

John Milton's Recourse to Old English: A Case-Study in Renaissance Lexicography

William E. Engel
The University of the South

Abstract

John Milton's use of Latin words and sentence structure has been well studied over the centuries. An indirect consequence of this has been to deflect scholarly attention away from the place of Old English in his poetic register. This paper argues that distinctively Anglo-Saxon terms were used at decisive moments in Milton's poetry with startling—sometimes intentionally arresting—effects. Diverging from his usual practice, Milton uses Anglo-Saxon terms to call attention to specific themes that he highlighted as being absolutely fundamental to the human soul. Looking more closely at the Old English word *inly* (meaning “internal” or “secret”) will help shed light on the linguistic core of Milton's approach to composition. Notions of interiority will be shown to be linked conceptually to his understanding of the origins of English and thus can serve as an index to his awareness of the ground of his own poetic craft and vocation as a poet-priest.

Keywords

John Milton, Anglo-Saxon, Old English, *Paradise Regained*, *Paradise Lost*, English Reformation, Protestant, theology, grace, soul, interiority, lexicography, etymology, epic, poetry, poetics, rhetoric, logic, parallel structure, antithetical parallel, chiasmus, mnemonic

From the Outside In

The thesis of this essay is that John Milton used words derived from Old English to convey special aspects of interiority that, in his estimation, were not brought out adequately by Latinate terms alone. Consistent with the areas of study typical of a Cambridge education in his day, Milton would have had ready access to a

variety of dictionaries, many of which showed several parallel columns—most commonly Latin, Greek, or Hebrew—so that an English word could be traced back to its origins (Schäfer; Hüllen 44-77). Taking into account Milton's development as a poet and polemicist, one can see that his published work and private correspondence alike reveal that he was attentive to the precise derivations and implications of key words, especially those he would encounter in glossaries and lexicons.¹ At the same time his writing in general attests to the commonplace view that one's academic studies had to have some measure of social, if not political, utility.² After all, one of the main humanistic aims of reading the classics was to apply in everyday life the wisdom distilled from the sayings and deeds of the ancients (Bolgar 380-93).

It is not surprising then to find that, throughout his life, Milton

A shorter version of this essay was presented at the 2007 Renaissance Society of America meeting in Miami, FL. Gordon Campbell, David Lowenstein, Nicholas von Maltzahn, Timothy C. Miller, Robin Norris, and Grant Williams offered helpful insights at early stages of this project. George Core's comments on the conference draft, and the suggestions of two anonymous readers at *LATCH*, have contributed considerably to the clarity and precision of this piece.

¹ Some striking patterns of lexicographical vitality in England emerge from the time of the first Latin-English workbook, *Medulla grammaticae* (c.1460), to the middle of the seventeenth-century. Thomas Blount's ambitious 11,000-entry *Glossographia* (1656) was the most comprehensive English dictionary up to that time, based primarily on Thomas Thomas's *Dictionarium linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (1588) and Francis Holyoke's *Dictionarium etymologicum* (1640) with many of the remaining entries taken directly from John Bullokar's *An English Expositor* (1616) and John Rastell's *Terms of Law* (which Blount had edited in 1667). While Blount's compilation included more entries than any previous English dictionary, it excluded, as he relates in the Preface, "old Saxon words" which were seen as "growing every day more obsolete."

² This view was shared by the preeminent lexicographers of the day; for example, Blount's *Glossographia*, as he writes in the preface, was conceived as being "generally useful to people of all estates and in all honest professions and trades." On the rise of "hard word" dictionaries of the seventeenth century, as well as "English-English" dictionaries for a range of specialized readers, see Blank 233.

wrestled with the age-old choice of Hercules—namely, the tension felt between the solitary, contemplative life and the active life of public affairs.³ This conflict appears in his work early and late. Perhaps its earliest expression in his poetry shows up in the companion poems “L’Allegro” and “Il Penseroso.” The most reasonable guess for the date of their composition (if indeed they were written at the same time) is the early 1630s, as they still have a hint of collegiate disputation about them. Insofar as both poems follow the same stanzaic template and adhere to a consistently mirrored metrical pattern, we can see that, in terms of both form and content, the young poet set before himself the task of reconciling, or at least of working through, the relative advantages of the active versus the contemplative life. If this date is correct, then this highly stylized debate came at a time when Milton was preparing to leave, or perhaps had just left, Cambridge (MacQueen 118). At all events he resolved to continue his studies on his own even though he did not have a definite career goal in mind toward which his reading was to be applied, perhaps law, perhaps the clergy. In 1637, though, at the peak of Archbishop William Laud’s ascendancy, Milton wrote his pastoral elegy “Lycidas,” explicitly critical of corruption in the English clergy.⁴ The reader can sense that Milton would strive to be not just a shepherd-poet leading a contemplative existence, but a poet-priest active in the world—perhaps somehow through his writing (Hill, *passim*). While not clear on how exactly he might go about achieving his noble aspirations, his sights were set on a mission that would involve directing an English flock toward higher republican ideals and reformed religious practices (Lowenstein 175-88).

Indeed, two decades later, in the early 1650s when blindness was upon him and just after he had written his great polemical prose tracts for the Puritan Commonwealth, he again turned to

³ The classical allegory of “Hercules at the Crossroads,” which was a visual and rhetorical commonplace of the Renaissance, gave expression to the fundamental moral questions associated with the attainment of wholeness and harmony in human life (Wind 81-82; Panofsky).

⁴ On the larger question of whether (and, if so, to what extent) Milton was raised in a church significantly distinct from the one Laud and Charles I tried to foster, see Doerksen’s “Milton and the Jacobean Church of England.”

poetry to give expression to his concerns regarding active service over living a private life. In the sonnet which begins "When I consider how my light is spent," the poet reflects on how he has made use of his time and, initially, expresses anxiety that he will be found wanting when called upon to give an account. The last line powerfully resonates with what amounts to Milton's having reached some sort of resolution: "'They also serve who only stand *and wait*'" (italics mine). This linking of *stand* and *wait*, where each conditions the meaning of the other, gives us a glimpse of the compound way in which the problem faced by Hercules was viewed by Milton. Moreover, both *stand* and *wait* are home-grown English words. The Anglo-Norman meaning of *stand* was to pause or delay just prior to action; but it also was used in the context of holding one's ground against an opponent or enemy. *Wait*, directly from Anglo-Saxon, means to lie in wait for, to be ready for, to lurk in ambush. This compound sense of gathering all of one's resources and being ready to pounce when the time is right is modified by *only*, derived from the Old English *ánlic*, a later form of *ænlic* meaning unique, singular, or excellent, and having the implication of being alone.⁵ With this summary clause Milton in effect redefines service as being prepared to act alone at the right time. Moreover, such preparedness is deemed to be sufficient in and of itself. At the same time, Milton shifts the ground from "either/or" to embrace "both *and* more." Consistent with this understanding of the dilemma of the active versus the contemplative life, in his final epic, *Paradise Regained*, Milton characterizes the Arch-Enemy as not being able to fathom what the Son would do with his life on earth: "nor aught / By me propos'd in life contemplative, / Or active" (*PR* 4.369-71, italics mine).⁶

⁵ Although it may seem that such derivations are easily traced and are uncomplicated in their transmission, it should be stressed at this early stage in the investigation that the three-way division of the Germanic speech community (Old English coming primarily from a West Germanic part) at best can be only partially reconstructed, though, to be sure, with somewhat more confidence as historical records came into being from the earliest centuries of the Christian era onwards (Hoad 20-22).

⁶ All quotations from Milton's works follow John Milton, *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, edited by Merritt Y. Hughes, and will be identified parenthetically.

Unlike Milton who in his sonnet takes on the role of one guided by an inner voice ascribed to Patience, the figure of Satan in *Paradise Regained* is blinded by a logical construction hinging on the word *or* to the extent that he is unable to consider alternatives beyond the oppositional terms in which he conceives the bifurcation of thought and deed.

This coincidence of opposites can be seen as leaving its mark both on Milton's career as a public servant and also on his poetic idiom. It can be traced as a recurring pattern both in his political activities in the world and also in how he went about realizing his vocation as a poet. There are two main reasons to raise this issue here, at the preliminary stage of this inquiry into Milton's recourse to Old English. First, because it concerns matters of logic, understood as that branch of the philosophical quest used to get at the truth of a matter by means of well marshaled language so as to work through a contention and demonstrate its validity. In the Aristotelian tradition, as well as in the later Ciceronian mode so popular during the Renaissance, a matter could be resolved by virtue of the self-conscious building of an argument according to the five canons of rhetoric (invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery). As his writings from "On Education" to "On Christian Doctrine" evince, Milton was extremely well-versed in, and exceedingly adept at using, all aspects of the rhetorical tradition. He even compiled and composed his own *Art of Logic* in Latin that fits squarely within the tradition systematized by Peter Ramus with all of its attendant branches, or ramifications (Ong, *passim*). This work was published in English in 1672, the year after the printing of *Paradise Regained* and just two years before the twelve-book version of *Paradise Lost* and the poet's death in November 1674. Taking into account both Milton's ongoing serious engagement with the nuts and bolts of logical reasoning as well as his career as a pamphleteer, it is safe to presume that matters of rhetorical form and oratorical decorum were very much on his mind, especially around the time his *Art of Logic* was being prepared for publication (Duran 75-76; Kolbrener 68-70; Smith 335-37). What we can learn from combing through his prose works (which amply demonstrate his mastery of traditional logic) and what we can see being played out in his poetry is that Milton tended to favor the double expression of an issue, which he often marked by the linking word *and* or *or* (Herman 43-60).

Additionally there is second reason why, in a discussion of Milton's recourse to Anglo-Saxon words, it is important to raise this issue of the coincidence of opposites of which the active versus contemplative life remains a broad and perennial expression. Despite his great learning, and notwithstanding his being prone to prefer sequestered studies and writing to debating-assemblies and boisterous crowds, Milton was not an inveterate archivist. Laboring over parchment scrolls and tracking down antiquities just was not enough to satisfy his drive to effect lasting change in the world through his writing. For although Milton knew ten languages and wrote in four (Hale, *Milton's Languages* 8), the evidence indicates that he did not spend his time poring over available Anglo-Saxon texts. And while Milton did know Francis Junius and members of his circle who could have afforded him access to the "Genesis B" manuscript (an Old Saxon poem transcribed into the West Saxon dialect concerning the Fall of Adam and Eve), there is no hard evidence that he ever saw it (Cordasco 250-51).⁷ Also, it seems clear that Milton had considerable difficulty with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, preferring the Latin version instead when he wrote his own account of the early history of England (Von Maltzahn 195). French Fogle, in his introduction to the Yale edition of Milton's *History of Britain*, weighs in on this issue unequivocally with his conclusion that Milton "did not know Old English" (xxxvii). And yet, there are places in his writing where Milton used what he must have been aware were Old English words, often pairing them with classical ones to create a lilting cadence and more fulsome meaning through the careful lining up of just such parallel terms. This essay argues that some of these pairings involve the most fundamental concepts in Milton's theological register. Moreover, they are inflected in a distinctively Miltonic way by virtue of the poetic turn they are given at key junctures in his writing.

The rhetorical figure known as hendiadys refers to the connecting of two words by a conjunction where neither is subordinate to the other so as to express a single complex idea. While it is a fairly common pattern in extant fragments of early English verse (recalling that *and* is a fundamentally Old English way to convey emphasis), Milton's occasional use of this scheme does

⁷ On the provenance of this fragment, see *The Saxon Genesis*.

not argue for a deep knowledge of Anglo-Saxon. However, it does indicate Milton's skill as poet at judiciously yoking words from different language origins so as to nuance and fortify his intended meaning. More important to his poetic craft still is his use of parallelism which, while not the same as hendiadys, carries a sense of the careful and intentional doubling of expression to convey a single idea. For example, in one of his early prose tracts, "Of Education,"⁸ we can admire the sense of balance and oratorical strength achieved through the pattern set up by his pairing of "brave men and worthy patriots" with the eventual conclusion of this clause, "to delight in manly and liberal exercises" (633). The word *manly* here recalls and duplicates with a colloquial difference its Latin equivalent *vir*, which in both theme and etymology evokes the notion of the word *virtue* (which is to say manly excellence, valor, and bravery). Thus, the Anglo-Saxon *men* and *manly* respectively parallel, complement, and otherwise round out the Latinate *patriots* and *liberal*.

The simple pairing of Old English and Latin verbs, however, is a more common feature of Milton's works; for example, "to bow and sue for grace" (*PL* 1.111). In this case the earthier Saxon term *bow*, connoting physical abasement (literally "to bend," from the Old Teutonic *begon*; in Old English, *boga*), prepares the way for the Latin evocation of supplication, *sue* (derived from *sequi*, "to follow"). In this way, Milton successfully sets up the derisive and sarcastic tone of Satan's retort to Beelzebub that this compound act of bowing and suing for grace before the Father will never happen. Consistent with Milton's plan to build his character of Satan out of the literary conventions and oratorical set speeches associated with classical epic heroes such as Achilles and Ulysses (most notably, willful defiance in the face of insuperable odds), the poet paves the way for a new kind of epic hero: one who will submit of his own free will to a higher power. In this regard, it is noteworthy of this example that it is the first time the word *grace* appears in *Paradise Lost*—and it is spoken by Satan with what amounts to a rhetorical sneer. Readers thus are goaded to see through and beyond just such an "either/or" contextualization so that, in seeking to mend themselves they also set about fixing—

⁸ Composed early in the 1640s, this tract was first published in 1644 and reprinted in 1673 (Brennan 55-59).

which is to say reforming—the “newly broken world.” As “English lexical pilgrims” (to use a phrase coined by Grace Tiffany),⁹ readers are guided by the incremental way-posts strategically placed throughout the epic to help them avoid rhetorical pitfalls like the one described above and which are shown to have dire theological consequences. The very design of the epic thus encodes lexical cues that urge the reader to look after his or her own redemption as a coincident pay-off for reformed-minded action taken in the world. Through just such subtle poetic means and rhetorical strategies, Milton seeks not so much to “justify the ways of God to men” (*PL* 1.26), as to enable his readers to change themselves from within and thereby to effect change in the world. Milton would have his readers choose to understand the word *grace* in a way that is radically different from how he shows it is misapprehended by Satan. This theme of grace, especially as it relates to one’s inward motivations and actions, is fundamental to Milton’s self-conscious use of Anglo-Saxon terms in his portrayal of the perturbations of the heart, mind, and soul at pivotal moments in the lives of his characters.

While the notion of grace during the Reformation was a hotly contested topic, and although its place in Milton’s work remains a matter of ongoing debate,¹⁰ for the present purpose (and as regards closer inspection of the Old English word *inly* in what follows) it is enough to note that the poet puts forward a view of “prevenient grace” (Boswell 83-94; Myers 20-36). In doctrinal terms this signifies that grace already in place which anticipates repentance and thus the faith without which the grace of justification cannot be received. The term is used in the context of Adam and Eve’s supplication to the Son to be forgiven for their disobedience and

⁹ The careful reader of *Paradise Lost* thus becomes a “Pilgrim Reader.” See Tiffany’s *Love’s Pilgrimage*, especially p. 160: “Miltonic pilgrimage is finally less concerned with moving the Christian out of this world than with reforming the world in which English Christians live.”

¹⁰ Milton speaks of “special grace” afforded to those whom “God and good Angels guard” against “Spirits perverse” (*PL* 2.1030-33); and has the Father relate that there are “Some I have chosen of peculiar grace / Elect above the rest; so is my will” (3.183-84). The latter has been taken by some to indicate proto-Calvinist sympathies. See, for example, Grossman’s “Milton’s ‘Transubstantiate.’”

rebellion. Following their prostration, confession, and “pardon begg’d, with tears” and with “sorrow unfeign’d, and humiliation meek” (*PL* 10.1103-04), “they in lowliest plight repentant stood / Praying, for from the Mercy-seat above / Prevenient grace descending had remov’d / The stony from thir hearts” (*PL* 11.1-4). Milton here is at pains to describe a very inward-directed activity but one that exists in a direct relation to a higher power.

While the example of the paring of “bow and sue” begins with a word of Latin origin and ends with an Old English one, there are ample instances of his doing the reverse; namely, where a Latin word is complemented and extended by the more sonorous Anglo-Saxon one, as in the example of “explode and hiss out of the land” in Milton’s Preface to *Animadversions*. The onomatopoeia, “hiss,” as will be shown in what follows, is an especially resonant term in Milton’s linguistic register. This practice of pairing words that are similar in meaning to express a single object or idea provides a richness of thought and, when used to the extent that Milton did, makes for a distinctive style (Weaver 160).¹¹ Indeed, as Weaver shows in detail, “what the pairs create is the effect of dimension” because “the first word will show one aspect of the thing named and the second another complementary element” (158). By virtue of the decorous application of this technique in his later epics, Milton was able to express more comprehensively the trans-historical nature of his themes in a way that was “at once lavish and perspicacious” (161). Pairing Latin and Old English terms helped Milton convey a sense of the vast sweep of his inclusive topics of invention.

There are even instances, as with the description of the Tower of Babel, where uncivil roughness is evoked by a string of words all derived from Old English which surround an onomatopoeic Gaelic term *hubbub*: “great laughter was in Heav’n / And looking down, to see the hubbub strange / And hear the din” (*PL* 12.59-61). Not a Latin word in sight. Other times Old English words alone were enlisted to invoke the primal fear associated with the undead, as in the example “some howl’d, some yell’d, some shriek’d.” This catalogue of Saxon terms is used in the passage describing Satan’s raising a tempest to try to disturb the “calm and

¹¹ I am indebted to Robert Benson for calling my attention to Weaver’s work Milton’s rhetoric.

sinless peace” of the Son, with “Infernal Ghosts, and Hellish Furies” (PR 4.422-23). This latter reference incidentally displays Milton’s attention to chiasmic balancing in his placement of words, in this case from different linguistic origins. He gives first the Latin-derived word, *infernal*, to modify an unmistakable Old English one, *ghosts*, which then is coupled with the Saxon *hellish* used to modify a Latinate noun *furies*. The two Anglo-Saxon words thus are bracketed by Latin ones, following the pattern ABBA. In doing so, he drew on and crisscrossed both the classical and the traditional English terms designating inhabitants of the underworld let loose on mankind. And, as has been shown above, when it came to finding terms symbolizing the breakdown of language and the fearfulness associated with nonverbal rage—words such as *howl*, *yell*, and *shriek*—Milton looked to Old English. John Crowe Ransom observed a similar strategy in the mature language of Shakespeare; namely, a “compounding of Latinical elements with his native English” as the poet’s way of highlighting “primitive language” and “primitive folk-items” (Ransom 118-19, 131).¹²

And so while Milton, like Shakespeare, may not have known Old English grammar, he was very much aware of the powerful aural and poetic value of using unmistakably Anglo-Saxon words. This much having been observed, it is appropriate to turn to one such term in particular, *inly*, and explore how it not only makes for good poetry but also reveals an important aspect of Milton’s craft as a self-conscious multilingual stylist (Hale, *Milton as Multilingual* 3-8). Moreover Milton’s use of the word *inly* in particular resonates sympathetically with the perennial debate concerning the contemplative and active life. In effect Milton’s use of the term evokes and augments his earlier examinations of the choice of Hercules insofar as the places where it appears suggest the poet was sensitive to the possibilities of *inly* to express the apposition of inner stirring and outward display. Therefore, a close study of the use of the word *inly* in Milton’s writing, along the lines proposed in what follows, will shed light on his “poetics of interiority.”

This phrase *poetics of interiority* is intended simply to denote an underlying approach to composition involving Milton’s artful turning inside-out of a character’s inmost stirrings, promptings, and

¹² I am indebted to George Core for calling my attention to Ransom’s essay, “On Shakespeare’s Language.”

intentions for the reader to behold, consider, and take to heart. As such it provides a useful way to conceptualize subtler shades of meaning associated with certain words drawn from Milton's vast, multilingual storehouse of language. Specifically as regards key Anglo-Saxon terms, Milton seems to have held that they had a talismanic value, embodying some kind of essentially primal and rudimentarily originary associations in part because they were associated with an earlier (and which he seems to have taken to be an earthier) form of English. After all it had been his dream, at least from the age of nineteen when he wrote "Vacation Exercise," to coax from his native tongue, almost as an alchemist works to isolate and release the hidden properties of base materials, its quasi-mystical and supernal properties.¹³ In that composition, in much the same way he later would address the divine in his poetry, he expresses the belief and hope that English is worthy of his faith in its power to transport him to the highest of heights:

Hail native Language that by sinews weak
Didst move my first endeavoring tongue to speak,
.....
Here I salute thee and thy pardon ask,
That now I use thee in my latter task:
.....
Yet I had rather, if I were to choose,
Thy service in some graver subject use,
Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound:
Such where the deep transported mind may soar
Above the wheeling poles, and at Heav'n's door
Look in.

("Vacation Exercises," lines 1-2, 7-8, 29-35)

By a happy accident of the history of the English language,

¹³ It is in just this suggestive way that Milton's poetic craftiness is conceived and discussed in Fowler's "To Shepherd's Ear: The Form of Milton's *Lycidas*": "By enforcing the closest possible bond of rhyme the couplets serve the poet's sympathetic magic [. . .]. Perhaps we can glimpse the magical process actually at work in the pivotal stanza vi, where couplets immediately enclose the unrhymed line 82" (172).

many of Milton's most important substantive words—which, incidentally, he packed with deep theological content—were derived from Anglo-Saxon: *death* and *woe*, *father* and *son*, *harsh* and *mild*, *evil* and *good*. Although *inly* is used somewhat frequently by Edmund Spenser (as would be expected given the importance of archaic diction and medieval terms in his epic set in an Arthurian faerie land),¹⁴ it appears only four times in Milton's vast literary output. The sparing and careful use of this adverb, coupled with the deep psychological insights and rich religious implications that are evident those times when it does appear, all suggest that Milton was aware of what he was doing when he used *inly*. As such, it offers an instructive example that can be used as a model for considering and examining other similar Anglo-Saxon terms which likewise provide a window onto both Milton's poetics of interiority and, more generally, his vocation as a poet.

From the Inside Out

Derived from the Old English *inlice*, *inly* means “internal” or “secret”; further, in its earliest uses it implied “closely” and “fully” (Onions 426). The first use of this word in Milton's canon occurs in *Paradise Lost*. It is used to clarify Cain's crime. The three other uses appear in *Paradise Regained*, pertaining first to Mary and then twice to Satan. Owing to the infrequent use of the term, its effect is at once startling and arresting precisely because it diverges from Milton's usual practice when expatiating on intentions, secret ambitions, or inner doubt. Recourse to this early English form of *inward* directs attention both to the true nature of a character described as experiencing something *inly*, as well as to the linguistic

¹⁴ Future study of the fortunes of *inly* in English literature will need to take into account Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, as well as the several uses of it in Shakespeare's plays early and late; including, for example, Northumberland's remark to Queen Margaret just prior to her stabbing and ordering the beheading of York: “Had he been slaughter-man to all my kin, / I should not for all my life but weep with him, / To see how inly sorrow gripes his soul” (3 *Hen VI*, 1.4.169-71); and the noble Gonzalo's heartfelt response to the announcement of the nuptials that at last will unite Milan and Naples: “I have inly wept, / Or should have spoke ere this” (*Temp.* 5.1.200-01). These quotations follow the text in *The Riverside Shakespeare*.

core of Milton's own poetic register.

We will begin with Mary's experience because it stands out as the single instance when the implication is constructive, positive, and salutary:

These growing thoughts my Mother soon perceiving
By words at times cast forth, *inly rejoic'd*,
And said to me apart: High are thy thoughts,
O Son, but nourish them, and let them soar
To what height sacred virtue and true worth
Can raise them, though above example high;
By matchless Deeds express thy matchless Sire.
(PR 1.227-33, italics mine)

In this passage the Son of God (as he is called in this minor epic, and occasionally "our savior") recalls his mother's delight when first she perceived he was coming to realize his divinity and destiny. Her maternal joy remains internal while she speaks privately to her son, whom she addresses in the vocative. As a result, a tacit double meaning of son is generated: namely, as her son (with the implied genitive: "O my son"), and also the understood definite article (associated with "the Son of God" who takes away the sins of the world). Mary then relates his divine derivation and future mission: "For know, thou art no son of mortal man; / Though men esteem thee low of parentage" (PR 1.234-35).

Mary's use of *inly* aptly is anticipated by the Son's musings on his purpose on earth. As God-incarnate he must experience life in the world, in part, as a man. Accordingly, he thinks through his mission in terms of the contemplative and the active life. It takes the form of an antithetical parallel involving *within* and *without*. This may well stand as the archetype of Milton's own sense of mission, beset as it was by the ongoing tension between private versus public life, that he had been marked for something greater than he had yet accomplished:

O what a multitude of thoughts at once
Awak'n'd in me swarm, while I consider
What from within I feel myself, and hear
What from without comes often to my ears
Ill sorting with my present state compar'd.

When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing; all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things
(PR 1.196-206)

This is not to say that Milton is comparing himself to Christ but rather that his own situation gave him genuine insight from a mortal perspective to express in the most authentic way possible how “this man of men, attested son of God” (PR 1.123) might come to know his role in the divine scheme. It also serves as a response to Milton’s own effort to follow the ideal of Christ, and thus to transform his own high thoughts into “Matchless Deeds.” The Son’s recollection of a moment when Mary *inly* rejoiced pulls the reader into sympathy with him, owing to one’s own inmost memory of a moment of self-discovery that likewise was validated and guaranteed by matronly approval. The moment of looking back and discerning such a confirmation of being on the right track propels one forward. In this regard, it suggests a double kind of inwardness: the mother’s joy *inly* experienced and the son’s intuitive grasping of why she “*inly* rejoiced.” As such it describes a chiasmic movement broadly speaking, involving a crossing from one to the other and back again—but with an accrued, or superadded, meaning by virtue of how the thought is cast as having been expressed in the world of the poem.

About two hundred lines after the first appearance of *inly*, the Son confronts Satan and gives an account of the cessation of pagan oracles in the wake of God having sent to earth “his living Oracle.” This gift associated with prevenient grace makes possible “an inward oracle” to reside “in pious hearts.” This promise of “an inward oracle” sent to teach God’s “final will” is of the same order as the “Umpire Conscience” placed within “our original parents” as “a guide” (PL 3.194). The emphasis on pacific interiority in this passage is contrasted sharply to Satan’s inner turmoil:

God hath now sent his living Oracle
Into the world to teach his final will,
And sends his Spirit of Truth henceforth to dwell

In pious Hearts, an inward Oracle
To all truth requisite for men to know.
So spake our Savior; but the subtle Fiend,
Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
Dissembl'd, and this answer smooth return'd.
(PR 1.460-67, italics mine)

What the Savior discloses about the transmission and reception of “all truth requisite for men to know” cuts Satan to the quick. Although Satan realizes in an instant that he cannot win in the long run, as with his approach to corrupting mankind in *Paradise Lost* to get back at God the Father, still he will try what he can. What is described here is a feeling of the rawest kind of anger well known to some, perhaps even known to Milton when, after the Protectorate collapsed under Richard Cromwell in 1659, General George Monck invited Charles 2 to return to England thus restoring the monarchy that Milton had labored so diligently to overthrow. Whatever the case, Milton here shows that he is a keen observer of outward reactions to inner distress, for he portrays Satan as being fully composed. Despite his anger the “subtle Fiend,” perhaps as a matter of pride, chooses to dissemble rather than let on that he knows he has been trumped. Also, he may well still believe there is some angle he has not yet considered. Adding to the raw power of the sentiment being expressed here, all of the words are derived directly from Old English until we get to the back-to-back words having a *dis-* prefix: “disdain, / Dissembl'd.” Both are Norman French in origin and had been naturalized by the time of Chaucer. Hence, the linking of anger and disdain connotes a break in, and a balancing of, different—but still not classical—linguistic registers. And yet there may be a hidden Latinate echo here after all, perhaps intended as a subtle joke for the more classically minded of his readers; for, as Milton well knew, *Dis* was the name given to the Roman counterpart of the Greek *Hades*, lord of darkness and master of the underworld: “Proserpin gath'ring flow'rs / Herself a fairer Flow'r, by gloomy Dis / Was gather'd” (PL 4.270-72).

At all events, Old English words, for Milton, take the reader to the rudiments of things. The main line of this passage involving *inly*, as Milton would have known, is composed entirely out of Anglo-Saxon words: “Though inly stung with anger” (PR 1.266).

Though is pure Anglo-Saxon, from *Déab*—a word beginning with a quintessential mark of Anglo-Saxon-ness, the lost letter *thorn* derived from runic script, replaced by the digraph *th*. As *inly* has been discussed above, it remains only to remark that Milton here means to suggest a very inward and private act which, with an omniscience dictated to the slumbering poet by his “Celestial Patroness” (*PL* 7.21), is brought to the reader’s attention: “for what can scape the Eye / Of God all-seeing” (*PL* 10.5-6). *Stung* comes from the Old English *stingan*, corresponding to the Old Norse *stinga*. *With* is the same now as it was in King Alfred’s time; only the orthography has changed. It comes from the Old English *wið* used initially as a preposition signaling *towards* and *alongside*. *Anger* came into English through the Old Norse *angr-a*, meaning to grieve or vex, and, in its earlier English uses, meant to hurt or wound—and thus to enrage. This excitation to rage, as will be discussed in due course, also marks Milton’s use of *inly* with Cain. As such, it serves an index to that kind of interiority Milton would link to being wounded. The conjunction *and* is the Old English connective used in the Teutonic language groups to express the mutual relation of notions; and, in this case, *anger* is coupled with *disdain*, a word from Middle English by way of the Old French *desdeignier*, meaning to scorn or show contempt. The *dis-* prefix is repeated in the word that immediately follows, and it too is of Old French derivation: *dissemble*. Following the *OED*, it means to alter or disguise the semblance (of one’s character, a feeling, design, or action) so as to conceal, or deceive as to, its real nature; to give a false or feigned semblance to; to cloak or disguise by a feigned appearance. Perhaps more than any other word, this one sums the substance of Satan’s character.

To be sure though, Milton used the *dis-* prefix with other Anglo-Norman terms central to his theological message, words such as “disobedience.” This word, incidentally, is given pride of place as the centrally stressed word in the opening of *Paradise Lost* (accounting for five of the ten stresses in the first line) thereby calling attention to its centrality in the ensuing narrative: “Of Man’s First Disobedience, and the Fruit / Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal taste / Brought Death in the World, and all our woe” (*PL* 1.1-3). Attuned as we are now to Milton’s careful selection and marshalling of non-Latinate terms, it is notable that the opening three lines of *Paradise Lost* are all home-grown or naturalized

English words.¹⁵

The sonorous repetition of *dis-* that can be heard in “disdain, / Dissembl’d” (PR 1.466-67) also sets up another kind of echo, one with intertextual resonance with respect to *Paradise Lost*. Upon returning to Hell after his success in the Garden of Eden, Satan finds his cohorts all turned into snakes and is greeted by “a dismal universal hiss” (PL 10.508). This “dismal universal hiss,” a clever treble use of onomatopoeia, alerts the reader to the fact that Milton was aware of the implications of scorn associated with the prefix *dis-*. The voicing of *hiss* is, as Milton goes on to remind his audience “the sound / Of public scorn” (PL 10.508-09). The very word *dissemble* then, embodying the sound of scorn—“hiss”—further expresses the true nature of Satan by subtle phonetic means.

The next use of *inly* in *Paradise Regained* builds on the passage just discussed, “Though inly stung with anger and disdain, / Dissembl’d” (PR 1.466-67). Both instances provoke a reply from Satan. In this case though, the Son makes it clear, once and for all, there is no way Satan can triumph. Through a tightly balanced antithetical parallel, the Son reiterates the *felix culpa* (the fortunate fall).

Know’st thou not that my rising is thy fall,
And my promotion will be thy destruction?
To whom the Tempter, *inly racket replied*.
Let that come when it comes; all hope is lost
Of my reception into grace; what worse?
For where no hope is left, is left no fear;
If there be worse, the expectation more
Of worse torments me than the feeling can.
I would be at the worst; worst is my Port,
My harbor and my ultimate repose,
The end I would attain, my final good.
(PR 3.201-11, italics mine)

According to this parallel construction involving antitheses, *rising* is

¹⁵ Of course *fruit* can be traced back to the Latin *fructus* (the root of *frui*, “to enjoy”), but it was a standard term in Middle English, *fructe*, by way of the Old French *fruit* (later spelled *fruct*), becoming a naturalized term in English at least as early as the 14th century.

to *promotion* as *fall* is to *destruction*. Moreover the lines are balanced further by the fact that the first pairing, *rising* and *fall*, both are Old English words, whereas the second pair, consisting of *promotion* and *destruction*, are distinctively Latin ones. This parallel construction implicitly creates a link to the larger pattern and understanding of the *felix cupla* set in motion by the events in the Garden of Eden: the fall into sin and the experiencing of death are preconditions for resurrection in glory and life everlasting—owing to the intercession of “one greater Man” who will “restore us, and regain the blissful Seat” (PL 1.4-5). Just as the *dis-* prefix is associated with Satan, verbs prefixed by *re-* tend to be associated with the Son, *restore* and *regain* for example, reiterating the way his deeds and sacrifice bring things back to their right course.

Satan's speciously reasoned reply to the Son's admonition turns upon the Old English word *worse*, derived from the Saxon *wyrse* meaning “more wicked, depraved or vicious; more cruel, unkind, or ill-conditioned”—in short, the opposite of *better*. As such, this antithetical parallel is of the same order as Satan's transposition and transvaluation of evil and good in *Paradise Lost*: “So farewell Hope, and with Hope farewell Fear, / Farewell Remorse: all Good to me is lost; / Evil be thou my Good” (PL 4.108-10).

As Satan approaches Eden, the sight of the “far-blazing Sun” stirs his conscience to wake “the bitter memory of what he was, what is, and what must be” (PL 4.24-26). In his apostrophe to the sun he rails at the bright beams which call to his “remembrance from what state” he fell (PL 4.38), causing him to reconsider his plight. As will become more clear in what follows regarding the importance of the semantic field of the Old English words *sigh* and *groan*, this entire inward-turning debate with himself is delivered “in sighs” (PL 4.31). At last though, he reaffirms his original resolution that any prospect of repentance and pardon would depend on “submission” (PL 4.81). Self-conscious of his own discourse though, he is stopped in his tracks by that word (*submission*) which “*Disdain* forbids me” (PL 4.81-82, italics Milton). *Disdain*, of course, is another of those telling *dis-* words that is a hallmark of Satan's rhetoric. His outward acknowledgment of his inward turmoil for which he see no remedy necessitates his adopting a topsy-turvy code of ethics—and which is expressed in Anglo-Saxon words exclusively (“Evil be thou my Good”).

In the section that comes swiftly on the heels of this one, the

reader learns that Satan is capable of change, but change far more subtle—and different in degree—from his external transformation resulting from his rebellion and fall. His nine-day tumble into to his “dungeon horrible” that “Eternal Justice had prepar’d” (*PL* 1.61, 70) was imposed on him from the outside, while this change is something he does to himself. Whereas in Heaven his “obdurate pride and steadfast hate” led to voluntary actions, the kind of change described here is involuntary.

each passion dimm’d his face,
Thrice chang’d with pale, ire, envy and despair,
Which marr’d his borrow’d visage, and betray’d
Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld.
(*PL* 4.114-17)

His change from bad to worse, like this draining of the light from his face, raises the question of whether he can change himself from the inside—namely, whether he is capable of having a change of heart leading to submission to the will of the Father.

A brief explanation is in order to clarify the cosmic rules operating in the Protestant-oriented theocentric universe in which Satan finds himself, especially as regards the voluntary changing of one’s heart. Milton makes it clear that even rebel angels can change for the good and return to the Heavenly fold. He does so through the one of his most original contributions to the traditional angelology of the day, Abdiel: “Among the faithless, faithful only hee” (*PL* 5.897). The mid-line caesura folds neatly over the root word *faith* thus signaling its centrality in one’s returning to God despite the magnitude of one’s sin, in this case one who initially had joined Satan’s party. Moreover, at the syntactic level, this line is chiasmic in the standard rhetorical sense, following a pattern of ABBA, rather than Milton’s trademark use of parallel structure, ABAB (Engel, *Chiastic Designs* 2-10). In addition to embodying a thematic reference to an inward turning and transformation, a characteristic associated with the figure of chiasmus, this passage is chiasmic in another sense as well, a sense at once more mystical and more literal. Milton was fully aware that the rhetorical figure deployed here, in this line, was chiasmus; just as he would have known that the Greek term *χιασμός* (from *χιάζειν*, meaning “to mark with a chi”) signals the making of a cross. As such, the word

itself, which refers back to the first letter of what it names, calls to mind the crucifixion which ushered in the possibility of salvation according to Christian doctrine. Of course, Milton used chiasmus in many other instances throughout his writings; but, in choosing to do so here, in this particular case, he succeeds in deepening both the literal and mystical levels of meaning of the episode. In doing so, he calls special attention to the central place of faith in repentance as it is linked to Christ's sacrifice, symbolized by a cross (X). The cross by itself, plain and simple, according to Milton's brand of reformed Protestant theology, would have been a preferred object used to incite one to engage in private prayer and to strive for proper piety along the lines of what was discussed above with respect to prevenient grace when Adam and Eve are humble supplicants before Christ—whose very name begins with a chi (Χριστός).¹⁶

Contrary to Abdiel's crossing back over to the side of Heaven, Satan remains resolutely at odds with the Father. A consequence of alienating himself from his original nature is that his inner strife precipitates an unlooked for outward manifestation, as already has been observed: "each passion dimm'd his face [. . .] and betray'd / Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld" (*PL* 4.114-17). This is not something that he can dissemble, primarily because he is unaware it is happening. Speaking only to himself, Satan displays his loneliness all the more emphatically by the authorial reminder "if any eye beheld." This timely reminder echoes, and thereby calls back to mind for the reader, Milton's opening invocation of the "Spirit, that dost prefer / Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure" from whom "Heav'n hides nothing from thy view" (*PL* 1.17-27). In much the same way, the poet shows us exactly what is at the core of Satan's heart, such as it is. What is inside, even to the extent it is hidden from Satan himself, is brought out into the open for the reader to see. Instead of turning further inward, Satan strikes the pose of a public orator though he alone is the audience to hear his dismissal of what even he recognizes as being good: "Evil be

¹⁶ The Greek term which is rendered in English as Christ is a translation of the Hebrew *mas'iah*, meaning one who is anointed; priests, kings, and prophets ceremonially were anointed with oil prior to assuming their offices (see, for example, Exodus 29:29, 1 Samuel.10:1; 24:7, and Isaiah 61:1).

thou my Good.” Milton here portrays the arch-deceiver deceiving himself.

By the time Milton wrote *Paradise Regained*, he had perfected his approach to portraying this aspect of Satan’s inner character, which he augmented further by virtue of his recourse to the adverb *inly*. For example, of the Tempter being “inly rackt” (PR 3.302), Timothy Miller has observed this “is an emotion that cannot be self-manipulated. Even if it could be, why do it? How can an inward emotion in Satan have an effect on Jesus?” (Miller 180). Throughout the poem “sincerity—the harmony of speech and internal mood—is lacking in Satan’s reply. He tries to conceal the ‘inly rackt’ emotion that his outward answer belies” (180). While Satan for the most part is able to hide his feelings in both epics, in *Paradise Regained* Milton would have the reader consider at what cost one does this. Satan’s response in the passage from *Paradise Regained*, where he is “inly rackt,” is similar in kind though different in degree from another place, in *Paradise Lost*, where Milton used the archaic verb *rackt*: “So spake th’Apostate Angel, though in pain, / Vaunting aloud, *but rackt with deep despair*: / And him thus answer’d soon his bold Compeer” (1.125-27, italics mine). The pain in this passage, where *deep* rather than *inly* is used, results primarily from external injury. He has just fallen from a great height; and, immediately prior to this, experienced physical pain for the first time. During the battle in Heaven, Michael’s sword, we are told, met

The sword of Satan with steep force to smite
Descending, and in half cut sheer, nor stay’d,
But with swift wheel reverse, deep ent’ring shear’d
All his right side; then Satan first knew pain,
And with’d him to and fro convolv’d
(PL 6.324-28)

Rackt is of early English derivation, probably coming from the Old High German *rechan* (*recken* in German), meaning to stretch, which came to mean the stretching of “joints of (a person) by tugging or pulling, especially with intention to cause severe pain” (OED). This passage in *Paradise Lost* uses the alliterative *deep despair* rather than the adverb *inly* to modify *rackt*, but in both cases it is Satan’s inner despair that serves as a rack upon which his inmost being is tugged

and tormented. There is no hint of self-realization in the passage in *Paradise Lost*; whereas, in *Paradise Regained* Satan is described as being “inly rackt.” This inwardness resulting from his confrontation with the Son, as with the inwardness described in the first passage concerning Mary, involves self-recognition—for ill in the case of Satan and, of course, for good in the case of Mary.

The last use of *inly* by Milton to be considered in this study concerns the first murder, the slaying of Abel by Cain. It chronicles the first death at the hands of a man and relates what was felt not by the victim but by the perpetrator. It is the first time *inly* appears in Milton's writing.¹⁷

a Shepherd next,
More meek, came with the Firstlings of his Flock,
Choicest and best; then, sacrificing, laid
The Inwards and thir fat, with Incense strew'd,
On the cleft Wood, and all due Rites perform'd.
His Offring soon propitious Fire from Heav'n
Consum'd, with nimble glance, and grateful steam;
The other's not, for his was not sincere;
Whereat *hee inly rag'd*, and, as they talk'd,
Smote him into the Midriff with a stone
That beat out life; he fell, and, deadly pale,
Groaned out his soul, with gushing blood effus'd.
Much at that sight was Adam in his heart
Dismay'd, and thus in haste to th' Angel cri'd.
O Teacher, some great mischief hath befall'n
To that meek man, who well had sacrific'd;
Is Piety thus and pure Devotion paid?
(*PL* 11.436-52, italics mine)

Adam is dismayed “in his heart,” a phrase derived exclusively from Old English that is related to *inly*, but Milton is careful to leave out any mention of his inly grieving as he is unaware that the vision depicted is of his own sons. Instead, in dismay at the sight, he questions Michael objectively whether this is how a nobly offered sacrifice is repaid. As such, it sets up the paradigm, the typological

¹⁷ The word was used in the first edition of *Paradise Lost* (1667), though spelled *inlie*.

precursor, of Christ's own sacrifice. The repetition of a variant of the word *inward* calls further attention to the Milton's linking of sound to sense. It is the "inwards and thir fat" that are laid on the fire, the inside turned outward for all to see, even as Cain "inly raged" despite his own implied acknowledgement that his sacrifice was "not sincere." The string of Anglo-Saxon words here again draws and further evokes rudimentary meanings of fundamental, even primitive, things. In fact all of the words in these three lines of the passage ultimately are derived from Old English, save the last: "Smote him into the Midriff with a stone / That beat out life; he fell, and, deadly pale, / Groaned out his soul, with gushing blood effus'd" (*PL* 11.445-47).

The lone, Latinate word *effus'd* has the effect of bringing this extended and tense clause to rest, thus serving as a kind of bracket to this disturbing vision of primitive violence. This passage stands as one of Milton's most powerful uses of Anglo-Saxon cadence, where the long, drawn out single stress of the monosyllabic *groaned* mimetically enacts the drawing out of the soul from the body. The same word appears two books prior to this masterful use of it, thus linking the episodes of Abel's murder and the introduction of death into the world. The Anglo-Saxon *groan* is used to signal the Nature's immediate response to Adam's accepting the fruit from Eve:¹⁸

But fondly overcome with Female charm.
Earth trembl'd from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,
Sky low'r'd and muttering Thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal Sin
Original; while *Adam* took no thought,
Eating his fill
(*PL* 9.999-1005, italics Milton)

Milton reminds the reader that this is the second time Nature groaned. The first time occurred at the moment when Eve plucked and ate the fruit, "and knew not eating Death" (*PL* 9.792).

¹⁸ This passage begins at the numerologically significant line 999 of Book 9; nine is the number of death in *Paradise Lost* (Crump; Qvarnström; Welch).

Although it is not referred to as a groan, it conveys the same kind of pained exhalation associated with Abel's death rattle. Indeed this passage makes use of another Old English word: *sigh* (from *sīcan*, and in Middle English *syȝte*). Moreover, as already has been suggested above regarding the opening lines of the epic, it was the fruit of that forbidden tree that brought into the world "death and all our woe"—"Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat / Sighing through all her Works gave signs of woe, / That all was lost" (*PL* 9.782-84). The aural echo of Nature's sigh in this passage recalls another such echo, one involving both a grievous sigh and also an echo of another, quite literal sort involving the naming of death. Sin recounts to Satan the case of his patrimony and then the horrible birth of her ravenous offspring:

my inbred enemy
Forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal Dart
Made to destroy: I fled, and cri'd out *Death*,
Hell tembl'd at the hideous Name, and sigh'd
From all her Caves, and back resounded *Death*.
(*PL* 2.785-89, italics Milton)

The passage concerns the paradoxically fraught coming into being of death (Engel, *Mapping Mortality* 71-76, 86-87). Instead of Nature sighing and giving signs of woe, it is Hell here that cannot withhold a sigh.

Whether groaning or sighing though, these passages concerning the appearance of death make use of Anglo-Saxon words predominantly. Milton thus sets up resonances between the passage where Eve plucks the fruit and the one where Death is born, and he does so both at the syntactic and the semantic levels of the poem. Regarding the latter, the sighing of the landscape is understood to be an uncontrollable—one is tempted to say "natural"—response to the tremendous horror that has been unleashed. Similar in kind though different in degree, this passage raises the stakes on the pathetic fallacy of "Woods, and desert Caves, / With wild Thyme and the gadding Vine o'ergrown, / And all their echoes mourn" that a younger Milton included in his elegiac "Lycidas" (lines 39-41). Both of the passages in *Paradise Lost*, finally, are linked additionally through the word *death*, whether

it be Eve “eating Death” or Sin crying out the word.

The other main place where the Anglo-Saxon *groan* is used in *Paradise Lost* concerns Satan’s inwardness at the very moment when he is stopped from further thoughts of submission by his inner “disdain.” The word *inly* is not used though, perhaps because the interiority being signaled here is of the self-pitying kind in Satan’s self-aggrandizing lament over the burden of leadership.

Ay me, they little know
How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
Under what torments *inwardly* I groan:
While they adore me on the Throne of Hell
(*PL* 4.86-89, italics mine)

When seen together the four verbs that Milton modified with *inly* provide a way to comment on the special kind of inwardness he sought to designate in these key passages: *rejoiced*, *stung*, *racket* and *rag’d*. Differing from Satan’s and Cain’s responses, Mary’s alone is positive and proper, unfeigned and sincere. All four of Milton’s words are cast in the past tense, in each case signaling a recollection—indeed, a response—conditioned by the inwardness of a reaction that reflects the pure and true inner character of each. All four concern a response to the Son’s eventual and perfect fulfillment of his destiny. Mary rejoices; Satan is stung with anger and despair; he is racket—pulled apart; and Cain—an archetype for mortal evil in the world—ironically heralds and prefigures the perfect sacrifice, not of the “Firstlings of the Flock,” but of that “meek man.”

Owing to the way these passages implicitly are linked through the echoing of *inly*, a kind of enchained aural mnemonic device is set in place, one that conditions the easy recall of the places where such inwardness is made an explicit issue in Milton’s poetry. As a consequence of this presentation of intense self scrutiny, we are made to look into ourselves as well and to reflect on moments when we too have inly rejoiced, or been stung, or racked, or raged. As a mnemonic device, *inly* links the four key moments in Milton’s poetry, where each passage is to be seen in its own right and then, in the reader’s mind, connected with the other three passages. Such intentional recollection, both of key passages and also of one’s own internal stirrings, is consonant with Milton’s purposeful backward

glance at the fundamental nature of both the English language and the nature of salvation—each of which is essential to his poetics of interiority and, more generally, his calling as a poet. By reconnecting to the roots of his native tongue, Milton thus achieved in poetry what he advocated with respect to piety and politics: on your own, look back to the fundamental, most basic nature of things.

To be sure, these four instances of one Old English word are not the whole story; they only begin to chart out a way to see more clearly the larger issue Milton would have readers take with them from his poetry and explore further on their own. This is consistent with the poetics of interiority that Milton both depicts in his poetry and also which he seeks to activate and set in motion within the careful reader. The larger theological questions embedded in such a poetic practice go hand in hand with Milton's program to transform the results of his contemplative life into something of true utility. Specifically, and this draws on what has been brought out about the special role of grace in his epic poetry, Milton goads the reader to work through the problem of how one's confession ever really can be trusted as having been rightly framed and offered. For Milton, it is accomplished by virtue of the "inner Oracle" which, as if by cosmic sleight of hand, obviates the need for words to be uttered aloud to anyone. As this analysis has shown, Milton emphasized the fundamental importance of courageous "inward turning" thus connecting to the flow of convenient grace, which in turn perfects faith and makes sincere contrition possible. Something of the same order is going on with Milton's calculated and judicious use of Old English terms. Inly racked himself, that his matchless thoughts might not be transformed into matchless deeds, his poetics of interiority might well have provided him with a cause to have inly rejoiced.

Works Cited

- Blank, Paula. "The Babel of Renaissance English." *The Oxford History of English*. Ed. Lynda Mugglestone. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. 212-39.
- Blount, Thomas. *Glossographia*. London: n.p., 1656.
- Bolgar, R. R. *The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries*. Cambridge, 1954. Rpt. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1973.

- Boswell, Jackson Campbell. "Milton and Prevenient Grace." *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 7 (1967): 83-94.
- Brennan, William. "Milton's *Of Education* and the *Translatio Studii*." *Milton Quarterly* 15.2 (1981): 55-59.
- Cordasco, Francesco. "Junius and Milton." *Notes and Queries* 195 (1950): 250-51.
- Crump, Galbraith Miler. *The Mystical Design in "Paradise Lost."* Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell UP, 1975.
- Doerksen, Daniel W. "Milton and the Jacobean Church of England." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 1 (1995): 1-23.
- Duran, Angelica. "First and Last Fruits of Education." *A Concise Companion to Milton*. Ed. Angelica Duran. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2007. 61-76.
- Engel, William E. *Chiastic Designs in English Literature from Sidney to Shakespeare*. London: Ashgate, 2009.
- _____. *Mapping Mortality: The Persistence of Memory and Melancholy in Early Modern England*. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1995.
- Fowler, Alastair. "'To Shepherd's Ear': The Form of Milton's *Lycidas*." *Silent Poetry: Essays in Numerological Analysis*. Ed. Alastair Fowler. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970.170-84.
- Grossman, Marshall. "Milton's 'Transubstantiate': Interpreting the Sacrament in *Paradise Lost*." *Milton Quarterly* 16 (1982): 42-47.
- Hale, John K. *Milton as Multilingual*. Otago: Otago Studies in English, 2005.
- _____. *Milton's Languages: The Impact of Multilingualism on Style*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.
- Herman, Peter C. *Destabilizing Milton: "Paradise Lost" and the Poetics of Incertitude*. New York: Palgrave, 2005.
- Hill, John Spencer. *John Milton: Poet, Priest and Prophet*. London: Macmillan, 1979.
- Hoad, Terry. "Preliminaries: Before English." *The Oxford History of English*. Ed. Lynda Mugglestone. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006. 7-31.
- Hüllen, Werner. *English Dictionaries, 800-1700: The Topical Tradition*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1999.
- Kolbrener, William. *Milton's Warring Angel: A Study of Critical Engagements*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.

- Lowenstein, David. *Representing Revolution in Milton and His Contemporaries: Religion, Politics, and Polemics in Radical Puritanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001.
- MacQueen, John. *Numerology: Theory and Outline History of a Literary Mode*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 1985.
- Von Maltzahn, Nicholas. *Milton's "History of Britain": Republican Historiography in the English Revolution*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.
- Miller, Timothy. *American Notes and Queries* 4 (1991): 179-81.
- Milton, John. *Animadversions upon the Remonstrant's Defence Against Smectymnuus* (1641). *The Prose Works of John Milton*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: John W. Moore, 1847. Vol 1. Rpt. *Online Library of Liberty*. The Liberty Fund. 24 Sept. 2008 <<http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/1209/78022/1887071>>.
- _____. *Complete Poems and Major Prose*. Ed. Merritt Y. Hughes. New York: Merrill, 1957.
- _____. *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*. Ed. D. M. Wolfe. 8 vols. New Haven: Yale UP, 1953-82.
- Myers, Benjamin. "Prevenient Grace and Conversion in *Paradise Lost*." *Milton Quarterly* 40 (2006): 20-36.
- Ong, Walter J. *Ramus, Method, and the Decay of Dialogue: From the Art of Discourse to the Art of Reason*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1983.
- Onions, C. T., ed. *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*. New York: Oxford UP, 1966.
- Qvarnström, Gunnar. *The Enchanted Palace: Some Structural Aspects of "Paradise Lost"*. Stockholm: Almqvist, 1967.
- Panofsky, Erwin. "Hercules am Scheideweg." *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* 18. Leipzig: Teubner, 1930.
- Ransom, John Crow. *Poems and Essays*. New York: Vintage, 1955.
- Schäfer, Jürgen. *Early Modern English Lexicography*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1989.
- Shakespeare, William. *The Riverside Shakespeare*. Ed. G. Blakemore Evans. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974.
- Smith, G. C. Moore. "A Note on Milton's Art of Logic." *Review of English Studies* 13 (1937): 335-40.
- The Saxon Genesis: An Edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis*. Ed. A. N. Doane. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1991.
- Tiffany, Grace. *Love's Pilgrimage: The Holy Journey in English*

- Renaissance Literature*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 2006.
- Weaver, Richard M. *The Ethics of Rhetoric*. Chicago: Henry Regnery, 1953.
- Welch, Anthony. "Reconsidering Chronology in *Paradise Lost*." *Milton Studies* 41 (2004): 1-17.
- Wind, Edgar. *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1958. Rpt. New York: Norton, 1968.