The affable Raphael: Milton's surrogate instructor in paradise lost.

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THE AFFABLE RAPHAEL:
MILTON’S SURROGATE INSTRUCTOR IN *PARADISE LOST*

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A Dissertation
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THE AFFABLE RAPHAEL:
MILTON’S SURROGATE INSTRUCTOR IN PARADISE LOST

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DEDICATION

For my children, my wife, and my mother.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank Dr. Dale Billingsley for sharing his enthusiasm of Milton with me. It is because of Dr. Billingsley that I, too, have a passion for the works of John Milton. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. S. Matthew Biberman for not only supervising this dissertation, but for guiding me down the path of Miltonic discourse. I would have been completely lost without you. And now, like you, I consider myself a Miltonist. I would also like to thank Dr. Hristomir Stanev for renewing my enthusiasm for Shakespeare and Early Modern British literature. I would also like to acknowledge Dr. Pamela Beattie for her invaluable guidance as I moved through the doctorate program. Dr. Beattie also introduced me to medieval studies, which plays a large part in my scholarly identity. Finally, I would like to thank Pamela Yeager for teaching me the joy in research.
John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (1667) is a beautifully written epic that continues to be a stalwart text in the English literary canon, with unlimited potential for interpretation. In this dissertation I propose that *Paradise Lost* can be read as a pedagogical lesson for Milton’s “fit audience,” where the author implements his views on education in the context of heaven, hell, and Paradise. In the poem, Milton presents three pedagogical methodologies: first, the wrong way to knowledge is presented through Satan’s manipulations of the fallen angels and Eve; second, the divine way to knowledge is illustrated via Michael’s prophecy to Adam which seems too much for the human mind to fully comprehend; third, the right way to knowledge is showcased in the four books in the middle of the poem by Raphael’s discourse with Adam. This dissertation examines the three different pedagogies that are presented and how they relate to the state of the English educational institutions during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The argument presented here is that Milton’s ideal curriculum, as he describes it in his letter *Of Education* (1644), is put into action within the poem with the three archangel figures
symbolically serving as different representations of the educational models: Satan representing the wrong way, Michael the nonreplicable way, and Raphael the right way through engaging and self-driven discourse, which aligns with Milton’s own curriculum.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

“Raphael,” said he, “thou hear’st what stir on Earth
Satan, from Hell scaped through the darksome gulf,
Hath raised in Paradise; and how disturbed
This night the human pair; how he designs
In them at once to ruin all mankind.
Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
Converse with Adam, in what bower or shade
Thou find’st him from the heat of noon retired,
To respite his day-labor with repast,
Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,
As may advise him of his happy state
—John Milton, Paradise Lost V. 224-34.

John Milton’s Paradise Lost is an epic poem that remains a foundational point for
English literary studies that has been examined by scholars through a multitude of
interpretive lenses, from religious testimony to political commentary, a cultural portrait to
a snapshot of social history, and from artistic representation to pedagogical methodology.
This dissertation chooses the latter and moves in the direction of interpreting the text as a pedagogical lesson which is the product of Milton employing knowledge gained through a lifetime of tireless education and advocacy. As a pedagogical lesson, *Paradise Lost* serves two purposes; first, it showcases the highly intellectual conscience of John Milton which serves as the example for the ideal level of education; second, it allows Milton to impart his knowledge upon readers as a means of educating his “fit audience.”¹ This is primarily accomplished through the character of Raphael who is arguably the most important character in the poem and functions as a surrogate instructor for Milton, himself.

The poem draws on the epic form, most notably recognized in the classical texts of Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and Virgil’s *Aeneid*, along with character development found in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, and cosmology and divine warring located within Hesiod’s *Theogony*. The form is then populated with biblical content found throughout the Old and New Testaments, primarily from the books of Genesis and Revelation; but even the apocryphal books of Tobit and Enoch come to bear their influence upon Milton’s epic. The content and form are matched in such a way that only a scholar with an abundant wealth of academic knowledge, such as John Milton, himself, could have fused the two—pagan and Christian—contexts in such a seamless and natural manner. The question then becomes: Why did Milton pursue such an ambitious quest? What is the function of *Paradise Lost*? Why did Milton choose to employ this sort of methodology? All of which will be investigated throughout the breadth of this dissertation.

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Paradise Lost is the magnum opus of John Milton’s literary corpus. It was originally published in ten books (chapters) in 1667 but was then reorganized into twelve books in 1674, with an argument section that serves as a summative paragraph prefacing each book. Paradise Lost is commonly considered an epic poem of the English canon that creatively retells the biblical stories of Genesis and Revelation, respectively, and employs the epic forms of classical mythological texts; most notably, Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Hesiod. Milton followed Paradise Lost with Paradise Regained (1671), a tale about Satan’s temptation of Jesus in the desert that comes from the biblical book of Matthew, and Samson Agonistes (1671), which uses the biblical figure Samson, from the book of Judges, to discuss ideas concerning ethics and morality.

Paradise Lost elucidates the books of Genesis and Revelation primarily from the perspective of Lucifer. The first line of the poem begins by acknowledging that the text is about “man’s first disobedience” and how that stems from the actions of Lucifer. The first two books describe Lucifer’s awakening in hell after his fall from grace and how he and his generals plan to escape their newfound position. For the sake of clarification, Lucifer denotes the first and favored archangel of God who loses his name and becomes known as Satan after the war in heaven and his fall from grace. Satan then breaks from the bounds of hell and navigates through the realm of Chaos in search of the newly formed world of man that was once prophesized in heaven. The first two books are important in examining the ways in which Satan gains knowledge and shares information with his generals. Books one and two will be further examined in chapter three of this dissertation when analyzing the wrong way for learning and sharing knowledge.

\[PL, \text{I. } 1.\]
The third book takes place in heaven with God sharing his foreknowledge and instructing the Son as to what will happen once Satan employs his deceit upon Adam and Eve. The Son agrees that he will sacrifice himself at a later time to pay for the first humans’ transgressions. Book three will not be addressed in this dissertation as it is not necessarily relevant to the examination of the three pedagogical models at the center of this dissertation.

In book four Satan finishes his perilous journey through the realm of Chaos and arrives in the world of Paradise. The story of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden commences but with Milton interjecting details of Satan’s influence through the constructed narrative. Following Satan’s first temptation of Eve in book four—disguised as a toad while whispering in Eve’s ear as she sleeps—the fallen prince is discovered by the archangels Abdiel and Gabriel who are tasked with watching over the garden. Satan easily escapes from the two archangels and God instructs Raphael to go to Paradise to educate Adam and Eve of their state and the lurking evils. Only parts of book four will be considered in the overall examination of this dissertation, specifically Satan’s first attempt in manipulating Eve while she sleeps, because most of the fourth book is about Satan’s ability to camouflage himself in the garden and his discovery by the other archangels.

Raphael’s education of Adam takes up the greater part of the poem; four books to be exact, V through VIII. These four books will be the focus of chapter five as they provide the best examples for how Milton perceives the perfect pedagogy for educating the human mind. As I discuss in the fifth chapter, the perfect curriculum according to Milton, evidenced by his letter to Samuel Hartlib titled *Of Education*, is put into a
narrative context for his audience to not only read how education should be carried out but audiences get to experience Milton’s lesson vicariously through the episode of Raphael and Adam.

Once Raphael’s education of the first humans is complete, he returns to heaven and Satan returns to tempt Eve once more in book nine. Satan appears to Eve as a serpent with the gifts of speech and reason while she is working in the garden away from Adam. Satan entices her to taste of the forbidden fruit that he claims granted him these exquisite powers. She reveals to Adam her transgression and Adam deliberately chooses to eat the fruit so that he can remain with Eve for eternity and succumb the same punishment from God.

Like the third and fourth books, book ten will not have any significant impact on this dissertation. In this book Satan returns to Pandemonium along the infernal bridge through Chaos that his children, Sin and Death, have constructed as they followed their father to the world of Paradise. Sin and Death are then invited into the world after Satan’s successful attack against the first parents. The Son does his Father’s bidding by descending to the garden to place judgement on Adam and Eve and summons the guardian angels back to heaven.

The archangel Michael is then sent to Adam in the eleventh book. Michael is tasked with showing Adam (Eve is put to sleep during this episode) the effects of his sin on the future world before banishing the two from Paradise at the end of book twelve. The poem ends with Adam and Eve leaving Paradise and descending into the profane world:

The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:

They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,

Through Eden took their solitary way.³

It is my belief that the Archangel Raphael in *Paradise Lost* is a more important and central character than previous scholarship has recognized. Raphael functions as the divine instructor of humanity and Milton’s own religious and pedagogical motives and agency as an educator of humanity comes through the heuristic model of the archangel’s character. Raphael educates Adam and Eve in the meaning of humanity, a novel revelation to the original parents. The angel instructs that the meaning of humanity is situated in free will, the right to choose for oneself and to accept the consequences of those actions, humanity is the right to fall, to fail, to struggle, to rise to the challenge of any occasion, to choose God’s love willingly and to ascend from the state of fallen grace; Raphael teaches Adam and Eve the meaning of life and what it means to be human. In short, Raphael teaches Adam and Eve that all things in life should be done willingly in the honor of God.

Milton’s own agency comes through the character of Raphael by raising the possibility that Milton’s motive for composing *Paradise Lost* was to instruct his “fit audience” in such a way that they would discover their own individual humanity by engaging with the epic.⁴ As Milton states in his correspondence *Of Education*:

> The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like

³ *PL*, XII, 646-49.
⁴ This is the basis for Stanley Fish’s argument in *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost*, Second Edition (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1997).
him, as we may the neerest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being
united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection.\(^5\)

By interpreting this statement as a declaration that the goal of all education is to engage
with God and applying that interpretation to the argument presented here that *Paradise
Lost* can be read as a didactic lesson for Milton’s fit reader, we can deduce that Raphael is
the true hero of *Paradise Lost* due to his sociable nature in teaching the original parents
how humanity, though bound to fall by the act of original sin, can and will ascend back
into God’s grace through their own education.

The framework of this research builds upon the work of Emma Annette Wilson
(2011) who examines the rhetorical modes of Lucifer and Michael as they relate to
Milton’s own personal educational experiences at Christ College, Cambridge.\(^6\) Wilson
examines the presence of Milton’s education in *Paradise Lost*, specifically focusing on
the exchanges of dialogue between Satan and Michael during the war in heaven. Wilson
argues that each character presents two different aspects of rhetoric and logic that Milton
would have learned at Christ’s College, Cambridge, stating that through these characters
Milton positions himself as both the defendant and the prosecutor in a rhetorical debate
between good and evil.\(^7\) The idea is that Lucifer’s fallen state leads to a fallen state of
reason and logic that permits him to tempt Eve in the garden, whereas Michael’s unfallen
state allows him to maintain a divine rhetoric that is based in truth and devotion to God.


\(^6\) Emma Annette Wilson, “How Milton’s Education at Christ’s College, Cambridge Influenced Logical
Styles in *Paradise Lost*,” in *Their Maker’s Image: New Essays on John Milton*, edited by Mary C. Fenton

\(^7\) Wilson, “How Milton’s Education at Christ’s College, Cambridge Influenced Logical Styles in *Paradise
Wilson’s argument is spot-on. However, it is only briefly stated and narrowly focused on the application of rhetoric between two specific characters who embody opposite ends of the pedagogical spectrum. Wilson’s examination of intellect and application is quite useful, and I intend to expand her application to, what I consider to be, the greatest pedagogical moment within the poem—Raphael’s education of Adam. It is this interaction that lies between the concepts of sinful and divine reasoning, neither of which should nor could be replicated even if Adam wanted. Therefore, the sweet spot of western education, according to Milton’s views on seventeenth-century English pedagogy, would be somewhere in the middle of this spectrum. This is where Raphael’s education of Adam is to be found. Raphael uses his divine rhetorical abilities to educate Adam who is of a humbler state of being and cannot think and understand in the same divine nature as the archangels. So, Raphael must practice reflexivity and educate Adam in terms that can be understood by the first human’s lower mental faculties:

High matter thou enjoin’st me, O prime of men,
Sad task and hard: For how shall I relate
To human sense the invisible exploits
Of warring Spirits?8

METHODOLOGY

This research draws from multiple fields in setting the foundation for examining Milton’s text. Due to the comparative nature of this dissertation, areas such as Early Modern English literature, classical Greek and Roman mythologies, medieval pedagogy

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and its evolution into and through the seventeenth century, including changing curriculum
and the emphasis of humanism, along with historical aspects considering the state of
political and religious strife during the Early Modern period in England—specifically the
early to middle of the seventeenth century—will need to be considered. The primary text
for this dissertation will be Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and it will serve as the key focus of
this research. Within the text, I will be examining Milton’s pedagogy, as evidence of his
own education and how his curriculum presents itself through characters and their
interaction with one another. His treatise *Of Education* will prove itself to be a very
useful tool which will avail the content of Milton’s own views on seventeenth-century
English education, and his position as an advocate for advanced education, to the
pedagogical efforts found in the epic. Additionally, the work of Emma Annette Wilson
will serve as a starting point in which I will build upon by expanding the scope of her
initial research to address the primary educational moments between Raphael and Adam
in *Paradise Lost*, along with examinations into the faulty educational moments brought
on by Satan and Michael. Comparative analyses will be conducted that reference the state
of Early Modern education in England and its counterparts in particular moments of the
epic. Additional analyses will be conducted that reference the materials that Milton,
himself, thoroughly engaged with in his own education during the early 1600s, such as
the epics of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Hesiod to name a few. Numerous examples of their
works can be found within Milton’s own, suggesting that these authors have set the
humanistic foundation for Milton to build upon. The importance of these texts cannot be
invalidated as they have rhetorical weight to Milton’s motives for educational, political,
and religious reformation and show his disposition to the Crown and Church who
governed the educational institutions during seventeenth-century England. Finding, noting, and understanding situations in *Paradise Lost* that mirror moments in Milton’s own education will present opportunities to insert examinations about Milton’s curriculum and pedagogical philosophies, and calling about his public doctrines concerning education, religion, and politics, will also add to the full body of Milton’s opinions on Early Modern English pedagogy.

**LITERATURE REVIEW**

*Milton, the Humanist*

To analyze and assess the archangel Raphael as the ideal model teacher I contextualize that approach within educational methods common to England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Milton’s own humanistic education generated the foundation for his pedagogical positioning that not only makes itself visible in his treatises but sets up the functional aspects of *Paradise Lost*, itself.9 It makes sense that his pedagogical opinions would be shaped by content from his own academic background, whether embracing that structured education or reforming it. Milton attended a great academy in Saint Paul’s grammar school, just blocks from his family’s home in Cheapside, London, where the curriculum was highly humanistic due to the reforming efforts of John Colet in the 1500s. Brian Vickers summarizes the basic curriculum that students at Saint Paul would go through:

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9 See: K. Bennett (1956); J. Bennett (1989); N.W. DeWitt (1933); DuRocher (2001); Festa (2006); Gurteen (1964); Hanford (1919); Milton (1644); Poole (2017); Schuler (2009); Schultz (1955); Skulsky (2000); Vickers (1970); Wilson (2011); Wolfe (1971).
The curriculum was not large, but the teaching was incredibly thorough. New facts were released sparingly (new words at the rate of three a day) and after the master’s explanation the pupil would repeat it, memorize it, be asked to recite it; be tested again, repeat it, and be made to use it over and over again until there was no chance of him forgetting it. The amount of repetition required is frightening. School hours were from 6 a.m. till 9, then breakfast; 9.15 till 11, then lunch; 1 till 5, then supper; 6-7, of pure repetition; for thirty-six weeks a year, and for four to six years.10

After this vigorous education at Saint Paul’s, the strenuous style of curriculum would continue when Milton attended Christ College at Cambridge University. While at the university, Milton learned rhetoric and logic, which were extensively studied, tested, and applied. Rhetorical debate was a key component in the Early Modern English curriculum and influenced academic, political, and religious discourse of the period.11 Milton was a product of these types of educational reforms and vigorous curricula which would greatly influence his own teaching methods later in life.12

When Milton finished at Christ’s College at Cambridge University, he began to implement his own curriculum, beginning with the education of his nephews. Edward Phillips, Milton’s nephew, recalls that the instruction he received from his uncle was very extensive for an academy. Phillips identifies ten great Latin authors that he studied in

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11 Georgia Christopher (1999); Desiderius Erasmus (1511); William Poole (2017); Stephen Schuler (2009); Howard Schultz (1955); Brian Vickers (1970); Don Wolfe (1971).
12 The middle position between divine and demonic rhetoric is precisely where Milton situates human education. This is the premise for Adam’s dialectic education with Raphael, a key chapter in the proposed dissertation which will be discussed later.
Milton’s academy; these authors include Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladius, Cornelius Celsus, Pliny, Vitruvius, Frontinus, Lucretius, and Manilus. Milton was essentially using the curriculum of his Cambridge University experience as the pedagogical foundation for the grammar school education of his nephews at his private academy. The reasoning behind this is clearly noted in Milton’s treatise *Of Education*, where he lays out his thoughts on the best methodology for constructing a classical-humanist curriculum that he felt would be most beneficial to his students. The curriculum laid out in the treatise is too extensive to include here (such as the order of subjects that students should progress through as prerequisites that will better serve higher education) but will be discussed in much greater detail in the following chapters of this dissertation. However, it is important to remember that Milton’s pedagogical goals through his extensive curriculum were to repair the damage of Adam and Eve’s original sin through extensive learning as devotion to God. Milton felt that the curriculum as he proposed was two-fold: first, it would improve his own education through additional engagement with the material; second, it would bring students closer to the goal of establishing proximity to God through studious devotion and the tools needed to “repair the ruins” and mend the love and obedience to God, reclaiming their spot in His grace.

*Humanism Influence*

Humanistic education was the standard ideology for English curricula during Milton’s lifetime in the seventeenth century. Brian Vickers notes that, “In 1510 and 1511

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John Colet and Erasmus, apparently independently, outlined a scheme for a humanist reform of secondary education, a scheme set out most clearly in Erasmus’s *De Ratione Studii* and which by 1512 Colet had invited him to put into practice at St Paul’s.”¹⁶ What is more interesting is that Milton attended Saint Paul’s school where this overhauled curriculum was first implemented. Milton was, in fact, the direct product of the English humanist educational reform that took place shortly before his time in the 1500s. The French philosopher, Jacques Maritain, defines humanism by stating:

> Let us say that humanism (and such a definition can itself be developed along very divergent lines) essentially tends to render man more truly human and to make his original greatness manifest by causing him to participate in all that can enrich him in nature and in history (by ‘concentrating the world in man’, as Scheler has almost said, and by ‘dilating man to the world’). It at once demands that man make use of all the potentialities he holds within him, his creative powers and the life of the reason, and labours to make the powers of the physical world the instruments of his freedom.¹⁷

British literary scholar, M. M. Mahood, introduces his definition of humanism which expands upon that of Jacques Maritain by stating:

> Humanism, as its name implies, denotes the elevation and setting up of man in the centre of the universe.... It has been said that humanism discovered the human

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individuality and gave it full play, freeing it from its mediaeval subjection and directing it upon free paths of self-affirmation and creation.\textsuperscript{18}

The impacts of humanism, and its relation to free will, were heavily influential upon Milton and his own curriculum, along with the composition of \textit{Paradise Lost} itself being a product of that persuasion. The powerful humanistic inspiration of his early education is reflected throughout the entirety of Milton’s work. These early influences include strong engagement with classical literature, the myths therein, rhetoric and logic, philosophy, religion, and using these texts to address and better understand the human condition.

Rather than delving into every piece of literature that Milton may or may not have ever read or assigned in his own teaching, it will be useful to narrow the scope of examination to traces and influences of prominent Greek and Roman texts in Milton’s work for two reasons: first, to better understand Milton’s classical humanistic knowledge and, secondly, to address his motives for calling upon the Archangel Raphael as the divine messenger figure who will serve to educate humanity. For example, Erich Auerbach suggests that Milton adopted Homer’s use of cataloguing descriptions in an effort to leave absolutely nothing to the reader’s imagination, nothing is to be interpreted because the image is painted with exquisite detail.\textsuperscript{19} However, other scholars, such as George Butler and Everett Ferguson, agree that Milton relied on ancient texts to build his foundations but disregard the absolutism suggested by Auerbach by suggesting that knowledge is gained through interpretation. Butler interprets Milton’s divine hierarchy as a continuation of the giant races found in epics and the Bible while Ferguson interprets the

\textsuperscript{18} M. M. Mahood, \textit{Poetry and Humanism} (South Hampton, UK: Jonathon Cape, 1950), 13.
same divine hierarchy as an evolution of Hesiod’s Golden Race. Similarly, Stella Revard believes that Milton calls upon the epic, like a necromancer who conjures the ghosts of the ancient authors, in a form of emulation to secure his own legacy alongside the ancient epic community of authors. But T.J.B. Spencer, though he agrees that Milton, too, calls upon the ancient authors, suggests that Milton does so in order to challenge the likes of Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and Hesiod as rivals to be defeated rather than masters to be imitated. However, the discourse appears to support the notion that Milton viewed the epic authors as worthy of praise, rather than as adversaries, and that their texts offer valuable tools to be implemented in the curriculum that will help achieve what Milton calls the end of learning.

Scholarship continues to extend the scope of this conversation by further addressing Milton’s use of the ancient epics as particular teaching moments in *Paradise Lost* seem to reflect accounts described by ancient authors. Where many scholars focus their investigations of Milton’s creative license to implement ancient sources, I find this sort of discourse to be more useful in better understanding Milton’s motivations and pedagogical influences. For instance, the term mētis that generally accompanies examinations of Odysseus can be useful as a comparative model in which the concept of practical intelligence is taught to Adam and Eve. Beyond just the exploration of mētis, the epics also illustrate personal journeys of individual growth which are symbolic of

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23 See: Barnouw (2004); Belmont (1966); K. Bennett (1956); MacCaffrey (1959); Mulryan (1996); Slatkin (2020).
universal lessons that show up in Adam and Eve’s evolution from naively chasing a personal reflection in the pond of Eden, an Ovidian interpretation that posits Eve as a female Narcissus figure,\textsuperscript{24} to being banished from Paradise as the consequence for their disobedience. Additionally, it is worthwhile to explore the psychological and educational function of mythology as Kathryn Bennet explains, “the study of classical mythology can and should be used to encourage students to recognize the essential similarities of all men and the universal values that motivate them.”\textsuperscript{25} Bennet continues by approaching the functions of myth from a psychological perspective in an effort to understand the myths as educational texts and lessons in humanity, a tradition that Milton continues with his own epic. Similarly, Isabel MacCaffrey,\textsuperscript{26} John Mulryan,\textsuperscript{27} and Laura Slatkin,\textsuperscript{28} have contributed to the ongoing Miltonic conversation by examining the literary functions found in both ancient myth and \textit{Paradise Lost} and performing comparative close readings that bring to light the breadth of similar educational functions. However, it is also important to note that the classical epic form of the Greeks and Romans is only one form of myth and that much of the relative scholarship includes biblical stories in conversation with ancient myths, sometimes referred to as a radicalized form of Christian humanism or Christian mythology.\textsuperscript{29}

\textsuperscript{25} Kathryn Bennet, “Mythology and Human Relations,” \textit{The Classical Outlook} 34, no. 3 (1956), 25.
\textsuperscript{29} See: Fish (1998); Louden (2019); Walter (2014).
Joan S. Bennett examines Milton’s radical Christian humanism much closer in her book, *Reviving Liberty*. Bennett states that “Milton’s Christianity did build upon pre-modern conceptions and experiences of reason.” Bennett identifies a convergence between Milton’s classical knowledge and his religious beliefs that he combined “to work through, and understand the same human experiences.” Essentially, Milton turns Christian doctrine into an epic myth that preaches like a Puritan sermon which discusses the puzzles of creation and the worldly challenges of our own humanity. It is clear that Milton’s compositions, including *Paradise Lost*, were heavily influenced by a great number of classical and medieval texts. Many scholars have taken to examining the humanistic influences in Milton’s work and how it reflects the definition of humanism as presented above by Maritain and Mahood. However, the direction in which these scholars apply their research is not directed at the archangel Raphael which is a mistake since Raphael is, in my opinion, the most important character of the poem as he is a vicarious vessel for Milton, himself, to deliver his own instructions for humanity.

**Archangels as Divine Teachers**

Angels are a remarkable phenomenon that sit on the spectrum between God and human, existing in literature, the Bible, and in antiquity through the Middle Ages, with

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32 Bennett, *Reviving Liberty*, 32.
33 Homer (c. 8th century BCE); Hesiod (c. 7th century BCE); Ovid (1st century BCE and AD); Virgil (1st century BCE); Erasmus (1511); More (1551); Puttenham (1589); Spenser (1590), Alighieri (1472), Aquinas (1485); Augustine (426).
34 See: Barnes (1955); J. Bennet (1989); DeWitt (1933); DuRocher (2001); Fish (1998); Gurteen (1964); Hanford (1919, 1929); Lefkowitz (2003); Lewalski (1988, 1999); Mahood (1950); Mulryan (1996); Skulsky (2000).
archangels resembling something more similar to the Olympians—entities presiding over specific elements of existence with sovereign powers, divine, somewhat like a god but not all powerful like the creator. Their function is likened more towards the roles of messengers, guides, watchers, protectors, and educators. Many have investigated these phenomenal divine figures, primarily their reception in the Middle Ages, and have examined how the angel figure impacted culture, religion, literature and the progression of humanity.\footnote{See: Ashton (2002); Barsella (2010); Bemrose (1983); Brown (1981); Dartmouth Dante Project (2021); Muehlberger (2013).} For example, Dr. Susanna Barsella of Fordham University addresses questions related to the ways in which angels mediate between the sacred and profane worlds. Barsella states, “Situated at the limits of material and immaterial worlds, angels are the nexus that ties together human and divine.”\footnote{Susanna Barsella, \textit{In the Light of the Angels: Angelology and Cosmology in Dante’s Divina Commedia}, Biblioteca Dell’archivum Romanicum, Serie 1, Storia, Letteratura, Paleografia, 370, edited by Leo S. Olschki (Florence, Italy: L.S.O., 2010).} The existential positioning of angels in a somewhat ethereal state is quite fascinating when considering their function and relationship to both God and humans.

Perhaps the ways in which angels have been positioned and located adds to their mystique and our fascination with them in culture, religion, and literature. Additionally, as Barsella and others note, angels tend to function in an \textit{axis mundi}\footnote{Eliade, \textit{The Sacred and the Profane}, 36. “Axis mundi” is a term meaning “universal pillar” or “center of the world.” It is a spiritual term that denotes a sacred space that brings one to their subjective closes point to heaven.} fashion that facilitates a connectivity between earth and heaven. Besides relative connectivity to heaven, the angel has numerous other functions, such as instructor, messenger, mediator, herald, and serves as a source of inspiration for those seeking spiritual guidance.\footnote{Bonino (2016); \textit{The Complete Apocrypha} (2018); Halliday (1914).}
divine messenger figure is an archetype that is found in multiple cultures and religions.\(^{39}\) We see this with Raphael in the biblical book of Tobit as he guides Tobias safely from his father’s house to Sarah’s and back, all the while teaching Tobias what he needs to do to save his father, Tobit, defeat the demon, Asmodeus, and secure his wife, Sarah.\(^{40}\) Additionally, as posited in *Angels in Late Ancient Christianity* by Ellen Muehlberger, like Raphael to Adam, Hermes to Odysseus, or Mercury to Aeneas, “The best among them could expect that a divine guide would join them to ease their way.”\(^{41}\) In almost every instance, the angels/divine messengers are engaged in some form of communication with humans which provides assistance for their progression towards salvation. For instance, it is common practice in Catholicism that practitioners channel their prayers through mediators, such as saints or angels. Milton positions his own angels as mediators as well, whose power lies in their abilities to foster communication.\(^{42}\) S. Humphries Gurteen and Robert West each discuss the functionality of Milton’s angels in their own respective texts. West states:

> The relation of angels to both God and man was predominantly personal. The good were the retainers of a great king, obedient to his will, watchful of his dignity, and the overseers of his children, whom they encouraged or rebuked according to their conduct. The evil were God’s foes, resistant to his will, rivals of his glory, seducers of man to pride, envy, and insubordination.\(^{43}\)

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\(^{39}\) Ebeling (2007); Jung (1968).


\(^{42}\) Gurteen (1964); K. Johnson (2012); Lindley (2013); Reichert (1992); West (1955).

Where Gurteen and West both examine functionality of Milton’s angels, others examine the failure of communication between the two species. Kimberly Johnson and Dwight A. Lindley III both arrive at the conclusion that Raphael is actually the one responsible for the original sin because his education of Adam and Eve corrupts their minds with new ideas about personal choice and free will, ideas that the original parents would (arguably) never have conjured on their own if it were not for the archangel. The ways in which Milton crafts his archangels hints at his own humanistic education where shadows of his own literary and biblical knowledge can be found in every line of the poem.

*Milton’s Curriculum/Pedagogical Beliefs and Background*

Milton’s humanistic pedagogy stems from his reformed humanist education set forth at Saint Paul’s school in London,²⁴ where the curriculum was structured on humanistic principles drawn from classical texts and pedagogical foundations of the European medieval period.²⁵ This was followed by Milton attending Christ College, Cambridge, and whatever he did not learn in his early school or later university, he surely learned from his extensive reading of the Bible.²⁶ The humanistic and biblical influences that shaped Milton’s pedagogy are most clearly laid out in his treatise *Of Education* (1644).²⁷ In this treatise Milton thoroughly explains the precise order of subjects to be learned that correspond to greater efficiency in education. He suggest beginning with Latin grammar in order to instill “the love of virtue” via “some easy and delightful book

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²⁴ DuRocher (2001); Festa (2006); Lewalski (1999); Poole (2017); Schuler (2009); Steadman (1967); Thompson (1914); Wilson (2011); Wolfe (1971).
²⁶ See: *The King James Bible*; Catholic Church (1994); Christopher (1999); Kerr (2013); Stroup (1968).
of education,” and ending with the arts of rhetoric and poetry. Milton’s humanistic pedagogy put the human perspective at the center of every lesson and he believed that the student needed to be well versed in every subject to employ every mental faculty which is needed to truly understand and appreciate the lofty ideas presented between the lines of poetry, as his ideal pedagogy suggests. Stephen Schuler analyzes the pedagogical functions of both *Of Education* and *Paradise Lost*, stating, the two works actually work in concert with one another, the curriculum presented in *Of Education* sets the stage for the epic and *Paradise Lost* puts into action the elements of Milton’s ideal curriculum. This primary concern of being a fully educated person prior to learning poetry was a necessary step for achieving the main objective of all education, which is to build a relationship with God and to regain the grace that was stripped from the original parents.

*Paradise Lost* is, quite perfectly, a stellar example of the end of Milton’s education, illustrating his efforts to repair the ruins of the original sin. Thomas Stroup argues that Milton uses the poem as a sort of sermon for Christians to learn by, “Thus, the poet, unwittingly or not, has provided the historical original of liturgy and its basic design. Its cleansing power and the affirmation it affords are akin, as the poet knew, to the purging effect of Greek tragedy and served a similar if not identical function.” Milton’s pedagogy is a perfect blend of medieval educational reform brought to Saint Paul’s school during the early sixteenth century, which is based on the Greek and Roman

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humanistic literature of the classical period, in addition to incorporating strenuous biblical lessons which instilled a strong religious influence upon the pupils.

*Milton’s State of Affairs: Education, Religion, and Politics*

Milton is considered by many to be a master rhetorician, especially when we consider his diplomatic addresses, specifically in terms of the public’s education, rights and freedoms, and what it meant to be a virtuous citizen—that is, according to his own personal beliefs. The rhetorical compositions that are arguably the most effective in their applications towards liberty and equality are his treatise *Of Education* (1644),\(^{52}\) *Aeropagitica* (1644),\(^{53}\) *The Reason of Church Government* (1642),\(^{54}\) and *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649).\(^{55}\) In these texts, Milton argues for reforms in education, religion, and politics. His views on the ways in which the rights of humanity have been affected by repressive education, religion, and politics has been widely studied and commented upon.\(^{56}\) In regard to the contemporary social, political, and cultural state of Milton’s time in England during the seventeenth century, Sharon Achinstein notes, “The political ground of “the human” was changing radically in the seventeenth century”\(^{57}\) and Milton’s epic poem is a commentary on that tumultuous state of affairs. Further, “Before politics, before the public/private split, we have the garden and the bower: and in these

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\(^{56}\) See: Achinstein (2017); Dzelzainis (1999); S. Johnson (1783); Stroup (1968).
\(^{57}\) Sharon Achinstein, “Milton’s Political Ontology of the Human,” *English Literary History* 84, no. 3 (2017), 610.
spaces there are representations of forms of equality, difference, hierarchy, and most important for the work here, a lot of talk,” as Achinstein points out.\textsuperscript{58} Like the injustices that Milton perceived in his daily life concerning a free society, and those in which he spoke out against, \textit{Paradise Lost} appears to be a lesson in the universal rights of humanity, primarily free will and liberty, that all persons should be endowed with through the providence of God.

Contemporary discourse on human rights during Early Modern England echoes Milton’s opinions regarding English politics of the seventeenth century. Although Samuel Johnson was one of Milton’s biggest critics, especially of Milton’s poetry—he specifically hated \textit{Lycidas}—he still revered Milton enough to write “The Life of John Milton” in his book \textit{Lives of the Poets} (1783).\textsuperscript{59} However, Johnson seems to commend Milton’s political position regarding the elitism of governing authorities, “He [Milton] hated monarchs in the State and prelates in the Church, for he hated all whom he was required to obey. It is to be suspected that his predominant desire was to destroy rather than establish, and that he felt not so much the love of liberty as repugnance to authority.”\textsuperscript{60} Martin Dzelzainis seconds the sentiment of Samuel Johnson by stating that Milton was considered extremely radical in his political ideals. One of these (so-called) radical ideas was that a “commonwealth was to be preferred to a monarchy” and that Milton praised the classical idea of a “mixed constitution, ‘where under a free, and untutor’d Monarch, the noblest, worthiest, and most prudent men, with full approbation, and suffrage of the People have in their power the supreme, and final determination of

\textsuperscript{58} Achinstein, “Milton’s Political Ontology of the Human,” 598.
\textsuperscript{60} S. Johnson, “The Life of Milton,” 334.
highest Affaires’ (YP 1:599)” The discourse on Milton’s political beliefs, as it relates to the common good of the public, seem to be in agreeance that his stance in the face of adversity, although considered relatively radical in the seventeenth century, is commendable and worthy of admiration.

Although Milton was often criticized for his blunt nature and pointed commentary, he was also revered as an elite scholar. It is through his effectiveness as a skilled dignitary and educator that he ascended into the ranks often referred to when discussing ancient authors, such as Homer, Virgil, Cicero, and Pericles. Elbert Thompson moved to illustrate this point more than a hundred years ago when he said, “Paradise Lost is a literary epic, and behind it, giving detail, color, and artistic form, are the literatures of various peoples of widely different times. Israel and ancient Greece and Rome, Italy of the Renaissance, Elizabethan England, and possibly Holland of the seventeenth century, contributed to Paradise Lost at least some part of their best thought and their highest sense of poetic art.” Milton’s reach was so vast that it extended across subject, time, and place, and he incorporated a pedagogy that was built not solely on education principles but political rhetoric and religious theology from around the educated Mediterranean. Not only was he influenced by literary artist that came before him—possibly Joost Van Den Vondel and his play Lucifer (1654)—but Milton’s work

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shaped the literary art of those of the following generation, like John Dryden and his stage adaptation of *Paradise Lost*, titled *The State of Innocence and the Fall of Man* (1677). Milton was not simply revered and imitated for his political efforts and treatises, or his public literature and pamphlets that advocated for liberty, he was also praised for his work as an educator and the ways in which he incorporated a didactic nature into all that he wrote. It is for these reasons that his legacy has been secured among the highest echelon of celebrated thinkers.

*The Didactic Nature of Paradise Lost*

While Milton’s work as an advocate, theologian, diplomat, polemicist, and thinker are commendable, his role as an educator is omnipresent in and across all his work. *Paradise Lost* has been the subject of so much discourse that it is difficult to focus in on a single track of argumentation that may be considered more predominant than the rest. However, one main focus of the scholarship is the positioning of the reader as not only the intended audience of the poem but Milton’s own apt pupil. Stanley Fish lights upon this notion of the apt pupil by arguing that “The fit reader, then, will regard the difficulty of the poem as a compliment to his own powers, and his reward will be commensurate with the effort: the poem is not only a vehicle for sublime ideas, it is an instrument by which the reader’s mind can be educated to receive them.” Positioning of the reader—whether through mapping Paradise as Walter Curry does or tracing the realignment of the reader with the narrator or with Adam, like the work of John Reichert—is an intricate part

66 See: Curry (1957); Fish (1998); N. Frye (1965); Reichert (1992); Summers (1968).
67 Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, 54-55.
of the functionality of the poem. Conversely, other scholars have noted the strained relationship between Milton and the readers due to the loftiness of the poem and the comprehension abilities of audiences. For example, Joseph Summers admits that he is a “non-heroic reader” and finds that the poem is very trying on him and that most readers can only tolerate so much of the poem before becoming weary.\textsuperscript{68} Samuel Johnson shares this sentiment when he sarcastically opines that, “None ever wished it longer than it is.”\textsuperscript{69} Furthermore, other scholars focus in on the complexity of the poem as an advantage, something full of potential value to be explored. S. Humphries Gurteen celebrates the complexity and suggest that there is so much left to analyze and understand about \textit{Paradise Lost}, “The more intently and minutely these works are studied, the more overpowering becomes the sense of the grandeur of the imagination displayed. Such works to be appreciated in all their wealth of metaphor and meaning, must be \textit{studied}, not merely \textit{read}.”\textsuperscript{70} Regardless of whether or not the epic is considered to connect or disconnect with readers, as many scholars have addressed, it can be for certain that the text is educational, and nothing is more illustrative of that than Raphael’s education of Adam and Eve, and how these episodes should be interpreted as Milton’s education of the readers via \textit{Paradise Lost}.\textsuperscript{71}

\textsuperscript{69} Johnson, “The Life of John Milton,” 339.
\textsuperscript{70} S. Humphries Gurteen, \textit{The Epic Fall of Man} (New York, New York: Haskell House, 1964), 386.
\textsuperscript{71} See: Edwards (2020); Escobedo (2008); Fish (1998); Spencer (1968); Stroup (1968); Vickers (1970).
CHAPTER II
THE STATE OF EARLY MODERN ENGLISH EDUCATION

The wisdome of God created understanding, fit and proportionable to Truth the object, and end of it, as the eye of the thing visible. If our understanding have a film of ignorance over it, or be blear with gazing on other false glisternings, what is that to Truth? If we will but purge with sovrain eyesalve that intellectual ray which God hath planted in us, then we would beleive the Scriptures protesting their own plainnes, and perspicuity, calling to them to be instructed, not only the wise, and learned, but the simple, the poor, the babes, foretel ling an extraordinary effusion of Gods Spirit upon every age, and sexe, attributing to all men, and requiring from them the ability of searching, trying, examining all things, and by the Spirit discerning that which is good; and as Scriptures themselves pronounce their own plainnes, so doe the Fathers testifie of them. (John Milton, Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England, 33).

The Early Modern period in England\(^\text{1}\) is defined by tumultuous reform in all public arenas: political, religious, economical, legal, social, cultural, and educational. To

\(^{1}\text{The dates that denote the Early Modern period in England vary among sources. For this project, the Early Modern period in England is roughly estimated to take place between 1500-1700, according to University of Oxford.}\)
understand *Paradise Lost* as an active pedagogical lesson, delivered by Milton to his fit readers, we must understand the state of seventeenth-century English education during Milton’s life (1608-1674),¹ and how the many public arenas just mentioned are interwoven into the discourse and calls for educational reform. The reason for this consideration is because Milton vehemently demanded educational reform due to his views on the English educational system as a sad mockery that either educated the population only to the point where they would be better subjects to their governing authorities, rather than free and enlightened individuals, or was reserved only for the higher classes who could afford an expensive education. For Milton, education was meant to be a means to strengthen ones engagement with God, not to better serve the secular masters under God.

*Religious Views on Education*

The English educational system of the Early Modern period was based primarily on principles of Christianity. During this time, it was the Bible that was considered the primary source of information about our world, and it served as the foundation for the governing principles of the English monarch. Additionally, secular life in England (specific to this dissertation: the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries) revolved around the church, and everything was done in relation to the church and monarch, including education. This fact is echoed in the words of William Dell, a contemporary of Milton

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and master educator during the 1650s at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, who sums up the Early Modern religious context of education perfectly:

A spirit of knowledge: for the Holy Spirit teaches us to know the things that are freely given to us of God: yea, he teaches us to know what sin is, and what righteousness; what death is, and what life; what heaven is, and what hell; what ourselves are, and what God is: and these things he teaches us to know otherwise than other men know them. In a word, the Spirit teaches a Christian to know all things: that is, to know God, and the kingdom of God, and all the things of both; all other things being nothing in comparison of these. Thus the Holy Spirit is a Spirit of knowledge in us; and so of power, for knowledge is the strength of a man.²

Dell, like Milton, believed that education was for everyone, including the poor, and he believed that God was the ultimate teacher and everything that needs to be learned can be found in the Bible and in one’s duty to the church. Dell’s position is similar to that of Saint Augustine who advocated for God’s word as the ultimate source of education over a thousand years prior. Augustine said, “And the good which gives them blessedness is God Himself who created them, for their perfect and unfailing bliss is to share in the Vision of God.”³ The idea of sharing in the “Vision of God” is a concept that is found throughout sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pedagogical texts, including that of Johan Amos Comenius, who was an exceptional educator during the 1600s.

Comenius’s argument in *A Reformation of Schooles* (1642) was that education should be amplified as a great institution to better serve God, a sentiment shared by John Milton. Wisdom, according to Comenius, is a great gift that “is more pretious than Rubies, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto it.” In addition to the highest value that Comenius placed on wisdom, he felt that schools should be likened to a “Universall Temple of Wisdome, truly glorious, and refulgent with the ornaments of Harmony, and the light of Truth.” Comenius explains that it is required of the highly educated to erect an institution of this magnitude to better the world around him or her in the name of God. In this instance, Comenius calls upon Moses as the example to support his argument: “Therefore, Moses could not build a Tabernacle for God, untill he was instructed of God himselfe, Looke, faith God, and doe according to all the patterne which was shewed thee in the Mount.” The point Comenius makes is that we are to look to the biblical stories as the blueprint for constructing and maintaining an educational institution that is comparable to Moses’s tabernacle. Linda Mitchell summarizes this point in her reading of Comenius by stating that “wisdom can only be found in God, and that process must begin with youth in school.” The institution of education, therefore, can be interpreted as a cycle where educators teach in order to develop the wisdom in their pupils that will later strengthen the pillars of education in a way that also strengthens one’s own covenant with God.

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5 Comenius, 23.
6 Comenius, 24.
One of the main purposes of Early Modern English education can be considered primarily of a religious nature, especially for the Protestants who placed higher value on the written word of the Bible rather than the verbal sermons and intercessions of the Catholic Church. Milton even reflects this with his goal for learning that he specifies in Of Education, “The end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him.”8 The idea that education should function as a method in which to better serve God was becoming the prevalent call-to-action in which many were latching onto so as to improve education for the English population. Ellen Muehlberger, a historian on the Christian religion, reflects that, “to read scripture and to find new lessons in it was the basic task of any Christian.”9 Muehlberger is correct in thinking that education became the cataclysm for pushing for further knowledge acquisition among the common people and Isabel MacCaffrey, an esteemed authority on English Renaissance literature, shares a similar position, “Man is not properly defined unless he stands partly in the light, because self-knowledge includes knowledge of our relation to God.”10 As John Milton shows us in Paradise Lost, which is the point of emphasis in later chapters of this dissertation concerning Raphael’s education of Adam, we should always seek knowledge that magnifies God and our respective relationship to our creator. This is discussed further by John Reichert in his examination of Milton’s message via Raphael in the fifth book of Paradise Lost,

10 Isabel G. MacCaffrey, Paradise Lost As "Myth" (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard UP, 1959), 213.
Raphael’s main point has been all along that the search for knowledge or wisdom should be directed always by a closely related cluster of principles. We should seek knowledge that shows us how “happy” or fortunate we are, knowledge that leads us to magnify the Creator, and knowledge that offers us moral instruction for our good.  

The reason for alluding to moments in the aforementioned texts is to better highlight the motives of English educators during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as they relate to Christianity. In the case of the Reichert passage above, “we should seek” signifies that education should be based on the freedom to seek out our own knowledge. As we can see, Christianity served as the fundamental intercessor for seeking and applying knowledge during the 1600s. In fact, most educators were also trained as clergy, with the majority of primary schools either being taught by a clergy member or conducted at a parish or school founded on some form of Christian principles.

The State of Early Modern English Education

Education in England during the Early Modern period was not an inherent right but rather a luxury. Petty schools, also called “Public Vernacular Schools,” started for poorer children beginning around age six and the purpose was to prepare children for roles in the lower workforce where basic English reading and arithmetic were needed for simple clerical tasks. R.A. Houston notes in his book, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe* (1988), that, “The lowest level of educational hierarchy was composed of petty schools

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ranging from glorified crèches to schools with the humble goal of teaching basic literacy.”\textsuperscript{13} This primary education ended around age twelve and many of the students from the working or lower classes only attended sporadically without ever finishing a complete curriculum. Many students only attended school during the winter months when they would have free time away from farming or working with the family’s business to make ends meet. According to Houston, “Access to education was determined by gender and social class, by parental attitudes and by its cost in a world where children were expected to contribute to the family budget from an early age.”\textsuperscript{14} It is important to remember that a full education was not intended for everyone. In fact, basic literacy was the main objective of petty school education and the only evidence we have about the literacy rates of the lower class during this time is the presence of citizens being able to mark their name on preserved legal documents.\textsuperscript{15}

For most students coming from the petty schools, they would most likely remain on the lower social and economic rungs of society. Although petty schools were becoming more common in England during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were believed to have held little weight in the overall advancement of society. Alan Ross, an Early Modern European historian, discusses the complacency of schools during the period in his research on Early Modern European education. Ross states,

Early modern schools were not assumed to prepare pupils for participation in the commonweal, nor were they assumed to be responsible for strengthening the cohesion of a state or nation. Also, while early modern school curricula might

\textsuperscript{14} Houston, 7.
\textsuperscript{15} Houston, 3.
suggest a steady progression from one stage of knowledge acquisition to the next and thereby a cohesive programme of study, in practice it was the absolute norm rather than the exception for early modern educational careers to be interrupted, to change their course and even to be rebooted and to begin again from scratch.\textsuperscript{16}

To say the least, English schools of the fifteen and sixteen hundreds were unstable and offered the mere basics when it came to literacy. Furthermore, we should keep in mind that the children of these schools were generally poor, and society did not expect them to offer any real contributions from the knowledge they accumulated at these petty schools. The common consensus on the educated poor during this time is that children: “should be trained as productive, godly and obedient members of society, and any education they received should not in any way alter their social order or their place in it.”\textsuperscript{17} At best, students would finish petty school with the ability to read passages from the Bible and could calculate simple numerical figures, but most still struggled with that as the “marks” used in lieu of signatures in the preserved legal documents attests.\textsuperscript{18}

Beyond the petty schools found in the rural villages and poor homes in England, there were the grammar schools that prepared children for the potential of attending an institute of higher education. John William Adamson, a British educationist, explains in his book, \textit{Pioneers of Modern Education in the Seventeenth Century} (1971), that “The Latin School gives a more thorough education to those who aspire higher than the workshop, while the Academy trains the future teachers and leaders in Church, in School,

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\textsuperscript{17} Houston, 16.
\textsuperscript{18} Houston, 3.
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Children who attended the Latin grammar schools would learn Latin (the official language of universal higher education), the basics of rhetoric and logic, religion, and fundamental mathematics. The majority of children who attended these grammar schools came from middle- and high-class families. The reason for this exclusive nature is due to the higher cost associated with attending grammar schools. Costs such as tuition, boarding (where applicable), supplies, and tutoring would quickly add up and not all families could afford the sum. According to professors Kathryn Moncrief and Kathryn McPherson, “Education, for both boys and girls, produced and reinforced their gender roles. Men prepared to be leaders in [the] social world and governors in their households; women prepared to be helpmates, mothers, and domestic managers.” For the students who attended and finished grammar school but did not go any further, they would most likely maintain a somewhat middle-class status as they matured into their respective communities.

When Milton was twelve years old, he was fortunate enough to have enrolled at the esteemed Saint Paul’s grammar school in London, where he attended from 1620-1624. The curriculum at Saint Paul’s is famous for being one of the first in England to go through a serious humanistic reformation. The curriculum stems from an early 1500s coalition between John Colet—headmaster at Saint Paul’s—and Desiderius Erasmus, a master Dutch educator and theologian. The curriculum was stringent and intended only for the strong-minded student. Brian Vickers, Professor of New Testament Interpretation

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21 Moncrief and McPherson, 4.

> The curriculum was not large, but the teaching was incredibly thorough. New facts were released sparingly (new words at the rate of three a day) and after the master’s explanation the pupil would repeat it, memorize it, be asked to recite it; be tested again, repeat it, and be made to use it over and over again until there was no chance of him forgetting it. The amount of repetition required is frightening. School hours were from 6 a.m. till 9, then breakfast; 9.15 till 11, then lunch; 1 till 5, then supper; 6-7, of pure repetition; for thirty-six weeks a year, and for four to six years.”

In addition to this daily gauntlet, Milton’s early education would consist of roughly eight years of Latin and four years of Greek—between his petty and grammar school education—where, “On four days each week a written exercise based on the readings was required, such as “a Psalm to turn into Latin Verse,” “a story in Heathen Gods to be turned into Latin,” “a Divine Theme,” “a Morall [sic] Theme.” As we can see, the content that Milton engaged with during grammar school stayed with him throughout his life; traces of Latin and Greek texts about “Heathen Gods” are littered throughout the pages of *Paradise Lost*, and are compounded with “Divine Theme[s]” governing interpretations and presentations of episodes found in the epic. Although Milton would later consider this type of education to be problematic, it is undeniable that the Saint Paul’s curriculum heavily influenced his teachings and compositions.

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The curriculum, although newly reformed and highly demanding, was what Paulo Freire would later call a “banking” system of teaching which is linked to a pedagogy of the oppressed.\(^{24}\) Banking relies on the rote memorization of facts and the recital of those facts. Rather than learning organically—via self-driven curiosity—students are fed the information of their master, and they are called upon to recite that information back to their instructor. Although this was a reformed curriculum, there was still much to be desired because it still held the notion that students were to remain confined within the bounds of their master’s discourse, to become studious shadows of their teachers, and, therefore, would remain loyal subjects under higher authority. This will be explained in further detail in the next chapter when we look at Milton’s presentation of the oppressive pedagogical methods of Satan. Although Milton flourished under the reformed educational model at Saint Paul’s grammar school, he would later go on to protest the very curriculum that he endured in his youth which helped to mold him (that is, including his university career) into the famed intellectual whom we still discuss today.

Following grammar school, successful elite students would go on to enroll at private academies, local colleges, or major universities. These institutions would offer advanced degrees that prepared students to become masters in their chosen field; for most, this would mean a career in theology, law, the military, or civil service\(^ {25}\) where they would loyally serve under the authority of their chosen governing institution. Most academies, colleges, and universities adopted the Italian Jesuit model—a six-year structured curriculum—which was prized above all others for its range of topics from


\(^{25}\) Houston, 29.
philosophy to rhetoric and theology to classical literature and language. The Early
Modern English academies that sprung up during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries
were highly elite but did not necessarily provide the same level of demanding education
as the established universities, “Academies throughout Europe were explicitly designed
to defend aristocratic privilege and perpetuate their dominance of society.” The
academies were known for their (comparative) lax curricula and entitled student body of
elites who would often go on to assume high social positions due to their family’s
prestigious status. However, some academies were highly demanding and manifested
their own elite status, such as “Mr. Milton’s Academy,” which will be discussed
momentarily. The major English universities during this time, on the other hand, were
highly demanding, expensive, and offered a high-cost/high-reward opportunity for
students. Arguably the most famous of these English universities was Cambridge.

Milton’s career at Christ College, Cambridge, began in February of 1625 and
finished with him earning a Master of Arts degree in July of 1632. Don Wolfe’s
reference book, Milton and His England (1971), provides a glimpse into the daily life of
an Early Modern student at Cambridge University when Milton would have been in
attendance:

[Each student was required to attend lectures and disputations in the “Public
Schools” of the university, in which students could hear renowned professors

26 Houston notes that, “The first six years of Jesuit education were spent in this fashion. ‘Philosophy’ - the
formal, medieval, scholastic kind coupled with some mathematics and science – came only after this basic
training and then only in some colleges. This marked the second level of college, whose philosophy courses
provided logic in the first year, maths and physics in the second, ethics and metaphysics (where available)
in the third [...] Religion, humility and debating skills were to be the end product” (26).
27 Houston, 28.
28 Samuel Hartlib referred to Milton’s school as “Mr. Milton’s Academy,” William Riley Parker, Milton: A
speak and advanced students from various colleges engage in debate, the latter usually in Latin […] Only in the afternoon and during and after supper were students allowed to lapse into conversational English; at other times they were expected to converse in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew.\textsuperscript{30}

As Wolfe explains, while at the university students were expected to suppress their native language in favor of the practiced languages of academia. Additionally, students were expected to absorb the discourse of the university masters in which they would be subjected to oral examination. Emma Wilson expands on the oral exam process when she discusses that seventeenth-century students at Cambridge were subjected to oral examinations in “the practice of debating in utramque partem”\textsuperscript{31} which was “the final test for any Bachelor of Arts’ candidate, which required that he had to appear twice in the public schools at the university as an opponent for a cause, and twice as a defendant.”\textsuperscript{32}

Although we can see the practicality and usefulness of this exercise in approaching a topic from all perspectives, Wilson applies this knowledge to the way Milton crafted the dialogue between Satan and Michael during the war in heaven. She argues that each character presents two different aspects of rhetoric and logic that Milton, himself, would have learned at Christ’s College, Cambridge, stating that through these characters Milton positions himself as both the defendant and the prosecutor in a rhetorical debate between good and evil. Wilson’s is a fascinating rhetorical analysis that sheds light on the utramque partem at Christ College, Cambridge, which further illustrates the demanding

\begin{footnotesize}
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\textsuperscript{30} Wolfe, 12.
\textsuperscript{31} “Utramque partem” can be translated as “on each side.”
\end{footnotesize}
curriculum in which the best students were subjected. Although Milton finished the program and earned an advanced degree, a Master of Arts, he did not necessarily agree with the educational system in which he had just successfully completed.

According to Milton, there were more than just one or two changes that needed to be made to the educational system. There was, in his opinion, a need for a complete overhaul of the entire Early Modern English education institution. He felt this was needed for the benefit of all society. Most notably, it is free will of the student in guiding their own knowledge acquisition that he felt was most important and neglected from the established curricula. Houston encapsulates the entirety of the problem in the following modern reflection:

One of the most valued goals of the twentieth-century education is to inculcate a capacity to think independently. The pupil should assimilate an existing body of information and then exercise critical understanding upon it. If such a thing happened in the early modern period, it came about largely by accident. Teaching methods in the sixteenth, seventeenth and much of the eighteenth centuries were explicitly designed to instill a fixed set of ideas and facts into the pupil. The aim was not to expand imaginative understanding but to guide the mind along certain set paths. At both elementary and advanced educational levels, the emphasis was on the reception of a particular viewpoint, usually dictated by the dominant ecclesiastical and secular authorities; orthodoxy was prized much more than originality.33

33 Houston, 56.
This subjection was precisely the problem as John Milton perceived it to be. He was subjected to years of rote memorization and recital of facts. He was subjected to adhering to the master’s discourse and not veering away from the topic. He was subjected to an imperfect system that needed remedy. It was for this reason that he began pushing for educational reform as stated in his letter to Samuel Hartlib, *Of Education*.34

In *Of Education*, Milton proposed what he deems to be the perfect curriculum. First, he identifies some of the issues with the educational institutions as he views them and offers a solution. For example, Milton says, “we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year.”35 He marks that younger children are ill-prepared to discuss the great classics of say Homer and Virgil because of their “wretched barbarizing against the Latin and Greek idiom” which could be easily corrected with “some form of short book lessoned thoroughly to them.”36 Milton explains that the curriculum is backwards. He feels that examination of the classics should be reserved for the advanced student who has been primed in logic and rhetoric. By overwhelming the young mind, Milton posits that students become frustrated and their efforts “grow into hatred and contempt of learning.”37 To correct this contempt for learning, he recommends a new curriculum to take place between the ages of twelve and twenty-one. Coming into this curriculum, the students would begin in “rules of good grammar” and their speech is to be “fashioned to a distinct and clear pronunciation.”38 To accomplish this, Milton

suggests that these young students engage with heroic stories of brave and worthy patriots who are faithful to God. Milton believes that beginning this way will lead students to feel “inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue.”\textsuperscript{39} In the years following, students will study in the subjects of math, religion, agriculture, cartography, philosophy, astronomy, physics, trigonometry, architecture, engineering, anatomy, geology, and medicine. All these subjects should be mastered prior to moving into studies of poetry, reason, ethics, law, theology, logic, and rhetoric. The reasoning for this order, according to Milton, is that students need a firm foundation across the scholastic spectrum to appreciate poetry, to understand logic, apply rhetoric, and only after this “will be the right season of forming them to be able writers and composers in every excellent matter.”\textsuperscript{40} The reformed curriculum, as Milton proposes, is detailed and difficult, but promises a much more refined product than most of the Early Modern English institutions that were already in place.

In addition to the detailed scholastic curriculum, Milton includes an exercise regimen as well in \textit{Of Education}. Milton was following a highly humanistic approach to education and felt that a finely tuned body was important to serve as a vehicle to physically carry the mind further in life. Although Milton does discuss exercise, and even diet, it is sectioned off as an aside towards the end of the text and is only briefly discussed in a few paragraphs. His emphasis in the document is on development of the student’s mentality (via reason and logic) and exercise is a separate regimen divorced from mental development and does not appear in his implemented curriculum at his academy. In fact, he notes that the exercise of sword play is considered necessary for fit

\textsuperscript{39} Milton, \textit{Of Education}, 230

\textsuperscript{40} Milton, \textit{Of Education}, 233.
military service that will serve to benefit any young man of “three or four and twenty years of age”\textsuperscript{41} who wishes to travel abroad before returning home to their studies, which Milton identifies as a separate accord. The standard curriculum as Milton presents above is suggested for students between the ages of twelve and twenty-one, so the sword-play training is an extracurricular to take place separate from traditional education.

Not only did Milton write out a proposed curriculum reform, but he actually put it into practice. He composed two textbooks to be used in the education of students: \textit{Artis Logicae} (1672) (\textit{The Art of Logic})\textsuperscript{42} and \textit{Accedence Commenc’ t Grammar} (1669).\textsuperscript{43} \textit{The Art of Logic} is a humanist approach to learning that focuses on the ideas of logic presented by the sixteenth-century French scholar, Petrus Ramus, who believed that logic should be learned organically through discourse. Ultimately, this is a lesson book—albeit very dry and unentertaining—that defines a multitude of rules and philosophical scenarios that are used to teach the value of reason and logic in a highly referential manner. Emma Wilson argues that “Milton situates logic at the heart of all learning and, significantly, art: “But of all the arts the first and most general is logic, next grammar, and finally rhetoric, since reason can be used, and even used extensively, without speech, but speech cannot be used at all without logic (YP 8:216).”\textsuperscript{44} Next, John Milton’s \textit{Accedence Commenc’ t Grammar} (1669) is strictly a grammar book for learning the fundamentals of the Latin language, composed of scenarios that must be translated and interpreted. What is most interesting about the book is that it was a direct response to the William Lily’s

\textsuperscript{41} Milton, \textit{Of Education}, 236.
\textsuperscript{44} Wilson, 134. YP is the abbreviated reference to the \textit{Complete Prose Works of John Milton}. Edited by Don M Wolfe. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
Latin grammar book, *Shorte Introduction of Grammar* (1634), that was widely used because it is said to have promoted the “Royal grammar,” which was approved by the English monarchy. However, Milton copied most of the text from the Lily book but then altered the examples and lessons by removing pro-political and pro-religious terms and, instead, relied on speeches by Cicero that were, arguably, much more secular in nature—though Milton’s editing process of the Lily book can, in fact, be interpreted as a political move in itself. Wyman Herendeen, an Early Modern English literary scholar, notices in *Accedence Commenc’Grammar* that the political metaphors are missing because learning language, according to Milton, is a foundational block for further education and should not indoctrinate political thought. Milton’s thoughts on the subject suggests that the political is reserved for those with a solid educational foundation. However, neither book gained fame as they were both published later in Milton’s life when the textbook industry was inundated with new volumes due to the increased access of publishing technology.

Although Milton’s textbooks that instituted a reformed curriculum never gained traction, his personal academy was famed for its style of education. The intense curriculum stated in *Of Education* would go on to become the guiding pedagogy of Milton’s academy. As William Poole states in his book, *Milton and the Making of Paradise Lost* (2017):

Milton’s syllabus both as it was taught and as Milton theorized it was resolutely humanistic, and he evidently considered that an institution based on his plans

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would comprehend, rather than complement, the education already offered by both schools and especially universities, at least in terms of the undergraduate arts degree. Milton, in short, offered and demanded a kind of hyperactive humanism rather than anything educationally iconoclastic.\textsuperscript{46}

Milton’s highly demanding academy and his focus on humanistic values rather than the “Royal grammar” or ecclesiastical subservience was a novel introduction to the established educational institution. To better understand Milton as an educator, and the impact his curriculum had on learners, it is best to rely on the testimony of his students.

Milton started his academy in 1639 with his nephews, Edward and John Phillips, moving in and becoming his first pupils.\textsuperscript{47} Edward Phillips reflects that “if we compare, say, the Cambridge don Richard Holdsworth’s “Directions for a Student in the Universitie,” prepared for Milton’s student contemporaries, it would have seemed preposterously elementary for a pupil who had passed through Milton’s hands [...] Milton advertised, and rendered, superior service.”\textsuperscript{48} Milton’s academy was unlike the high-class academies that functioned solely for the purpose of maintaining the elite social class. Most academies would bring students to the equated level of an associate or even a bachelor’s degree, but students who completed Milton’s academy would finish with a master’s degree and would be primed for the higher disciplines of graduate school, such as law, medicine, or theology.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{47} Poole, 49.
\textsuperscript{48} Poole, 51.
\textsuperscript{49} Poole, 55.
The curriculum that Milton presents in *Of Education* was the foundational premise for his opinions on how to modify and reform education to break free from the established confines of the flawed institutions that served to instruct students to the point of being capable and loyal servants but not to the point of encouraging a free-thinking society. Milton’s theories were put into practice in his own academy and his own textbooks. However, regarding the ideal education that Milton proposes, Kenneth Charlton, senior lecturer in education at the University of Keele, Staffordshire, opines that, “It would be too easy to dismiss this kind of evidence as ‘utopian’, impossible of achievement.”

Perhaps this is why Milton’s plan for educational reform never gained popularity, it was too good to be true or it was too complex and demanding to be implemented. So, with that in mind, we can approach *Paradise Lost* as a case study for the right way to education that is based on the curriculum Milton presented in his famous letter *Of Education*. Stephen Schuler, professor of British literature, suggests the correct way in approaching the rest of this dissertation: “Actually, the two works help to elucidate each other, *Of Education* setting out the goals that drive the teaching scenes in *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Lost* providing working examples of Milton’s educational plan as outlined in the brief prose tract.”

With that being said, let us move now towards the three differing pedagogies presented by John Milton in *Paradise Lost*.

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CHAPTER III
SATAN’S MANIPULATION:
THE WRONG WAY TO KNOWLEDGE

Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve!
Partake thou also; happy though thou art,
Happier thou may’st be, worthier canst not be:
Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
Thyself a Goddess, not to earth confined,
But sometimes in the air, as we, sometimes
Ascend to Heaven, by merit thine, and see
What life the Gods live there, and such live thou! (PL, V. 74-81)

There are three pedagogical methodologies that can be found in John Milton’s
Paradise Lost. The first is a demonic pedagogy, the topic of this chapter, which is
modeled by Satan as he dictates his agenda to his followers, the fallen angels, and this
model should not be replicated as it leads to a fallen state that is further from God. The
second model lies at the opposite end of the spectrum, the divine pedagogy. This
pedagogy is modeled by the archangel Michael at the end of the poem and relies heavily
on instantaneous transfer of knowledge via prophetic vision. Because this is the divine
nature of the angels in heaven, Adam is unable to replicate this method of sharing knowledge, as will be discussed further in the next chapter. Finally, the preferred mode of human knowledge acquisition and exchange that is taught by Raphael and replicated by Adam will be examined in chapter five. This form of pedagogy allows knowledge to be gained organically through natural discourse, questioning, and is based on the principles of free will and self-discovery where the student is responsible for guiding their own course of knowledge and using it as a tool in whatever way he or she sees fit. Although this methodology ultimately led to the original sin—it was Eve’s own curiosity and personal quest for knowledge that led her to the Tree of Knowledge in book nine—it was a necessary occurrence that enriched humanity and their ability to make decisions out of free will and accept whatever consequences may come. Milton’s own perspective on education is presented in the poem by way of these models and it is through these examples that Milton wishes to educate his fit audience of the proper methodology for learning.

The first methodology is Satan’s demonic pedagogy which is presented in the first two books of Paradise Lost. Satan first awakens and summons the fallen devils to “the Stygian council”\(^1\) regarding their newly fallen state and plans for their future course of action to escape from hell and cast their revenge against God. The demonic model is based on oppression, manipulation, control, power, and is very monarchial in structure with Satan as a Heroic King figure who deploys upon a quest to rescue the kingdom that he will rule with an iron fist. Satan’s temptation of Eve in book nine is an example of the

\(^{1}\) PL, II. 506.
guile and deception that he uses as educational tools, leading Eve towards new
knowledge and, in turn, fulfilled Satan’s own agenda of corrupting what God loves most.²

However, the temptation of Eve functions as a warning against this oppressive
method. Early in book one, Milton presents a foundational statement that addresses his
motive for writing *Paradise Lost*:

That, to the highth of this argument / I may assert Eternal Providence / And justify
the ways of God to men.³

If we understand this to be Milton’s motive for composing the epic, then we can interpret
the poem as an educational document capable of exemplifying the three pedagogical
methods at hand—demonic pedagogy, divine prophecy and the instant transference of
information, and genuine human education via discourse. For example, as will be
examined later, Eve is led to the Tree of Knowledge and falls to the rhetorical powers of
Satan as he manipulates her with his eloquent language into trusting him. A key aspect of
Satan’s educational methods is what Paulo Freire would call “banking.”⁴

Although Freire’s book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, was written about a South
American oppressed population in 1968, the premise of the work can be applied to many
different oppressed cultures. In fact, his ideas on pedagogy and “banking” are very useful
tools in evaluating Satan’s methods while addressing his fallen comrades through
manipulation and then his temptation of Eve. The term “banking” means to deposit

² *PL*, IX. 532-833.
³ *PL*, I. 24-26.
knowledge into a student similarly to making a deposit into an account at a bank. Freire expounds on the definition of “banking”:

The teacher talks about reality as if it were motionless, static, compartmentalized, and predictable. Or else he expounds on a topic completely alien to the existential experience of the students. His task is to “fill” the students with the contents of his narration—contents which are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could give them significance. Words are emptied of their concreteness and become a hollow, alienated, and alienating verbosity.

Satan fulfills the role of teacher laureate in hell—as well as king—and the rest of the fallen are his pupils/subjects. It becomes apparent that Satan speaks to his generals—Molach, Belial, Mammon, Beelzebub—and the army of devils in a manner consistent of a king and his monarchy. These traits fit within the bounds of Feire’s opinions on oppressive pedagogy and the “banking” methodology.

Satan begins his contribution to the epic with an inward reflection contemplating his newly discovered position and location. Milton, the narrator, sets the opening scene by saying:

and their portion set / As far removed from God and light of heav’n / As from the center thrice to th’utmost pole.

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5 Freire, 72.
6 Freire, 71.
7 PL, I. 72-74
If the end of all education is to know God aright, as Milton suggests in his treatise *Of Education* (1644), then it is clear that Milton positions Satan’s pedagogy at the opposite end of the spectrum from the divine pedagogy used by God and his angels, specifically Michael, with Chaos separating the two. Knowing this, rather than attempting to reclaim his angelic state in God’s light, Satan decides to embrace his new state of infernal heat, agony, and darkness that God has commanded. Satan remarks on his new situation:

Farewell, happy fields, / Where joy for ever dwells: hail, horrors! hail / Infernal world! and thou, profoundest hell / Receive thy new possessor.\(^9\)

Satan accepts the consequences of losing his challenge against God and takes it another step further by proudly acclaiming his fallen state,

Better to reign in hell than serve in heav’n\(^11\)

Satan, the self-proclaimed “new possessor” of hell, immediately established his position of power and ownership of the dreadful kingdom by commanding his fallen brothers into their second existence and into *his* hell. Milton recalls:

He call’d so loud that all the hollow deep / Of Hell resounded.\(^12\)


\(^9\) The influence of Augustine on Milton reveals itself with Satan’s spatial and spiritual acknowledgements. In Augustine’s, *The Confessions*, it is stated: “If I tried to lay down my burden with that god, it would slip through the void and fall back on me, and I remained to myself a barren land, in which I could not exist and from which I could not retire. For where could I flee from my heart? Where could I flee from myself?” (4.7.12).

\(^10\) *PL*, I. 249-52.

\(^11\) *PL*, I. 263.

\(^12\) *PL*, I. 314-15.
This is Satan taking possession over the infernal world that will be shaped by the devils who will learn their master’s ideology and then obey his every command. He then conjures an army of the fallen into their second existence:

“Awake, arise, or be forever fallen.” // They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung / Upon the wing as when men wont to watch / On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread, / Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake. / Nor did they not perceive the evil plight / In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel; Yet to their General’s voice they soon obey’d / Innumerable.\(^{13}\)

As the fallen awaken from Satan’s command, they are ignorant of everything in hell except their “general’s voice” which “they soon obey’d.”\(^{14}\) Satan’s pedagogy relies heavily on mindless obedience and the ability for him to utilize his impressive rhetorical abilities to fill the minds of his subjects. Satan commanded:

with high words, that bore / Semblance of worth, not substance, gently rais’d /

Their fainting courage, and dispelled their fears\(^ {15}\)

Because the banking model of oppressive pedagogy is so reliant on a hierarchal system of power to create separation between the student and teacher, it was very important for Satan to rise and command the fallen back into (re)existence and place himself as the chosen, the princeps, the general, the father, the grand teacher, the influencer, the king of them all.\(^ {16}\)

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\(^{13}\) *PL*, I. 330-38.

\(^{14}\) Satan commanding the fallen devils into a second existence and giving them a new identity echoes the ideology if interpellation discussed by Louis Althusser. Althusser says that an individual who succumbs to being “hailed” by an authoritative figure becomes the subject to that authority through their submission to the authority’s command: “Individuals are always-already subjects” (87).

\(^{15}\) *PL*, I. 528-31

\(^{16}\) See: Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. Translated by Karen Fields (New York: Free Press, 1995). “Sacred beings are sacred only because they are imagined as sacred” (349).
The monarchial hierarchy that Satan so strongly vied for is explicitly illustrated in the second book when the fallen devils enter Pandemonium for Satan’s stately address to the union of hell. Satan and his generals maintain their relative physical attributes when they enter the great fortress compared to the collective of fallen spirits and false gods who are minimized in stature to fit within the hall:

So thick the airy crowd / Swarm’d and were straighten’d; till the signal giv’n,
Behold a wonder! they but now who seemed / In bigness to surpass Earth’s giant sons / Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room / Throng numberless, like that pygmean race.17

Satan puts all the lesser devils into their place by making them submit their stature in a subservient way in order to attend his Stygian Council, though they were commanded and did not have a choice in the matter. Of them, there sat a thousand nameless demi-gods on golden thrones18 who are no more important or powerful than the random fallen divinity on either their left or their right. Yet,

Millions of Spirits for his fault amerced / Of Heav’n, and from eternal splendors flung / For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood, / Their glory withered.19

The way that the devils are all reduced to a uniform stature and mindset within the halls of Pandemonium functions to strip them of their individuality, their previous divine statuses, and forces them to succumb to mindless obedience of Satan in return for their resurrection. This permits Satan to begin reprogramming the demons using a form of

17 PL, I. 774-80.
18 PL, I. 796.
19 PL, I. 609-12.
oppressive banking pedagogy. Satan will instruct the fallen of how they should feel and behave.

During the Stygian Council at the beginning of book two, where the options for taking vengeance against God will be considered, Satan cordially welcomes all the fallen devils to the stately address to hear suggestions from his panel of generals/advisors before he makes the final decision regarding their course of action. This seems very diplomatic of Satan, but Milton's fit audience knows that the dark prince is not to be trusted.\textsuperscript{20} Satan skillfully places everyone into this monarchial structure beneath his own self-proclaimed position; a very clever tactic that makes himself appear welcoming, empathetic, just, and truly interested in discussing all the options regarding their fallen state and possible revenge against God, including formally securing the thrown of hell for himself. Satan makes sure to promote his own personal generals above the rest.\textsuperscript{21} The implication of this move is two-fold: it at first appears like Satan is rewarding his faithful generals for their valuable contributions during the war in heaven and loyalty to his cause which makes him look like an honorable leader. However, by maintaining their loyalty, Satan can further rely on his generals as subservient powers to carry out his will because, in a Pavlovian manner, they expect to be sufficiently rewarded for following their

\textsuperscript{20} Rostrevor G. Hamilton examines Satan in Milton's epic and concludes that Satan is a heroic figure, though very problematic. He says that “To admire Satan, then is to give one’s vote not only for a world of misery, but also for a world of lies and propaganda, of wishful thinking, of incessant autobiography” (8).

\textsuperscript{21} The discourse of the Stygian council echoes that of God's divine council in the Book of Kings. “And he said, Hear thou therefore the word of the Lord: I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramothgilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth, and do so. (1 Kings 22:19-22).
Once the monarchial structure has more-or-less been established at the Stygian Council, Satan invites the demonic discourse to begin:

We now debate. Who can advise may speak.23

Satan manipulates the narrative with this illusion of republic.24 It at first appears that he values contributions from his generals for solving this problem concerning their fallen state. However, Satan pretty much knows which direction their next steps should take them, but he is wise enough to at least listen to the options; a smart move by a savvy dictator. Molach is the first advisor to offer his opinion,

“My sentence is for open war.”25

Molach sees hell as a prison and does not agree with Satan’s sentiment of proudly accepting this horrific landscape as their new dominion where they can proudly reign. Molach prefers to militarize the fallen masses, to seek revenge, and to wage constant war against heaven,

Turning our tortures into horrid arms / Against the torturer26

Belial is next to speak and shares a similar sentiment with Molach for war. But rather than hoping to defeat God in constant strategic warfare, Belial suggests a quick mass suicide by means of a kamikaze attack against heaven:

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22 Ivan Pavlov coined the term “classical conditioning” in the 1890s when he trained his dogs to salivate at the sound of a bell. Like Pavlov, Satan is conditioning his generals. The generals are learning that they will receive rewards for following commands.
23 PL, II. 42.
24 Illusions of freedom commonly accompany the rhetoric of new regimes as Northup Frye points out in his lecture series, The Return to Eden: Five Essays on Milton’s Epics. Frye states, “Absolute monarchs and their flunkeys on earth always follow the model of hell, not heaven [...] The reason why kingship on earth is so apt to become idolatrous is precisely that it is the external projection of the inner sovereignty of God” (111).
25 PL, II. 51.
26 PL, II. 63-64.
Thus repulsed, our final hope / Is flat despair: we must exasperate / Th’ Almighty Victor to spend all his rage; / And that must end us, that must be our cure, / To be no more; sad cure.\textsuperscript{27}

Belial’s message is in favor of, essentially, a form of forced assisted suicide. Though Satan appreciates the valor of warfare, the suggestions of both Molach and Belial result in failure to obtain some form of freedom and autonomy. Additionally, these suggestions are not prideful enough for Satan’s taste.

Mammon, the third advisor to speak, takes the position of defeatedly accepting hell as his new home to do whatever he pleases. He would rather except his fate and retire into solitude. Mammon acknowledges the extreme difficulty of living in the dismal region, but he also recognizes that accepting hell as his home would ultimately achieve the goal of having freedom from the rules of a tyrannical God—the common perception among the damned—where the fallen can now express autonomy and create for themselves:

\begin{center}
Compose our present evils, with regard / Of what we are and where, dismissing quite / All thoughts of war. Ye have what I advise.\textsuperscript{28}
\end{center}

Although lacking the spiteful revenge and pride that Satan craves, Mammon’s views are in general agreement with Satan’s opinion of accepting their new home.

Satan’s primary general, Beelzebub, is last to advise and offers an attractive alternative. Unlike the army of devils and false gods, who were ignorant of their fallen state and had to be commanded into (re)existence, Satan’s panel of generals still exhibit

\textsuperscript{27} PL, II. 142-46.
\textsuperscript{28} PL, II. 281-83.
behaviors of their former divine selves as archangels in heaven. This is illustrated when Beelzebub recollects a prophecy about God creating a new world and a new being:

What if we find / Some easier enterprise? There is a place / (If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven / Err not) another World, the happy seat / Of some new race, called man.29

As the passage indicates, Beelzebub, a former angel, still has divine knowledge of prophecy that was once instantly made known to him through the divine methods of instantaneous transference of knowledge. He must have acquired this knowledge under the rules of divine pedagogy in which God’s will is instantly made known to the archangels.30 As we see throughout the poem, Satan, and to a lesser degree, his top generals, exhibit a lingering capacity for divine knowledge. For example, where God incepts creation and instantly transmits knowledge, Satan commands resurrection and the fallen angels harken to their new lord. Echoes of divine knowledge linger within the fallen—as some of them display—once Satan disembarks on his voyage:

Others, more mild, / Retreated in a silent valley, sing / With notes angelical to many a harp / Their own heroic deeds, and hapless fall.31

The only difference is that the fallen do not choose to share their knowledge freely with others in a similar manner because they selfishly use their knowledge as a powerful tool to establish their own seats within the monarchial structure that separates king from

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29 PL, II. 344-48.
30 The term “archangel” is specifically used here to denote the class of angel being addressed. Archangels are the closest beings to God as Ellen Muehlberger states: “The others have a stature in the universe that corresponds to the extent to which they departed from God: archangels, angels, gods, human beings, demons, and the devil were each increasingly distant from their original state” (Angels in Late Ancient Christianity (Oxford UP, 2013, 34).
31 PL, II. 544-49.
council, council from subjects, and teachers from pupils. Beelzebub’s plan to destroy 
God’s newly created world and pervert his creatures, has the level of malicious intent that 
Satan was eagerly anticipating. Beelzebub advises the Stygian Council:

Either with Hell fire / To waste his whole creation, or possess / All as our own, 
and drive, as we were driven, / The puny inhabitants; or, if not drive, / Seduce 
them to our party.\textsuperscript{32}

Satan then leads the council to ponder who will explore the depths of Chaos to find this 
new world. The Stygian narrative is further manipulated by Satan’s rhetorical use of 
language, allowing him to lead the advisors towards the outcome that he wants, which is 
to rule all of hell unchallenged, to corrupt God’s creation, and to solidify his status as 
second only to God. Satan begins his rhetorical strategy by asking:

But, first whom shall we send / In search of this new world.\textsuperscript{33}

Satan is masterful at instilling fear and confusion into his prominent generals by choosing 
to discuss the dangers that lie ahead rather than any hopeful outcomes. But this 
manipulation was all part of the plan for Satan to formally solidify his position as the 
king of hell. Northup Frye remarks, “We understand very well also the fact that Satan, in 
the council of hell, volunteers to journey to the earth a split second too quickly, because 
he will have to go anyway and there is no point in letting a minor devil get the credit for 
volunteering.”\textsuperscript{34} Satan wanted to emphasize the risks and consequences of this epic

\textsuperscript{32} \textit{PL}, II. 364-68.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{PL}, II. 402-03.
\textsuperscript{34} Northrop Frye, \textit{The Return of Eden: Five Essays on Milton's Epics} (Toronto, Canada: Toronto UP, 1965), 92. This argument can be applied to the Son volunteering to sacrifice himself. Perhaps he, too, volunteers a 
split second to quickly because he is not going to let and archangel like Michael or Abdiel get the credit.
voyage in order to create doubt in the minds of his generals and to seize the opportunity
to secure the thrown of hell for himself:

Midst came their mighty Paramount, and seemed / Alone th’ antagonist of
Heaven, nor less / Than Hell’s dread Emperor, with pomp supreme, / And god-like
imitated state: him round / A globe of fiery Seraphim enclosed / With bright
emblazonry, and horrent arms.\(^{35}\)

Once his power has been secured, Satan begins the next stage of using banking
pedagogical methods by commanding the fallen to feel a certain way, and he dictates how
they should manage their lives while they wait for his *heroic* return from the prophesized
world:

Go, therefore, mighty Powers, / Terror of Heaven, though fallen; intend at home, /
While here shall be your home, what best may ease / The present misery, and
render Hell / More tolerable; if there be cure or charm / To respite, or deceive, or
slack the pain / Of this ill mansion: intermit no watch / Against a wakeful foe,
while I abroad / Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek / Deliverance for
us all.\(^{36}\)

Satan relies upon his sense of *mētis*\(^{37}\) to manipulate his subjects into accepting hell as
their home and to make it “more tolerable.” His masterful use of rhetorical language
combined with his cunning wit that is most closely matched to Odysseus, permits Satan

\(^{35}\) *PL*, II. 508-13.

\(^{36}\) *PL*, II. 456-65.

\(^{37}\) Jeffrey Barnouw, *Odysseus, Hero of Practical Intelligence: Deliberation and Signs in Homer’s Odyssey* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2004): Barnouw explains that “*mētis* is a *quality* of practical intelligence, not standard equipment” (55). Mētis also includes foresight, anticipating future outcomes: “the capacity “of arriving at the most correct idea concerning the future, taking the widest point of view and foreseeing, as far as possible, the hidden advantages and disadvantages in what cannot be seen”” (56).
to set off on a heroic expedition for knowledge while the kingdom of devils willingly make their homes in this infernal abyss with great optimism under his command. In all fairness, it’s not like the fallen devils had many other options.

*The Methodology of Satan and its opposition to Of Education*

The way Satan has situated himself to take possession of hell is quite commendable; however, it is the manner in which he is reprogramming the mental state of the whole infernal host, educating the fallen to better align with his own demonic agenda, that is most remarkable. Throughout the episodes surrounding the resurrection of the fallen and the Stygian Council of the first two books, Satan commands the fallen into (re)existence, becomes their master, colludes with his primary generals while maintaining a monarchial structure, and positions himself as the heroic knight-in-shining-armor who deploys upon a dangerous quest to save his fallen subjects and to proudly earn his crown as king to the infernal kingdom. Milton crafts his Satan character as an “archetypal hero-figure” who, in the words of Isabelle MacCaffrey, helps the audience to “see the hero himself in proper perspective, as one who makes the best of a fallen and sin-bound condition.”

Satan’s pedagogy and methods of action are intentionally manipulative, and his intent is to deceive others into behaviors and actions that promote his own selfish motives,

Seducing them to our party.\(^{39}\)

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\(^{39}\) *PL*, II. 368
as Beelzebub so eloquently phrased it. Apart from his generals—Molach, Belial, Mammon and Beelzebub—no one else is permitted to speak at the Stygian Council and Beelzebub is the only advisor who provides a solution that Satan finds acceptable. Freire describes a situation among oppressed pedagogies that that illustrates the teacher/ruler student/subject dynamic that is very similar to that of Satan and his subjects: “The students, alienated like the slave in the Hegelian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher’s existence—but, unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher.”\footnote{Freire, \textit{Pedagogy of the Oppressed}, 72.} We can only speculate that Satan purposefully manipulated the Stygian Council into adopting his point of view. However, it could also be that Satan was simply making up the plan as he went along; scheming his next move as new ideas were made available by the board of advisors, always keeping just a half-step ahead of his generals, like Frye suggests. The demonic methodology of building knowledge that is taking place here is best understood in terms of Freire when he said:

The truth is, however, that the oppressed are not “marginals,” are not people living “outside” society. They have always been “inside”—inside the structure which made them “beings for others.” The solution is not to “integrate” them into the structure of the oppression, but to transform that structure so that they can become “beings for themselves.” Such transformation, of course, would undermine the oppressors’ purposes.”\footnote{Freire, 74.}

It is not that Satan wants to reintegrate back into heaven, he wants to transform the structure from divine to demonic which allows him to be the master of himself, master of all God’s unwanted children, and master to all the false gods sprung from the human

41 Freire, 74.
imagination. Regardless of what Satan’s intentions were during the moments of the council, the demonic pedagogy of dictating information with hidden motives is firmly established and the hierarchal power structure is still formed with himself as the undisputed master. All the fallen are now of the same demonic mindset; they will either destroy God’s new creation with fire or pervert it with guile. The devils will await their new king to return with further commands and news of the prophesized world that they will soon invade. To put it like Freire, Satan will return with knowledge, skewed to fit his agenda, to deposit into his subjects’ heads, perpetuating a flawed system of education based on mindless obedience.

Satan’s demonic method of educating his followers, agrees with aspects of Milton’s own life when he was writing some of his diplomatic correspondences during the 1640s. Milton’s treatise, *Of Education*, includes much of the philosophy found within the demonic educational methods, though proposed in opposition. However, the pedagogy that Satan promotes is the same style as the educational system which Milton, himself, learned from as an adolescent at Saint Paul’s grammar school. Though humanist in subject matter, which was extremely important to Milton, it was still a banking methodology of education in which he firmly opposes. Milton promotes a true humanist pedagogy as a reformation to the traditional style of education that he went through. William Melczer, former professor of Medieval and Renaissance studies at Syracuse

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42 *PL*, II. 41-42. “Whether of open war or covert guile, / We now debate. Who can advise may speak.”
43 As the next chapter will discuss, “prophecy” is a key component with divine pedagogy, the way the fallen angels once learned.
University, eloquently speaks to Milton’s humanistic curriculum in his chapter “Looking Back without Anger: Milton’s Of Education”:

Milton’s ambitious philological program, probably second to none among humanist educators, is so impressive that this aspect of the curriculum stole the limelight of the whole show. Since, as many critics have thought, he outdid all other humanists in this respect, his must be the most humanistic curriculum of all.45

The banking methodology of the seventeenth-century English curriculum focuses on the memorization and recital of facts administered by a professor or master of the subject matter. Milton strongly opines on the state of education during his lifetime that, “these are the errors, and these are the fruits of misspending our prime youth at the schools and universities as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearned.”46 For example, Milton reflects on the English curriculum that he endured during his youth when he states in Of Education that “we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scraping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year.”47 The banking education that Milton experienced was enough to “grow into hatred and contempt of learning,” as he so pointedly states.48

46 Of Education, 229.
47 Of Education, 228. Milton does not specifically state, but I believe he is suggesting that a year or two of basic grammar in Greek and Latin is sufficient to read whatever text one chooses in the original language. This follows with his humanist, freewill pedagogy.
48 Of Education, 229.
Similarly, the idea of taking autonomy over one’s own path towards knowledge is a common thread among many of Milton’s works, including *Paradise Lost* (1667). However, it can be argued easily enough that Milton’s other popular texts, such as *Of Education* (1644), *The Reason of Church Government* (1642), *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), and *A Treatise on Christian Doctrine* are very political in nature and the arguments therein demand changes to the social, political, educational, and religious structures that have been in place for hundreds of years. *The Reason of Church Government* is a response to the Catholic Church with Milton declaring for autonomous Protestant religious practices; *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* is an argument in favor of instituting a commonwealth political system and subjecting the king to the laws and punishments of the people, and *A Treatise on Christian Doctrine* is a commentary on Milton’s theological beliefs about different elements of Christianity, such as God, praying, reading scripture, death, the soul, etcetera. Milton’s theological stance is strongly against the traditions of the Catholic Church. He is very anti-Papal and condemns the Church’s leadership as a corrupt institution. Furthermore, Milton is opposed to the king’s leadership over the Church of England because, in his opinion, politics should not govern religion. Milton believes that faith should be between the individual and God, and that biblical scripture is the only governing entity. It can be argued that this idea comes to be the overall lesson for *Paradise Lost*, the end of all things is God and it is a personal choice, free will, to choose “to know god aright.” As Georgia Christopher explains, “he repeatedly writes of ‘reformation’, by which he means work of returning the English

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49 The year *A Treatise on Christine Doctrine* was written is unknown. It was discovered in 1823 among a stack of old state papers in London, when Milton was the Secretary of Foreign Tongues under Oliver Cromwell. The document was first published in 1825.

50 *Of Education*, 227.
Church—and the English nation—to the purity and simplicity of the Gospel.”51 Although Milton made many strong and logical arguments for reformation of many sorts, his work, though lauded by many, never spawned an actual revolution. Northup Frye sums up Milton’s political power perfectly: “The revolutionary artist does not have to be a social and political revolutionary as well, but he often is if he lives in a revolutionary time, though he is usually more of a nuisance than an asset to the causes he espouses.”52 Milton was most definitely a nuisance in the political sphere. He was a pest to both the Catholic Church and the English monarchy. He is what we would now call a public relations nightmare. Milton did not have the power to stir up a revolution, but he was strong enough to focus the public’s gaze on the systemic flaws of their society and towards the tyranny of their leaders in seventeenth-century England.

Arguably the most striking of his political corpus is Of Education. This is because we see exactly what Milton views as the perfect syllabus for adolescent pupils and he clearly states what he rejects as a bad model for education, something he felt very strongly about. Beyond just having strong opinions on correct pedagogical practices, Milton equates the banking methodology with the evils associated with both, the papacy of the Catholic Church, and the English monarchy. The public pamphlet, Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England (1641), identifies the two governing parties as entities symbolic of the corrupt pedagogies that Milton himself lectured against in Of Education:

52 Frye, The Return of Eden, 92.
And now wee knowe, O thou our most certain hope and defence, that thine enemies have been consulting all the Sorceries of the *great Whore*, and have join’d their Plots with that sad Intelligencing Tyrant that mischiefs the World with his Mines of *Ophir*, and lies thirsting to revenge his Navall ruines that have larded our Seas; but let them take Counsell together, and let it come to nought, let them Decree, and doe thou Cancell it, let them gather themselves, and bee scatter’d, let them etmbatttell themselves and bee broken, let them imbbattell, and be broken, for thou art with us.\(^53\)

This passage indicates Milton’s feelings about the governing authorities of England during the 1600s. He tosses the Church of England and the English monarchy, along with the Catholic Church and the papacy—which he calls “the *great Whore*”—into the same rubbish bin. Neither agency adheres to the right way towards knowledge that he sets forth in *Of Education* and illustrates via Raphael in *Paradise Lost*. But rather, as he states, the governing bodies of England during the 1600s are more like Satan in the poem who manipulates and entices their subjects with promises of a divine eutopia, the “Mines of *Ophir*.”\(^54\)

However, unlike the vicious attacks Milton makes against the Church and monarchy, *Of Education* reveals what he values and deems the most effective methodology for acquiring knowledge. Milton declares that “The end then of learning is

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\(^{54}\) The Mines of Ophir: King Solomon is said to have hosted the Queen of Sheba in Jerusalem. After witnessing the wisdom of God within Solomon, she began making contributions to build his kingdom of God. Solomon received treasure and gold from the Mines of Ophir—an undisclosed location within the realm of Sheba—every three years as contribution from the Queen of Sheba. Solomon began flooding the seas with his navy and merchants ships to anticipate the offerings of “gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks” (*KJV* 1 Kings 10.22).
to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright.” The best pedagogy encourages the student’s individual quest for knowledge rather than uniform fact memorization, “And this will give them such a real tincture of natural knowledge as they shall never forget, but daily augment with delight” as Milton proudly states. Yes, Satan’s personal quest for knowledge is more or less in agreement with the proper pedagogy that Milton sets forth—as we will explore momentarily—and is presented as the proper human pedagogy and right way to knowledge; this is later illustrated in Paradise Lost through Raphael’s education of Adam in books five through eight.

Although Satan utilizes right and proper methods for gaining his own personal knowledge by means of an individual quest (perhaps his devotion to gaining knowledge as a form of power is the result of God being his teacher and Lucifer being the perfect model student, God’s favorite among all the angels), Satan does not use this same methodology to educate his fallen subjects. He reserves aspects of the right way for knowledge acquisition solely for himself. When communicating with anyone else, he chooses to gain knowledge from his subjects by means of guile, and he chooses to dictate his commands and manipulate his subjects in a manner that opposes Milton’s preferences related to education reform.

Of Education is a correspondence addressed to “Master Samuel Hartlib” and it functions as a continuation of a previous conversation on education and teaching methods between Hartlib and Milton. Milton speculates in the introduction of the letter that if

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56 Of Education, 232.
57 Of Education, 226. Samuel Hartlib was a Cambridge scholar who pushed for healing the Protestant community and promoting literature and letters in England. Hartlib kept close correspondence with many scholars, a sort of fraternity, who shared his vision for religious peace advancing education.
Hartlib is a person of “many studious and contemplative years altogether spent in the search of religious and civil knowledge,” as Milton thinks, then Hartlib should appreciate his suggestions for education reform. In the letter, Milton presents his opinions on the traditional educational system that was in place during his time, and offers his own model of education that he has pondered upon quite frequently:

I will not resist, therefore, whatever it is either of divine or human obligement that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary idea which hath long in silence presented itself to me of a better education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice.

Milton is a polemicist. He seems to always have a point to argue and an alternative solution in hand. In this regard, Milton is eager to share his thoughts on education reform, “Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful [...]” Milton elaborates on the “many mistakes” following this statement with an attack on the numerous flaws of the English education system during the early seventeenth century:

And that which casts our proficiency therein so much behind is our time lost partly in too oft idle vacancies given both to schools and universities, partly in a preposterous exaction, forcing the empty wits of children to compose themes, verses and orations, which are the acts of the ripest judgment, and the final work

58 Of Education, 227.
59 Of Education, 227.
60 Of Education, 228. Ellipsis added for emphasis that Milton expounds on multiple points following this statement.
of a head filled by long reading and observing with elegant maxims the copious invention.\textsuperscript{61}

Milton attacks the outdated banking pedagogy that requires students to memorize and regurgitate facts. In turn, the students are eventually programmed, so to speak, to adopt the teacher’s ideologies and perspectives. Milton argues that the Catholic Church, the papacy, the monarchy, and the Church of England all operate in a very similar way. Additionally, the devils come to knowledge through their commander in a very similar manner. The devils internalize the facts given to them and share into the ideology of Satan and his hell.

\textit{Satan’s Personal Quest for Knowledge}

Satan and his advisors curiously display some effects of learning via divine and even human pedagogy because, although fallen, they are still spirits of heaven and, therefore, were once pupils of God. For example, Satan and his advisors come to knowledge in a more genuine manner—through self-guided contemplation and engaged discourse—that better agrees with the right way of education that is illustrated by Raphael and Adam, but they also rely on knowledge that was instantly made known to them via God’s omnipresent command. The army of devils on the other hand are not invited to engage in the discourse among Satan, Beelzebub, Mammon, Molach, and Belial, and do not exhibit behaviors in accordance with Milton’s views on proper education. They are simply witnesses to the council. The devils are comprised of nameless fallen angels and false gods that were resurrected and educated under Satan’s

\textsuperscript{61} \textit{Of Education}, 228.
command and do not exhibit prior divinity. Satan is a product of being God’s first and favorite angelic student, therefore, he has always been the one closest to God’s equal in terms of knowledge and power. As such, Satan’s methodology for gaining knowledge is in the vein of Milton’s proper pedagogy—though flawed—and his quest out of hell, through Chaos, and towards the newly created world of Paradise can be interpreted as a noble endeavor of discovery. This makes it easier to read Satan as a heroic figure—as so many scholars have concluded.62

Lucifer was God’s first and favorite created being before the begotten messiah, which explains why he does so many things correctly and valiantly. In the biblical book of Ezekiel, it is said of Lucifer, “Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day that thou wast created, till iniquity was found in thee.”63 Like the passage indicates, it is important to remember that Satan is fallen and, therefore, cannot be truly divine because he is eternally stained with the first transgression against God. G. Rostevor Hamilton (1944) and Thomas Stroup (1968) consider the heroic side of Satan in their own studies but look to the consequences of his performed heroism and conclude that his is the foolish way.64 Hamilton positions his argument against the opinions of Charles Williams and C.S. Lewis who completely dismiss the heroics of Satan in favor of deeming him a fool who fails to learn the most basic of lessons, which is to obey God. The question that Hamilton addresses is whether Satan is “either a fool or a hero.”65 Although Thomas Stroup’s opinions agree with those of Hamilton, Stroup takes a much stricter religious perspective

62 See: Hanford (1919); Lewalski (1999); MacCaffrey (1959); Wilding (1987).
65 Hamilton, Hero or Fool, 7.
in his examination of Satan as the hero. Where many scholars believe Satan to fulfill the role of the epic hero, or literary archetype of the hero, Stroup argues that it is blasphemous to interpret Satan as heroic and suggests that Milton’s hell is a model for the paganism that he was preaching against.\textsuperscript{66} Regardless of whether Satan fulfills the role of hero or not is irrelevant to this examination. It is obvious that Satan strays from the right path by pursuing new knowledge through his use of cleverness, guile, and manipulation, rather than more noble pursuits as Milton has organized in \textit{Of Education}. 

After the Stygian Council is adjourned Satan explores the boundaries of his new dominion; looking for an escape, he comes upon the gates of hell. The gates are threefold\textsuperscript{67} and guarded by two “formidable shapes”: Sin and Death.\textsuperscript{68} Through the right way of gaining knowledge—via personal exploration and self-guided curiosity—Satan has; a) surveyed the bounds of hell and has learned the limits of his kingdom; b) Satan has discovered the gates of hell as the location where passage is possible; c) he has identified the guardians of that threshold, residents of hell who were placed there by God. Death, an embodied creature with an unsatiated appetite for blood and flesh, aggressively charges the infernal king but,

Incensed with indignation, Satan stood / Unterrified.\textsuperscript{69}

Satan stands firm as the newly proclaimed master of hell. Death charged Satan but the rebel teacher intended to educate this infernal pupil:

\textsuperscript{67} \textit{PL}, II, 644-48. The gates are described as massive. The three sets of gates open in the middle and have three folds on each side. The gates extend from the floor to ceiling of Hell. One set is made of brass, another iron, and the third is adamantine rock. Only Sin can open the gates with the key given to her by God.
\textsuperscript{68} \textit{PL}, II, 649.
\textsuperscript{69} \textit{PL}, II, 707-08
“Retire; or taste thy folly, and learn by proof, / Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heaven.”\textsuperscript{70}

Death instantly replies with a drawn-out regurgitation of the facts that address the angels falling from heaven and landing in hell, along with Satan’s own role in the attempted coup.\textsuperscript{71} This is the demonic pedagogy of rote fact memorization and recital that Milton so adamantly protested, and Freire refers to as banking, further revealing that the hell-born are not the products of a freethinking pedagogy. Nevertheless, Death challenges his new teacher by following the recital of facts with a declaration of his own kingship over the “Hell-born.” The confrontation between Death and Satan becomes a standoff for authority:

\begin{quote}
And reckon’st thou thyself with Spirits of Heaven / Hell-doomed, and breath’st defiance here and scorn, / Where I reign king, and, to enrage thee more, / Thy king and lord? Back to thy punishment.\textsuperscript{72}
\end{quote}

With neither adversary willing to backdown, a battle of epic proportion seems inevitable. But Sin, the embodiment of repercussions for wickedness and the other guard of hell’s gate, intervenes and reveals to Satan that she is the mother of this dread creature known as Death.\textsuperscript{73} Sin then explains that Satan is the father of Death:

\begin{quote}
Hast thou forgot me, then; and do I seem / Now in thine eye so foul, once deemed so fair / In Heav’n\textsuperscript{74}
\end{quote}
Satan has either forgotten about Sin or her image has changed so much during the fall from grace that he does not recognize her. Sin recites the facts of her genesis and, like Hesiod’s account of Athena’s miraculous birth from Zeus’s head, Sin sprung forth from the mind of Lucifer. Her inception is adjoined with his very first thought of conspiring against God:

\[
\text{A goddess armed, / Out of thy head I sprung. Amazement seized / All th’ host of Heaven; they recoiled afraid / At first, and called me Sin.}^{76}
\]

But Lucifer “Becam’st enamored” with Sin. She recalls that the two had a secret affair just before the war in heaven. This scene echoes the Roman myth of Pygmalion and Galatea, where the creator fell in love with the statue of the woman that he created, providing another sliver of evidence that points to Milton’s own scholastic background. Like Galatea, but unlike Athena, Sin was impregnated by her creator. Shortly after the fall of the angels and landing in the infernal pit, Sin gave birth to Satan’s child, Death, the first being born of hell. To put it bluntly, Death ripped his way out of Sin’s womb in the most violent manner:

\[
\text{At last this odious offspring whom thou seest, / Thine own begotten, breaking violent way, / Tore through my entrails}^{79}
\]

Satan’s quest for knowledge, a shade of Milton’s right way towards education, has brought him to the gates of his family where he is reminded of his affair with Sin and their begotten son, Death. Free will comes with consequences as he is learning, and the

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76 *PL*, II, 757-60.
77 *PL*, II, 765.
79 *PL*, II, 781-83.
original parents will learn much later in the poem. Satan’s first deceitful thought has spawned a series of unforeseen consequences. But he thrives on conflict and has the know withal to navigate these sticky situations with sly rhetoric and cunning guile:

She finished; and the subtle Fiend his lore / Soon learned, now milder, and thus answered smooth.\(^{80}\)

As Satan shows, like he did at the Stygian Council, he has the ability to adapt his approach based on the situation availing itself to him. His use of force or guile depends on his targeted subject and the best way to manipulate the situation to acquire the most knowledge from his mark. In this case, Satan sees Sin and Death as potential allies that he can rely on to achieve his goals. They buy into Satan’s ideology of ruling hell, corrupting Paradise, and they are eagerly willing to serve him:

“Be this, or aught / Than this more secret, now designed, I haste / To know; and, this once known, shall soon return, / And bring ye to the place where thou and Death / Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen / Wing silently the buxom air, embalmed / With odors. There ye shall be fed and filled / Immeasurably; all things shall be your prey.”\(^{81}\)

Satan has gathered all the information he seeks from Sin and Death, including their pledge to unwavering loyalty, and the dark prince is ready to continue his vengeful mission. Before he goes, Satan promises reward for their obedience and loyalty to his cause, like he did with his generals and the devils at the end of the Stygian Council, conditioning them to serve his cause in exchange for reward. Sin recognizes how God has punished her simply for being the victim of circumstance; like Athena cursing Medusa

\(^{80}\) PL, II, 815-16.  
\(^{81}\) PL, II, 837-44.
for allowing herself to be raped by Poseidon.\textsuperscript{82} Not only does Sin pledge allegiance to Satan, but she also professes her undying devotion by her declaration to rule the new world with her lover and father:

\begin{quote}
Though wilt bring me soon / To that new world of light and bliss, among / The gods who live at ease, where I shall reign / At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems / Thy daughter and thy darling, without end.”\textsuperscript{83}
\end{quote}

Sin is proving to be a most excellent subject of Satan’s through her submission and obedience. Rather than engaging with Death in a meaningless battle of honor, Satan persuades both monsters to his side through his powerful employment of manipulation and rhetoric. He adapts his strategies to gain information and uses that knowledge to promise the devils exactly what they want to hear. This strategy has already been used during the Stygian Council and will be used again during the temptation of Eve. Once Satan has “thus answered smooth,”\textsuperscript{84} the devils adopt their master’s ideology and take action that will further promote his infernal cause. After opening the gates of hell for Satan, Sin and Death follow behind their master building a bridge to the new world, establishing an orderly corridor through Chaos that will facilitate easy passage between the domains:

\begin{quote}
Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain, / Following his tracks such was the will of Heaven, / Paved after him a broad and beaten path / Over the dark Abyss, whose boiling gulf / Tamely endured a bridge of wondrous length / From Hell continued, reaching th’ utmost orb / Of this frail World.\textsuperscript{85}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{82} Ovid, \textit{Metamorphoses}, 753-803.
\textsuperscript{83} \textit{PL}, II, 866-70.
\textsuperscript{84} \textit{PL}, II, 816.
\textsuperscript{85} \textit{PL}, II, 1024-30.
The paved bridge is symbolic of the wrong and easy way to knowledge. Rather than the student journeying through Chaos to learn for themselves, as Satan does, the teacher offers his own interpretation of information that he banks into the closed minds of his pupils. Ironically, Satan continues to practice the right motivations for building his own personal knowledge, but he lacks proper ethics; his pride is too toxic to ever be called true or right. Throughout the poem Satan is determined to know more and more and goes about seeking answers of his own self-motivated direction:

Into the wild Abyss the wary Fiend / Stood on the brink of Hell and looked a while, / Pondering his voyage.86

Satan does not rush into situations. He takes time to ponder the possibilities, he rarely speaks first, and he waits for the perfect moment to make his move. Rather, his preference seems to be that he collects as much knowledge as possible, considering multiple perspectives, before engaging in any discourse or action.

Prior to Satan discovering the construction of the infernal bridge in his wake, his exploration of Chaos exemplifies a correct model for the right way to knowledge. He navigates the hazardous conditions of Chaos where God seemingly stores the raw materials needed for world-making. This includes being shuffled through space and time of all four seasons simultaneously, while attempting to climb, fall, crawl, swim, and fly, all shifting without a moment’s notice. Through all this he persists in seeking the source of all the noise and racquet, the epicenter of discord and confusion, and his persistence pays off when he finally approaches the throne Chaos:

86 PL, II. 917-19.
Thither he plies / Undaunted, to meet there whatever Power / Or Spirit of the nethermost Abyss / Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask / Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies / Bordering on light; when straight behold the throne / Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion.  

Chaos, like Sin and Death, and the devils at the Stygian Council, simply regurgitates the facts of the fall from his perspective—banking: fact repetition, rote memorization, and recital. Once again, Satan provides only the basic facts when seeking assistance from Chaos:

Alone and without guide, half lost, I seek / What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds / Confine with Heaven; or, if some other place, / From your dominion won, th’ Ethereal King / Possesses lately.

To read it plainly, this seems to simply be a lost traveler asking for directions. It could also be that Satan purposefully played up the dramatics to make himself into a more sympathetic being. Whatever the intent, it worked. Satan expends the least amount of energy gaining knowledge about the prophesied new world.

Your dungeon, stretching far and wide beneath; / Now lately Heaven and Earth, another world / Hung o’er my realm, linked in a golden chain / To that side of Heaven from whence your legions fell.

Satan immediately speeds off from the pavilion of Chaos and soon sees the construction of the infernal bridge, a symbol of order and knowledge through Chaos, but also a symbol of corruption. This scene is a lesson for Satan as he is confronting his newly

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87 PL, II. 954-60.
88 PL, II. 975-979.
89 PL, II. 1003-06
fallen identity, though he does not reflect on this realization for two more books. The idea of Satan discovering the bridge through Chaos, with Sin and Death, at that moment reflects a sentiment Satan shares in the fourth book:

Me miserable! which way shall I fly / Infinite wrath, and infinite despair? / Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell.

This reflection may help explain how Satan coincidentally came upon the bridge that far from hell and ahead of him towards the new world. Like the way Sin spontaneously appeared from Lucifer’s thoughts, the quote illustrates how Sin and Death, along the “broad and beaten way” that links the new world with the infernal dungeon, have come with Satan and will always be markers of his presence. At the next moment the fallen archangel sees the light of heaven reaching out into the bleak edge of Chaos and Satan continues his journey of knowledge to discover God’s new world dangling in the abyss on a golden chain.

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90 PL, IV. 73-75.
91 PL, II. 1026.
92 PL, II. 1005.
CHAPTER IV
MICHAEL’S PROPHECY:
THE DIVINE WAY TO KNOWLEDGE

How soon hath thy prediction, Seer blest,
Measured this transient world, the race of time,
Till time stand fixed: beyond is all abyss,
Eternity, whose end no eye can reach.
Greatly-instructed I shall hence depart,
Greatly in peace of thought; and have my fill
Of knowledge, what this vessel can contain;
Beyond which was my folly to aspire. (PL, XII. 557-60)

In this chapter we will consider the opposite end of the pedagogical spectrum, furthest away from Satan’s demonic pedagogy—based upon the banking pedagogy and manipulation of motives—by examining the methodology of instantaneous transference of divine knowledge that is closest to God. To achieve this, we will look to the archangel Michael’s prophetic vision that he gives to Adam in books eleven and twelve of Paradise Lost, which comes in the aftermath of the original sin committed by Adam and Eve. Additionally, a survey of popular opinions on divine prophecy, visions, and dreams that
helped shape the landscape of how people of the seventeenth century may have felt about prophetic accounts, will be addressed to better understand the ways in which John Milton, the Church, the British monarchy, and the public thought about prophecy and divine vision during the Early Modern period in England.

By the time Milton was writing *Paradise Lost* during the middle of the seventeenth century, the religious concerns of prophecy were already waning from their previous state as a great controversy during the Middle Ages. It is during the English Medieval period that much was being discussed concerning the dangers of prophecy, but those concerns were dwindling by the time of the English Renaissance. So, when Milton was composing Adam’s encounter with Michael in books eleven and twelve, the inclusion of prophetic vision would have seemed mild and insignificant, though on the heels of much more severe notions towards the arts of prophecy and magic. However, as we know, Milton, the polemicist, always has an objective and Michael discloses information to Adam that can be interpreted as Milton using the poem to question seventeenth-century political and religious powers.

Medieval thought concerning prophecy may have been influenced to some degree by the classical philosopher Aristotle and his explanation of dreams in *De Somniis* and *De Divinatione per Somnum* (350 BCE). Although the great Greek philosopher lived during the fourth century BCE, his humanistic teachings have survived the test of time due to their incredible value in understanding the human condition. Aristotle’s premise in *De Somniis* is that dreams are a mental continuation of that day’s events through what he

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calls “faculty of sense-perception.” Aristotle explains, “the faculty by which, in waking hours, we are subject to illusion when affected by disease, is identical with that which produces illusory effects in sleep.” He deduces that if dreams are a lingering effect of that day’s events, then it is only natural that the same mental faculty must produce a form of insight toward the next day as we naturally anticipate the following day’s events as we lay in bed at night, preparing ourselves for sleep. This is how Aristotle understands the coming-on of dreams and mental visions. For him, dreams are basically a continuation of tired thoughts. However, Aristotle does not say these things lightly as he completely denounces any sort of connection between divination and dreams or visions in *De Divinatione per Somnum*:

> Yet the fact of our seeing no probable cause to account for such divination tends to inspire us with distrust. For, in addition to its further unreasonableness; it is absurd to combine the idea that the sender of dreams should be God with the fact that those to whom he sends them are not the best and wisest, but merely commonplace persons.

Aristotle believes that neither dreams nor visions are divine. Nor are these dreams and visions sent by God to prophesize the future. In fact, the great philosopher states that if God really wanted a message to be given to the people, he would not pick someone from a lower-class background who lacks proper education, public authority and influence. Additionally, the philosopher’s thoughts on God in *Metaphysics* are basic and logical.

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4 Aristotle, “De Divinatione per Somnum,” 626.
First, Aristotle believes that God is an absolute and motionless entity that stands at the beginning of all creation in which He (the unmovable force) set all motion in the universe by His presence. Second, Aristotle believes that God is the essence of perfection in thought which we should all strive to imitate. In both instances God is to be revered and isolated above and ahead of us, not in our presence.\(^6\) In short, Aristotle set the foundation for not trusting prophetic dreams and visions in ancient Greece, and his distrust of such events seems to have continued through late antiquity.

Throughout the period of Late Antiquity, for example, the great theologian and philosopher, Saint Augustine of Hippo, treats dreams with a certain level of distrust, much like Aristotle, in his text, *De Cura Pro Mortuis* (c. 422 AD).\(^7\) Augustine is credited as a great influencer on medieval Christianity and his texts, *City of God* (c. 426 AD)\(^8\) and *Confessions* (c. 400 AD)\(^9\) helped to significantly shape the religious discourse in Late Antiquity through the early Middle Ages. Augustine considers dreaming as an imaginative activity that is morally dangerous for us to fully trust because *authentic* prophetic visions would be too easily confused with wicked trickery and deception by evil spirits. Augustine explains this threat in *Confessions* when he said, “Sometimes however, by fallacious visions, men are cast into great errors, who deserve to suffer this.”\(^10\) Much how Aristotle distrusted dreams because of the impossibility of vetting the authenticity of the dreamer, Augustine, too, questions the authenticity of the dream and

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\(^6\) Galileo Galilei would challenge Aristotle’s position on the fixed position of God and heaven when he observed a supernova and determined it was a distant star that had exploded (Nick Kollerstrom, “Galileo and the New Star” in *Astronomy Now*, October 2004).


\(^10\) Augustine, *De Cura Pro Mortuis*, section 12.
states the dangers of believing in messages that cannot be proven to have been sent by God. In short, the opinions of Aristotle and Augustine set the precedent for future individuals to continue distrusting similar prophetic and divine events throughout the Middle Ages.

Medieval Europeans seemed to have shared an ambiguous outlook on the act of prophecy. For example, the prophetic accounts of early saints during Late Antiquity were generally accepted as holy matters of fact that were revered and celebrated by the Catholic Church, but most acts of prophecy that followed during the late Middle Ages were denounced by the Church and were usually associated with the dark arts of witchcraft, sorcery, and paganism. Dreams and visions were considered both, wicked on one hand but also divine on the other. Steven Kruger, Professor of English Medieval Studies, examines the evolution of medieval thought concerning dreams through analyses of the effectiveness of dream books—which were used to decipher the meanings of dreams—the structures of dreams, how people of the Middle Ages thought of dreams, and the influences upon the reception of visions and prophecy.\textsuperscript{11} Kruger’s investigation is based on the works of Sigmund Freud, Aristotle, Saint Augustine, Boethius, and many of the accounts of prophecy come from the works of Macrobius, Calcidius, Gregory the Great, and other prophetic accounts found throughout the Bible, specifically the narratives of Daniel and Joseph. This is all to say that prophetic vision has always been a hot topic with a close connection with religion and spirituality but, also, that divine inspiration is a highly subjective experience that cannot be considered viable evidence of God’s will. Kruger states that when linking dreams with visions of divinity or future

events, people of the Middle Ages treated dreams “with both approbation and suspicion.” Even Chaucer commentates on the role of dreams in everyday life in his book, *The Canterbury Tales* (1387-1400), when he discusses the value of dreams in “The Nun’s Priest’s Tale.” The commentary is told through a rooster who relates a dream about a beast to his hen wife who discounts the dream as insignificant and even says, “Look at Cato, who was so wise a man, Didn’t he say, ‘Take no account of Dreams?'” The consensus of medieval thought concerning dreams is an ambivalent attitude that consistently suggests that sometimes dreams should be believed, especially when those visions belong to the beloved saints of the past, and sometimes dreams and visions should be disregarded with strict prejudice as they are nothing more than works of evil meant to dissuade Christians from God’s grace.

Whereas Aristotle and Augustine make arguments that prophecy, dreams, and visions are nothing to be trusted and Steven Kruger discusses the ambivalence of prophetic reception, prophecy was also seen as a real political concern of the Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period of English history. Francis Young discusses in her book, *Magic as a Political Crime in Medieval and Early Modern England* (2018), the political history of magic (via prophecy) as it relates to treasonous acts against royalty like John of Nottingham, Edward III and the VI, the Tudors, King Henry VIII, Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, James IV, and many others. Young remarks, “The reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I saw a sustained attempt by a series of

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12 Kruger, 7.
regimes to conflate prophecy with magic and to associate both with treason.” As Young points out, the concept of magic encompassed many things, such as prophecy, malicious wishing, witchcraft, astrological sign reading, and other so-called wicked activities. However, the emphasis of Young’s examination is that magic was seen as a normal and mundane endeavor among common English people of the Middle Ages before it was conflated with malicious intent and treason. It was not until literacy spread during the sixteenth century that magic became a true political threat. Young posits that:

The expansion of literacy triggered by the English Reformation also had significant consequences for magic. Magic remained something that required specialist knowledge and it retained much of its mystique, but by the end of the sixteenth century it was no longer confined to the clergy, or even those with knowledge of ancient languages. Magic offered an opportunity to those who felt powerless against the seemingly limitless reach of early modern governments. Whereas in the Middle Ages magic had been treated as an irritating infraction against religious discipline, in the sixteenth century it had the potential to become a destabilising [sic] force. It appears that magic evolved from apothecary and herbalism that common people used in their daily lives to a more serious situation connected with evil and sorcery, which carried with it the label of treason. Young explores numerous instances of high-profile figures being impacted—or so they thought—by prophecy and condemning the “prophets” as being guilty of witchcraft and sorcery. For example, Elizabeth Barton (also known as the Holy Maid of Kent) was found guilty of treason for uttering a prophecy that

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16 Young, 84.
17 Young, 17.
foretold the death of Henry VIII. Barton was executed 21 April 1534.\textsuperscript{18} The idea of prophecy being connected to a sort of dark magic was condemned in England as a treasonous act, punishable by death, throughout the sixteenth century. The laws against witchcraft and magic went through numerous amendments. Henry VIII first implemented the death penalty for ill-intended magical practices in 1541 with the “Act against Conjunctions, Witchcrafts, Sorcery, and Inchantments.”\textsuperscript{19} His son, Edward VI, repealed the law in 1547 through 1562 and it was not until Queen Elizabeth I took the throne when the law passed by Henry VIII against witchcraft and magic was reinstated. However, Queen Elizabeth I eased the death penalty for all by marking a difference between serious and minor offences. After Elizabeth’s death in 1603, James I recrafted the laws with his Witchcraft Act of 1604.\textsuperscript{20} This act moved witch trials away from the Church and into the ordinary courts. King James I also eased the penalty of death by instituting a three-strike rule against defendants, though they were still imprisoned for an arbitrary period of time and publicly shamed and humiliated. But probably the most important aspect of James’ law is how he defines witchcraft not as superstitious fortune-telling or the crafting of herbal apothecary potions, but as communication with the devil. However, this idea would fade as the seventeenth century continued.

John Milton shares his own dream experience of a quasi-supernatural vision that filled him with a great sense of divine presence while also creating a strong sense of

\textsuperscript{18} Young, 61-2.
distrust in his own mental vision. In “Sonnet 19” (also known as Sonnet 23 in some collections, with the opening line: “Methought I saw my late espoused saint”) Milton describes a dream he has of his late wife, Katherine Woodcock, coming to him in his sleep but then he awakens a moment before they embrace. In the fourteen-line poem he does not speak of evil, darkness, or distrusting the vision, but he rather has a positive and uplifting experience, “Her face was veiled, yet to my fancied sight, / Love, sweetness, goodness in her person shined.” This positive personal experience is indicative of Milton’s overall view on dreams, and quite possibly the general English reception of prophecy, when he wrote the poem in 1658. It is this mild demeanor toward dreams, visions, and prophecy that Milton carries into his composition of Michael’s prophecy to Adam in books eleven and twelve of Paradise Lost, and which can be argued is reflective of seventeenth-century English views that have evolved from antiquity through the Middle Ages and into the Early Modern period of Milton’s life.

In the two books leading up to Michael’s arrival readers witness the episode of the original sin where Eve is tempted by the serpent into eating from the Tree of Knowledge and then bringing the forbidden fruit back to Adam. Eve eats the fruit because she is deceived into believing that she can ascend to equal God, and Adam eats the fruit to share in whatever punishment may come to Eve because he loves her. The two then engage in lustful sex and emerge from the bower with a sense of guilt and shame for the first time. When God discovers the transgression he sends his Son, the Messiah, to cast judgment

21 I use the term “mental vision” here because when the sonnet was composed in 1658, Milton had already been blind for many years. Milton lost his sight in 1652.
23 “Sonnet 19,” lines 10-11.
upon the first humans. Following their judgment in book ten, the archangel Michael is chosen by God to banish Adam and Eve from the garden, but only after the angel shows Adam how his actions have punished the future of humankind.

Milton bases the entirety of the ending of his epic on the prophetic visions forced upon Adam by the archangel, Michael. Furthermore, the decision to rely on prophetic vision is not that of Michael as the order for the instant transference of knowledge comes straight from the mouth of God, the unmovable force who is at the origin of all human motion:

reveal / To Adam what shall come in future days, / As I shall thee enlighten.\(^{24}\)

Not only does Milton give authority to God for the pending vision in this line, something that goes against the opinions of Aristotle and Augustine, but it also helps to emphasize the authority of the divine transfer of knowledge: God “shall thee enlighten.” First, God must “enlighten” Michael through the instant transference of knowledge about the future of the human world so that he may then transfer that prophetic knowledge to Adam. The idea of being enlightened with the full knowledge of God about the future of humanity can be compared to the modern concept of uploading a program to a computer. The recipient of the knowledge (Adam) is programmed to receive invaluable information (the word of God) that he did not seek and received in a non-replicable method from a divine being (the archangel, Michael).\(^{25}\)

\(^{24}\) *PL*, XI. 113-15.

\(^{25}\) This concept of uploading information as the most effective means of transferring knowledge conjures many questions related to artificial intelligence in the 21st century. However, that is outside the scope of this examination.
Once the archangel descends from heaven and lands in the Garden of Eden in book eleven, Michael proclaims God’s intentions regarding Adam and Eve’s expulsion from Paradise. Michael declares:

know, I am sent / To show thee what shall come in future days

Michael’s statement of purpose is then followed shortly thereafter with the ascension of Adam into the ether of God’s vision, which is necessary for Adam to receive the instant transference of divine knowledge:

So both ascend / In the visions of God

What is interesting about the divine transfer of knowledge taking place is that Adam did not seek this information, this knowledge was not the product of active discourse or self-guided curiosity, it was uploaded directly into his mind like a computer program. Adam must temporarily “ascend” into a divine state to receive “the visions of God,” though the vision is exactly that: just a series of images concerning people who have yet to be born and are, in fact, just figments of Adam’s imagination since these images are intangible and only survive in Adam’s imagination.

Because Adam is human, and now stained with sin, he is not equipped to receive divine knowledge. Michael is then tasked with preparing Adam mentally and physically to receive the vision of God:

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26 PL, XI. 356-57.
27 PL, XI. 376-77.
Michael from Adam’s eyes the film remov’d[^28] / Which that false fruit that promised clearer sight / Had bred; then purged with euphrasy and rue / The visual nerve, for he had much to see; / And from the well of life three drops instilled.[^29]

Michael first removes the film of sin from Adam’s eyes and then lubricates his eyes with divine liquid from the well of life, from which the prophetic visions are permitted. Michael shows Adam the significant events of future generations who come from indulging in the forbidden fruit and then the lustful sexual union that followed, which brought upon them such a sense of shame. Michael prefaces the prophetic visions with the disclaimer that everything Adam will see stems from that original sin:

> “Adam, now ope thine eyes, and first behold / The effects, which thy original crime hath wrought / In some to spring from thee; who never touched / The excepted tree; nor with the snake conspired; / Nor sinned thy sin; yet from that sin derive / Corruption, to bring forth more violent deeds.”[^30]

The information shared in Michael’s vision to Adam comes from books of the Bible, which is the future for Adam and the distant past for Milton’s audience. This is a clever maneuver by Milton that allows him to tell the future to Adam in a way that has already been verified by audiences as the biblical events exists in the distant historical past of a perpetual present.

The first vision that Michael shows Adam is one of tragedy. Adam learns of the first homicide through visions of his future sons, Cain and Abel.[^31] Michael shows Adam

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[^28]: “Michael from Adam’s eyes the film removed” (PL XI 412) echoes the acts of Raphael and Tobias in the biblical Book of Tobit: “Then with both his hands, he peeled off the white spots from the corners of Tobit’s eyes / Tobit embraced him and began to cry, saying, “I see you, my child and light of my eyes!” (Tobit 11:12-13, Common English Bible).

[^29]: PL. XI. 412-16.


[^31]: PL. XI. 429-49.
numerous deeds of wickedness that will spread over the earth—this includes
blasphemous kings, false gods, bloody wars, greed of empires, lustful acts of depravity,
etcetera. The prophecy is a series of visions that illustrate many of the infamous events
described in the books of the Old Testament. Adam sees how his and Eve’s defiance of
God in the garden has escalated into a broad wickedness that has infected the future
world and how that great evil is cleansed by God by means of the creator sending a great
flood. After numerous visions of murder, horror, war, filth, and all the other visions of
sin, Adam finally sees a vision of the Messiah. The first man learns of the sacrifice of
Jesus and how his actions will finally forgive the sins of Adam, Eve, and their
descendants. It should be mentioned that Adam cannot directly use any of this newly
acquired information in the traditional sense.

Adam cannot interact with the prophetic visions, he cannot speak to those whom
he sees, he cannot interfere and alter the course of history, nor will he ever meet most of
the people found in these visions. He can only passively absorb the information as it is
forced upon him. At first, Adam is not pleased with the accumulation of divine
knowledge:

O visions ill foreseen! better had I / Lived ignorant of the future, so had borne /
My part of evil only, each day’s lot / Enough to bear; those now, that were
dispensed / The burden of many ages, on me light / At once, by my
foreknowledge gaining birth / Abortive, to torment me ere their being, / With
thought that they must be. Let no man seek / Henceforth to be foretold, what shall

\[^{32}\text{PL. XI. 712-869.}\]
befall / Him or his children; evil he may be sure, / Which neither his foreknowing can prevent\textsuperscript{33}

Adam recognizes his own fault in the moral pollution of future generations. He knows that he is to blame for their punishment. Adam even goes as far as stating that knowing how his sin has affected the future world, including the fratricide of his own sons, is a great torment to his mental faculties, a burden that he must now carry to his death.

Michael does little to console the distraught Adam; the archangel is simply the medium, the facilitator of prophecy, in this episode between Adam and God. Instead of reassuring Adam, Michael presses on further with the transfer of knowledge. However, the archangel recognizes the frailty of Adam’s mentality and moves to a more dictated lecture-style approach for transmitting the rest of the information.

Thus thou hast seen one world begin, and end; / And Man, as from second stock, proceed. / Much thou hast yet to see; but I perceive / Thy mortal sight to fail; objects divine / Must needs impair and weary human sense: / Henceforth what is to come I will relate; / Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.\textsuperscript{34}

Adam’s mortal sight is not strong enough to sustain this bombardment of divine information, a sign that the instantaneous transference of divine knowledge is too powerful for the human mind to absorb, even with divine assistance. Michael moves to a form of pedagogy that is more closely related to Satan’s demonic way of transferring knowledge in hell, that of Freire’s banking pedagogy. Adam is now to assume the position of an apt pupil and Michael the pronouncer of things to come.

\textsuperscript{33} PL, XI. 763-73.
\textsuperscript{34} PL, XII. 6-12.
Milton seems to acknowledge the human capacity to absorb and retain knowledge, and how human mental faculties can only contemplate higher thoughts for a finite period of time before the discourse “impair and weary human sense.”35 Milton’s own curriculum that he presents in his treatise Of Education reflects the fact that human senses cannot innately comprehend divine nature, but it takes a lifetime of education to prepare one’s mind for the journey in “regaining to know God aright,”36 which, in Milton’s opinion, should be the ultimate goal of any educated person. Milton states that “our understanding cannot in this body found itself but on sensible things, nor arrive so clearly to the knowledge of God and things invisible.”37 Milton tells Samuel Hartlib in Of Education that the curriculum is long, and the body and mind must first be primed with a lifetime of education in order to contemplate the higher thoughts that will foster an everlasting relationship with God.

The sort of knowledge transfer that Milton is speaking of in the episode between Michael and Adam translates to the state of education in England during the seventeenth century. Whereas demonic pedagogy focuses on the commanding style of communicating information and how underlings mindlessly obey their master and blindly follow orders, instantaneous transfer of divine knowledge, though perfectly ideal and efficient, is not suitable for human use nor is it replicable as a viable mode of education or communication—though the Catholic clergy may attempt to transfer concepts of the divine into their congregations. Even if instantaneous transference was possible (which it is not), it is much too trying on human mental faculties when done properly as Adam

35 PL, XII. 10.
36 Of Education, 227.
37 Of Education, 227.
demonstrates. Additionally, the forced transference of knowledge challenges God’s notion of free will, a major fundamental block of the Christian faith. God speaks to Raphael concerning Adam’s free will in book five of the poem:

And such discourse bring on, / As may advise him of his happy state, / Happiness in his power left free to will, / Left to his own free will, his will though free, / Yet mutable.\(^{38}\)

In this passage, God is telling the archangel, Raphael, instructions for conversing with Adam about his status in Eden and the potential dangers that may infiltrate Paradise. Milton’s God emphasizes the right of free will for humans three times in two lines. This seems like a very important piece of information that Milton deliberately inserts into the narrative that aligns more with his lean for Arminianism\(^{39}\) and pushes against denominations like Calvinism and Lutheranism which believe in predestination to some degree.\(^{40}\) However, the commentary on free will, though aligning with Catholicism and the anglicized Church of England, follows the emphasis of free will with the hedge: “Yet mutable.” This final clause questions the beliefs of the warring denominations. Yes, free will is the premise of humanity but it can be muted or taken away by a divine power. And since popes and kings are seen as ordained by God, then they would claim authority by the power of God to revoke the free will of practically any person whom they opposed.

The whole concept of divine knowledge and the method in which it is transferred is somewhat problematic. On the one hand, Michael illustrates the perfect method of

\(^{38}\) *PL*, V. 233-37.

\(^{39}\) Arminianism pushes for human free will as evidence of God’s love and sovereignty rather than the Calvinist view of predestination where God has a plan for us all.

\(^{40}\) Gale Earnest Carruthers argues that Milton’s beliefs in Arminianism is the “underlying theology of his masterpiece. Carruthers relies on Milton’s own *De Doctrina Christiana* to establish the similarities and differences of Milton’s religious beliefs to Arminianism, which was a direct reaction to the strict nature of Calvinism.
sharing information with another being, a direct link to God’s vision, in which Adam learns the future history of the world in a matter of moments. However, we also see that humans are not mentally equipped to acquire a world’s worth of knowledge through instant transmission, though God communicates his will to the angels in this manner. This is the case in book II when Beelzebub recalls the prophecy of a new creation, knowledge that was shared by God with all the angels before the fallen were cast into hell:

There is a place / (If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven / Err not) another
World, the happy seat / Of some new race, called Man, about this time / To be created like to us, though less / In power and excellence, but favored more / Of him who rules above; so was his will / Pronounced among the gods, and by an oath / That shook Heaven’s whole circumference confirmed.41

Although God communicates in this fashion and the angels are accustomed to this method of instantaneous transference of divine knowledge, complications arise when humans and the divine attempt to communicate with one another using this mode of instant transference as the engagement between Michael and Adam has shown.

Another problematic detail with the transfer of divine knowledge concerns the content of Michael’s prophecy. As Michael displays throughout the final two books, intuition assumes an important role in interpreting the information of God’s vision. This is because the archangel simply knows what is going on in the future world. The archangel receives, interprets, and projects onto Adam simultaneously. Not only can Adam not process information in that manner, but there is also no relatable context in which Adam can draw upon for creating meaning in what he is experiencing. The

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41 PL, II. 345-53.
prophecy is full of numerous instances of what Lois Althusser calls “interpellation,” with Michael hailing into existence people and places of the Bible—which has, in that moment, yet to be written.

(Things by their names I call, though yet unnam’d)

All prophecy, that of the royal stock / Of David (so I name this king)

Michael shows Adam the great places, infamous events, and people of the biblical future but problematically names them prior to their existence, ultimately nullifying the concept of free will. Because Michael hails these people and events into existence via God’s vision, the archangel quite literally takes free will from future generations by illustrating the predestined series of events to take place. Another example of the intuitive knowledge and interpellation that is common with the divine transfer of knowledge comes when Michael prophesizes the birth of Jesus:

that the true / Anointed King Messiah might be born / Barred of his right; yet at his birth a star, / Unseen before in Heaven, proclaims him come; / And guides the eastern sages

The sages are receivers of divine knowledge as their actions show. They intuitively knew the Messiah would come at a specific moment in time and the sages instinctively knew to

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42 Louis Althusser, “Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses,” in Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays (Monthly Review Press, 1970). Althusser explains that “interpellation” (also known as “hailing”) is the act of a figure being called into their own existence, often as a subject to a governing force. In this case, Michael is hailing into existence the futures of biblical figures, granting their future existence in history.

43 PL, XII. 140.

44 PL, XII. 325-26.

45 Jason A. Kerr, “Prophesying the Bible: The Improvisation of Scripture in Books 11 and 12 of Paradise Lost,” Milton Quarterly 47, no. 1 (2013): 13-33. Kerr’s article focuses on an element that is closely related to this part of the interpretation of Michael’s prophecy which should be acknowledged. He examines the challenges associated with Adam not being able to understand the context of written language when Michael discusses the composition of the Bible. Afterall, Adam does not have any knowledge of reading or writing. Kerr goes on to explore how Paradise Lost can be read as a precursor to the Bible.

46 PL, XII. 358-63.
travel in the direction of the new star in the heavens. Once again, the concept of free will, now being applied to the eastern sages, is not applicable because, they are already predestined to take that journey as Michael prophesized. The actions of the archangel and his prophecy complicates Christian notions associated with fundamental ideas of free will and predestination.

Another complication that arises with Michael’s prophecy is one of governing power during Milton’s lifetime in seventeenth-century England. We see how divine power can award free will or mute that right and, in the reality of Milton’s England, that power was often vested in kings and popes. The Catholic Church and the British monarchy each assumed positions of power over their subjects and justified their positions by claiming ordination by God. During the prophecy Adam witnesses a foreign world with many things that he does not understand because he is lacking contextual knowledge to generate meaning from the vision. One of these moments of confusion concerns the Shinarian king, Nimrod, and the construction of the Tower of Babel. Adam does not comprehend the premise of rulers over the people:

O execrable son so to aspire / Above his brethren, to himself assuming / Authority usurped, from God not given: / He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl, / Dominion absolute; that right we hold / By his donation; but man over man / He made not lord; such title to himself / Reserving, human left from human free.47

Milton’s polemic nature takes hold, and he attacks both pope and king with the rhetoric of the archangel’s message. The knowledge being delivered here harks back to the fundamental right of free will and how God has granted this gift to everyone, and no

47 PL, XII. 64-71.
human has the power to rule over any other human, “man over man,” a common practice by monarchs and the clergy alike during the history of Early Modern Europe. The power of autonomy and personal freedom is something Milton feels deeply about. Milton clearly states his position regarding personal freedom and self-governance in his Protestant treatise *On Christian Doctrine*:

I intend also to make people understand how much it is in the interests of the Christian religion that men should be free not only to sift and winnow any doctrine, but also openly to give their opinions of it and even to write about it, according to what each believes [...] Without this freedom to which I refer, there is no religion and no gospel.

The sentiment of personal freedom and autonomy is littered throughout Milton’s epic, his poetry, personal correspondences, and political treatises. He often asks the question, “How can we submit as free men?” Milton prefaces this question in his letter, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), a proclamation on the social contract and conditions between the ruler and the subjects of a governed nation, with a philosophical statement of personal freedom granted by God, an innate knowledge of God’s divine will:

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48 Milton makes a strong argument for personal autonomy and freedom of speech in his written speech, *Areopagitica* (1644). This text discusses freedom of publication and the issues with prior censorship. He argues that people are ordained by God with freedom and people should be allowed to express themselves in word and text without the fear of having their ideas censored. Although this is a better illustration of Milton’s argument for freedom of expression, the content does not fit into the topic of this examination.


No man who knows aught can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were, by privilege above all the creatures, born to command and not to obey.

Milton’s points on personal freedoms and liberty are clearly stated as he does not mince words regarding his beliefs. The ruler-subject relationship of seventeenth-century England is extremely problematic for Milton, and he addresses this contention by pointing out the ways in which Satan communicates with his fallen brethren. These beliefs did not simply rest on the page passively waiting to be taken up. It is this idea of freedom, free will, that anchors much of the curriculum that Milton developed.

Milton’s values regarding education, governance, and freedom are clearly noted and prefaces his correspondence *On Education* where he lays out a curriculum that incorporates free will, personal autonomy, and general curiosity and inclination to creatively engage in religious and political discourse. The values stated in the letter to Samuel Hartlib form the foundation of educational reform that Milton proposes. He communicates to Hartlib, “I will point ye out the right path of a virtuous and noble education.” Notice that Milton’s primary objective is not an instantaneous transference of knowledge that is presented by the episode of Michael’s prophetic visions. This is because, as Milton illustrates in the latter books of *Paradise Lost*, an instant and direct transfer of knowledge is a *divine* pedagogical method that is not replicable by humans; the closest alternative would be a banking pedagogy that is practiced by Satan with his demonic subjects. However, it is the idea of self-driven, subjective, autonomous education that Milton argues is the most effective way for the human mind to pursue

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51 *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, 277.
52 *Of Education*, 229.
knowledge with the goal being to “repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to
know God aright.”

It is only by way of a thorough and challenging education that Milton suggests it is possible to know God aright and the way towards a relationship with God is through the engagement of His written word. This sentiment is echoed by Michael in the twelfth book:

Left only in those written records pure, / Though not but by the Spirit

understood

In order to come into God’s grace, one must engage with the “written records pure” in order to absorb the holy spirit. This absorption of God only comes thorough academic training that improves and strengthens human mental faculties to facilitate an understanding of divine knowledge, an issue Adam displays as he relies on the divine assistance of the archangel to temporarily grant him the ability to share in God’s vision, which is still barely enough for Adam to comprehend. Where Satan shows us the demonic way to knowledge that is based on commands and orders of a master/subject relationship—reflected by the real problematic relationships between rulers and subjects—Michael’s prophecy provides the audience with an example of the instantaneous transference of divine knowledge although it is nonreplicable by postlapsarian humans. We should also remember that Adam and Eve had no problems communicating with God prior to the original sin. For example, in book eight Adam recalls that he and God walked through the garden together naming the plants and creatures of Paradise and God even warned Adam of the Tree of Knowledge.

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54 PL, XII. 513-14.
55 PL, VIII. 323-33.
God communicates with Eve at her awakening into existence about her position in the
garden, her connection to Adam, and her role as wife.⁵⁶ Although God can communicate
perfect understanding instantly, humans are not equipped with the necessary mental
faculties to replicate such transmission. The perfect way towards human knowledge, as
Milton envisions it, is exemplified in the epic with the discourse between Raphael and
Adam throughout the middle four books of the poem (books five through eight) and is
supported by Milton’s own humanistic curriculum presented in *Of Education.*

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⁵⁶ *PL,* IV. 467-75.
CHAPTER V

RAPHAEL’S DISCOURSE:

THE RIGHT WAY TO KNOWLEDGE

O favorable Spirit, propitious guest,
Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set
From center to circumference; whereon,
In contemplation of created things,
By steps we may ascend to God. (PL, V. 507-12)

According to John Milton, life is a journey of knowledge and the goal of a life of education is to foster a closer relationship with God, a belief that reflected his paramount religious position as a strict Protestant.¹ Georgia Christopher, a renowned Miltonist and English Renaissance scholar, states that “Protestant thought profoundly shaped Milton’s

¹ Protestantism is inwardly driven, it’s individual, whereas the Anglican Church of England and Roman Catholic Churches are more focused on the institutions of Christianity rather than fostering a personal relationship with God.
poetry and helps explain its distinctive features.”¹ If we are to achieve the goal of education as Milton states, we must achieve this goal through dedicated studies, pious faith, noble behavior, and most importantly, this will take a lifetime to achieve.

Christopher’s argument is supported by Milton, himself, when he tells Samuel Hartlib—a fellow seventeenth century educator and reformer, who is known as “the intelligencer”²—in his letter Of Education, that:

the end then of learning is to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest by possessing our souls of true virtue, which being united to the heavenly grace of faith makes up the highest perfection.³

Of Education is arguably among Milton’s most profound works as it is not merely a letter to a respected colleague,⁴ but rather a micro-manifesto where Milton connects his beliefs in God with the state of the profane world around him and offers insight on how to connect the two.⁵ The letter focuses on the importance of education, the state of seventeenth-century education in England and the faults with the educational systems in place, Milton’s own curriculum that he used to educate his nephews, and he states all of

⁴ It is important to note that the letter to Hartlib was in response to the curriculum that Hartlib and his circle of contemporaries were supporting, which Milton opposed, though they shared the same goal of coming to know God. However, Milton’s curriculum produced scholars while Hartlib’s prepared students for vocational positions.
this with the intended outcome being that human nature is destined to repair the sins of our ancestors in order to flourish once more in the grace of our creator.

Analyses of Raphael’s discourse with Adam is not necessarily a novel endeavor. However, most scholars have viewed the engagement through lenses of matrimony where the loyalty between Adam and Eve is analyzed;⁶ the use of rhetoric, like Kimberly Johnson and Dwight Lindley III who each argue that Raphael taught Adam that sin was possible and is therefore implicit in the first humans’ fall from grace;⁷ interpreting linguistic choices and application;⁸ heroism, with scholars debating who the true protagonist of the epic ought to be;⁹ or in comparative biblical scripture analyses.¹⁰ Much less scholarship is focused on Raphael’s connection with education. Some of the scholars who do consider education include Stanley Fish’s perspective of the reader being the one educated via our vicarious experiences of relating to Adam and Eve, which is agreed upon by Rostrevor Hamilton who seconds the shared position of the reader who learns the dangers of sin through the vicarious fall of Adam, Eve, and Satan.¹¹ Stephen Schuler discusses function of the angels’ dialogue in concert but does not single out Raphael as a great educator.¹² George Williamson looks at the effects of Adam’s education being a dramatic performance set by Milton who was working within the constraints of creatively translating a prior text; that being the Bible.¹³ Finally, Patrick Cook looks at the spatial effects on the profane world that comes as a result of Adam and Eve’s education—thus

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⁹ John M. Steadman (1967).
¹¹ Fish (1998); Hamilton (1944).
¹³ Williamson (1965).
the world opens up to them after obtaining the gift or curse of knowledge. S. Humphries Gurteen even points to Milton’s own vanity by suggesting that the author’s intention was always to “immortalise himself.” But none look at Raphael and his lesson as the quintessential model for human education that Milton advocated for during his lifetime in during the seventeenth century.

This chapter will rely on Milton’s own opinions on education as the foundation in which to interpret and analyze Raphael’s education of Adam as the perfect path towards knowledge acquisition. Milton’s epic is essentially his own vision of the world as we know it, what religious philosopher Mircea Eliade would call an “imago mundi” or “system of the world.” Additionally, this illustration of education between the two characters—Raphael and Adam—reflects Milton’s own curriculum and his agenda for seventeenth-century English education reform. The episode between Adam and Raphael illustrates how natural self-guided discourse leads to self-discovery and knowledge. The end, or goal, of education that Milton states in Of Education is emphasized throughout Paradise Lost. The process of continuously working to repair the original sin of the ancestral parents serves as the primary example that the descendants of Adam and Eve must ascertain to regain God’s grace. Michael’s prophecy in books eleven and twelve illustrates a moment in which only a select few are living with the intended goal in mind:

14 Cook (1996).
16 Eliade says that the system of the world is predicated on the following: “a) a sacred place constitutes a break in the homogeneity of space; b) this break is symbolized by an opening by which passage from one cosmic region to another is made possible (from heaven to earth and vice versa; from earth to the underworld); c) communication with heaven is expressed by one or another of certain images, all of which refer to the axis mundi: pillar (cf. the universalis columna), ladder (cf. Jacob’s ladder), mountain, tree, vine, etc.; (d) around this cosmic axis lies the world (=our world), hence the axis is located “in the middle,” at the “navel of the earth”; it is the Center of the World” (Eliade, 37).
By their guise / Just men they seemed, and all their study bent / To worship God aright, and know his works / Not hid; nor those things last, which might preserve / Freedom and peace to Men.\textsuperscript{17}

Although Milton speaks here of the “just men,” who can be identified as descendants of Seth—the third son of Adam and Eve—being humbler than the wicked lineage of Cain, the just and righteous appear to be in short supply before the arrival of God’s begotten Son, the Messiah.\textsuperscript{18} True and widespread worship of God\textsuperscript{19} is only finally achieved after the Messiah’s sacrifice, which mediates the relationship-rebuilding process between humanity and their God.

Human education was not presented as a topic of great concern in the poem until Eve reveals to Adam the wicked nature of her dream in book five. The catalyst for this epiphany comes through the tempting tongue of Satan:

\begin{quote}
But of offence and trouble, which my mind / Knew never till this irksome night.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

It is only when Satan’s tried temptation is revealed that God commands Raphael, “the sociable spirit,”\textsuperscript{21} to educate Adam of “his happy state” in Paradise.\textsuperscript{22} God recognizes the dangers associated with his human creatures not being equipped with adequate knowledge to protect themselves and, thus, sends the archangel which he deems most

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{PL}, XI. 574-80.
\textsuperscript{18} In the Book XI footnotes of \textit{Paradise Lost: A Biblically Annotated Edition}, the editors identify the wicked people in the tent city, specifically Jabal, as “a descendant of Cain by six generations” (footnote 112) and that the “just men” were “righteous descendants of Seth, the third son of Adam and Eve” (footnote 116).
\textsuperscript{19} “True and widespread” is emphasized here as a purely Christian ideology. This does not apply to Judaism who, although the Jewish people worshipped God, they did not worship the Messiah. Milton clearly notes his Christian beliefs being aligned with the Christian church and in the personal worship of Jesus Christ through multiple texts.
\textsuperscript{20} \textit{PL}, V. 34-5.
\textsuperscript{21} \textit{PL}, V. 221.
\textsuperscript{22} \textit{PL}, V. 234.
qualified to teach and converse with Adam in using the method of natural self-guided
discourse, which will prove to be the most successful pedagogy in educating the human
mind.\textsuperscript{23} It should be noted that when considering the role that Raphael actually has in the
Bible as a healer, protector of travelers, conqueror of evil, and bringer of knowledge in
the books of Tobit,\textsuperscript{24} Enoch,\textsuperscript{25} John,\textsuperscript{26} and Revelation,\textsuperscript{27} it makes sense why Milton calls
upon Raphael for the purpose of Adam’s education that both offers knowledge as
protection against evil and as a tool to rely upon when travelling away from God’s
Paradise at the end of book twelve. Unlike Satan’s problematic master/subject pedagogy
or Michael’s non-replicable instantaneous transference of divine knowledge, Raphael, the
great educator of humanity, will permit Adam to meander, steering the conversation in
and out of the topics of his curiosity by means of engaging in a mutual discourse.

To intellectual; give both life and sense, / Fancy and understanding; whence the
soul / Reason receives, and reason is her being, /Discursive, or intuitive; discourse
/ Is often yours, the latter most is ours, / Differing but in degree, of kind the
same.\textsuperscript{28}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{23} \textit{PL}, V. 233-34: “and such discourse bring on, / As may advise him of his happy state.”
\textsuperscript{24} In the Book of Tobit, Raphael guides Tobias to the house of Sarah, Raphael gives Tobias the knowledge
and tools to defeat the demon, Asmodeus, and then the angel heals the blindness of Tobit by removing the
film from his eyes.
\textsuperscript{25} 1 Enoch 9-11 discusses God’s commandment to Raphael. The archangel is to bind Azazel (a fallen angel
who taught humans how to make weapons in Enoch 8:1) and cast him into hell. Then, the angel is to
cleanse the Earth of the filth created by the fallen angels.
\textsuperscript{26} Though Raphael is not specifically named, it is commonly inferred by the Catholic Church that Raphael
is the unnamed angel of John 5:1-4. The angel will periodically stir a pool of water outside Jerusalem and
whoever enters the water first after the angel will be healed of his or her ailments.
\textsuperscript{27} Revelation 20:1-3 mentions an unnamed angel that is also thought to be Raphael, which aligns with
Milton’s own description of the archangel: “And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of
the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, which is
the Devil, and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him
up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be
fulfilled: and after that he must be loosed a little season.”
\textsuperscript{28} \textit{PL}, V. 485-90.
\end{footnotesize}
Raphael acknowledges that there are differences in the mental and communicative abilities between divine and human beings when it comes to conveying ideas. The archangel accounts for the nuance but also clarifies that although the methodologies are different, the results can be the same if the transfer of knowledge is performed correctly, “differing but in degree, of kind the same.” Additionally, Raphael maintains that God’s message will be delivered, but in a manner that the archangel deems most appropriate for the current situation, and which will have the highest odds of success. In doing so, Raphael essentially becomes the architect of human discourse and grand teacher of all humanity. Where Stanley Fish argues that Milton uses the epic, holistically and contained, to teach his readers and help them inwardly repair the ruins of their original ancestors, the argument here shifts to suggest that Milton maintains the role of great educator but projects his lesson outwardly, vicariously, channeled through the sociable archangel, Raphael.

Other scholars have also acknowledged possible pedagogical motives that Milton may have had when composing the epic, which reflect the idea presented here that Raphael could be interpreted as a surrogate figure for Milton himself, and Adam as a stand-in for Milton’s fit audience. For example, Richard DuRocher speaks to Milton’s nature as a teacher and suggests that everything Milton does is carried out with some sort of educational purpose, “Milton’s development as a poet, moreover, never outgrows the didactic role of the teacher-poet.”

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was second to that most important priority of his life. Barbara Lewalski, a famed Miltonist, furthers the notion of Milton’s motives as a teacher when she states,

“Milton’s comments on poetry in *The Reason of Church-Government* and the pedagogical ideal he sets forth in *Of Education* suggest that as teacher and rhetor he wishes to advance our understanding through a literary regiment at once intellectually demanding and delightful.”³⁰

Milton’s comments on poetry that Lewalski hones in on suggests that poets and their works are “the inspired gifts of God” and that good poets have power to inform, persuade, afflict, and heal that is second only to the power of the pulpit.³¹ The statements by DuRocher and Lewalski suggest the importance that Milton places on education, a priority he sets above all else. Additionally, these statements are further proven true if we consider the archangel Raphael to be a symbolic figure for Milton himself, a sort of surrogate instructor.

Milton’s God did not send another archangel like Gabriel, who was already in Paradise supervising security patrols, or Abdiel who was presently watching over the garden from a vantage point blinded by the sun. Nor did God send his begotten Son or the archangel prince, Michael, to educate Adam prior to the original sin. No, these figures are not adequately prepared to educate the first humans. Gabriel and Abdiel can be seen as too militant if we consider their roles as sentinels who watch and protect the garden, even aggressively confronting Satan in book four; or too God-like as we see when Michael overloads Adam’s mental capacity for divine information; and the Messiah only comes

many generations down the line as a sacrificial forgiveness for the original sin, much too late to educate the original parents. Additionally, the Messiah could not *successfully* educate Adam and Eve without voiding his own future sacrifice and significance in the history of the world as the crucified savior. Instead, God sends the spirit who he felt could communicate most authentically with the first human, using didactic methods of communication that are agreeable to Adam’s mental faculty. This is clearly stated when Raphael arrives in Paradise in book five and begins preparing himself for the best way to express such lofty ideas with the first man. The archangel comes to the conclusion that the most effective mode of communicating God’s will, in a way that will be truly understood by the human mental faculty, is through mutual discourse:

> High matter thou enjoin’st me, O prime of men, / Sad task and hard: For how shall I relate / To human sense the invisible exploits / Of warring Spirits? how, without remorse, / The ruin of so many glorious once / And perfect while they stood? how last unfold / The secrets of another world, perhaps / Not lawful to reveal? Yet for thy good / This is dispensed; and what surmounts the reach / Of human sense, shall I delineate so, / By likening spiritual to corporal forms, / As may express them best; though what if Earth / Be but a shadow of Heaven, and things therein / Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?\(^{32}\)

Raphael shares a moment of genuine personal reflection from the perspective of an educator. He ponders how, in fact, he can share information with a profane being whose contextual background knows only the Garden of Eden and nothing beyond the gates of Paradise. We must remember that Adam knows nothing of heaven and hell, of Chaos, of

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\(^{32}\) *PL*, V. 563-76. Milton capitalizes Earth in line 574 but does not in line 576. This is not a mistake.
the war in heaven, nor does he know of sin, evil, death, or Satan. Raphael emphasizes the question of how he can transmit divine knowledge in such a way that the ignorant Adam can understand and learn these towering existential concepts. The archangel decides that he must use the world that Adam knows as the point of reference for all comparisons for the human and the angel to settle on a common ground for their discourse to have the best chance at successfully teaching Adam God’s universal truths.

Although Paulo Freire discusses oppressive pedagogical styles that logically align better with Satan’s methodology for sharing knowledge, or even Michael’s forced lecture, Freire does, however, acknowledge the proper methodology toward effective education that reflects Raphael’s, and in turn, Milton’s own position as an educator. Freire states:

Yet only through communication can human life hold meaning. The teacher’s thinking is authenticated only by the authenticity of the student’s thinking. The teacher cannot think for her students, nor can she impose her thought on them. Authentic thinking, thinking that is concerned about reality, does not take place in ivory tower isolation, but in communication. If it is true that thought has meaning only when generated by action upon the world, the subordination of students to teachers becomes impossible.33

As Freire notes, authentic thinking can only come through genuine communication between equally engaged mentalities. Northup Frye adds that “the colloquy of Raphael and Adam is a Socratic dialogue,”34 where questioning leads to understanding and further questioning in a cyclical fashion. Perhaps this is why the “sociable spirit” is chosen by

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God to be the great educator of humanity. The decision is due to the fact that Raphael has the power of genuine communication and empathy, which is a thoroughly human construct—as Satan and Michael, who are too (anti)divine have proven in their failures of genuine education. Raphael can relate to Adam in ways that the other archangels, and even the Messiah, cannot. Additionally, through the surrogate instructor, Raphael, Milton himself recognizes the importance of genuine communication and self-guided discourse as the most effective methodology to educate and learn.

In *Of Education*, Milton lays out the foundation for a proposed curriculum that he believes will (arguably) be the most effective education with the means of becoming a humble and honorable servant of God. Milton states that,

> the main skill and groundwork will be to temper them such lectures and explanations upon every opportunity as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue stirred up with high hopes of living to be brave men and worthy patriots, dear to God and famous to all ages.\(^35\)

Milton’s curriculum is highly humanistic, relying on a plethora of classical Greek and Latin literature, but the curriculum is also very thorough in a way that will “lead and draw them in willing obedience.” Milton is explicit in saying that the best way to educate is to encourage questions and engagement with the lecture, a Socratic dialogue so to speak, which in turn promotes healthier learning through a self-guided method based on natural curiosity. But this is only achievable if both, the educator and the student, are equally engaged and trust each other enough to permit digressions and exploratory

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\(^35\) *Of Education*, 230.
questions that invite more nuanced transference of knowledge through discourse. Adam becomes the subject in which Milton speaks. Raphael begins the lesson by recounting the creation of the world, the war in heaven, Satan’s inception of sin and his fall from God’s grace. This takes up the greater part of books five and six of the epic and concludes in book seven with Raphael inviting Adam to freely question the lecture that was just given:

Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve/ To glorify the Maker, and infer / Thee also happier, shall not be withheld / Thy hearing; such commission from above / I have received, to answer thy desire / Of knowledge within bounds.\(^{36}\)

The latter two books of the discourse, seven and eight, are structured not so much as a lecture but as a back-and-forth discourse with Adam asking questions and Raphael answering those questions to the best of his ability. The initial lecture in books five and six provides the scope of the divine landscape, a context of heavenly information, in which Adam learns and relates his following questions, much like a modern course in higher education where the professor lectures on a new topic and then opens the floor to student questions and conversation on that subject.

Adam recognizes the great efforts that Raphael has taken in this education to relate higher ideals to the lower human mental faculty; much like the way a teacher shares knowledge with students who may lack a solid contextual foundation. Adam beseeches the divine being to dive even lower, metaphorically speaking, to answer more questions that the first human feels must be very basic to the angel:

Divine interpreter, [...] But since thou hast vouchsafed / Gently, for our instruction, to impart / Things above earthly thought, which yet concerned / Our

\(^{36}\) \textit{PL}, VII. 115-20.
knowing, as to highest wisdom seemed, / Deign to descend now lower, and relate
/ What may no less perhaps avail us known\(^{37}\)

Much like a student pleading for additional information from the master educator, Adam is humbly requesting more and more information to satiate his thirst for knowledge. This is a great example of how Milton envisions the perfect pedagogical methodology that he describes in *Of Education*, which will lead to the development of exceptional pupils who ultimately desire to know God, as previously stated: “as may lead and draw them in willing obedience, inflamed with the study of learning and the admiration of virtue.”\(^{38}\) However, this is only possible if the instructor and student equally engage and regard each other with mutual respect and trust. English Renaissance scholar, Isabel G. MacCaffrey, remarks that “the angels must be brought close to our own level if we are to accept a quasi-identification between Satan and ourselves.”\(^{39}\) I believe MacCaffrey’s sentiment here is that Adam can only come to fear Satan if he comes to know Satan, and that the only way for this to happen is if Raphael can get close enough to Adam (metaphorically speaking) for the two of them to share an intimate discursive connection. Adam is proving to be an alert and studious pupil under the divine instructor’s pedagogical utilization of natural discourse.

No matter how inquisitive and genuine Adam proves to be in the mind of Raphael and Milton’s audience, the angel constantly hedges each account before he begins to lecture on the next topic. The reason for this wavering reflection before Raphael answers is a clever tactic by Milton that functions to bring the divine being’s intellectual faculty

\(^{37}\) *PL*, VII. 72, 80-5.
\(^{38}\) *Of Education*, 230.
down to a more human-like mentality, which makes it easier for Adam and the reader to relate with Raphael. For example, after Adam asks about the details concerning the creation of earth in book seven, Raphael responds:

This also thy request, with caution asked, / Obtain; though to recount almighty works / What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice, / Or heart of man suffice to comprehend?\(^{40}\)

Raphael constantly displays introspective actions of deep contemplation in how to best relate foreign information to Adam. Where Satan commands the fallen and Michael forces visions upon Adam, Raphael exhibits reflexivity. Raphael seems to be learning just as much from his interaction with Adam as Adam does from Raphael. The sociable spirit takes his time, he is patient, methodical and calculating, he displays a great sense of humbleness, and more than anything else, all of Raphael’s thought-out actions show the great care and effort he takes in this serious moment of educating the original father of humanity. John Reichert addresses Raphael’s intentions in his book, Milton’s Wisdom: Nature and Scripture in Paradise Lost (1992), that:

Raphael’s main point has been all along that the search for knowledge or wisdom should be directed always by a closely related cluster of principles. We should seek knowledge that shows us how “happy” or fortunate we are, knowledge that leads us to magnify the Creator, and knowledge that offers us moral instruction for our good.\(^{41}\)

\(^{40}\) *PL*, VII. 111-14.

The instruction that Raphael gives Adam must always reflect God’s command to the angel,

advise him of his happy state\textsuperscript{42}

Additionally, everything that Raphael tells Adam comes from the Bible. Because of this, it makes sense that Raphael must take a moment to ponder his direction as his words that are new to Adam are, in fact, historic for the reader.

Following this moment of reflexivity, Raphael goes on to educate Adam on the creation of the world. Milton uses book seven as a retelling of the creation story from the biblical book, Genesis. However, Milton’s version is somewhat expanded and is told through the angelic intercessor who translates this divine information into human knowledge for the apt pupil.

Once again, we would be wise to remember Milton’s own intentions of using the poem to instruct his fit audience because in this scenario Adam is not the only pupil being educated. We, the readers, Milton’s “fit audience,” are vicariously learning through Adam and Raphael’s discourse. The lesson we are learning is that we, too, are flawed like Adam and Eve. We are learning to accept our flawed nature, the way in which we came to be, and, more importantly, we are learning how the knowledge of God can be successfully communicated and utilized. Stanley Fish has examined the role of the reader in \textit{Paradise Lost} and concluded that the poem is a lesson for us, the readers, to puzzle over and helps us to understand our own humanity. We are the students and Milton is the instructor. Fish argues that,

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{PL} V. 234.
The fit reader, then, will regard the difficulty of the poem as a compliment to his
own powers, and his reward will be commensurate with the effort: the poem is not
only a vehicle for sublime ideas, it is an instrument by which the reader’s mind
can be educated to receive them.43

Although Fish is applying this line of reasoning to the poem as a whole, which works
well in his argument, I feel that this rationale works even better if the role of Raphael
corresponds to that of a surrogate figure for Milton himself, where Milton educates us
through Raphael’s discourse with Adam. The ideal didactic methodology for teaching and
learning that Milton proposes in Of Education, which is displayed by Raphael and Adam,
and which is then supported by Fish’s claims, is also supported by Paulo Freire as an
argument against oppressive pedagogical styles. Freire posits:

But the humanist, revolutionary educator cannot wait for this possibility to
materialize. From the outset, her efforts must coincide with those of the students
to engage in critical thinking and the quest for mutual humanization. His effort
must be imbued with a profound trust in people and their creative power. To
achieve this, they must be partners of the students in their relations with them.44

The way Freire speaks of proper communicative efforts in education is in perfect alignment
with Fish and echoes the pedagogical beliefs of Milton. The key is establishing equal
engagement. The methodology does not work in a strict hierarchal system with the educator
maintaining their distance above students, as Satan exhibits. Rather, the most successful
pedagogies are based on the premise of partnerships, where educators learn just as much from

44 Freire, 75.
their engagement with students. Furthermore, Raphael is constantly taking the time to reflect and deliberate with himself to bring the efforts of his methodology as close to Adam’s comprehension as humanly possible (a student-first mentality); and, in turn, Adam seems to relate more closely to Raphael than any other celestial being. Thus, Raphael fosters a successful partnership and engages in genuine communication needed for successful human education.

Adam does not only learn the content of the Raphael’s lesson, but he also learns for himself how to educate others through the art of discourse. The eighth book of the poem contains Adam’s narrative of his own creation as he relates it to Raphael. The archangel actually missed the creation of the world because he was battling the fallen angels through Chaos and barricading the gates of hell:

For I that day was absent, as befell, / Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure, Far on an excursion toward the gates of Hell

Milton’s ideal system for perfect pedagogy is being put into practice: we observe, question, internalize, and share. It is now the archangel’s turn to learn about creation from Adam’s perspective in order to perceive the whole picture of creation. Eve is present throughout the entire lesson but chooses to remain silent. And although she is present, the education taking place in books four through six is of Adam, not Eve, as God makes clear in his instructions to Raphael with the use of so many masculine pronouns:

Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend / Converse with Adam [...] find’st him [...] advise him [...] warn him to beware / He swerve not [...] Tell him withal / His danger [...] This let him know

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45 PL, VII. 229-31.
46 PL, V. 229-43.
To understand Eve’s muteness throughout the episode, which spans the length of four books, we must remember that Adam was predestined to become Eve’s husband and teacher. As Adam prepares to speak to Raphael, Eve chooses to remove herself from the conversation at the beginning of the eighth book:

Entering on studious thoughts abstruse; which Eve / Perceiving, where she sat retired in sight, / With lowness majestic from her seat, / And grace that won who saw to wish her stay, / Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers.  

Milton goes on to explain that Eve did not leave because she was bored with the conversation or that the content of the conversation was too perplexing, but rather it was because she preferred to learn from her husband:

such pleasure she reserved, / Adam relating, she sole auditress, / Her husband the relater she preferred / Before the Angel, and of him to ask / Chose rather; he, she knew, would intermix / Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute / With conjugal caresses: from his lip / Not words alone pleased her.

This sort of submission is reflective of the sentiment she expresses to her husband in book four when Adam is educating her of their lot in Paradise and the rules of the garden set forth by God:

My Author and Disposer, what thou bidd’st / Unargued I obey: So God ordains; / God is thy law, thou mine: To know no more / is Woman’s happiest knowledge, and her praise.

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47 *PL*, VIII. 40-44.
48 *PL*, VIII. 50-57.
49 *PL*, IV. 635-38.
Although the dichotomy presented can be interpreted as problematic and misogynistic, it does, however, align with the accepted gender norms of Milton’s time in seventeenth-century England and common biblical teachings.\textsuperscript{50} Furthermore, it is important to remember that Eve and Adam’s statuses are reflective of an educational partnership where the teacher, in this case Adam, is sharing the knowledge he gained from his observations, questions, and discussions with Raphael (the mediator of God’s word); and Eve is taking in the information in her own preferred way, which happens to be from the mouth of her husband.

In the beginning of his own creation, a prelapsarian Adam speaks with God and learns the basic concepts of existence in Paradise, such as the meaning of solitude, servitude, faith, complacency. Additionally, Adam learns of all the other worldly creatures that he then names, along with all the other elements of the profane world around him.\textsuperscript{51} God even warns Adam of the Tree of Knowledge which stands as:

The pledge of thy obedience and thy faith\textsuperscript{52}

However, immediately following Eve’s creation, God only teaches Eve about her personal reflection as she stares into a pond and contemplates the image staring back at her, along with her submissive responsibilities to her husband.\textsuperscript{53} God instructs her to go to Adam:

\begin{quote}
but follow me, / And I will bring thee where no shadow stays / Thy coming, and thy soft embraces, he / Whose image thou art; him thou shalt enjoy / Inseparable thine, to
\end{quote}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{50} 1 Timothy 2:9-15 (KJV): “In like manner also, that women adorn themselves in modest apparel, with shamefacedness and sobriety; not with broided hair, or gold, or pearls, or costly array; / But (which becometh women professing godliness) with good works. / Let the woman learn in silence with all subjection. / But I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence. / For Adam was first formed, then Eve. / And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression. / Notwithstanding she shall be saved in childbearing, if they continue in faith and charity and holiness with sobriety.”
\textsuperscript{51} PL, VIII. 250-451.
\textsuperscript{52} PL, VIII. 325.
\textsuperscript{53} PL, IV. 460-69.
\end{flushright}
him shalt bear / Multitudes like thy self, and thence be called / Mother of human race. ⁵⁴

Eve is directed by God to submit to her husband, both physically and mentally. She is said to only surpasses Adam in beauty. Satan’s inward reflection on his first observance of the human pair in the fourth book confirms this:

though both / Not equal, as their sex not equal seemed; / For contemplation he and valor formed; / For softness she and sweet attractive grace; / He for God only, she for God in him ⁵⁵

These passages create an image of the education taking place among the original parents. At first God openly teaches Adam general principles about his place in Paradise and grants him the authority to observe, question, and possess the world around him. Eve is not awarded the same divine education. She begins the process of questioning and understanding her own identity just after her creation but that is cut short when God takes away that autonomy by telling her to go to Adam and submit to her husband, for he will tell her who she is. Adam becomes the intercessor of God’s will and through her submission Eve accepts her position as a wife and pupil of Adam. This episode in the fourth book is then put into action in the seventh book when we preview Eve’s preference for learning through her husband rather than the archangel as she exits the discourse between Adam and Raphael to tend to her garden.

Once more, Eve is absent from the discourse among the divine entities in the eleventh book when Michael comes to banish the first parents. The archangel, Michael, comes on God’s behalf to prophesize the future to Adam before evicting them from the garden, which becomes too much for human mental faculty to bear. This time, Eve does not retire to a nearby

⁵⁴ PL, IV. 469-75.
⁵⁵ PL, IV. 295-99.
seat, instead the angelic prince simply puts her to sleep so that he can inundate Adam with information, who will later educate his wife. Adam does, however, display a level of intellect that could have only been developed from the education of Raphael when he spots birds flying erratically towards the eastern gate in preparation of Michael’s descent from heaven:

Adam observed, and with his eye the chase / Pursuing, not unmoved, to Eve thus spake. // “Oh Eve, some further change awaits us nigh, / Which Heaven, by these mute signs in Nature, shows / Forerunners of his purpose

Adam is able to discern possible outcomes for the strange behaviors of nature, speculating that a divine emissary is most likely coming to deliver a message. Adam hopefully, yet errantly, speculates that this message is most likely a warning or pardon from God for their transgressions and not a punishment. The archangel Michael arrives and states his purpose:

know, I am sent / To show thee what shall come in future days

To which Adam will be resolved:

thereby to learn / True patience, and to temper joy with fear / And pious sorrow

Michael is very cut and dry in how he communicates knowledge to Adam. Michael is not a sociable spirit like Raphael and does not welcome meandering curiosities and digressions. However, Michael does at least acknowledge Raphael’s lesson in human education when he put’s Eve to sleep prior to the prophecy:

Ascend / This hill; let Eve (for I have drenched her eyes) / Here sleep below; while thou to foresight wak’st, / As once thou slept’st, while she to life was formed.

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56 PL, XI. 191-95.
57 PL, XI. 356-57.
58 PL, XI. 360-61.
59 PL, XI. 366-69.
Once again Adam’s capacity for intellect is preferred to Eve’s whose mental faculties are presented as weaker and can only be strengthened through Adam. While Michael and Adam are upon the hill in books eleven and twelve, Eve is said to be dreaming of calmer things that will not worry her. Once the full prophecy is given, Michael instructs Adam to retrieve his wife and gives him further instructions in educating her:

We may no longer stay: go, waken Eve; / Her also I with gentle dreams have calmed /
Portending good, and all her spirits composed / To meek submission: thou, at season fit, / Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard60

Michael seems to understand how information should be delivered to the human mental faculty, but he is either unwilling or unable to communicate using that preferred human methodology. The way that Raphael is able to contemplate how to best deliver information and his practiced reflexivity illustrates that Adam can best understand lofty ideas when they are put into a profane context that he can then question with natural curiosity to better understand the scope of the information given. Michael acknowledges the proper way to human knowledge acquisition when he grants Adam the autonomy to best deliver the information of the prophecy to Eve “at season fit” when the time and context are better suited for Eve’s comprehension. Although Michael overwhelms Adam with information, he knows that Adam has already learned from Raphael the best way to communicate information and he knows best how to instruct Eve, even if Michael lacks the necessary capacity for human education. This is a full-circle process in which Adam begins in a state of naivety, moves through a phase of observance, then questioning, followed by internalization, and finally steps

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60 PL, XII. 594-98.
into the role of a teacher who then relates the will of God in terms accessible to Eve’s mental faculties.

A glaring issue that remains is the knowledge that Eve possesses which was not communicated to her by Adam, God, or Raphael. Some scholars have even questioned who the true educator of Eve is when it came to her temptation and acquisition of forbidden knowledge. In the book of Genesis, for example, it is said that God put the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge in the garden and then created Adam, telling him that he can eat from any tree but the Tree of Knowledge, “Of every tree of the garden you may freely eat; but of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil you shall not eat, for in the day that you eat of it you shall surely die.” This is followed by the creation of Eve and then her immediately falling victim to the serpent’s temptation in Genesis 3. The Bible does not say that Adam warned Eve of eating from the tree. In fact, Eve is tempted at the very beginning of Genesis 3, immediately following her creation at the end of Genesis 2. The serpent asks Eve, “Has God indeed said, ‘You shall not eat of every tree of the garden’?” to which Eve responds, “God has said, ‘You shall not eat it, nor shall you touch it, lest you die.’” But no education was ever mentioned. Neither Adam nor God ever set forth the rules of Paradise to Eve. This leads scholars, such as Matthew Biberman, to ask, “Who taught Eve to say that it was forbidden to touch as well as to taste?” Because Milton was working with the Bible as the contextual backdrop to his epic, it is fair to say that it is, in fact, Milton himself who instills knowledge into Eve.

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62 Gen. 2:16-17 KJV.
63 Gen. 3:1.
64 Gen. 3:3.
65 Biberman, 193.
concerning the restrictions of the Tree of Knowledge. Biberman suggests, “it is from Milton that the evil inclination in Eve flows, and through this bond Milton acknowledges that he is both Eve’s offspring and her author.” Milton is essentially generating a source of miseducation of Eve to introduce a remedy for future transgressions by allowing a moment in time and space for Raphael’s divine intercession and the education of Adam. This, in effect, teaches Milton’s readers what the biblical Eve did not know, and that was the proper methodology for human education, which only comes at the pen of Milton roughly 1,300 years after the oldest known Bible was written.

Eve is endowed with satanic knowledge that is unfamiliar to Adam. The knowledge in question is information about what may happen if she were to transgress God’s law and eat of the forbidden tree. Yes, Milton (by way of Adam) warns her that the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge was forbidden and that the result would be death, but the acquisition of un-godly knowledge was a foreign concept to Adam. In book four, Satan disguises himself as a toad and attempts to corrupt Eve in her dreams by whispering in her ear while she sleeps:

Him there they found / Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve, / Assaying by his devilish art to reach / The organs of her fancy, and with them forge / Illusions, as he list, phantasms and dreams

The knowledge that Satan is giving to Eve while she sleeps is well-received and it will go on to shape her thoughts and will cast a shadow over her soul. The information is unwarranted and is forced upon the unsuspecting, now, pupil of Satan’s manipulative education. When Eve awakens, she shares the content of her dream with Adam in book five. She makes many

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66 Biberman, 193.
67 According to scholars at Brigham Young University Idaho (BYUI), the oldest Bible is the Codex Sinaiticus and is estimated to have been written during the middle of the fourth century CE.
68 PL, IV. 799-803.
mentions of engaging with knowledge unknown to Adam. For example, Eve shares that Satan, disguised as a snake, ate the fruit and was endowed with language and reason. The diabolical serpent invites Eve to partake and ascend to a state of divinity:

Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods / Thyself a Goddess

Eve displays a sense of horror and dread at the serpent’s suggestion, but it sticks with her because Satan manipulates that which makes her different than Adam: he invokes her sense of beauty and submissive position. She has been taught by her husband that the Tree of Knowledge is forbidden by God, but Satan attempts to ease her apprehensiveness by asking Eve:

Is knowledge so despised?

Satan then goes on to explain all the wonderful effects of eating the fruits from the Tree of Knowledge and how her intellect will surpass Adam’s and rival the divine. Obviously, Eve eventually falls victim to the temptations of Satan when she eats the fruit and shares it with Adam—who only eats the fruit so he can suffer the same consequences with his wife, and to ensure that they remain together. As Biberman states: “Adam’s declaration that he eats undeceived and does so to be with Eve is clearly an act of tragic action.” The temptation and the subsequent fall from grace reflects the notion set forth by Milton that Eve is not mentally strong enough to engage with divine beings. Hence why it is Adam who learns, and suffers to learn, from God and the archangels, and serves as an intercessor for Eve. But it is important to understand, as Barbara Lewalski observes, that:

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69 PL, V. 77-78.
70 PL, V. 60.
71 Biberman, 190.
Eve sits in on Raphael’s lesson, and even after she leaves during the discourse on astronomy, she knows that Adam will eventually tell her everything he has learned. While she will learn from Adam and not from Raphael himself, the implied hierarchy of the sexes does not necessarily require that she be deprived of an education that approximates Adam’s. As Lewalski points out, Adam will eventually teach his wife the knowledge that he has collected. However, Adam will wait until the time is right and he will only share that information when he has the ability to translate what has been learned in a manner much more agreeable to Eve’s mental faculties.

Raphael, the sociable spirit, ascends to become recognized as the great teacher of humanity. He did not manipulate Adam, nor did he overwhelm Adam with a fierce transfer of knowledge. Raphael strived to genuinely understand Adam in order to better assist the first man in his acquisition of knowledge. Although the archangel did not address Eve directly in his accounts of the war in heaven, the first sin, and the fallen angels, or in his narrative of creation, Raphael did not deny the mother of humankind access to knowledge either. She was present during most of the episode but chose to remain idle. Whereas Satan manipulated her senses with wickedness and Michael put her to sleep so as not to worry or offend her, Raphael acknowledges Eve and respects her preference to learn through her husband, an exemplary act of free will. Through Raphael’s education of Adam, Milton provides what he deems to be the ideal structure needed for proper human education via discourse.

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Some natural tears they dropt, but wiped them soon;
The World was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:
They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way. (PL, XII. 645-49)

It is obvious to conclude that Satan is the embodiment of Bad and Michael is symbolic of Good. However, it may not be as obvious to recognize that Satan’s pedagogical style was the methodological status quo for most Early Modern English education which Milton opposed in the seventeenth century, and the divine delivery of Michael was unobtainable and nonreplicable by educators.¹ It is possible to consider that Milton may argue that a proper English education lies somewhere in between these two poles. It is, in fact, Raphael’s pedagogical style that was the ideal system of education

¹ Emma Annette Wilson’s argument is that Satan embodies the art of logic while Michael is the representative of a perfected usage of rhetoric. However, her position on the matter between the characters is limited to the engagement between Michael and Satan in the war of the angels in heaven.
that Milton and (very) few of his contemporaries were pushing for in their respective treatises on English educational reform during the Early Modern period.

Although Raphael is the model educator in the epic, which we can look to as the epitome of English enlightenment, Milton knew it was far-fetched to believe that another archangel would come down from heaven to educate the people of earth in a manner similar to way in which Raphael taught Adam. Instead, we are left with an endemic instruction which has been limited by human disobedience. But that does not change the fact that Raphael still stands as Milton’s model for the perfect educator and Adam the ideal pupil. Milton’s surrogate instructor in *Paradise Lost* functions to give us—scholars, researchers, educators, and students alike—the tools we need to achieve knowledge and provide an ideal education for others. We should look to Raphael as a lesson for the ways in which we should aspire in teaching and learning. The model is simple: we engage in meaningful discourse that is set in our own reality where we can connect sacred and divine information to the profane world around us in order to generate understanding about our place in the history of the world, how we fit into that reality, and how we can come to know and challenge the ideas about our own existence through thorough and authentic discourse which is guided simply by our own curiosities and free will. If we follow Raphael’s model, we can enrich the educational system in a way that Milton envisioned but never saw come to fruition during his lifetime in the seventeenth century.

Seventeenth-century England was consumed by division regarding monarchy and commonwealth, Protestantism and Catholicism, and uprising violence as the method to carry out the changes necessary to instill peace. In the face of this adversity, John Milton took it upon himself to attempt to better the world around him by advocating for
education with the goal of producing better people who had an authentic and healthy relationship with higher governing principles. In this case it was God. Milton believed that we are intended to repair the original sin of Eve and Adam by being born into sin and working our way back into God’s graces through a lifetime of education. Further, Milton expresses that the only way to repair the damage is by acknowledging the original parents’ sin of tasting the fruits of knowledge and using that knowledge to restore our status in God’s grace. According to Milton, the point of education, therefore, if done properly, would heal the woes of the systems governing the world around us by changing the people who exist within the bounds of those profane systems of governance.

English education during the seventeenth century primarily focused on rudimentary principles of basic reading and arithmetic for the general population of children. Basic education was commonly performed by mothers in the household or clergymen at the local church. The more fortunate children would continue their education by attending grammar schools where they would study Latin as the language of formal education before (the even more fortunate) students would move on towards an advanced academy/college/university education. However, through Milton’s work we see that his goal for education was drastically different from so many of his peers. Rather than entering the educational sphere with the goal of producing efficient workers or entering the grammar phase of education using politically biased texts with the purpose of indoctrinating students in the name of the Crown or the Church,\(^1\) crafting obedient

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\(^1\) Milton’s own grammar book, *Accedence Commenc’\textit{t} Grammar* (1669), was composed in direct response to *Lily’s Grammar* book (1540) which was adopted as the royal grammar by the kings Henry VIII and Edward IV. Milton copied about 60% from the “Lily” book (according to sources like Wyman H. Herendeen) but altered the examples and lessons by removing terms such as *the good king* or *to be a good citizen in the eyes of the king* and, instead, relied on speeches by Cicero which were in direct opposition from the indoctrination style of the royal grammar.
members of society, Milton’s opinion was that education should lead towards a sense of liberty and state of personal enlightenment. He viewed education as a gift. Education was an opportunity for students to individualize from the political and religious powers at be. Education, as he saw it, should be a tool of individual freedom. Rather than educating students just enough to remain obedient to the governing powers, Milton felt that an educated population could change the systems from within, solving the catastrophic political, religious, and social issues that plagued seventeenth-century England.

Milton wrote numerous advocative texts that correspond to political, religious, cultural and social disturbances of seventeenth-century England; none of which changed the world around him. However, the compilation of a lifetime of work finds itself joined between the covers of Paradise Lost. In the poem, Milton artistically expresses his personal beliefs and his vision for a better world while pitting his consciousness against the greatest villain the world has ever known, Satan. Perhaps it’s the educational effects that Milton layered into the epic that keeps scholars analyzing and discussing the complexities of the work hundreds of years later.

Milton begins in his letter, Of Education, to Samuel Hartlib by stating the purpose for his address as the need for reforming the educational system of Early Modern England:

I will not resist, therefore, whatever it is either of divine or human obligation that you lay upon me; but will forthwith set down in writing, as you request me, that voluntary idea which hath long in silence presented itself to me of a better
education, in extent and comprehension far more large, and yet of time far shorter, and attainment far more certain, than hath been yet in practice.\textsuperscript{2}

Milton’s ideas concerning education are expressed in the letter, but his views are put to action in the epic. There are three different pedagogical styles on display in \textit{Paradise Lost}. The first is a demonic pedagogy (The Wrong Way to Knowledge) which is modeled by Satan as he dictates and commands his subjects, using manipulation and guile to force others into submission of his will. This model should not be replicated as it leads to a fallen state further from God and personal enlightenment. The second model, the divine prophecy of Michael (The Divine Way to Knowledge), lies at the opposite end of the spectrum. This pedagogy is modeled by Michael at the end of the poem and relies heavily on prophetic vision and an instantaneous transfer of divine knowledge. Because this is the divine nature of God and the angels in heaven, Adam (and all humankind that follows) is unable to replicate this method of transferring information. The methodology is simply unobtainable for postlapsarian humans. Finally, the third and correct model for human education (The Right Way to Knowledge), according to Milton, is revealed as the method of discourse presented in the education of Adam by Raphael. This methodology is the preferred mode of building and exchanging human knowledge. This method is obtainable by Adam and replicated by way of his education of Eve. It allows knowledge to be gained organically through a mutual discourse and is based on the principles of free will and self-discovery where the student is responsible for guiding their own knowledge and using it as a tool in whatever way he or she sees fit. Although this methodology ultimately led to the original sin—as it was Eve’s curiosity and personal quest for

\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Of Education}, 227.
knowledge that led her to the Tree of Knowledge—it was a necessary occurrence that ultimately enriched humanity with the ability to make decisions out of free will and accept whatever consequences may come. Milton’s own perspective on education is presented in the poem by way of these models and it is through these examples that Milton wishes to educate his fit audience of the proper methodology for learning. It is this last method, Raphael’s education of Adam, that Milton details in *Of Education*. But to get there, to that ideal state of education, we must acknowledge the system that Milton so vehemently opposed.

The banking methodology of the seventeenth-century English curriculum focuses on the memorization and recital of facts administered by a master of the subject matter. Milton strongly opines in *Of Education* that, “these are the errors, and these are the fruits of misspending our prime youth at the schools and universities as we do, either in learning mere words, or such things chiefly as were better unlearned.”\(^3\) This oppressive methodology is put on display in the first two books of *Paradise Lost* when Satan takes control of hell and the asserts his dominance over the rest of the fallen. First, the fallen are separated as far away from God as possible, creating a separation with heaven and hell at opposite ends of the spectrum. Satan’s primary generals, Molach, Belial, Mammon, and Beelzebub, are the first true pupils of Satan. He manipulates the council’s conversation by steering it towards the outcome that he has already predetermined to be the most beneficial to his own status as the dominant being in this realm. This is much like the ways seventeenth-century English educators would prime students with their own ideologies through rote fact memorization and recital. But the facts are specifically

\(^3\) *Of Education*, 229.
chosen, or the text is, that coincides with the popular ideologies of the Crown and Church. All this type of oppressive education does is generate a populace of obedience that will serve the greed of those in power. As Freire explained of oppressive pedagogies:

The truth is, however, that the oppressed are not “marginals,” are not people living “outside” society. They have always been “inside”—inside the structure which made them “beings for others.” The solution is not to “integrate” them into the structure of the oppression, but to transform that structure so that they can become “beings for themselves.” Such transformation, of course, would undermine the oppressors’ purposes.

In this system, any exchange of knowledge functions solely to promote the agenda of the one professing. In this case Satan’s position of authority and the way he exchanges knowledge with others is symbolic of the ways the Crown and Church governed the Early Modern English education system to further and maintain their own positions of social and cultural power.

On the other end of the spectrum, furthest from the demonic pedagogies of Satan, lies the instantaneous transfer of divine knowledge displayed by Michael in books eleven and twelve. Whereas we are only meant to see Satan’s methodologies as an example of what we should choose not to do, we can interpret Michael’s modes of educating Adam as nonreplicable and unobtainable. Adam shows that human mental faculties are not equipped, nor are we mentally strong enough, to receive direct transference of information. Although the prophetic episodes illustrate the effective nature of how the divine communicate information with each other, our postlapsarian state has removed us

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4 Freire, 74.
far enough from God’s grace that we are ill-equipped to share in God’s vision. It is for this reason that Milton’s goal for education is to “repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright.”\textsuperscript{5} Milton suggests that it is only through a lifetime of education and knowledge acquisition that we may strengthen our mental faculties to the point where we will be adequately prepared to mend that relationship with the divine creator, and to engage with God’s word and His vision. Milton presents two key points in the final two books of the poem. First, he illustrates what perfect knowledge transference is and contains it within the ascended realm of the divine. Second, he spends a good deal of time discussing free will as being a gift from God that has been censured by the Crown and Church during his lifetime in seventeenth-century England. Additionally, there are numerous issues with Michael’s prophecy nullifying free will through his interpellation of people, their actions, and places. All the issues that Milton presents serve as examples for what his ideal curriculum addresses and potentially corrects. His curriculum, as presented in \textit{Of Education}, among others, is strongly rooted in the free will of the autonomous student who, if he or she adheres to the curriculum, will be equipped to make necessary changes within the governing systems in an effort to repair the ruins of the original parents. However, to do this is to forge a new path that we may call the right way to knowledge.

The examinations of Satan and Michael present two pedagogical methodologies that sit in stark contrast from one another, each residing at opposite ends of a spectrum. This spectrum is much like the structure of Milton’s epic which begins with Satan’s awakening and rise to power and ends with Michael’s deliverance of God’s vision. And

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Of Education}, 227.
much like the way in which Milton’s path towards the right way to knowledge must be forged in between these extreme poles, we find Raphael’s education of Adam taking up the greater span of the four middle books of *Paradise Lost*.

Through the examination of Raphael’s education of Adam, Milton illustrates to his fit audience how his own curriculum might look if performed correctly. As Milton professes via his surrogate instructor, human self-discovery and the knowledge acquired through self-guided curiosity is the key to the English educational reform needed for the seventeenth century and beyond. The key to education, then, is an equally engaged discourse between a teacher and student who share a level of trust and indulge in the digressions of natural curiosity. This permits a deeper level of understanding that is needed for human comprehension of lofty existential ideals, as illustrated by Adam’s questioning of the sociable spirit. As Raphael exhibits, another key principle of education should be the reflexivity of the educator to not only lecture, but to reflect, learn, and adapt from discourse with the student. Furthermore, it is important to recognize that Milton is actively using his pedagogical methods set forth in his writing of *Paradise Lost* to educate readers. We learn vicariously through Adam and Eve that we, too, are flawed. Additionally, we learn the most effective ways in which Milton perceives education and the instructor/student relationship. Like Adam, we come to understand that the learning process begins from a state of naivety, then we begin observing and questioning, and after internalizing and reflecting, we are then prepared to share that information others.

This examination into the pedagogical moments of *Paradise Lost* shows that the archangel Raphael is the divine instructor of humanity and Milton’s own pedagogical motives and agency as an educator of humanity comes through the heuristic model of the
archangel’s character. Raphael educates Adam and Eve in the meaning of humanity. The angel instructs that the meaning of humanity is situated in free will, the right to choose for oneself and to accept the consequences of those actions, humanity is the right to fall, to fail, to struggle, to rise to the challenge of any occasion, to choose God’s love willingly and to ascend from the state of fallen grace; in short, Raphael teaches Adam and Eve what it means to be human and John Milton shares that with us.
CHAPTER VII
AFTERWORD

Why does this argument matter? What is the value of this dissertation? Examining *Paradise Lost* and understanding Milton’s pedagogical methods still holds value that has the potential to continue enriching the humanities. We persist in learning from our past and we do not necessarily have to reinvent the wheel to show the value in a humanities education. I believe that Milton’s literary corpus, specifically *Paradise Lost*, continues to be a treasure trove of potential learning. By engaging with Milton, we learn important values of a humanities education: personal identity and reflection, commonwealth of community, spirituality and religion, philosophy and the power of thought, humanism, and history; not just the history of seventeenth-century English literature, but the history of our shared humanity.

It is commonly agreed upon that John Milton is one of the greatest authors of the English canon. However, I feel that his work is not as popular as it once was and is becoming an outdated topic in humanistic literary studies in favor of more novel topics and approaches. If we do not keep Milton and his work relevant, then his work will become forgotten. It would be a mistake to allow such an influential scholar to slip into the recesses of time, especially considering the amount of value that can still be drawn from his texts. A work will only remain powerful if we perpetuate its relevance in
academia. Therefore, I take up the Miltonic torch and choose to promote and defend his work. For instance, at the University of Louisville, courses are frequently offered concerning Shakespeare, the Brontës, Jane Austen, even Chaucer, but little is usually offered in terms of Milton. The closest topics offered are general themed courses like Victorian literature or Tudor and Elizabethan literature, which tend to approach literature from more stylistic motives or nuanced ideologies of literary theory and may include a brief poem by Milton in their survey but little more.

It is a disservice to academia that Milton is becoming less frequently taught because I feel that *Paradise Lost*, among the rest of his literary corpus, offers so much to learn from. Some of the topics specific to Milton’s work that should continue to be placed under the research lens concern themes such as seventeenth-century politics, social revolution, reformation, religion, poetics, rhetoric, aesthetics, mythology, philosophy, bibliography, education, pedagogy, and so much more related to the historical landscape of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. Not only is *Paradise Lost* a key source to discuss all these topics, but the Miltonic canon includes letters to historic legislators, educators, clergy, and general opinions on matters concerning the public, such as liberty, equality, and freedom from tyranny. It is equally important to remember that these texts were penned by a man who was temporarily cast into exile for his beliefs, illustrating the sort of character it to stand firm in one’s conviction, a quality that should be commended when teaching future generations. These are great sources for understanding rhetorical moves, as well, which have the potential to instill change into a society—something highly relevant to our current socio-political atmosphere. The holistic stance of this point
is echoed by Mark Bauerlein in his book, *The Dumbest Generation Grows Up* (2022), and suggests that great literature must be reintegrated into the college curriculum to create good people, upstanding citizens, and respectable scholars, with the ability to think, internalize, and reflect... and not just to raise aptitude scores on standardized exams.

In the age of rising digital technologies, mainly artificial intelligence, it is important to keep a firm footing in our reality. New computer programming can share information at unbelievable speeds, and it seems like the answer to any question is merely just a click away. But as the archangel Michael shows with his prophecy to Adam, human mental faculties are not designed to absorb a world of information instantaneously. That is an ability of the inhuman. We must remember the genuine purpose of education because writing and thinking have been in a stage of separation and are becoming divorced from each other. Artificial intelligence cannot and should not do our thinking for us. The last word should always be human; our final word is the final word for humanity. In the face of this divide between humanity and technology we would be wise to look back to *Paradise Lost* as a guide for proper thinking. As Milton shows through the actions of Raphael, and discusses in *Of Education*, the right way to human knowledge is flawed—and it’s supposed to be. The right way is riddled with pitfalls and mistakes but is enriched by curiosity, self-determination, and free will. The right way is not to simply ask a computer for the answer, the right way is training your brain to think beyond the easiest manufactured solution by discovering our own humanity through a lifelong journey of contemplation and study. As Bauerlein remarks:

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That’s what brings freshmen back to the humanities as sophomores. They don’t care about how to read Dante. They want the image of three-headed Lucifer deep in the ice of Hell, Judas Iscariot, Cassius, and Brutus in each respective mouth, while Dante and Virgil climb their way to Purgatory.²

Kathryn Bennet echoes this sentiment when she said that the study of classical literature “can and should be used to encourage students to recognize the essential similarities of all men and the universal values that motivate them.”³ It is not the theories or methodologies that pander to students’ curiosities, sometimes it is simply the engagement with fantastic literary classics that is most rewarding.

In *Paradise Lost* John Milton perfectly sums up the arc of the right way towards knowledge and prepares his fit audience for their journey when he said:

“Long is the way / And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light.”⁴

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² Bauerlein, 228.
⁴ *PL*, II 432-33.
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.... *Comus and Other Works (1637)*. Comus First Printed for Humphrey Robinson, at the sign of the Three Pidgeons in St Paul’s Churchyard 1637.


CURRICULUM VITAE

Beau Kilpatrick

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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Biography Brief
I am an Early Modern English/Classicist scholar with a focus on British literature, specifically the works of John Milton. My research focuses on comparative analyses of Early Modern biblical fiction with Greek mythology, religion, education, and politics; additional research includes the history of Catholicism and sainthood from late antiquity through the medieval and Renaissance periods. I successfully defended my dissertation in the Department of Comparative Humanities Ph.D. program at the University of Louisville. Additionally, I am an instructor for the department, teaching Greek mythology and film studies. My previous degrees are based in literature where I earned my B.A. and M.A. in English from the University of Louisville and graduate certification in Medieval and Renaissance studies.

Education

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Degree</th>
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<tr>
<td>2019-24</td>
<td>Ph.D. in Comparative Humanities</td>
<td>University of Louisville</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2022</td>
<td>Graduate Certificate in Medieval &amp; Renaissance Studies</td>
<td>Department of History, University of Louisville</td>
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<tr>
<td>2017-19</td>
<td>Master of Arts in English</td>
<td>University of Louisville</td>
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<td>2012-16</td>
<td>Bachelor of Arts in English, Minor in Communication</td>
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Expected Spring 2024
### Areas of Specialization


### Dissertations and Theses

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<td>2024</td>
<td><em>The Affable Raphael: Milton’s Surrogate Instructor in Paradise Lost</em></td>
<td>Dr. Matthew Biberman, Dr. Pamela Beattie, and Dr. Hristomir Stanev</td>
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<td>2019</td>
<td><em>Coming to Terms with Gonzo Journalism: An Analysis in Russian Formalism</em></td>
<td>Dr. Frances McDonald</td>
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<td>2016</td>
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<td>Dr. Ian Stansel</td>
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### Awards and Honors

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<td>Student Champion Award (two-time recipient)</td>
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<td>2016</td>
<td>B.A. <em>cum laude</em> with Honors in English</td>
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### Publications and Presentations

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<td><em>The Intersection of Humanism and Religious Thought in Milton’s Epic: Raphael as the Central Figure of Paradise Lost</em>. <em>Kentucky Philological Review</em>, vol. 37, Spring 2024.</td>
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<td>2023</td>
<td><em>The Intersection of Humanism and Religious Thought in Milton’s Epic: Raphael as the Central Figure of Paradise Lost</em>. Kentucky Philological Association conference at Centre College, March 2023.</td>
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### Foreign Language

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### Teaching Experience

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<td>2020-23</td>
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<td>2019-20</td>
<td>Introduction to Comparative Humanities (HUM 105)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2023</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
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<tr>
<td>2019-23</td>
<td>Graduate Teaching Assistant (Instructor)</td>
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<td>Sports Journalist</td>
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<td>Student Research Assistant</td>
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<td>Delphi U: Principles of Online Course Design</td>
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<td>Sexual Violence Prevention for Graduate Students</td>
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<tr>
<td>2023-24</td>
<td>Thesis Mentor for high school student at Kentucky Country Day School.</td>
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<td>Topic: The Similarities Between Folklore and Myth.</td>
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<td>2021-22</td>
<td>U of L Undergraduate Research Mentor &amp; Supervisor</td>
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<td>2020-23</td>
<td>Humanities Ph.D. Program Peer Mentor</td>
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<td>Presentation Judge</td>
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<td>2018-19</td>
<td>Graduate Mentor Coordinator</td>
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<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr. S. Matthew Biberman</td>
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<td>Professor, Director of the LCLC</td>
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