is emphasised, Eve's nakedness drawn attention to.'
Michael Wilding, Milton's Paradise Lost (Sidney: Sidney UP, 1969) 82.

cf. 'Whatever degree of idealisation their portraits involve it is an idealisation of ourselves, of what we

know and love ... Their experience is our own, transposed and refined, and it has a far stronger claim on us than the disembodied excellence of Heaven.'
Peter 7.

6. Lewis is in two minds as to the sagacity of such a representation:- 'This was a warning to Milton that it is dangerous to attempt a practical representation of something which is unimaginable, not in the sense of raising no images, but in the more disastrous sense of inevitably raising the wrong ones. This warning he defied, He has dared to represent Paradisal sexuality, I cannot make up my mind whether he was wise.'
Clive Staples Lewis, A Preface To Paradise Lost (Oxford UP, 1942) 118.

7. Potter 22.

8. Edward Charles Wagenknecht, The Personality of Milton (Oklahoma: Oklahoma UP, 1971) 119.

cf. 'Did he love her? and was the marriage thereafter a happy one? I think there can be no doubt about the first question. It is very unlikely that Milton had ever stopped loving Mary Powell; had he done so, her desertion would not have wounded him so much.'
Wagenknecht 119.

9. cf. 'He had attacked marriage itself, its immutability. One might have thought that a man advancing thus into perilous isolation would have been conscious of such isolation - would be prepared to fence with and beat inevitable opposition. Not a bit of it! The situation left Milton as convinced as ever that he was the Heavenly Voice, that if he believed a thing and all others doubted it, it was because he was sane and all others were mad ...'

Hillaire Belloc, Milton, (G.B.: Chapel River, 1935) 157.

10. Belloc 162.

11. William Riley Parker, Milton, A Biography Vol.1 and 2 (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1966) 242.

cf. "It took almost fanatical courage to write and publish 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce'. It took the kind of courage that comes with overwhelming conviction in the face of accepted opinion, the kind of courage that will stand alone if it can stand on solid truth ... In writing it, Milton regarded himself, with excited pride, as a benefactor of the human race."
Parker 240.

12. Belloc 147.
13. His attitude towards the Catholics is exemplified in Areopagitica. "One important exception Milton made, however: 'I mean not tolerated Popéry and open superstition'. To him the Roman Catholic Church remained an evil thing, temporarily ousted but ever lurking, waiting, watching for the opportunity to return and reimpose its 'anti-Christian malice'. For Milton Rome was synonymous with the Devil, and with the Devil there can be no compromise. Most of his English and Scottish contemporaries would have agreed with this view, and with his opinion that to tolerate Catholicism would be to invite the eventual destruction of toleration itself." J.C. Suffolk, Introduction, Areopagitica, John Milton (London: London Tutorial, 1968) 10.
14. Clara Codd, The Ageless Wisdom Of Life (India: Vasanta, 1957) 62.

CHAPTER 4 - SATAN AND SAMAEL

In this chapter consideration will be given to the various manifestations of Satan and the evil force that is so predominant in Paradise Lost and the Zohar. Indeed, many critics have followed Blake in claiming that Milton was of the devil's party without his knowledge and this observation is founded on the immense appeal of Satan as a figure to be admired. He overshadows God in the text and lures mankind onto an evil path, but this enticing allurements of Satan is a necessary adjunct to the Biblical devil, because if he were not so deceptively attractive no-one would ever have fallen under his dark spell. If evil were not an appealing force no-one would ever be susceptible to sin, and, in my opinion, Milton has represented Satan as an inviting influence for this reason alone, and not because he subconsciously believed in the road of darkness (an extremely unfair criticism if his pleas for virtue are considered). He had to delve into his own darker side in order to create an authentic devil, as Emily Bronte must have done in the case of Heathcliff, but this representation of darkness does not suggest an endorsement of Satan's evil machinations. It is necessary to dismiss or rather counter these allegations of subconscious alliance on Milton's part at the outset, since there is a considerable body of opinion which pursues a line of enquiry based on this assumption.

A cogent place to begin is with the existence of hell within Paradise Lost and the Zohar, called Gehinnim or sometimes Gehenna in the latter. It can be seen that Milton

has referred to Gehenna explicitly in Book I,

The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the Type of Hell
(PL, I. 404-5).

Gehenna is referred to by the prophet Isaiah in 30.33 as a valley near Jerusalem where the Jews sacrificed their children to Moloch, a Satanic practice performed throughout history by inter alia the Aztec priests who cut out the hearts of their victims before their immolations.¹ This valley became synonymous with hell and was used by the talmudists and the kabbalists to depict a dire region of existence. Epstein notes that,²

Judaism teaches there is a gehenna which is identified with the pit of fire mentioned in the Bible (Isa.30.33) and that there is an abode of bliss, the Gan Eden ... and there it leaves the matter.

In the quotation above where Milton refers to this place, Gehenna, he proceeds to note that it is call'd, 'the Type of Hell' which immediately raises the question: called by whom? Isaiah in 30.33 does not directly mention Gehenna and it is quite clear that the talmudists and kabbalists have extended the analogy of sacrifice at Gehenna to refer to a general hell-state. Therefore, Milton is likely to have read either the Talmud or the Zohar on this point and noticed that it had been called hell by the rabbis, and in all probability he noted repeated references to hell in the Zohar rather than the Talmud since the latter refers sparsely in its allusions to heaven and hell (preferring to expound upon the legal and ritualistic side of the religion). The Zohar, on the contrary, is replete with numerous references to heaven and hell as this is such a vital area to the occultist, and it immeasurably narrows the

gulf between Christianity and Judaism.³ Gehenna is a place where sinners are condemned to when they have failed to pursue a path of righteousness during their life-time, the hell that is depicted throughout Christian literature from Dante to Bosch, from Milton to Blake.

Another extraordinary parallel is to be found in the correlation between Satan and Sin on the one hand and Samael and Lilith on the other. When Satan approaches the Gates of Hell in Book I of Paradise Lost he confronts Sin who is both the daughter of his own flesh and His incestuous lover, as well as their son Death. Sin was begotten by Satan after his fall from the kingdom of God and he persuades her to permit him exit through the gates of hell; Sin replies:

Out of thy head I sprung; amazement seis'd
All th' Host of Heav'n; back they recoild afraid
At first, and call'd me Sin, ...

(PL, II. 758-60).

Samael in the Zohar is the exact equivalent of Satan and he is also recorded to have given birth to his daughter Lilith and to have had intercourse with her giving birth to their son Death,⁴

In later literature Samael often appears as the angel who brought the poison of death into the world. These same demonological sources contain the earlier references to Samael and Lilith as a couple in the kingdom of impurity.

Samael is the Satanic angel identified with the goat in the Zohar, and the one who is committed to leading men onto the 'other side' or sitra ahra (the road of evil) in Hebrew. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has committed a sin in begetting his own progeny and that he has mated with her in an incestuous relationship. He has sexual intercourse with Lilith as Satan in Paradise Lost has sex with Sin and

they both beget Death! The result of these untoward unions, conceived in the womb of lust, have dire effects for the parents, as Satan so woefully reveals,

Dear Daughter, since thou claims't me for thy Sire
And my fair Son here Showst me, the dear pledge
Of dalliance had with thee in Heaven, and joys
Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change.
(PL, II. 817-820).

Milton takes this inception of death a step further in Paradise Lost and relates how Death then rapes his mother, Sin, and gives rise to a host of evil children or demons. This exposition corresponds precisely to the legends which surround the mysterious Lilith, and the engendering of monstrous progeny is to be found in both works. In Paradise Lost Death pursues his mother, overtakes her, and then forces her to submit:

And in embraces forcible and foule
Ingendring with me, of that rape begot
These yelling Monsters that with ceasless cry
Surround me as thou sawst, hourly conceivd
And hourly born, with sorrow infinite ...
(PL, II. 793-7).

There are an infinite number of demonic spirits issuing forth from the womb of Sin and these demmons find correspondence in the plethora of evil spirits given birth to and controlled by Lilith. Scholem relates a legend in Midrashic literature in which Adam, having fallen and initially parted from Eve, gives birth to demons from the spirit Lilith after she had cohabited with him (Lilith in this instance was called Piznai and gave birth to male and female demons, the firstborn son being called Agrimas).⁵ An alternative legend is the identification of Lilith with a fallen Eve and the procreation of an infinite number of demonic spirits. Lilith

is described as a 'hot fiery female' in Book IV of the Zohar and it is explained how 'a thousand spirits from the left side assembled round that body' (Z, IV. 361). It is quite clear, therefore, that the vast host of demonic spirits who inhabit the atmosphere and prey on the unclean thoughts of sinners have the same mother (id est, Sin or Lilith) and the identification of this female dragon in both traditions will now be examined in more detail.

Sin in Book II is depicted by Milton as a 'Snakie Sorceress that sat/Fast by Hell Gate' or as the 'Portress of Hell Gate' as she is entrusted with the keys that open and close the entrance to the lower regions, although she loses this power once she has permitted Satan to escape and hell's gates remain perpetually open (PL, II. 724-746). Lilith is similarly associated with the snake directly and is closely akin or identified with the Queen of Sheba, a jinn who is half human and half demon.⁶ There is no doubt that Milton has portrayed Sin as being half human and half demon or snake in the words, 'Snakie Sorceress', and this dichotomy can also be associated with Ovid's description of Scylla in Metamorphoses (and indeed is by Milton at line 660) or with Lilith.⁷ Lilith is a demonic figure who is the strangler of children and a seducer of men and she uses their semen to give birth to an infinity of evil sons. The serpent is a key association in the case of Lilith and, as Frank notes, it was the satanic serpent or evil desire which penetrated our first mother or Lilith.⁸

Lilith is a veritable serpent, an evil sorceress, whose sole aim is the destruction of any light on earth, and like the black magicians who sacrifice the blood of innocent

children to their demonic gods, she needs the blood of young children to further her designs. It had accordingly become a common practice to affix amulets by the bedside to protect a woman giving birth from her influence. These amulets contained either the names of three angels associated with Lilith or Lilith bound in chains.⁹ There appears to be substantial evidence that Milton used this kabbalistic lore either directly in Book II or that he at least had these tales in his mind at the time of composition. He has described the half human, half serpent anatomy of the repulsive Sin in lines 650-652 of Paradise Lost,

The one seem'd Woman to the waste, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fould
Voluminous and vast, a Serpent arm'd ...

This dichotomy between human and serpent again evokes the comparison listed previously; and she is described as having a pack of hounds that never leave barking around her with 'wide Cerberian mouths', thus comparing Sin to Cerberus who guards the gates of hell in Book VI of Vergil's Aeneid.

This half-reptilian creation has a pack of hounds at her disposal to prevent the exit of any undeserving denizens of this region and she is then compared to a witch in one of the most revealing passages for our purposes,

Nor uglier follow the Night-Hag, when call'd
In secret, riding through the Air she comes
Lur'd with the smell of infant blood ...
(PL, II. 682-4).

Sin and Lilith have been shown to have the same half reptilian bodies and in this instance Milton has referred either to the Night-Hag as a vulture feeding on the blood of children, or Sin (who is similar to the Night-Hag) as the parasite on infants' flesh. In either case Sin is associated

with a demonic witch, or is the witch herself, who, like Lilith, preys on the blood of young children.

Fowler in his notes to Book II suggests that Milton may be referring to certain yeth hounds who, according to superstition, followed the queen of darkness across the universe in hot pursuit of damned souls.¹⁰ Similarly, Lilith in Book III of the Zohar is depicted as a demon who preys on young infants and then transports their souls to hell. It seems to be too much of a coincidence that Sin should be half reptilian, lured by the blood of infants and guardian of hell's gate, all of which are associated with Lilith. Lilith shows little mercy as she casts infants into the darker regions of hell,

... gathers them in their infancy while their savour is still sweet, and allows them to be wrenched away by that 'maidservant' namely Lilith, who, when they have been delivered into her power, gloatingly carries them away to other regions.

(Z, III. 290).

Lilith is a treacherous demon ever on the prowl for young children, a satanic activity which recalls the instruction by Pharoah to kill the first-born males of the Hebrews during the Mosaic period in Egypt. Yet again the Hebrews had to protect the doorway with the sign of the cross similar to the amulets employed in later periods against Lilith. In other words, Lilith, or the serpent, had entered Pharoah and subtly influenced him to seek out the blood of young infants, an activity which is common wherever black magic is practised. It should be observed here that Milton is aware of these evil cults and has deliberately associated Satan, Sin and Death with these sacrifices. Sin needs the blood of young children to appease an evil God, Satan, under whose sway she operates.

The Zohar further relates how Lilith fled from Adam when the holy side arose and he was perfected. Adam was 'sawed' by God into two, the female was formed, and she was brought to him as a bride is escorted to her canopy (Z, IV. 361). Lilith was compelled to seek refuge and she fled to the sea coast where she could continue her treacherous exploits,

When Lilith saw this she fled, and she is still
in the cities of the sea coast trying to snare
mankind. And when the Almighty will destroy
the wicked Rome, He will settle Lilith among
the ruins, since she is the ruin of the world,....
(Z, IV. 361).

It will be noted that in Book II of Paradise Lost, Sin is compared to Scylla, who is seen to bathe in the sea that separates Calabria from Trinacria. She is a six-headed monster inhabiting the Straits of Messina in such a manner that it is perilous to steer past her,

... Fare less abhorred than these
Vexed Scylla bathing in the sea that parts
Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore:
(PL, II. 660-2).

It is interesting that Lilith, like Scylla, (who is compared to Sin), should be found ensnaring victims by the sea and that both are associated with Italy. Fowler notes that Circe who was jealous of Scylla, transformed her lower regions into gaping dogs' heads and that she was later transmuted into a dangerous rock between Trinacria and Calabria.¹¹ Sin guards the gates of hell and traps her victims forbidding them liberation as Scylla threatens any approaching sailor or as Lilith roams the sea-coast awaiting any unsuspecting souls. Lilith, it will be recalled, is associated directly with hell as she is also to be found 'in the depth of the great abyss' and one of the remedies to ward off her evil presence is to sanctify the heart and chant, 'Return, return,

the sea is heaving, its waves await thee' (Z, IV. 361-2)
(emphasis added).

There is another illuminating parallel in the depiction of the fallen angels: Milton has of course elaborated on the biblical myth in which Satan and his damned crew are excommunicated from heaven in punishment for their conniving rebellion. Satan remains undaunted, or rather appears to be, and rallies his henchmen with the distant hope of a re-conquest of Heaven. He rallies them with military precision to prepare an attack on earth, and amongst his commanders is mentioned a certain fallen angel named Azazel, and this angel is only mentioned in the Book of Enoch which was not accessible directly in Milton's era.¹² The inclusion of Azazel as one of the chief fallen angels thus provides further evidence of Milton's indebtedness to the Kabbalah, a viewpoint explicitly supported by Fowler himself. He makes it plain that although the Book of Enoch was unavailable '... cabbalistic tradition made Azazel one of the four standard-bearers in Satan's army'. Fowler then refutes the contention that Milton could have discovered Azazel's involvement from Reuchlin, Archangulus of Borgo Nuovo or Fludd and prefers to reiterate the argument that Milton was a poet who went directly to the source for his inspirational ideas: a view clearly in line with Milton's academic assertions,¹³

(we need not, however, imitate West's contortions to avoid the natural conclusion, that M. was interested in cabbalistic ideas).

In the Zohar (Book V) there is the episode where Uzza and Azazel are cast down from their holy precincts and it is told how they chased after women and seduced the world in their

fallen state. The celestial lights which previously shone above their crowns deserted them and they plunged into a lower grade. God witnessed the seduction of these angels and in retaliation bound them to the bottom of a mountain where they were consulted by sorcerers and magicians: Azazel was given some light because he did not resist but Uzza was subjected to punitive darkness (Z, V. 312). Fowler in his footnote, i.533-4, mentions this retributive act performed by God against one of these fallen angels,

For the healing of the earth he is bound and cast into the same wilderness where the scapegoat was led ...

The Zohar's account is not dissimilar,

Uzza He bound at the bottom of the mountain and covered his face with darkness because he struggled and resisted, but Azael, who did not resist, He set by the side of the mountain where a little light penetrated.

(Z, V. 312).

Azazel is an important general in Satan's military unit and (before his chaining) rides in tandem with the arch-villain on his right-hand side, and he is given the task of unfurling the imperial design. These are kabbalistic ideas as indicated above,

His mighty standard; that proud honour claimed
Azazel as his right, a cherub tall:
(PL, I. 533-4).

In the remainder of this chapter further metaphorical representations of evil will be investigated commencing with that of the goat: the symbolic manifestations of evil have many different forms and that of the goat seems to have a universal meaning. It is associated with a demonic force and this connotation derives from Biblical tradition and is repeated in the Zohar. R. Simeon resolves the problematical question of why a goat should be offered to God by explaining

that an unclean individual offers a goat as an appropriate gift: the goat's denomination as an evil animal is beyond question,

It may be asked, why is a goat brought as an offering (in this case), seeing that R. Simeon has said that a goat is an evil species, as its name indicates ('ez = 'az = impudent)?

(Z, IV. 376).

There seems to be no rational explanation for the origins of this dark association but the Zohar is replete with such negative parallels. Satan is compared to this creature of darkness,

All that day Satan is occupied with that goat,....
(Z, V. 131).

Milton has followed this symbolic representation and there is no endearing depiction of the goat to be found: Comus excels even his own mother in home-made concoctions and furtively offers the unsuspecting some 'orient liquor' designed to eradicate any sign of goodness in the human countenance, (Comus, 65). Significantly, this potent substance transforms its victims into inter alia a 'bearded goat',

The express resemblance of the gods, is changed
Into some brutish form of wolf, or bear,
Or ounce, or tiger, hog or bearded goat,
(Comus, 69-71).

This depiction of the goat as satanic was common in the medieval era when the Kabbalah was written and similar accounts are found in esoteric works of the period. In the Wirth's design of the tarot, for instance, the Devil card reveals a goat with curled horns, a bearded visage, hairy calves and cloven hooves.¹⁴ This in turn relied on Eliphas Levi's invention of the 'Goat of Mendes', the idol worshipped by the Knights Templar. (The New Testament parable of

separating the sheep from the goats is yet another possible source for the goat's demonic characterisation.)

Another metaphor for the demonic force which has become a part of common-day speech is the 'evil eye' and the expression 'to cast the evil eye on' has an analogy in the Zohar where the 'evil eye' is intermittently alluded to. Men are warned to turn away a hundred times rather than become ensnared by a man with an 'evil eye' and Balaam is designated as such (Z, V. 52). The tribes of Joseph and Benjamin also have no fear of the 'evil eye' because they are protected by Jehovah: so, too, are the wise children who are watched over by the 'good eye' (Z, IV. 278-99). In Book III it is stated that the 'evil eye' still has dominion in the present epoch which corresponds to the Eastern teaching that this is the age of kali yuga or the iron age (Z, III. 382).¹⁵ The eye is the window to the soul and it is through the eye that the force of darkness can most clearly be perceived. It is no coincidence that members of criminal organisations so often conceal their eyes behind dark glasses to hide their intentions, and cruelty is often to be witnessed in the eyes. Milton has a similar perception and he refers to the 'evil eye' of Satan in Book I,

Waiting revenge; cruel his eye, but cast
Signs of remorse and passion to behold
The fellows of his crime, ...
(PL, I. 604-6) (emphasis added).

Milton has referred to this ocular part of the anatomy because he has in mind the darkness often expressed in these undisguised orbs, the proverbial 'evil eye'.

The evil dimension is given further expression in the treatment of Adramelec and Balaam in Paradise Lost. Milton

describes how Uriel and Raphael destroyed both Adramelec and Asmadai in one attack,

Uriel and Raphael his vaunting foe,
Though huge, and in a Rock of Diamond Armd,
Vanquished Adramelec, and Asmadai,
(PL, VI. 363-5).

In Book IV of the Zohar Amalek is denoted as the arch-villain of Israel and it is stressed that his war against the Holy Land was the most displeasing to Jehovah since the battle was waged both above and below, both in the heavens and on the secular plane; he is associated with the proverbial serpent and linked to Satan,

The reason, assuredly, is that the battle with Amalek was waged on both fronts, both on high and below; for at that time the evil serpent gathered all its forces both above and below.
(Z, IV. 155).

It is clear from the above two extracts that Amalek was defeated both in heaven and on earth, a significant parallel in the two works. In Milton's epic it is the archangels Uriel and Raphael who conquer Adramelec in the celestial regions.

Furthermore, Balaam is depicted as 'the greatest of sorcerers' in Book V of the Zohar and it is related how Balaam gained access to the one supreme Chieftain on the left-hand-side through the practice of his sorceries (Z, V. 151). In Paradise Regained Satan informs Christ that God had even allowed a hearing to the hypocritical, atheistic Balaam and he (Satan) seeks a similar audition from His son,

Praying or vowing, and vouchsaf'd his voice
To Balaam Reprobate, a Prophet yet
Inspir'd; disdain not such access to me.
(PR, I. 490-2).

Michael Fixler states that the Christians regarded Balaam as an irredeemable creature of darkness whereas the Jews saw him as a mixed character, on occasion reaching the prophetic level of Moses. This admixture is borne out on p.254 of Milton and the Kingdom of God,

Balaam, who is primarily remembered as the prophet sent to curse Israel and who yet was constrained to bless the Jews, had a more sinister association with idolatries....

Milton must have rejected the Talmudic Jewish stance here because he speaks of Balaam being allowed access to God's 'sacred courts' but simultaneously depicts him as an hypocritical, cunning character (PR, I. 488). In the Zohar, on the other hand, is to be found a concordance between the Christians and Kabbalists; an elaborate explanation is postulated as to why the word God is even associated with this demonic figure,

The word Elohim is used in connection with Balaam as Laban and Abimelech, because this is a name of general application, being used of idols under the title of "other gods", which includes these Chieftains also.

(Z. V. 153).

In other words, the word Elohim is plural and is misleading in that it embraces the Chieftains of Darkness as well as the higher angels under the dominion of the holy side. There is no direct indication that Milton was aware of this passage quoted above, but his treatment of Balaam accords with the negative association of the kabbalists. He is described as reprobate which the Oxford dictionary defines as 'hardened in sin' and there is no possibility of construing this in a holy light as the talmudists are wont to do.

It is worthwhile concluding this section on Balaam and Balak with a passing remark on the symbol of the 'dark bird'

where an indirect resemblance between Paradise Lost and the Zohar exists: in Paradise Lost Satan is likened to a cormorant who sits perched on the 'Tree of Life',

The middle Tree and higher there that grew
Sat like a cormorant;...

(PL, IV. 195-6).

and in Sonnet I the poet alludes to the 'rude bird of hate' who may presage his hapless doom (9). In the Zohar Balak is compared to, or rather known as, the 'son of a bird' because of his extensive skill in controlling these creatures with his magical arts. Sorcerers are notorious for their ability to transform themselves into birds and other animals, and here both Satan and Balak are skilled in the employment of magical arts to the detriment of humanity, and both use similar rites or incantations,

He used to mark a bird plucking a herb or flying
through the air, and on his performing certain
rites and incantations that bird would come
to him with grass in its mouth

(Z, V. 250).

In this section certain key areas have been focused on: the use of the term Gehenna; a comparison between Satan and Samael; a comparison between Sin and Lilith; the fallen angel Azazel; the universal association of the goat with evil; the 'evil eye'; Adramelec and Balaam; the sorcery of Satan and Balak (the demonic bird). In Chapter Five attention will shift onto inter alia a closer examination of hell and the left-hand path in addition to the military strategies of the chief antagonist and his allies.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER 4

1. cf. 'If I have understood the Hebrew prophets at all, with such helps as I have had, they were faced with two things that moved them to the depth of their being, intellectual, moral and emotional. The one was the horrors of the sensual and cruel nature worship which they saw around them in neighbouring nations and among their own people. They began, or renewed, a battle which emerges ever and again, between the conception of religion as spiritual and ethical, or on the other hand as magical attempts by sacrifice, or other means to get round the Deity'.

Herbert J. C. Grierson, Milton and Wordsworth (Eng.: Cambridge UP, 1937) 14.

cf. 'to the Aztec there was always the fear that the sun might set and never rise again, and darkness would overwhelm the world forever. Only that precious liquid, human blood, could avert such a catastrophe. It was said that at the inauguration of the great temple-pyramid of Tenochtitlan, over 20.000 prisoners were sacrificed, in what was for the Aztec a sacred duty towards the sun, a necessity for the welfare of man.'

Anna Gyles and Chloe Sayer, Of Gods and Men (London: BBC, 1980) 73.

2. Epstein 143.
3. This gulf can easily be traversed if the ancient scriptures are interpreted metaphorically:-
cf. "In these days, when modernists and fundamentalists quarrel - quarrel unnecessarily about exoteric superficialities about things which arise out of the egoism of men, about the dogmatic teachings of the Christian Church, every one of them probably based on ancient pagan esoteric philosophy - it is an immense pity that they do not know and understand that this teaching of the Qabbalah as expressed in the 'Zohar' is a true one [my underlining]; for under every garment is the life. As Jesus taught in parables, so the Bible was written in figures of speech, in metaphors."
G. de Purucker, Fundamentals of the Esoteric Philosophy Rev. Ed. (California: Theosophical UP, 1979) 19.

4. Scholem, Kabbalah 387.

cf. "The allegory of the second book of 'Paradise Lost' in which Satan commits incest with his daughter Sin, issued from himself, and thus produces Death, has revolted many minds since Voltaire; the more so because the repulsive idea of incest seems quite gratuitous, a mere indulgence in the horrible on Milton's part, since James i 15 gives no hint of it: 'When Lust has conceived, it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth Death.' ... Hence Sin came from Satan, and then incest was committed by them. In the

'Zohar', the particular form of incest, 'father-daughter', becomes a law. God himself has sexual intercourse with the Matrona, or Shekina, His daughter. And there is a Matrona of the lower world (Lilith), who has become Milton's Sin, daughter and wife to Satan,..." Saurat 234.

Explanatory Note: Saurat argues that the incestuous relationship is an inescapable fact in the Zohar.

5. Scholem, Kabbalah 357.
6. Scholem, Kabbalah 358.
7. cf. 'Circe describes to Odysseus the terrors of the cruel monster Scylla and the whirlpool ^{Charybdis} Char~~by~~dis, which beset either side of his homeward way ...
In PL. 2.660 we have a reference to the story of Scylla's transformation told by Ovid ... Circe, jealous of Glaucus' love for the beautiful Scylla, overcame her with enchantments as she was bathing in the Sicilian straits. Scylla was beset with barking dogs:...
In this plight she was changed into a rock, a menace to sailors.'
Osgood 75
8. "The supreme chief of that world of darkness who bears the scriptural name of "Satan", is called in the Kabbalah "Samael" ..., that is to say the angel of poison or of death; and the 'Zohar' states positively that the angel of death, evil desire, satan and the serpent which seduced our first mother, are one and the same thing,..." Franck 186.

cf. 'the Other Side: the demonic is the opposite of the holy. It is both masculine and feminine, Sama'el and Lilith. It moves back and forth between heaven and earth, demanding strict judgement from God and tempting human beings to sin.'
Daniel Chanan Matt, Introduction and Trans., 'Zohar', The Book of Enlightenment (London: SPCK, 1972) 232.
9. Scholem, Kabbalah 359.
10. John Milton, Paradise Lost Ed. by Alastair Fowler, (London: Longman, 1968) 121.
11. Fowler 121.
12. Fowler 75.

13. Fowler 75.
14. Brian Innes, The Tarot, How to Use and Interpret Cards (London: Black Cat, 1977) 46.
- cf. 'This ritual of atonement is described in Leviticus 16:7-22. Aaron casts lots over two he-goats. One is designated as a sin offering to YHVH; the other is designated for Azazel, a demonic power. This second goat is sent off to the wilderness to carry away the sins of Israel.'
- Matt 232.
15. Mathematics becomes quite complex in this area of cycles.
- "In conclusion, we may call attention to the fact that just about the time when the first 5000 years of the Hindu cycle called the kali yuga (lasting 432 000) came to an end, there also came to an end a certain "Messianic" cycle of twenty-one hundred years - (actually, if we come to exact figures, 2,160), which is, note well, just one half of the Hindu-Babylonian root-cycle of 4.320 years."
- de Purucker 76.

CHAPTER 5 - THE LEFT-HAND PATH/'SITRA-AHRA'

In this opening section of the second chapter on the darker side the focus will be on hell and judgement, a crucial topos in any esoteric system. There is a concordance between descriptions of hell that knows no boundaries of culture, sect or religion. We only have to examine the Tibetan Book of the Dead to see how close the parallels between Eastern and Western teachings really are. For example, in The Tibetan Book of the Dead one of the six separate categories of existence into which a soul can be reborn is the sphere of hell. There are hot and cold hells where a diversity of grotesque tortures are inflicted on the hapless victims and the similarities with Milton, the Zohar or Dante are too obvious to warrant further enumeration. Suffice to say that it is ignorance, lust or greed, (the pig, rooster or snake at the centre of the Tibetan wheel), that are responsible for plunging an individual into the darkness of hell, the fiery pit, a formulation that Milton would have agreed with in principle.

If the description of hell is examined in greater depth in both works it will be seen that this region is treated as a geographical location with an intrinsic map of its own, a place with its own separate localities. In the Zohar it is Duma who has jurisdiction over a vast myriad of angels with the power to inflict punishments on sinners, and there are seven different habitations ranging in degree and intensity,¹

Gehenna has seven doors which open into seven habitations, and there are also seven types of sinners: evildoers, worthless ones, sinners, the wicked, corrupters, mockers, and arrogant ones; and

corresponding with them are the habitations in Gehenna, for each kind a particular place, all according to grade (Z, IV. 27-28).

This idea is also to be found in Book II of the Zohar where reference is made to the existence of 'seven circuits' and 'seven gates' in Gehinnim each of which has its own gate-keepers. In the previous chapter mention was made of Sin as the gate-keeper to hell and in Books II and IV of Paradise Lost we find an allusion to the number 7 twice in relation to hell, a strange coincidence if the poet has not relied on the Zohar directly.² Satan laments that they may be plunged again into the fires of eternal woe and there seems to be no doubt in his mind that the direst region is reserved for him and his allies as he mentions the number 7,

What if the breath that kindl'd those grim fires
Awak'd should blow them into sevenfold rage
And plunge us in the flames?...

(PL, II.171-3) (emphasis added).

In Book IV of Paradise Lost when Satan has entered the garden of Eden Gabriel confronts him and admonishes that his course of action will only lead to further hardship and significantly alludes to the number 7 in connection with hell!

So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrath,
Which thou incurr'st by flying, meet thy flight
Sevenfold, and scourge that wisdom back to Hell,

(PL, IV. 914). It is quite clear that there are different degrees of hell as there are ascending degrees of heaven and whatever is positive has its equivalent counterpart in the universe.³ The number seven is traditionally associated with the holiest of days, the Sabbath, and its positive mystical associations should not be overlooked (but even

this mystical number has its negative corollary, the seventh degree of hell).

An illuminating passage is to be found in Volume V of the Zohar where this idea of mansions within hell is taken further and the teaching of a purgatorial state is affirmed as is the case in the Christian Gospel. The rabbis refer to the existence of Sheol and Abadon and this is referred to in a number of associated passages such as the description of hell as 'a nethermost place' from where none return (Z, II. 207),⁴

There are storeys in Gehinnom, one above another; there is Sheol and below it Abadon. From Sheol it is possible to come up again, but not from Abadon.
(Z, V. 24).

It is a disturbing phenomenon that souls should be condemned eternally in a region from which there is no escape, but this is present in both the Kabbalah and Milton: it is only through a liberal interpretation that this problem can be overcome (see chapter 1). Milton has also referred to Abadon which is derived from Job 26.6 and Rev. 9.11 where Abadon is called the 'angel of the bottomless pit' in the latter New Testament source,

... in all her gates Abaddon rues
Thy bold attempt, hereafter learn with awe
To dread the Son of God ...
(PR, IV. 624-6).

An adjunct to the region of hell is the domain of disembodied spirits: Milton considers the question of ghosts in our world as he alludes to the dangers of an inner defilement which can lead to the haunting existence of ghoulish beings,

Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
Oft seen in charnel-vaults, and sepulchres
Lingering, and sitting by a new-made grave,

As loth to leave the body that it loved ...
 (Comus, 469-73).

This idea was first described by Milton in On the Morning of Christ's Nativity where the deceased soul, still shackled to the corpse, is referred to as a 'fettered ghost slips to his several grave' (234). This doctrine of ghosts chained to earth is one to be found in both the Zohar and Plato (Phaedrus): the former contains the ensuing passage,

And finally there is the ordeal undergone by the spirit when it roams to and fro through the world, finding no resting-place until its tasks are accomplished.

(Z, V. 188).

A similar belief prevails in modern occultism where certain souls are described as being trapped in a hellish state within the astral sphere of the earth plane and, as such, are tormented beings who have been termed ghosts. It is claimed that these souls were so governed by their passions or lusts that they have been unable to make the transition into the higher worlds and remain behind with frustrated desires: it is for this reason that they seek to enter receptive souls on earth to give effect to lingering nefarious pleasures. Those who commit suicide are similarly condemned to wait out the remaining portion of their allotted earth life in this astral sphere and their fate is equally unenviable.⁵ Annie Besant in her book Beyond Death has succinctly dealt with this issue, and it has been discussed here because a substantial concordance in the treatment of spirits can be seen to exist. In the Tibetan Book of the Dead there is the sphere of the tantalised ghosts in which its denizens are seen to clutch their bellies in an anguished frenzy because their insatiable desires, (developed in the region of humans),

can no longer be fulfilled. Chogyam Trungpa describes this forlorn figure as 'the image of a person with a gigantic belly and extremely thin neck and tiny mouth' and interprets the symbol as a craving for possessions which can no longer satisfy the individual.⁶

The next section will focus on the relationship between hell and psychology. There is no doubt that to Milton hell was also a psychological phenomenon that plagued those who had consciously chosen a road of darkness, the left-hand path. If we examine Satan's dramatic soliloquies, which Helen Gardner compares to the Elizabethan dramatists',⁷ it is immediately apparent that this arch-villain is tormented by his decision and that, like Macbeth, he is stricken with guilt and self-doubt. In Book IV he expresses his intractable plight,

Me miserable! Which way shall I fly
 Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?
 Which way I fly is hell; my self am hell;
 (PL, I. 254).

Hell is thus not only a place reserved for the wicked in the next world, but is a state of mind that those who choose evil are destined to suffer. This view is first propounded in Book I where Milton explicitly states that the 'mind is its own place' and is capable of constructing 'a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven' (PL, I. 254-255). Satan has made a conscious decision to usurp the authority of Christ and now he finds himself within a veritable hell on earth. To opt for Satan is to find oneself on a route, the left-hand path, which inevitably leads to destruction, an idea reiterated on numerous occasions in the Zohar where the decision is again shown to be a personal one,

For when a man goes to the side of the left and

walks in impurity, he draws to himself all kinds of impure spirits,...

(Z, VI. 174).

The consequences of such a decision are cataclysmic, leading to self-destruction,

But as soon as the protection of the Holy One is withdrawn from him by reason of his having attached himself to evil, that evil gains the mastery and advances to destroy him being given authorisation to take his soul.

(Z, II. 290).

Satan, seen as an individual figure (which is a legitimate interpretation) has sold himself to the devil as Faust has done to Mephistopheles and the road ahead is inexorably downhill: Satan after his fall from heaven is given the opportunity to repent but his nefarious desires take preference over any such action. This is a tradition that survives in the theosophical school who claim that it is possible for a man to become so immersed in evil that he loses his soul, the divine monad, which then has to commence the evolutionary journey ab initio. These soulless beings are termed lost souls and their path is apparently entirely on the left.⁸

Thus far Satan has been considered as the biblical devil incarnate and as any persona who has been tempted into evil: there is a third interpretation which is an exclusive and not a complementary one, id est, the view that Satan is the darker side of the psyche or the 'shadow' in Jungian terminology. In adopting this approach Satan as a figure in his own right loses his identity and becomes a part of the psyche. There are a number of critical writers who refer to the descent into the unconscious or underworld of the mythological texts, and describe Satan's journey or descent

as a voyage which each individual must make in order to regenerate or perfect the soul. As MacCaffrey notes,⁹ 'The dark voyage is transplanted to the life of the first fallen being' and a linkage is established between the wanderings of Satan and Adam's or our own voyage into the darker regions of the psyche. William Riggs¹⁰ is another commentator who supports this idea, 'Milton's description of the poet's creative song is seen metaphorically as a journey - a dark descent, a soaring flight', and Peter denotes the arduous nature of the journey.¹¹ Conrad's Heart of Darkness provides a more contemporary analysis of the journey towards the shadow self as Marlow descends along the serpentine Congo river and comes face to face with Kurtz who has kicked himself free from the earth itself: like Adam, Marlow falls, peers at the barbarian within, and then steps back and is saved. It is this confrontation with 'the horror, the horror' that ultimately leads to his Buddha-like enlightenment and isolation from those less informed.¹²

In Volume IV of the Zohar there is a passage which corresponds to this inner journey and confrontation with darkness, recalling the fable of the prodigal son,

In fact there can be no true worship except it issues forth from darkness, and no true good except it proceeds from evil. And when a man enters upon an evil way and then forsakes it the Holy One is exalted in glory. Hence the perfection of all things is attained when good and evil are first of all commingled, and then become all good for there is no good so perfect as that which issues out of evil.

(Z, IV. 125).

This extract provides an indirect answer to the reasons for man's fall in the first place and clearly demonstrates the

relationship of contrary states in the forging of a perfect human being. Jung refers to this as the individuation process which leads to the complete flowering of the inner self, or 'golden flower': Laurence Van Der Post has described Jung's descent into the unconscious in vivid detail and compares this 'fall' to Dante's journey after the latter had found himself in a symbolical dark wood at the mid-life phase¹³; Adam's confrontation or 'fall' from innocence was equally overwhelming in Milton's exposition. The Zohar favours the fallen man who redeems himself through self-purification over one who has never erred. Is the reason for this preference for the fallen man not because the errant has discovered some deeper aspect of his 'shadow' and emerged as a figure more sublime or integrated than the innocent Adam? Gershon in Potok's The Book of Lights reaches a similar juncture when a voice within calls him to experience the other side, invokes him to destroy barriers that have been created within his mind,¹⁴

You need the fires of the other side, dear Gershon, if you are to move beyond the pale of the old and dry and the illusions that are truly dust.
(emphasis added).

Let us now consider how this process emerges in Paradise Lost: Adam exists in a state of purity and Satan (the shadow) bears no relationship to him, but then Satan descends into the Garden of Eden, tempts Adam, and he is at this point brought into contact with his darker self. He is driven out of the Garden of Eden (innocence) and then commences redeeming himself and it is suggested that the path of virtue will lead him to greater heights than the original garden (individuation). Adam's expulsion (journey outwards) and

Satan's descent into hell (journey downwards) coincide and when Satan exclaims that he has 'Voyaged the unreal, vast, unbounded deep/Of horrible confusion...' this is also Adam's journey into the chaos of the netherworld (PL, X. 471-2). Adam is led into a world of sin, death and horror after he has been seduced by Satan, and it is indeed a perilous journey. His own higher self (the inner Christ or kether in the Kabbalah) needs to descend and conquer or integrate the inner Satan; and Christ's mission can be interpreted as Adam's pure self reinstating its dominion:

Giving to death, and dying to redeem,
So dearly to redeem what hellish hate
So easily destroyed...

(PL, III. 199-201).

As stated previously this interpretation is not to be read concurrently with the previous lines of thought, but is to be considered as a separate exposition which can shed light on Paradise Lost within the context of modern psychological developments.

If Book IV of Paradise Lost is examined it can be seen further how this process of transformation takes place. Satan recognises his own serpentine qualities referring to his motives as 'the dark intent' and his fall into the slime as a 'foul descent' (PL, IX. 162-3). While Satan looms in the background Eve suggests to Adam that they divide their labours and set off in separate directions. In the Jungian framework Adam (masculine) and Eve (feminine) are to be seen as part of an individual psyche, and when this separation occurs it represents a split or dichotomy within the mind, an initial disintegration,

Or hear what to my mind first thoughts present,
Let us divide our labours,...

(PL, IX. 213-214).

It is in this state of fragmentation that the individual becomes exposed to the potential dangers of the shadow and Adam warns Eve of the imminent peril 'lest harm/Befall thee severed from me' (PL, IX. 250-252).

Eve's counter-argument in justification of her suggested course of action raises a cardinal philosophical issue in Paradise Lost, id est, why is it that evil or danger exists in paradise or how can this danger or negativity be eliminated once and for all? Eve laments that happiness in the Garden while living in dread is not an enviable state of mind,

If this be our condition, thus to dwell
In narrow circuit straitened by a foe,
...
How are we happy, still in fear of harm?
(PL, IX. 323-326).

Eve realises that fear of Satan (the shadow) negates the idyllic existence within paradise: her decision to separate is in a sense an unconscious desire to create the conditions for her to confront and overcome the darkness or, in other words, she is the aspect of the psyche who initiates the face-to-face encounter as Beatrice does in the Divine Comedy. She refuses to accept any bondage created from fear of the unknown and she gallantly sets out on a solitary voyage,

Frail is our happiness, if this be so,
And Eden were no Eden thus exposed.
(PL, IX. 340-341).

Satan is elated when he espies vulnerable Eve alone without her companion and he uses all his oratorical skills in ^epersuading her to partake of the forbidden fruit. It is paradoxical that this knowledge of good and evil should lead in the end to a higher state of liberation, and Satan's words

are proved to be correct, although this is not what he had originally intended. He subtly explains how this knowledge leads to a more god-like state of being,

Ye eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear,
 Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
 Opened and cleared, and ye shall be as gods,
(PL, IX. 706-708).

It must be borne in mind that the idea of the fall as a necessary stage in man's evolution to a more elevated paradise is a Miltonic or kabbalistic one and is not part of fundamentalist tradition be it Hebrew or Christian: after Eve has tasted knowledge of evil she persuades Adam to join in the 'feast' and uses Satan's words in explaining that the tree has a 'divine effect' which can 'open eyes' (PL, IX. 865-866). She significantly talks about her 'growing up to godhead' which again suggests that perfection is an evolutionary process (PL, IX. 877). When Adam decides to participate the entire psyche is plunged into an experience of darkness and the state of innocence is lost as the two lovers are later led out of the Garden of Eden in a consummation of the first stage.

The aim of this inner journey is self-discovery and the sacrifice of Christ can be viewed as the final liberation of the self. Indeed, Jung has noted this mystical symbolic occurrence in other cultures such as that of the Aztecs and he sees the last communion as an individuation process. In the Aztec mythology Huitzilopochtli, (made out of paste), is slain by Quetzalcouatl with a pointed dart driven through his heart. His dough-like body is broken into pieces, his heart being given to Moctezuma and the rest to the others present. The parallel to Christ's death and the eating of the bread is

a striking one that proves the diversity of expression of this idea of self-realisation (a fuller discussion of this subject is to be found in Jung's Psychology and Religion on page 233 ff.). In the Kabbalah it is an integration of all aspects of the personality (symbolised by the sephiroth) that is aimed at and in Paradise Lost Adam strives for a 'paradise within' which he hopes to accomplish 'with good/Still overcoming evil' (PL, IX. 565-587). As stated, the shadow, which Jung denotes as the inferior, primitive side of the self, must be confronted and overcome (integrated) in order to reach a state of inner harmony. Adam strives to achieve this state of perfection depicted as the mandala by Jung in his book Memory, Dreams, Reflections (p.221),

The self, I thought, was like the monad which I am,
and which is my world. The mandala represents the
monad,....

This section will encompass both the left-hand path and judgement: it is the left-hand path that leads onwards towards hell (unless the 'prodigal son' at some stage repents and turns back to God) and Milton has maintained the dichotomy between good and evil, in addition to making certain key references to the sinister connotations of the sitra-ahra. Satan is the epitome of a man who has renounced the divine and when the evil within him triumphs he succumbs with a flourish,

Farewell remorse: all good to me is lost;
Evil be thou my good;...
(PL, IV. 109-110).

If the second letter 'o' is removed from 'good' the word is transmuted into God and Satan embraces the powers of darkness with inimitable despair.¹⁵ The point is that it is not

only the mythological Satan that Milton is concerned with but any individual in this dimension who sacrifices his own divine self at the temple of his inner darkness. The parallels to be found in the Zohar are far too extensive to enumerate but perhaps one or two salient passages will suffice to illustrate the correspondence. In Volume I of the Zohar the blame is firmly placed on the recalcitrant's shoulders,

In truth they do know; but they walk in a crooked path, and will not stop to reflect that one day God will judge them in the future world.

(Z, I. 190).

The battle for the soul of a man is even said to take place before birth and the angels are seen to wrestle for possession of the as yet unborn infant.¹⁶ When the child is born he is accompanied by the four angels, Michael, Gabriel, Nuriel and Raphael if he is of righteous stock but, if not, he has the companionship of Anger, Destruction, Depravity, and Wrath (Z, III. 128).

It is possible that Milton has directly associated the left-hand side with the road of darkness in reliance on the Kabbalah although the use of the left hand was considered sinister in medieval times. He hardly ever uses the word left and when he does it is never in a positive light, as is evidenced in his association of 'left' and hell on two distinct occasions. Satan, hell and the word left have a natural affinity in Paradise Lost as Samael, Gehinnim and the sitra ahra have in the Zohar. Perhaps this is an instance where the roots of a particular association stretch into the vast abyss of intractable myth or history, or it could be a case of borrowing from the Zohar directly. Milton

refers to hell in Book X as follows,

And of this world, and on the left hand hell
With long reach interposed; three several ways...
(PL, X. 322-323).

and in Book 2 the Portress of hell's gate replies,
Threw forth, till on the left side op'ning wide,
(PL, II. 755).

Once the road is chosen, be it positive or negative, judgement must ensue: this eventuality is seen as a necessary consequence of actions on earth as the soul is brought face to face with the Supreme Judge who passes sentence from the celestial throne (this is the case in both Milton and the Kabbalah). The possibility of redemption exists if a wayward soul (the prodigal son) returns to God and repents while on earth but it is too late to do so beyond the grave. R. Hiya depicts this process as a court room drama as the soul is led into the box and prosecutors step forward, witnesses are arraigned, and the judge receives the relevant evidence,

For when the spirits of men leave this world many
are the accusers who stand up against them, and
heralds to proclaim the result of the trial, whether
good or bad, as it has been taught:...
(Z, II. 252).

Time and again the soul is admonished to watch his actions while on earth as 'a day of reckoning when the body and soul in combination have to give an account of their works' is awaiting all men (Z, II. 252). In Paradise Lost the idea of universal judgement is stressed and all souls must account for former deeds: judgement is inevitable:

Through heaven's wide bounds; from them I will not
hide
My judgements, how with mankind I proceed,
(PL, XI. 68-70).

To continue the analogy to 'Tibetan' religion, it is a principle in the Tibetan Book of the Dead that souls are

judged by the Lord of the Underworld, Dharma Raja, who weighs the respective deeds of the deceased on a scale with white and black pebbles. His assistant in these procedures is a monkey who stands by while the judgement is in progress: the legal imagery employed is similar to the Zohar or the Western tradition where the scale is the symbol of justice, a balance between good and evil.

But how, the question arises, is God or the Supreme Judge aware of all the actions of an individual, and this is answered by reference to the divine records that are kept. These records are maintained throughout a soul's existence and nothing escapes divine prescience, '... but not to his deeds, since they are all recorded in a book' (Z, V. 186). It is interesting to note that these divine records are called the akashic records by occultists such as Steiner, to which only some individuals are said to have direct access.¹⁹ All is recorded in the ether and nothing is ever lost. In Milton there is a reference to these selfsame records or 'books of life' from which Satan and his followers have been erased,

Be no memorial blotted out and razed
By their rebellion from the books of life ...
(PL, I. 362-3) (emphasis added).

In the previous two lines an allusion is made to the 'heavenly records' which emphasises the way in which God retains an account of all the actions of both angels and mankind. When Cain attempts to flee the Lord his efforts are in vain since the knowledge of the Divine can not be circumscribed.

In this third section of Chapter 5 a comparison between Satan or Samael and Hitler will be drawn, a peculiarly

appropriate parallel in the light of the Third Reich's persecution of the Jews. It is immediately apparent that Milton intended this kind of comparison since he anachronistically refers to Satan and his cohorts' invention of gunpowder in Book 6 lines 469 ff. This anomalous insertion is designed specifically to relate the battle of Satan against God to the warfare waged by any Satanic figure in history whether it is Charles I or any succeeding tyrant.²⁰ This view has been supported by both Tillyard²¹ and Wilson Knight²² who have discerned the relationship that exists between Hitler's rally of the Germanic masses and the tactics employed by Satan: Satan appears to be in complete control but secretly suffers from self-doubt and guilt, emotions that are deliberately concealed from his compatriots,

... Ay me, they little know
 How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
 Under what torments inwardly I groan;
 While they adore me on the throne of hell,
(PL, IV. 86-87).

His one-sided propaganda and repression is similar to Hitler's refusal to countenance doubt in public or allow his supporters any room for independent thought, as is evident in Hitler's exclamation:²³

Above all, never hesitate, never qualify what you say, never concede an inch to the other side, paint all your contrasts in black and white.

Whatever Hitler's personal dilemmas may have been he expresses certainty in his cause as Satan presides with such assurance over his allies at Pandaemonium.

Satan has impugned Christ in his attempt to gain mastery as Samael has denied Jehovah and Hitler has shown an

equivalent tendency. Satan has crucified his 'inner Christ' to enable him to pursue his path of darkness, and Hitler has impugned Christianity in his rejection of all religions: he calls for a strong Germanic soul devoid of effeminacy,²⁴

The religions are all alike, no matter what they call themselves. They have no future - certainly none for the Germans ... That will not prevent me from tearing up Christianity root and branch, and annihilating it in Germany.

Hitler must destroy the passive kindness of Christianity to enable his ideal of Aryan supremacy over other races to come to pass into action: he must eliminate any ideology based on the brotherhood of man and substitute in its stead a power-based philosophy if he is to succeed. Ramon in The Plumed Serpent²⁵ explains how the Mexican people must likewise reject Christianity and embrace the living god of power: the feminine in man must be crushed in favour of a will-dominated society devoid of mercy, a world without Christian forgiveness or where the Shekinah is severed from the 'tree of life'. Lawrence describes Kate's gloom when the 'women were shut out of the church' and her intuitions about mankind separated from the feminine are poignant in this regard,²⁶

But they seemed nothing but men. When Cipriano said: Man that is man is more than a man, he seemed to be driving the male significance to its utmost, and beyond, with a sort of demonism. It seemed to her all terrible will, the exertion of pure, awful will.

The Council in Hell that takes place at the capital in Pandaemonium affords another illustration of the concordance between Satan and Hitler. The method of argument presented by the likes of Moloch, Beelzebub, Belial and Mammon takes

the form of a political debate and each of these represents his case to the assembly. Moloch, the most militant of the henchmen, argues for immediate attack on heaven but this impulsive action is overruled in favour of an assault on Adam and Eve in another sphere. (An analogy can be drawn to the meetings of Hitler, Himmler, Goering and the other Nazi leaders who each performed their function beneath the Fuhrer). When the various arguments have been presented in Paradise Lost a vote is taken which again follows the familiar political protocol, another incisive anachronism that links the epic to contemporary issues,

Pleased highly those infernal states, and joy
Sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent
They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.
(PL, II. 387-380).

The decision to assail Adam is akin to Hitler's ploy of using the Jews to rally support at a time when German military strength was being developed. Satan and his crew refrain from attacking heaven because they know this is a formidable task that will lead to defeat and instead seek out the vulnerable Adam, who is defenceless against Satan's ploys: a useful scapegoat as were the Jews.²⁷

In the ensuing fourth section of chapter five the significance of the celestial chariot in repulsing Satan's plan will be investigated as well as its mystical import: the initial battle before the fall of the angels is awesome in effect as the demonic angels assail heaven and 'fiery darts in flaming volleys flew' (PL, VI. 213). It is only when God sends Christ on his sapphire throne, seated upon his chariot, that the Satanic crew are expelled once and for

all. This metaphor of the celestial chariot corresponds to Ezekiel's vision and is located at the centre of the epic in numerical terms, which again emphasises the domination of the Messiah or good over evil. As this climactic note is reached a vivid portrait of the chariot is drawn and flames flash amidst the four cherubic escorts,

The chariot of paternal deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
It self instinct with spirit, but convoyed
By four cherubic shapes, four faces each ...
(PL, VI. 751-753).

The Zohar also expands on Ezekiel I.26 and explains how the various figures on the chariot collectively comprise the supreme man or tzaddik. If we substitute Christ for 'the one Name' or for Joseph further on in the kabbalist text, the meaning is identical and Milton has similarly exalted Christ to include the lower dimensions of the chariot: the Zohar states,

When they are all joined together, they form one impression symbolising the one Name in an absolute unity.

(Z, II. 298).

The idea of Adam Kadmon or a Universal Christ in Milton's text is propagated further in the symbolic Joseph,

Now the figures on that chariot culminate in that of man; and when the other figures are subordinated to this one so as to form a homogeneous chariot, then it may be said: "And Joseph made ready his chariot",....

(Z, II. 298).

In Book VI of Paradise Lost Christ is further accompanied by twenty thousand 'Chariots of God' (770) which prima facie appears to rely on Psalm lXviii 17 "which refers to the consort of God as 'The chariots of God are twenty thousand,...'. Another possible complementary source is to be found in Volume II of the Zohar where the sphere of Jacob is hailed as the most

sublime or 'supernal chariot' and blessings are emanating downwards 'to all chariots and hosts' of a lesser degree (Z, II. 90). Jacob here is representative of the highest heaven, the transcendent primordial light, or 'fountain of fountains',

For that charity ascends on high and reaches to the region of Jacob, who is the supernal chariot ...; and from that charity he causes blessings to flow in abundance to all the lower beings and to all chariots and hosts.

(emphasis added) (Z, II. 90).

Here again if Jacob is compared to Christ as the primordial light it is self-evident that the analogy has validity. In Paradise Lost Christ is described as riding sublimely 'on the wings of a cherub' as he supercedes the other lesser Chariots of God which are his ministering angels (PL, VI. 971). The chariot of paternal deity on which Christ is enthroned is the superior one in the same way as Jacob's throne is the 'supernal chariot'. Perhaps we can view Churchill and his allies as warriors of the chariot of Christ who were destined to destroy the Fuhrer and his henchmen. (It should be noted that Christ had the privilege of riding on the chariot of paternal deity before He descended to earth to save mankind from sin.)

This victory of Christ in the heavenly realms is a fitting prelude to the remaining chapter on the messianic kingdom on earth where further comparisons will be explored. In this chapter the spotlight has been focused upon hell as a locality; hell as a psychological reality within the individual; hell as a 'shadow' within the subconscious; the left-hand path and judgement; Satan, Samael and Hitler; and the chariot of paternal deity.

FOOTNOTES ON CHAPTER 5

1. cf. "Above, the seven earths culminate in the earthly Paradise which is situated in the spiritual centre of Tebel. The earthly Paradise itself has seven degrees, rising from Tebel up to the realm of the heavenly paradises; these seven 'regions' in the 'lower Eden' thus represent states intermediate between the corporeal universe and the subtle or celestial world. Now, in the expanse between the earth and the 'heavens' there are also the 'seven hells', like so many 'shadows or dark inversions of the seven earthly Paradises.'" Schaya 110-11.
2. Fowler gives no biblical reference in this instance.
3. Bension refers to the vision of Simeon ben Jochai:-
'And I saw them separated into groups by the spirits of the air. Those destined for the joys of the celestial kingdom, joyously took their flight upwards, while those destined for the torments of Hell sadly turned their faces to the lower regions. And I saw the souls of the Righteous guided through seven doors, through seven regions and through seven Palaces in their journey of purification for the life of eternal joy that awaits them.'
Ariel Bension, The Zohar In Moslem And Christian Spain (London: Routledge, 1932) 192-3.
4. Certain righteous souls are deliberately sent into Sheol to rescue those sinners who wanted to repent while on earth but did not have sufficient time to do so:-
'Even the completely righteous go down there, but they only go down in order to bring up certain sinners from there, to wit, those who thought of repenting in this world, but were not able to do so in time before they departed from it.'
The Zohar, Trans. by Harry Sterling and Maurice Simon, 2nd Ed. (London: Soncino, 1984) 328.
5. 'Hence a suicide,...,has not come to the natural termination of the cohesion among the other constituents, and is hurled into the kama loka state only partly dead. There the remaining principles have to wait until the actual life term is reached, whether it be one month or sixty years.'
Judge 122.
6. The Tibetan Book of the Dead, translated (with commentary) by F. Freemantle & C. Trungpa (London: Shambhala, 1987) 7.

7. 'What is suggested is that Satan belongs to their company, and if we ask where the idea of damnation was handled with seriousness and intensity in English Literature before Milton, we can only reply: on the tragic stage.'
Helen Gardner, A Reading of Paradise Lost (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965) 112.
8. cf. "There is an immense difference between "lost souls" and "soulless beings". A lost soul is one in whom the "golden thread" uniting the lower thinking entity with its higher self is completely ruptured, broken off from its higher essence or root, its true self. The case here is hopeless, virtually; there can be no more union for that lower self which, at the moment of final rupture, commences sinking immediately into the Eighth Sphere, the so-called Planet of Death."
de Purucker 197.
9. Isaac Gamble MacCaffrey, Paradise Lost as "Myth" (Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1939) 180.
10. W. Riggs, 'The Poet and Satan in Paradise Lost,' Milton Studies. IX (1976): 69.
11. cf. 'Reason tells us that the devils are Heaven's conquest, not its error, and that Satan's obvious relish for the journey before him (465-6) belies Beelzebub's and his own attempts to represent it as a sheer ordeal.'
Peter 45.
12. Joseph Conrad, Heart Of Darkness (London: Dent, 1965) 164.
13. L. van der Post, Jung And The Story Of Our Time (Middlesex: Penguin, 1975) 210.
14. Chaim Potok, The Book Of Lights (Middlesex: Penguin, 1983) 308.
The extended extract is:-
'There is some merit in darkness. There are times when light is a menacing distraction. You need the fires of the other side, Dear Gershon, if you are to move beyond the pale of the old and the dry and the illusions that are truly dust. There is already so much of me in your Kabbalah. Are we not by now well acquainted? Consider me. Yes. Consider me with care as you journey through your broken century.'

15. cf. 'Satan too suffers from a conscience but can only suffer: for him there is no way out of the pit of despair.'
Wright 126.
16. cf. Blake's painting 'The Good and Evil Angels' where a battle takes place between the angels over an infant.
17. Fowler explains this reference to the left side/hell in Milton as a reliance on Matthew XXV33 ('The sinister evil side to which the rebobate are put in the parable of the sheep and goats' p.524) - But all that this verse states is 'And he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left' - there is no reference to hell as such!
Fowler 525.
18. Judgement in The Egyptian Book of the Dead is similar: '... the deceased Hunefer, is brought by Anubis to the Hall of Judgement and approaches the Great Balance. His heart is to be weighed against the feather of truth of the goddess Maat. Below the scale waits Amemet, the devourer of souls, a monster who eats the hearts of the unjust. The ibis-headed Thoth records the verdict. On the right Hunefer has passed the judgement and is led by Horus to be presented ot Osiris, lord of the underworld.'
Stanislav and Christina Grof, Beyond Death (London: Thames 1980) 16.
19. "These abiding traces of all spiritual happenings may be called the 'Akashic Records', denoting as 'Akasha - essence' that which is spiritually permanent in the world process, in contrast with the transient forms. Here once again it must be emphasised that researches in the supersensible worlds realms of existance can only be made with the help of spiritual perception - that is to say, as regards the region we are now considering, by actual reading of the Akashic records"
Rudolph Steiner, Occult Science, An Outline Trans. by George and Max Adams (London: Steiner, 1979) 105-6.
20. Milton has inter alia relied on the Jewish prophets in condemning royalist privilege:-
'It being thus manifest that the power of Kings and Magistrates is nothing else, but what is onely derivative, transferred and committed to them in trust from the people to the Common good of them all, in whom the power yet remains fundamentally and cannot be taken from them, without a violation of this natural birthright,... and dislike by the Church both of Jews, Isai. 26.13 and ancient Christians...'
John Milton, 'The Anti-Monarchial Tracts', The Prose Of John Milton, ed. J.M. Patrick and J. Max (1967) 76

21. cf. "To think of him as a great man with a large capacity for good mainly diverted to evil was not so easy. Yet no man could have written the account in the second chapter of 'Mein Kampf' of how a country lad can be corrupted by life in the big city unless capable of a warm human sympathy..."
Tillyard 57.
22. 'The cries of 'Sieg Heil!' thundering heroic resolution have their counterpart in Paradise Lost...' and ... 'So they meditate on invasion of Heaven, as Germany, at this hour, plans conquest of Britain'
Wilson Knight 144-145.
23. Alan Bullock, Hitler A Study In Tyranny (London: Odhams, 1952) 63.
24. Hermann Rauschning, Hitler Speaks (London: Thornton, 1940) 57.
25. cf. 'But Ramon also, at home in his own district, felt the power flow into him from his people. He was their chief, and by his effort and his power he had almost overcome their ancient, fathomless resistance. Almost he had awed them back into the soft mystery of living, awed them until the tension of their resistant, malevolent wills relaxed. At home, he would feel his strength upon him.'
D.H. Lawrence, The Plumed Serpent (Middlesex: Penguin, 1968) 420.
- 'But Ramon and Montes suffered alike from the deep, devilish animosity the country sent out in silence against them. It was the same, whoever was in power, the Mexicans seemed to steam with invisible, grudging hate, the hate of demons foiled in their own souls, whose only motive is to foil everything, everybody, in the everlasting hell of cramped frustration' 420.
26. Lawrence 401.
27. cf. 'He rose on an orgy of manic oratory, a torrent of erotic hatred, and a tide of quenchless greed. His political gospel was as simple as it was potent - destroy communism, hate the Jews, covet the wealth of your neighbours.'
Max I. Dimont, The Indestructible Jews Rev. Ed. (New York: New American Library, 1971) 360.

CHAPTER 6 - THE MESSIANIC KINGDOM

'You are your own Tree of Life, roots and limbs and trunk. Somewhere within the wholeness of the tree lies the very self, the quick: its own innate Holy Ghost. And this Holy Ghost puts forth new buds, and pushes past old limits, and shakes off a whole body of dying leaves. And the old leaves hate to fall. But they must, if the tree-soul says so'¹

In this closing chapter the coming of the Messiah will be examined in both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained in relation to the Zohar. In Book XII of Paradise Lost Milton has considered the question of the advent of the Messiah but he was compelled to compose an epic as a direct sequel to his first major work. It was a friend of his who first suggested that he had devoted so much time to the fall of man yet so little to the restoration. How could he expend so much poetic energy on Satan and so little on Christ? Milton readily accepts the advice and writes Paradise Regained which is based on The Book of Job in its construction of dialogue, and equates the austere trials of Job and those of Christ.² Satan approaches with his customary wiles but is thwarted at each step of the way: he offers secular glory but Christ remains resolute in his resistance and this signals a victory for the spirit of man.

Whereas Adam succumbs to temptation, Christ, whom some see as the second Adam, never falls and the Messiah thereby atones for the original fall. This notion of the Messiah as a second Adam is a kabbalistic one and the future Messiah is regarded as the incarnation of Adam once again, an Adam who overcomes the temptations of the flesh. Jordan in an explanatory note argues that 'the poem is rather an exploration of Christ's role as the second Adam' and the

perfection of man within the 'body' of Adam Kadmon is a kabbalistic phenomenon with equal significance.³ Christ is also individual man or a reborn Adam who has surmounted the 'serpent', and, unlike the first Adam, he rides triumphant in glory. In this final statement Milton has vanquished his own perennial interest in the temptation and in its stead he depicts a reformed man, the perfected being or Universal Christ. On another level Adam's fall is the failure of individual man, and Christ's journey is that to be undertaken by all men.

The second coming of Christ or the arrival of the Messiah in Judaic terms is not only the birth of the saviour of mankind, but also a new age of redemption and peace. According to Judaic tradition there is to be a millenium of uninterrupted bliss but before this occurs there will be an unprecedented apocalypse as the forces of darkness take up swords against the forces of light. Before examining individual texts it is advisable for the sake of clarity to explain briefly the kabbalistic teachings in respect of the apocalypse: as the end of days approaches there will be portents and rumours of war as both the higher and lower worlds are in a state of perturbation; Elijah will appear as representative of God and proclaim the imminent arrival of the Messiah or Anointed One; all the exiles from Israel will be returned; the two lower Worlds will have the remnant of Israel (the just) removed into the world of spirit and the satanic forces of Gog and Magog will battle against the forces of light: evil will be conquered and only then will the Messiah descend from the sphere of Michael the Archangel. This is substantially the account given by Z'ev

ben Shimon Halevi in A Kabbilistic Universe (sic) where he has clearly set out the important stages preceding the arrival of the Anointed One.⁴ He then sees the unfoldment of a new shemittah or world cycle from Azilut and life will proceed from cosmic cycle to cosmic cycle until the final Jubilee of Jubilees, at which point in the world's development or gradual evolution there will be no separation in the universe and the En Sof (the absolute) will merge with ayin (nothingness); (perfected souls will have no need to re-enter the new earth cycles or shemittah having already ascended beyond the seventh heaven after the final day of judgement).⁵ The coming of the Messiah is thus not an eternal but a temporary phenomenon, a period of peace to be succeeded by another cycle,

The apocalyptic period of the open manifestation of the Messiah to all humanity is said to be temporary, despite the fact that it is a time of great peace ... For a while, perfect Justice reigns and even death is banished

(Ben Shimon Halevi, A Kabbalistic Universe, 198).

There are three passages in Paradise Lost which are concerned with the end of days and the accounts bear an equivalent testimony to the Kabbalah. Milton stresses the coming of Christ, the judgement of the dead after resurrection, and the burning of earth in a fervent heat. The Messiah's arrival shall be heralded by portents and the archangels will announce his descent,

All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide
In heaven, or earth, or under earth in hell,
When thou attended gloriously from heaven
Shalt in the sky appear,...

(PL, III. 321-324).

It is Christ who will appear and destroy Satan, presumably waging war on the enemies of darkness and reinstating justice

on earth. It will be the 'return/of him so lately promised' and He will 'dissolve/Satan with his perverted world' (PL, XII. 54-2; 546-7). The above extract is based inter alia on Matthew 24.30 which describes the coming of Christ after the sign of the Son has appeared in heaven and all the tribes bear witness to the Son of Man coming through the heavenly clouds in manifest glory. In the Zohar it is stated, as it is in the Bible, that a star (which is not presently in the ascendent) will appear to herald the coming of the Messiah. At this point the 'seventh window' will open and this star, known as the star of Jacob, will shine for a period of forty days and forty nights (Z, IV. 197): all the nations of the world will be gathered around him.

Milton places emphasis on what he terms 'the conflagrant mass' which will envelop earth at this time. He mentions the apocalyptic event on at least three occasions through the epic and his insistence on some horrendous inflammation prior to a peaceful millenium is drawn from 2 Pet. III where it is stated that 'wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat'. The ideal of a new earth or blissful reign is dependent on this overall destruction as the phoenix will rise from the ashes of man's annihilation,

The world shall burn, and from her ashes spring
New heaven and earth, wherein the just shall dwell,
(PL, III. 334-5).

This idea of a conflagration haunted the poet's mind to such an extent that he interweaves these apocalyptic forebodings in Books III, XI and XII. One of the most poignant is the culmination of Book XI with the compelling words,

Shall hold their course, till fire purge all things
new,

Both heaven and earth, wherein the just shall dwell.
 (PL, XI. 900-1).
 It is from the rubble of a burning earth that the seeds of
 regeneration will start to grow anew, an idea common in the
 seventeenth century. Marvell, for example, envisages the
 world engulfed by fire in Upon Appleton House, lines
 755-6,⁶

Let's in: for the dark hemisphere
 Does now like one of them appear.

In the Zohar it is repeatedly asserted that there will be a
 violent battle between diverse nations until the spirit of
 the Messiah triumphs and destroys Edom and notably 'burn[s]
 in fire the land of Seir' (Z, V. 322).⁷ In Volume III the
 events are described in similar images as all kings of evil
 will unite to fight against the Messiah, a cataclysmic
 occurrence leading to 'darkness over all the world', and this
 darkness will last for fifteen days in which time many will
 perish. This is basically the same as Milton's exposition in
 Books III, XI and XII of Paradise Lost, and the teaching of
 renewal through destruction or regeneration through darkness
 is maintained in both:

But when they are thus oppressed in the darkness of
 exile the Holy One will cause the day to break for
 them,....

(Z, IV. 197).

The coming of the Messiah is directly associated with the
 resurrection of the dead and their judgement. It is the
 Messiah who is entrusted with the responsibility of judgement
 as all souls who have been 'asleep' will be heralded to
 appear before their maker:

When this world's dissolution shall be ripe,
 With glory and power to judge both quick and dead,
 (PL, XII. 459-60).

and,

The summoning archangels to proclaim
 Thy dread tribunal:...

(PL, III. 325-6).

It is significant that it is only during this dissolution that the deceased souls are released: it is only when Christ is reborn that there will be a final judgement. In volume V of the Zohar the coming of the Messiah is followed by a description of the resurrection of the dead, again confirming the emanation of light from darkness 'theory' discussed above,

And in that time the Holy One, blessed be He, shall raise the dead of his people, and death shall be forgotten of them.

(Z, V. 382).

It is difficult to know whether Milton has used any of the apocalyptic tracts in the Zohar as all these ideas are stated clearly in the Bible, but it is indisputable that his vision is the same. When Stollman argues that 'The Hebraic elements of Milton's world view are the fulcrum and catalyst of his intellectual process' it is not an easy task to contradict this emphasis on Hebraic influence.⁸ His very choice of words is often Hebraic in origin and his exaltation of the Hebrew psalmists and poets in Paradise Regained is again evidence of his indubitable admiration of biblical expression. This Hebraic tone is omnipresent in his descriptions of the Messiah and the only substantial difference between the Jewish and Christian account is the denial of the prior descent of the Messiah by the former. Christ sounds similar to the Hebrew prophets, such as Jeremiah or Isaiah, in his chastisement of Satan in Paradise Regained,

To whom our Saviour sternly thus replied
Deservedly thy griev'st, composed of lies
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end;
(PR, I. 406-7).

Both traditions re-affirm the calamities that will surround the coming of the Messiah (Jewish) or the second coming

doctrines moved to Spain, Palestine and England (1516).)¹⁰

The passage which is most relevant appears in Book IV of

(Christian), and Yeats' poem The Second Coming succinctly encapsulates the horrors of the Anti-Christ who will slouch 'towards Bethlehem to be born' (22). The Zohar has included an account of Satan incarnate who will wreak havoc, which bears a resemblance to the 'anti-Christ' in Christian theology: 'a certain powerful king shall arise who will seek domination over all kings' (Z, V. 322).

This use of Old Testament imagery is nowhere more apparent than in Milton's employment of the recurrent tree symbolism. The arbor vitae of Eden leads not to the fall but in time to redemption as is seen in the final book of Paradise Regained: Christ has conquered temptation and is rewarded with celestial fruits 'fetched from the 'tree of life'' (PR, IV. 589). This emphasis on the tree symbolism or fruits plucked therefrom seems to be drawn from the Kabbalah and Steadman has noted the parallels to Reuchlin's De Arte Cabalistica, a Christian exposition of the Kabbalah.⁹ He notes the similarities in three aspects, namely: the fruits as a symbol of eternal life, as a reward for obedience to the commands of God and a detail of a future paradise. His argument is a compelling one and it will be shown that this celestial banquet and transfiguration of the 'tree of life' is to be found in the texts on the Zohar in addition to Reuchlin's commentary. (As stated in the introduction the bridge between Christianity and Kabbalism was crossed by such commentators as Pico della Mirandola and Reuchlin himself in which he claimed that all wisdom is derived initially from the Hebrew and through his influence the kabbalistic doctrines moved to Spain, Palestine and England (1516).)¹⁰

The passage which is most relevant appears in Book IV of

Paradise Regained as Christ is rewarded for his deeds, in contrast to the fallen Adam, and the redemption is celebrated with a 'heavenly feast',

On a green bank, and sat before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine,
Ambrosial, fruits fetched from the tree of life,
And from the fount of life ambrosial drink,
(PR, IV. 587-90).

The first point to consider is Milton's recurring emphasis on fruits as a sign of a re-discovered Eden, an image that is to be found in the apocalyptic tracts in Paradise Lost in addition. In paradise there will be days that are 'fruitful of golden deeds' and there will be new 'fruits joy and eternal bliss' brought forth by Christ (PL, III. 337; PL, XII. 551). This idea of the 'tree of life' as the fons of all creation and its association with life-supporting food or fruits is found in Book V of the Zohar where it is stated that, 'the great and mighty Tree in which is food for all is called the 'Tree of Life', because its roots are in the Life' (Z, V. 38). There is a river, called either Jubilee or Life, which feeds the 'tree of life' and the 'ambrosial drink' referred to by Milton in the above extract is likewise provided by this celestial stream. It is equally cogent that this 'food for all' to be plucked from the 'tree of life' will be available only after the Messiah appears and diffuses knowledge throughout the world, and that Milton has used substantially the same imagery as that to be found in the above extract, id est, food, fruits, fount of life. Christ is rewarded with divine beverages as Paradise Regained is concluded with this heavenly banquet and the subsequent return of the saviour to his 'mother's house', a poignant parallel to the reintegration of the 'tree of life' or Israel

and the Shekinah (PR, IV. 639). The woe of Adam's expulsion is replaced by the joys of a return to safety and solace.

The Hebraism of this 'tree of life' symbolism should not go unnoticed and the absence of the traditional Christian association of the 'tree-of-life-as-cross' idea lends weight to this argument. Forsyth has noted that although Milton applies both the Adam-Christ and Eve-Mary parallels he ignores the 'cross-as-tree' idea.¹¹ To Milton the arbor vitae after Christ appears replaces the tree with the forbidden fruit and provides an eternal source of sustenance, but he refrains from discussing the 'tree of life' as the cross on which Jesus was crucified. Milton is far more interested in temptation and its conquest (the forbidden fruit - the pure fruit) than with the crucifixion, and this concern with sin and personal redemption rather than salvation through the suffering of Christ could have a Judaic strain. It is axiomatic that Milton would have disapproved of relinquishing responsibility for personal actions and merely accepting salvation through Christ. It should be borne in mind that orthodox Protestant religious teaching was based on the idea of 'justification by faith' which demanded only an acceptance of Christ as saviour irrespective of deeds performed. Luther showed a preference for the letters of St. Paul and an aversion to the Epistle of James; a man is justified by faith alone. There were attempts made by theologians to reconcile the conflicting letters of Paul and James such as that by John Foxe (a coniunctio copulatiue), where he stresses the importance of faith combined with works. Milton has clearly refuted this orthodox Protestant approach in his emphasis on deeds and he could have been

influenced in this regard by the likes of Foxe or John Ball, or he may have drawn inspiration from Hebraic scripture with its emphasis on mitzvot (good deeds). (A full discussion of the concept of grace can be found in Milton and the Christian Tradition by Patrides): in the words of K Cohen, "it can safely be said that there are significant Hebraic elements in 'Paradise Lost'".¹²

The temptation theme is worked into the 'tree of life' imagery. Satan in Paradise Regained is optimistic that he can destroy Christ since he has a record of success with Adam, and he has no doubt of his own competence. He boasts of his prior victory as he plans an assault on Christ; he is self-assured,

I, when no other durst, sole undertook
The dismal expedition to find out
And ruin Adam, and the exploit performed
(PR, I. 100-103).

Paradise Regained is concerned with a series of temptations one of which is a banquet specially prepared by Satan to ensnare the Saviour, a 'table richly spread, in regal mode' but any such endeavours are thwarted and the 'crude apple' can have no effect in this instance (PR, II. 340; PR, II. 349).¹³ The metaphors have a dual significance as this banquet is a trap to destroy Christ's mission in contradistinction to the celestial banquet offered as a reward for diligent obedience. Likewise, the fruit plucked by Eve is poisonous whereas the fruit from the regenerated 'tree of life' has an ambrosial fragrance. The significance of these dual metaphors is that temptation will offer fruits or a banquet of a lower order and it is only through painstaking effort that the sublime fruits can be attained.

Individual effort is paramount, an idea prefigured in Book III of Paradise Lost, where Jacob, having cheated Esau, is overwhelmed by the vision of the ladder with angels ascending or descending from heaven: Jacob can still repent and enter heaven through the performance of just deeds and prayer as he wakes up and exclaims, 'This is the gate of heaven' (PL, III. 515). Whereas Adam or Samson fail, Christ succeeds and he is the just inheritor of the throne of David, the root of Jesse. He is the perfection of the spirit and his victory signals a new reign exemplified yet again by the symbol of the restored tree,

Know therefore when my season comes to sit
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth,
(PR, IV. 146-8).

This relationship between the Messiah and nourishment is taken further in a passage in Volume II where He is associated with wine, milk and bread. As wine brings joy to Israel the Messiah will bring blissfulness to the Holy Land and this holy wine 'is the intoxicating celestial wine from which the Masters of the Torah drink' (Z, II. 364). Is this celestial wine that brings forth a paradisiacal abundance not the same as Milton's 'ambrosial drink' that gushes forth from the fons of life? (The blood of Christ is traditionally associated with holy wine). Secondly, there is a connection in this extract from the Zohar between the Messiah and bread and it is advised that grace after meals should not be carried out over an empty table but that bread and a cup of wine should always be present. The wine should be held in the right hand to join both the left and right hand sides and the bread should be linked to the cup forming a unity in

which the Holy Name can be blessed,

For the bread being joined with the wine, and the wine with right hand, blessings rest on the world and the table is duly perfected.

(Z, III: 364).

In Milton's description of the celestial banquet he has likewise included both food and drink suggesting that a heavenly perfection has been attained: divine fruits are matched with divine drink as the angelic chorus reverberates in His ears. This heavenly feast becomes in itself a symbolic reflection of the perfection that Christ has accomplished through persistent endeavour. (Note how different is the lavish banquet prepared by Satan.)

The promise of a future Messiah had been given to Adam after his sin and this has been noted by Steadman in a chapter entitled Adam and the Prophesied Redeemer.¹⁴ Steadman has again turned to Reuchlin's De Arte Cabalistica where Adam is told that the Lord will revoke the punishment and send a redeemer who will eat from the 'tree of life'. The major similarities between Reuchlin's account and that of Milton's are that God sends an angel with the mission of consolation; there is a detailed exposition of divine sentence overheard by Adam but not understood; Adam informs Eve of the message: whereas, however, Reuchlin has referred to Raziel as the informing angel, Milton opts for Michael, the more traditional interpretation.

The knowledge of a future redeemer has also been given to Adam in the Zohar where he is shown all the wise men and kings of future generations. In the case of David, apparently destined to die at birth, Adam benevolently gives him seventy years of his own life and he perishes seventy

years short of his predestined one thousand year period. As Adam's vision continues he eventually rejoices in the wisdom of Rabbi Akiba but mourns his martyrdom,

When he came to R Akiba and saw his great learning
he rejoiced but when he saw his martyrdom he was
sorely grieved.

(Z, I. 176).

In this case, as noted by Steadman, R. Akiba is a saintly figure bearing some resemblance to the Messiah and Milton's account of Michael's exposition of the redeemer to Adam is of a similar ilk.¹⁵ Michael explains how the Messiah will be foretold to Abraham and arise from the House of David having been born from the seed of woman,

Of David (so I name this king) shall rise
A son, the woman's seed to thee foretold
Foretold to Abraham,...

(PL, XII. 326-8).

Adam, prior to his fall, possesses a book containing the sacred wisdom and the six-hundred-and-seventy inscriptions of higher mysteries which were given to him from God by the angel Raziel (in Milton's creative exegesis from the Bible it is the archangel Michael who instructs Adam). When Adam sins, however, the book flies away from him and only after he mourns by the river Gihon is it returned by the angel Raphael. Adam passes on the book to his son Seth, who in turn transmits it to posterity until it reaches the hands of Abraham 'who learns from it how to discern the glory of his Master' (Z, I. 177). It should be noted that in the extract above quoted from Paradise Lost the knowledge of the redeemer is foretold to both Adam and Abraham.

In this ensuing section of Chapter VI attention will be given to the removal of evil from the earth and the advent of the Messiah as a new age or cosmic cycle. In Book IV of

Paradise Regained a final battle takes place between Christ and Satan, a struggle which is compared to the duel between Antaeus, the son of earth, and Hercules, named after his grandfather Alceus. Even at this climactic stage Antaeus or Satan fights with resolute zeal and is given strength time and again from his mother, Earth. The battle between the forces of light and darkness is akin to the contest between mighty wrestlers in ancient Greece and each time Satan falls he renews the assault with superhuman fortitude. At last he is throttled in mid-air and evil is finally vanquished removing evil from the domain of earth and reversing the victory of Satan in Paradise Lost,

So after many a foil the tempter proud,
Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride
Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall.
(PR, IV. 569-71).

In Book III of the Zohar this idea of an ultimate showdown is expressed in an exegetical elaboration on the verse from Deuteronomy XXXII.39 where it is said 'See now that I, even I, am He, and there is no god with me; I kill, and I make alive' (Z, III.331). The commentator avers that since there is an emphasis on the double "I,I" this is indicative of the unassailable Divine Presence during the Messianic era and that 'the "other side" shall be vanquished and be no more seen' (Z, III. 331). Death will be driven out and the Holy One will form a perfected world without the corrosive satanic influence. In the Kabbalah it is a cosmic battle, as it is in Milton: in the former Samael is conquered and in the latter Satan plummets to his doom as the sphinx, 'that Theban monster' casts herself in grief from the Ismenian precipice (PR, IV. 572).

Finally the idea of conquest is represented by the banishment of the serpent into hell, or Abadon, and this symbolic structure is maintained in the Zohar. Whereas Milton speaks of the 'infernal serpent' that 'shalt not long / Rule in the clouds' in the closing stages of Paradise Regained (PR, IV. 618-19), the Zohar warns against 'this evil serpent' and reassures man that 'God has promised one day to remove it from this world' (Z, I. 170). The snake can also be read as an archetypal symbol depicting the darker forces of the subconscious, the unresolved demons within, and this conquest represents the final individuation or reintegration that Jung has spoken of. It is significant that Milton discusses the conquest of the serpent, refers to Christ as the 'Queller of Satan' and then relates how he returns to his mother's house (PR, IV. 634). Christ (or the higher self) has overcome the darkness (shadow) and re-united with the previously divorced anima (he returns to his mother, the feminine side). The kether or personified Israel has finally merged with the Shekinah and the kabbalistic 'tree of life' radiates a sublime energy from sephiroth to sephiroth; there is no longer any blockage or disruption, and unity is achieved.¹⁶ Blake's major prophetic work, Jerusalem, likewise ends with images of a resurrection and he notes that 'the Body of Death' will be driven out in an 'Eternal Death' (J, 4.97.20). His symbolic structure is more complex and unorthodox than that of Milton but he has concluded Jerusalem with images accentuating the reintegration of the self with the feminine side,

Human forms identified, living, going forth &
returning wearied
Into the Planetary lives of Years, Months, Days &
Hours; reposing,

And then Awakening into his Bosom in the Life of Immortality.

(Jerusalem, 4.990.1-4) (emphasis added).

When Lawrence listens to his accursed education and hurls a log at the Lord of the Underworld, he shows himself unwilling or unable to confront the darker side of his own self at that stage of his development. He is also sickened by the Hopi Indian snake dance for the same reason and in Jungian terminology would not be ready for final integration, or is still unable to cope with the 'shadow'.¹⁷ The point being stressed here is that the serpent in Milton, Blake or Lawrence has a deeper significance and its looming presence throughout Paradise Lost cannot be ignored: it is, in the words of the kabbalists 'an emissary of defilement who defiled him and all mankind after him' (Z, I. 170).

In Lycidas Milton has again shown a positive attitude towards the descent into darkness or the necessity for darkness to be overcome by the light. He describes how 'the remorseless deep' closes o'er his beloved Lycidas and his body is swept downstream like Orpheus whose head was carried across to the Lesbian island (Lycidas, 50). The stream in this case represents the darker vortex within the universe or the 'blind Fury' that destroys life, and his 'perfidious bark' is notably 'rigged with curses dark' (Lycidas, 75; 100; 101). As the moon eclipses the sun, as the lustre of Phoebus is obliterated, so the bark of Lycidas is cursed by evil omens. But Milton does not despair and sees the seeds of resurrection beyond the oblivion of the deep waters. He exhorts the shepherds to cease their lamentation as he describes Lycidas in a heavenly kingdom, a new Elysium. He compares Lycidas to the sun that must rise again in the morn

and he depicts evil as a temporary vanquishable phenomenon,

In the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love
There entertain him all the saints above,
In solemn troops, and sweet societies...
(Lycidas, 177-79).

It is this resilience in the face of adversity that is typical of the poet, and his own struggle against blindness showed Milton in a direct battle with the darkness which he experienced on a physical level. His own orbs or lights are extinguished and yet he triumphs over this setback by fostering and nurturing his inner light. In The Second Defence he has expressed his thoughts in incomparable prose,¹⁸

May I be one of the weakest, provided only in my weakness that immortal and better vigour be put forth with greater effect; provided only in my darkness the light of the divine countenance does but the more brightly shine ... Thus, through this infirmity should I be consummated, perfected; thus, through this infirmity should I be enrobed in light.

To Milton there is no doubt that light will triumph on the earth and he has faith in the inner fortitude he possesses. He sees his personal struggle as a heroic victory over physical handicap, an idea developed in Sonnet XVI. The play on the dark and light antithesis demonstrates his preoccupation with this difficulty, but his courage leads him to the epigrammatic conclusion that 'who best/Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best' (Sonnet XVI, 10-11). It is informative to note that an astrological horoscope of Milton was drawn up by John Gadbury in the seventeenth century and it has been discovered and interpreted by Rusche in the twentieth century.¹⁹ Rusche claims that blindness was almost certain inter alia because several of the star-clusters within the constellations are nebulous. He

argues that when the sun (representative of the right eye) or moon (representative of the left) pass through these amorphous areas a cloudiness of vision will result. (The sun at 25° Sagittarius is apparently in the stream of the Milky Way and being in the first house makes blindness in the right eye unavoidable.) It is impossible to test these assertions without being a professional astrologer but William Parker assumes the chart to have been drawn up between 1649 and 1652 presumably for Milton on request, and we know that Milton went completely blind in the year 1652. This would mean, therefore, that Milton probably consulted an astrologer with the fear of blindness looming over him and it shows how receptive he was to the esoteric, as well as the unorthodoxy of his approach.

A corollary of the removal of evil from the world is the treatment of the coming of the Messiah as an era and not only as the incarnation of the Son of God. This age of peace or brotherly harmony within the millenium is found in both Milton and the Zohar: Milton has stressed the return of the golden age on more than one occasion and this is clearly associated with the second coming of Christ. He yearns for this new age where a resplendent dawn will arise,

O may we soon again renew that song,
 And keep in tune with heaven, till God ere long
 To his celestial consort us unite,
 To live with him, and sing in endless morn of light.
 (At a Solemn Music, 25-28).

Milton is acutely conscious of this loss of bliss whilst he awaits a renewed epoch, another Eden or Elysium. The Garden of Eden had many classical parallels, as is noted by Potter, and these include the Golden Age or reign of Saturn, the Elysian fields of the underworld and the Garden of the

Hesperides with its comparable serpent entwined around a tree of golden apples, which was sacred to Juno.²⁰ In fact Milton even loosely combines these paradisiacal traditions in a way which shows that he sees the correspondence between pagan and Christian doctrines. The Spirit in Comus refers to the 'garden fair' (in this case referring to Elysium forming part of the moon turned to heaven) and in the next line uses the genitive case 'Of Hesperus', thus fusing the myth of the Garden of Hesperus (Comus, 980-981). In On The Morning Of Christs' Nativity he has directly referred to the restoration of Saturn's golden age in the line 'where time will one day 'run back and fetch the age of gold' (Nativity Ode, 135). As the poem deals with the incarnation of Christ it can be deduced that Christ will restore a new era in the history of mankind. In both the examples cited here the poet has embroidered the text with classical allusions that demonstrate the notion of the second coming as a new age of bliss.

In the Zohar there is an equivalent emphasis and Isaac Luria sees the coming of the Messiah as only a regenerated age and not as a human incarnation.²¹ There is even a correspondence insofar as this redemption of man is seen as an elevation beyond the original state of Eden,

R. Eleazar taught that in the coming age the righteous shall eat of this manna, but of a much higher quality, a quality which was never seen in this world,.....

(Z, III. 197).

When the days of the Messiah draw nigh even children will have access to the secret wisdom and will have the capability to calculate the millenium.²² These are the words of R. Simeon himself and he clearly refers to 'the days of the

Messiah' suggesting that a new cycle will come into existence. R. Judah has likewise interpreted a number of biblical allusions to the spirit as the 'spirit of the Messiah', and he explains how David prayed for a steadfast spirit to offset the potency of the perverse spirit or darker side. To R. Judah, therefore, the Messiah is the spirit of God and is not limited to a corporeal being: 'and the spirit of God hovered over the face of the waters' refers to the Messianic force of benignity that permeates from the supreme source in the universe. Schaya explains that this time approaching the end of days is the one we are living in now: the advent of the Messianic cycle is fast approaching and divine mercy will illuminate the spiritual bleakness. The slow passage of redemptive history is seen as a steady progression towards the eventual dawning of a Messianic era which Blumenthal describes 'as the logical consequence of a process in which we are all participants' (167). The evolution of man is the responsibility of each individual and all men must accept responsibility instead of merely awaiting the saviour of mankind, an ideal familiar to Milton,²³

Thus, concluded the Ari, 'the coming of the Messiah does not mean that we must wait for some individual to ride through the Gate of Mercy in the Eastern Wall of the city of Jerusalem.

Milton's aversion to Catholicism was to some extent based on his denouncement of an idolatry he perceived to exist in the ritualistic practise and the relinquishing of personal responsibility to the saviour.

As stated, when the Messiah arrives there will be an era of universal brotherhood, a period of peace and harmony.²⁴ The light of supernal beauty will permeate both the higher

and the lower worlds,

When that light will awaken, the whole will be one
common fellowship, under the reign of universal love
and universal peace.

(Z, V. 166).

Milton has used similar imagery when he depicts a glorious Eden, 'for then the earth/Shall all be paradise' (PL, XII. 463-4). He states that the personal inner paradise is achieved through diligent effort or temperance 'till like ripe fruit thou drop/Into thy mother's lap' (PL, XI. 535-6): note that Michael has again used the symbol of a fruit to indicate that perfection has been attained as the fruit returns to the mother earth uniting with the feminine principle. Eventually man will possess 'A paradise within ... happier far' than the Eden he foresakes and final integration will be achieved (PL, XII. 587). It has been suggested here that to Milton the cycle of bliss ushered in by the Messiah is not to be separated from individual effort, and this is likewise a concern of the kabbalists. In this regard Milton has employed the term regeneration whereby he postulates the resurrection of the inner man, a consummate Jungian integration or unfoldment of the 'lotus flower' in Eastern symbolism,

... But to create afresh as it were, the inward man,
and infuse from above new and supernatural faculties
into the minds of the renovated. This is called
regeneration

(Treatise on the Christian Doctrine, 327).

Luria taught that each generation must effect its quota of restorations, or in other words the messianic kingdom or arrival of peace is a document that we write and sign. There is a central Judaic doctrine that man is a co-worker with God and his actions should be brought into alignment with the higher ideals of creation: only then will the Messiah

arrive.

The coming of the Messiah will be heralded by the iridescent rainbow which will irradiate the skies. The rainbow appeared to Noah after the floods as a sign of restored peace, and when Israel returns from exile she will be adorned in a resplendent rainbow like a bride in preparation for her betrothed. When the Messiah arrives the rainbow will return, (R. Judah's father instructs him accordingly),

"Do not expect the coming of the Messiah until the rainbow will appear decked out in resplendent colours which will illumine the world."

(Z, I. 245).

Milton has used a similar symbol of the covenant in the Nativity Ode as Christ notably 'returns' to earth,

Yea truth, and Justice then
Will down return to men,
Orbed in a rainbow;...

(141-3).

To Milton the rainbow represents the return of divine benediction and transcendent immortality as death is driven from the world. In Paradise Lost the peacock is portrayed as 'coloured with the florid hue/Of rainbow and starry eyes' (PL, VII, 445-6). Stanislav and Grof claimed that the peacock was a popular symbol for Christ in the first ten years of Christianity and it is a bird of immortality, which was used in conjunction with the rainbow to illustrate that there is a divine kingdom beyond the stars. The symbols associated with Noah emerge again and again as prefigurations for the true kingdom of Christ and the dove will return to man with an olive branch during the millenium: c.f.,

But as I rose out of the laving stream,
Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence
The Spirit descended on me like a dove,

(PR, I. 280-2).

and,

Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
 Dove-like sats't brooding on the vast abyss
 (PL, I. 20-21).

It is biblical, Hebraic imagery which emerges with recurring frequency throughout his verse and the prophetic tone is often reminiscent of the Hebrew prophets who exhorted the tribes of Israel to return to God. Milton urges the English to create a Christian commonwealth in the 'blessed isle' by excommunicating the Pope and Monarchy, both of whom he viewed as satanic institutions. This commonwealth is to be founded on discipline and true Christian virtue as his people are led away from a false worship of the golden calf, the idolatry of Rome.

In this chapter a number of key areas pertaining to the Messiah have been covered and in each case Hebraic overtones have been duly noted: the apocalypse and the millenium, the arbor vitae of Eden and the second paradise, the promise of a future redeemer foretold by the archangel Michael or Raziel, the removal of evil and death from earth, the coming of the Messiah as cosmic cycle or shemittah in the Kabbalah, the rainbow as a herald of peace.

As stated in the introduction an endeavour has been made to compare Miltonic ideas with those prevalent in the Zohar: this research has now covered the creation, the fall, and the redemption of mankind as Milton speaks of his passionate desire to reform society and educate his brethren. He is a heroic figure, who, like the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel seeks to transcend the limitations of earth and rise in a fiery chariot towards the heavenly spheres. He has certainly given

his message,

See see the chariot, and those rushing wheels,
That whirled the prophet up to Chebar flood,
My spirit some transporting cherub feels,
To bear me where the towers of Salem stood,
Once glorious towers, now sunk in guiltless blood;
There doth my soul in holy vision sit
In pensive trance, and anguish, and ecstatic fit.
(The Passion, 36-42).

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER 6

1. D. H. Lawrence, Aaron's Rod (Middlesex: Penguin, 1968) 344.
2. 'In its structure the poem is beyond doubt deeply influenced by the Book of Job, which, as we have seen, Milton regarded as a model of the brief epic. Milton parallels the trial of Christ and the trial of Job in Book I, lines 146 ff.'
James Holly Hanford, A Milton Handbook 4th Ed. (New York: Appleton, 1961) 272.
3. 'The poem is rather an exploration of Christ's role as the second Adam ... offering certain typological contrasts between Adam and Christ. The major contrasts are Adam's fallibility as contrasted with Christ's infallibility, the contrasting types of knowledge available to the two heroes, and the differences shown between man under the law and under grace.'
Richard Douglas Jordan, 'Paradise Regained and the Second Adam,' in Milton Studies IX (1977): 192-199.
4. Z. ben Shimon Halevi, A Kabbilistic Universe (sic) (London: Rider, 1977) 192-99.
5. " ..., and some say that it would return to chaos ("waste and void") in order to be recreated ~~on~~ a new form. Perhaps the world to come would be the creation of another link in the chain of "creations", or shemitot ... or even the creation of a spiritual existence through which all existing things ascend to reach the world of sefirot, and return to their primeval being, or their "higher source"."
Scholem, Kabbalah 336.
6. cf. 'But I retiring from the flood,
Take sanctuary in the wood,'
A. Marvell, Upon Appleton House 481-2.
7. cf. 'By virtue of the Kabbalah, man stirs the upper sources of light, causing them to be drawn to our earth. This heavenly light is the antidote to the evil spirit. It expels it, and triumphantly vanquishes, and no trace is left. This unfoldment of light means the advent of the Messiah, the redemption of Israel. It is the eradication of evil in its entirety.'
Krakofsky 220.
8. Samuel S. Stollman, "Analogues and Sources for Milton's 'Great Task-Master'," Milton Quarterly VI (1972): 29.

9. cf. '... and Satan's temptations are not simply alternatives to contrasting doctrinally defined truths, but constellations of human meanings and interests attached to, or attracted to, the force which nourished the idea of redemption among the early Jews and Puritans of Milton's time.
I deliberately emphasise the involvement of Jewish ideas in these constellations of half-truths and interests, because Milton was aware of the fact that the Christian idea of the Kingship of Christ was shaped against a background of Jewish expectations,...'
Fixler 225.
9. John M. Steadman, Milton's Epic Characters (Chapel Hill: North Carolina UP, 1968) 82-84.
10. Nicholson, Milton And The Conjectura Cabbalistica 4.
11. 'Indeed Milton makes very little of the common biblical and Christian symbolism which links the tree of knowledge and the cross ...
Milton applied both the Adam-Christ and the Eve-Mary parallels to his poems, but he never seems to have explored the cross-as-tree idea.'
N. Forsyth, 'Having Done All To Stand: Biblical And Classical Allusion In Paradise Regained,' in Milton Studies Vol. XXI (1985): 210.
12. K. Cohen, 'A Note In Milton Semitic Studies,' in Milton Quarterly Vol. IV (1970): 7.
13. One of the temptations offered by Satan is the glory of ancient Greece which is a vexatious area: the denigration of Greek philosophy in Paradise Regained is a problematic area which has not been addressed, but the following extracts should assist :
'We cannot assume that Milton himself in his old age had grown so unlike himself as puritanically to dismiss the Greek literature he had loved from his youth, of which indeed the influence is apparent both in Samson Agonistes and in Paradise Regain'd itself.'
Muir 170.

'Seen in this frame of understanding, Christ's remarks all fall into a firmly shaped perspective. His historic function is not to live in Athens but to make what is of value in Athens live in him.'
Rajan 121.

'The disparagement of Greek achievements should likewise be read in the light both of the circumstances in which it was uttered and of the prevailing Christian mode of thought.'
Patrides 148.

'If we must persist in the perversity of reading an author's personal position and convictions into a particular speech of his characters, let us be fair ... and let John Milton speak not only Christ's lines but also Satan's on Greek philosophy and literature.'
Nicolson, John Milton, A Reader's Guide to His Poetry 342.

14. 'In Milton's version the prophesy of the redeemer is delivered to Adam by Michael immediately before the expulsion from Paradise. Its purpose is to mitigate his grief, to instruct him in the beliefs essential for his justification by faith,...'
Steadman 72-3.

15. 'In non-Christian version, the primary object of his admiration may be David, Mohammed, or some highly gifted rabbi (Akiba, Jehuda bar Simon, Joshua ben Karcha), rather than Christ.'
Steadman 73.

16. cf. 'But as soon as Israel went into exile the Schechina also went into exile, and the relationship weakened and withered. It will be renewed only when Israel and the Schechina will be freed from their common exile through the coming of the Messiah.'
Bension 167.

'The motivation of the Female, however, will only take place in the Messianic Age. At that time, She will be motivated by the essence from the Left Nostril. Now however, she must be motivated by the souls of the righteous.'

Aryeh Kaplan, Meditation and Kabbalah (Maine: Samuel Weiser, 1982) 243.

"In the "Great Jubilee", after 50,000 years, everything will return to the bosom of the Sefirah Binah, which is also called the "mother of the world"."

Scholem Kabbalah 334.

17. D.H. Lawrence, 'Just back from the Snake Dance - Tired Out' in Selected Essays, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1940) 201-2.

18. Diekhoff 101.

19. H. Rusche, 'A Reading of John Milton's Horoscope,' in Milton Quarterly 5 (1971): 6.

20. Potter 154.

21. 'To Luria the coming of the Messiah means no more than a signature under a document that we ourselves write; he merely confirms the inception of a condition that he himself has not brought about.'
D. R. Blumenthal, Understanding Jewish Mysticism - A Source Reader (New York: Kiau Publishing House, 1978) 167.
22. P. Berg 'The Zohar here expresses the idea that the Messianic era will usher in a period of unprecedented enlightenment. Messianism, representing the essence of hope and optimism, grows out of the indelible belief that there will be an eventual triumph of world harmony over confusion ... This victory, declares the Zohar, is inextricably bound to Hochma (wisdom), and dependant upon the dissemination of true knowledge, the sublime wisdom of the Kabbalah.'
Berg 94.
23. Berg 36.
- cf. "The Zohar is referring here to the period when 'time' is nearing its 'end' and meaning, therefore, the advent of the Messiah. At this moment in the cycle which, according to all orthodox traditions, is the one in which we are living, divine mercy must come to lighten the spiritual darkness with 'alleviating grace';"
Schaya 168.
24. cf. "The messianic age will truly be an 'age of culture' since it will be the age of complete knowledge. It will be a utopia in the precise sense that it does not exist now in any place but instead remains an ideal in the process of eventual realisation."
Scholem, Kabbalah and Counter History 74.

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