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Julia Fleischer April 12, 2022

“The Body Book” for Christian Epic Poetry: How Milton and Pope Christianized Greco-Roman Conceptions of Embodied Divinity in *Paradise Lost* and *The Iliad*

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Abstract

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By Julia Fleischer

John Milton and Alexander Pope penned and translated literature that used elements of embodied divinities from Homeric epic poetry and Greco-Roman mythology. In their respective works, *Paradise Lost* and Homer's *Iliad*, they rehabilitated pagan embodied divinities for Christian literature, and their impact becomes clear in John Flaxman's illustrations of *The Iliad*.

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Table of Contents

Introduction

Classical literature, specifically the epic poems of Virgil and Homer, have long been sources of inspiration for later poetry, including John Milton's English epic poem *Paradise Lost* (1688).[1] Milton, who borrowed and frequently re-purposed the conventions of classical epics, greatly influenced Alexander Pope, who rendered his own translations of the *Odyssey* (1715-1720) and *The Iliad* (1715-1720).[2] In Pope's introduction to his translation of Homer's *Iliad*, he discusses his admiration of Milton's works, and this admiration of Milton most likely influenced his translation. Pope, in his Introduction, says of his translation that "Perhaps the mixture of some Graecisms and old words after the manner of Milton, if done without too much affectation, might not have an ill effect in a version of this particular work, which most of any other seems to require a venerable, antique cast."[3] Pope admits that he mixed "some Graecisms" with "old words after the manner of Milton." In his Introduction, Pope makes Milton's influence on him and his admiration of the earlier English epic poet clear. Therefore, if Milton re-purposed classical materials, it stands to reason that Alexander Pope did as well.

This paper will further investigate how Milton and Pope created Christian literature out of pagan epic poetry and mythology. Both Pope and Milton's works contain demigods, with *Paradise Lost* containing Satan and the other fallen and unfallen angels, whom Milton explicitly calls "Demy-Gods,"[4] and *The Iliad* containing Achilles. My claim is that Pope aligned the demigod Achilles with the incarnate Son of God, while Milton aligned Satan with both Zeus and

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[1] *Paradise Lost* was published for the first time prior to 1688, but the edition I used for this paper was published in 1688.
[2] Pope published his both his translations on a subscription basis, so the publication took several years to complete.
[3] Pope, "INTRODUCTION," *The Iliad*, pp. xviii. Complete citation: Homer. Translated by Alexander Pope. In *Homer's Iliad: In the English Verse Translation by Alexander Pope Illustrated with the Classical Designs of John Flaxman*. New York, NY: The Heritage Press, 1943.
[4] Milton, John. *The Riverside Milton*. Edited by Roy Flannagan. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1998. Book 1.798.

Achilles. All the figures mentioned in this thesis, those being Achilles, Satan, Zeus, and Christ, exist as embodied divinities. The term "embodied divinity" refers to a character who has a physical body with supernatural powers, a definition which Achilles, Zeus, Christ, and Satan all fit. Achilles is a demigod and so is Satan, while Zeus can become incarnate and Christ, according to the New Testament, did become incarnate.[5]

It should be noted, however, that conceptions of embodied divinity rely upon theological and cultural context. The angels in *Paradise Lost* are "Demy-Gods" because they can choose to become incarnate and because they have supernatural powers that humans do not possess. They exist at the intersection between divinity and flesh, meaning that they are embodied divinities when they choose to convert their essence into substance. Milton, as the poet, provides them with their embodied divinity through his own theological doctrine and notions of angelic corporeality. Achilles is a demigod as well because he is the son of a god and a mortal, and this definition comes directly from Greco-Roman mythology. Zeus, while not a demigod, is an embodied divinity when he, like the angels in *Paradise Lost,* chooses to take on flesh, which he does countless times to court and have sexual relationships with human women. Zeus' embodied divinity, like Achilles', relies upon the context of Greco-Roman mythology. Christ exists, not as a demigod, but just as an embodied divinity. Christ is God, meaning that he is divine, but he is the incarnate Son of God; consequently, his divinity becomes embodied the minute He takes on flesh. Christ's embodied divinity stems from Christian perceptions of His incarnation. The angels, Achilles, Zeus, and Christ are all embodied divinities when placed within their own cultural and theological contexts.

[5] Recall the myth of the birth of Athena. For Zeus to physically birth Athena through his head, he must first, obviously, have a physical head. Additionally, in the myth of Semele, Zeus seduces the Theban princess, only to kill her when he reveals his full glory. Within the Greek mythological tradition, Zeus bears the ability to become incarnate and to literally become an embodied divinity.

Pope and Milton, although they diverged in practice and doctrine, identified as staunch Christians. Their commitment to their own Christian belief-systems permeated their poetry and catalyzed their recycling of the traditions of pagan epic poetry into the traditions of Christian epic poetry. Milton used Homer's demigod of Achilles and the Greek god Zeus as references for his angelic demigod Satan in *Paradise Lost,* while Pope translated the language of *The Iliad* in a way that implicitly made Achilles a Christ-like figure. Both Milton and Pope's re-imaginings of pagan epic poetry Christianized the genre and impacted later interpretations of Homeric poetry, which John Flaxman's illustrations of *The Iliad* reveal.

Eleven years after Pope's death in 1744 and 40 years after his translation of *The Iliad* was published, John Flaxman was born. As Flaxman grew into adulthood, he most certainly would have been influenced by the Enlightenment, and perhaps, most specifically, the resurgence that classicism experienced during the period.[6] Beginning in his youth, Flaxman displayed a predisposition for the arts, particularly sculpture, so that when he became a young man, he "engaged as industrial designer and modeler for Etruria, the leading pottery manufactory of the eighteenth century."[7] As John Thomas notes, Flaxman's employment in Etruria would have been "a valuable and most formative period in [his] career."[8] While in Etruria, Flaxman worked on classical designs, while "hanker[ing] after a first-hand study of classical art in Italy."[9] Eventually, Flaxman did, in fact, move to Italy where he studied classical art for seven years.

The period in which Flaxman became a man provided him the opportunity to study and produce neoclassical art. Moreover, the renewed interest in classicism provided him with a rapt

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[6] This resurgence of classicism is aptly called "neoclassicism."
[7] THOMAS, JOHN. "JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A. (1755-1826)." *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 104, no. 4966 (1955): 43–66. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41368419. All information comes from Thomas' article and is also in chronological order.
[8] Thomas, John. "JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A. (1755-1826)," pp. 45.
[9] Thomas, Joh. "JOHN FLAXMAN, R.A. (1755-1826)," pp. 46.

and, most importantly, paying audience. While the hallmark of the Enlightenment was the emergence of science, it would be folly to neglect the inherent impact of religion on English society. While science and reason became more popular than ever, Christianity still reigned over England.[10] Therefore, Flaxman remained very much under the thumb of Christianity despite his interest in classicism.

Flaxman himself was an "active member"[11] of the Swedenborg Society, which followed Emmanuel Swedenborg's philosophies. Swedenborg[12] claimed "to have received spiritual knowledge directly from God's angels"[13] and had a deep interest in embodied divinity himself. Through his theological studies, Swedenborg centered his theories around the "'correspondences' between things natural and things spiritual" and sought "'to prove the immortality of the soul to the senses himself.'"[14] Swedenborg also maintained the popular, and still prevailing, tradition that Jesus Christ "had existed" as "both divine and human, for all eternity,"[15] or rather, he believed in the orthodox Christian doctrine of the hypostatic union. Swedenborg exhibited an interest in the interaction and intersection between the divine and the natural as made manifest through either the soul (divine) or the senses (physical). Swedenborg's ideology was very influential and led to what was "initially an *ecclesiola in ecclesia,*"[16] which Garrett explains as "a core of believers scattered through the dead churches of the world."[17]

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[10] I mean this in both allegorical and literal senses. During Flaxman's lifetime, George III (1760-1820), the grandson of George II, ruled England, and he was very much an Anglican king. Furthermore, one of the reasons non-Anglican Protestants, namely the Puritans, departed England for the American colonies was to escape Anglicanism and the religious persecution of the English empire. Information from Thomas' article.
[11] Thomas. Flaxman. Pp. 54.
[12] I will refer to the man Emmanuel Swedenborg as "Swedenborg" and the Swedenborg Society as "the Society."
[13] Garrett, Clarke. "Swedenborg and the Mystical Enlightenment in Late Eighteenth-Century England." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 45, no. 1 (1984): 67–81. https://doi.org/10.2307/2709331. Pp. 54.
[14] Garret. "Swedenborg," page 69; quote from Jonsson, *Swedenborg*, pp. 29.
[15] Garrett, Clarke, "Swedenborg," pp. 69.
[16] This translates to "little churches within the church."
[17] Garrett, Clarke, "Swedenborg," pp. 69.

Swedenborg's theological philosophies, which were primarily concerned with "spiritual reality,"[18] were particularly influential on English "artists, philosophers, novelists, and poets,"[19] one of whom was John Flaxman.

Moreover, Flaxman identified as a Puritan and his membership in the Society created an interesting divergence in philosophical practice. Flaxman "'held stiffly to private opinions partly of Puritan orthodoxy and partly of Swedenborgian mysticism.'"[20] Strangely enough, Puritanism had petered out in England by the 18th century due to the Enlightenment, which preached a doctrine of reason and logic as the sources of knowledge, instead of divinity as the source of knowledge. Therefore, Flaxman himself resided in a space of extreme philosophical co-mingling.

Pope, however, was born into a Catholic family in London in 1688, which meant that his life began during a time of profound religious and political upheaval. The Glorious Revolution, which saw the Protestant William of Orange and his wife Mary replace King James II, led to the illegalization of Catholicism. Because of this, Pope spent the early years of his life with his parents in the predominantly Catholic town of Binfield, where he received his education from priests, since Roman Catholic schools had been forbidden.[21] Eventually, however, he did attend Catholic boarding schools in Hampshire and London, although his London boarding school "had to move its premises at least once to evade the authorities."[22] Pope's early education, while improvised, was much more formal than the education he received after the age of twelve. Around his twelfth year, he started educating himself, "plunging with zeal into the works of the

[18] Garrett, Clarke, "Swedenborg," pp. 70.
[19] Garrett, Clarke, "Swedenborg," pp. 69.
[20] Thomas, "Flaxman." Pp. 54; quote from Colvin.
[21] Mack, Maynard, and Duncan Robinson. "THE WORLD of ALEXANDER POPE." *The Yale University Library Gazette* 62, no. 3/4 (1988): 87–157. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40859578. Pp. 92.
[22] Mack, Robinson. "ALEXANDER POPE," pp. 93.

Greek and Roman poets, the neo-Latin Italian poets, and his English predecessors."[23] However, when Pope reached his twenties, he realized that his education had been in poetry almost exclusively. In fact, Pope's "friend and editor,"[24] William Warburton, wrote that

> at twenty, when the impetuosity of his spirits began to suffer his genius to be put under restraint, he went over all the parts of his education a-new, from the very beginning, and in a regular, more artful manner. He penetrated into the general grounds and reasons of speech; he learnt to distinguish the several species of style; he studied the peculiar genius and character of language; he reduced his natural talent for poetry to a science, and mastered those parts of philosophy that would most contribute to enrich his vein.[25]

Pope took his education very seriously, and he endeavored to address all aspects of his classical education when he had the awareness that they were lacking. From the beginning of his adolescence, Pope displayed an enthusiastic interest in classical tradition and literature, despite his Catholic faith.

Pope demonstrably took his faith seriously and identified as a Catholic. Johnson notes in his chapter on Pope that the poet "in his correspondence with Racine… profess[ed] himself a sincere adherent" to the "Church of Rome."[26] Pope's self-identification as a Catholic most certainly informed his translation of Homer's texts, specifically *The Iliad.* As a lover of Greco-Roman pagan literature and a devout Catholic, *The Iliad,* an obviously pagan text, presented Pope with a challenge: how to reconcile the Greco-Roman pagan literary tradition with

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Alderson, Simon. "Alexander Pope and the Nature of Language." *The Review of English Studies* 47, no. 185 (1996): 25. http://www.jstor.org/stable/518378.
[25] Simon includes that this passage comes from "Warburton's 1751 edn. of Pope's works, note to iv. 211. Quoted here from Osborn's edn. of Spence's *Observations*, vol. i, note to §50." Footnote 7, pp. 25.
[26] JOHNSON, SAMUEL. "LIFE OF POPE." In *Samuel Johnson: Selected Works*, edited by ROBERT DEMARIA, STEPHEN FIX, and HOWARD D. WEINBROT, 703–90. Yale University Press, 2021. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1b9f5zt.53. Pp. 770. Information is a combination of Simon and Johnson.

Christianity when translating Homer's works. While Milton's solution was to create his own epic poem, Pope's solution was to subtly change Homer's body of work. Unlike Milton, who chose to use the framework of epic poetry but change the subject matter from Greco-Roman polytheism to Christianity, Pope chose to simply translate Greco-Roman pagan texts, even though he had already demonstrated his ability to create his own mock epics, most notably *The Rape of the Lock.*

As aforementioned, Pope admired Milton very much. In his musings on both his translations of *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey,* Pope mentions Milton by name. At the beginning of his preface to *The Iliad,* Pope exclaims that "this [poetic] fire[27] is discerned in Virgil, but discerned as through a glass, reflected from Homer, more shining than fierce, but everywhere equal and constant: in Lucan and Milton it glows like a furnace kept up to an uncommon ardour by the force of art…."[28] At the end of his introduction to *The Iliad,* Pope remarks that translators should treat Homer's texts "attentively in comparison with Virgil above all the ancients, and with Milton above all the moderns."[29] In his postscript of *The Odyssey*, Pope declares that "The imitators of Milton, like most other imitators, are not *copies,* but *caricatures* of their original; they are a hundred times more obsolete and cramp than he, and equally so in all places…."[30] In both of his translations, Pope makes his admiration of Milton very obvious and his desire to emulate him subtle. And emulate him, Pope does. In his translation to *The Iliad,* Pope modifies the demigod Achilles by changing his most human attributes, but upholding his more godly qualities, so that he appears more divine and more Christ-like. Milton re-imagined the Greco-Roman gods and demigods through his Christian demigod Satan in *Paradise Lost,* creating a

[27] Pope calls "this fire" earlier in his introduction "poetic fire."
[28] Pope, *The Iliad*, "INTRODUCTION," pp. vi.
[29] Pope, *The Iliad*, "INTRODUCTION," pp. xxi.
[30] Pope, postscript to *The Odyssey*, pp. 411.

Christian epic; Pope modified the demigod Achilles into a Christ-like figure, which resulted in the transformation of the pagan epic into a subtly Christian narrative. I claim that Pope re-imagined Achilles as a Christ-like figure because he needed to reconcile the polytheism of *The Iliad* with his Catholic identity.

In Catholicism, after the standardization of the creed at the Council of Nicea (325 AD), which aimed to define the relationship between God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit, understandings of the Trinity still were not static. The Council decided that the Trinity are three persons in one (the hypostatic union); they are inextricable, and they are the same, but this matter has been the subject of on-going theological debate among what are considered heretical sects of Catholicism. While the Church settled the matter for itself at the Council of Nicea, it did not settle the matter for the widespread body of Christian believers. Nonetheless, the Catholic Church still proclaims that the Trinity and its consubstantiality cannot be fully explained or understood. The Catholic Church calls the incomprehensibility of the Trinity one of its mysteries of faith.

Pope, as a Catholic, certainly believed in the hypostatic union, meaning that the presence of a demigod, whose nature was half-divine and half-human, presented a problem for his translation. Pope, to reconcile the differences between his faith and Homer's faith, translated *The Iliad* in a way that subtly changed Achilles from a demigod to a Christ-like figure. Although this does not entirely erase the theological problem Achilles' embodied divinity presents, it might have ameliorated Pope's discomfort surrounding his translation of a pagan poet's work. By re-creating and re-figuring Achilles and the presentation of his embodied divinity to recall that of Christ, Pope essentially created a nuanced Christian epic poem from a Greek pagan one.

Even though Milton did not identify as a Catholic, his brand of Puritanism and his iconoclastic disapproval of saints and angels suggests that he also took moral issue with pagan, specifically Homeric, presentations of embodied divinity. Milton wrote the character of Satan to re-imagine the pagan characters of Achilles and Zeus and all they represented; specifically, those behaviors and practices openly castigated within both the Hebrew and Christian scriptures, including pride and the misuse of sexuality. By doing so, Milton portrayed the Greek divinities as Satan, whom he also identified as a demigod in his epic poem. Milton's *Paradise Lost* functioned as a vehicle for rehabilitating the genre of epic poetry. Milton and Pope transformed the embodied divinities of demigods, both Satan and Achilles, for the same purpose of Christianizing epic poetry. Their impact is clear in Flaxman's illustrations.

Milton received significant training in classics, first studying with his tutor, Thomas Young, then moving on to St. Paul's School, and finally, Cambridge University in 1625.[31] Milton began his studies at Cambridge as a member of Christ's College, and he probably only left campus when the "plague arrived at Cambridge" so that he could "join his family at a retreat in the country."[32] The plague, unsurprisingly, had a profound impact on Milton, and he makes reference to the historical pestilence in his poem *On the Death of a Fair Infant Dying of the Cough.*[33] While he completed his studies at Cambridge, Milton composed various writings in Latin, ranging from elegies to letters to prolusions.[34] One prolusion in particular, Prolusion 6, reveals much about Milton's reputation at Cambridge. This prolusion, which Milton "delivered on or shortly before 4 July 1628" to his fellow students before they left for vacation, contained

[31] Campbell, Gordon. "Milton, John (1608–1674), poet and polemicist." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 22 Mar. 2022. https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18800.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.

two parts: a Latin speech and an English poem. In the English poem, titled *'On the Vacation Exercise,'* Milton refers to himself as "the Lady," an allusion to the great Roman poet Virgil's nickname of *"parthenias vulgo appellatus sit,"* which was usually shortened to "the Lady."[35] Milton's reference to his own nickname and the comfort he clearly felt in using the moniker in front of his classmates suggests that he already possessed the reputation of a formidable and elegant poet by the time he reached Cambridge.

Milton's teachers at Cambridge interacted with Joseph Mede,[36] himself a "parliamentary-protestant low-churchman,"[37] who wrote *The Apostasy of the Latter Times* (1641).[38] This "little treatise" lambasted the Roman-Catholic use of intercessory prayers though saints and angels, which Mede perceived as "a revival of ancient dæmon-worship." In his treatise, Mede established two different kinds of daimons: the "'deified souls of worthy men after death'" and natural "semidivine" beings.[39] Mede equated these semidivine beings to the angels of the Catholic Church and equated the deified souls of men to the saints. Mede used the writings of Hesiod, Plutarch, Plato, and Apuleius to compare what he perceived as idolatry to ancient polytheistic traditions. Therefore, Mede created a standardized perception of pagan texts through the lens of Christianity with his treatise.[40]

Since Mede and Milton's tutors worked alongside each other at Cambridge, it can be assumed that Milton was at least exposed to some of Mede's beliefs. Mede's influence on Milton becomes particularly obvious in his early writings, which "are overrun by daimons."[41] In his

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[35] Ibid. All information comes from the beginning of Campbell's article and has been paraphrased.
[36] Also spelled "Mead."
[37] Shuger, Debora. "Milton's Religion: The Early Years." *Milton Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (2012): 137–53. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24461996. Pp. 139.
[38] Shuger says that no one knows the date when Mede wrote his treatise for sure. Shuger, pp. 140.
[39] Shuger, *Milton's Religion*. Pp. 140. All quotes after footnote 10 are from page 140.
[40] Shuger. *Milton's Religion.* Pp. 138-140.
[41] Shuger, *Milton's Religion.* Pp. 140.

early texts, written during the first year of his undergraduate coursework, Milton includes both of Mede's subsets of daimons. However, Milton writes about his daimons without the disgust of Mede; instead, he venerates them, particularly in his *Prolusion 3* (1628), in which he exhorts his audience to "take Aristotle as their guide." From the beginning of his career as a writer, Milton was exploring the topic of embodied divinity in ancient classical texts, perhaps because of Mede's assertions, which he originally disagreed with while at Cambridge.[42]

However, after leaving Cambridge, Milton became a fervent student of Christian theology, and he invented his own Christian doctrine. Milton's doctrine, which he eventually published as *De Doctrina Christiana,* was decidedly unorthodox, as he firmly believed in anti-Trinitarianism. For Milton, "there [was] a kind of hierarchy," in which the Son was subordinate to the Father, the angels were "subordinate to God the Father and God the Son, and to humankind," while humans were "subordinate to God," and "thence… the sexes, since the man was created first in the image of God and the woman second, from the man."[43] Milton's assertion that God the Son and God the Father do not share essence distinguished his doctrine from all mainstream Christian churches, who had maintained and upheld the decisions made at the First Council of Nicaea (325 AD) concerning the Arian heresy. As Milton created his own Christian doctrine, which eschewed the veneration of saints and angels, unlike both the Anglican and Catholic churches, his poetry[44] still heavily relied upon ancient classical texts.

Milton's interest in Christian theology spurred him to write another text: his magnum opus *Paradise Lost* (1688). His profound allegiance to Christianity led him to write, and,

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[42] Shuger. *Milton's Religion.* Pages 140-141. The first quotation comes from page 140, while the second quotation comes from page 141. All information has been paraphrased from Shuger's article.
[43] SHAWCROSS, JOHN T. "The Roots of Being: Some Problems in Milton's Biography." In *John Milton: The Self and the World*, 1–15. University Press of Kentucky, 1993. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt130j3qw.4.
[44]Shuger. *Milton's Religion.* Page 145.

eventually, publish the blank verse epic poem. Milton, who both revered and disliked the tradition of the classical epic and its pagan theology, metamorphosized pieces of the Homeric epic to better fit a Christian and English tradition. *Paradise Lost* uses elements of classical epic poetry, while simultaneously subverting them in favor of Christianity. Milton did not set out to re-create a pre-existing epic poem as Virgil did, but instead set out to transform the conventions of epic poetry itself. One of the ways he did so was through identifying the fallen angels, most famously Satan, as demigods. Milton's description and characterization of the fallen angels' embodied divinity resembles the powers and abilities of gods and demigods from classical epic poetry, which implicitly allows Milton to rehabilitate classical epic poetry. Specifically, Milton borrows traits from Zeus and Achilles and gives them to Satan, which re-purposes classical epic poetry for Christian use.

While Pope and Milton's methods were different, the outcomes of their poetry were the same: the Christianization of epic poetry. Milton's influence on Pope and Pope's influence on Flaxman clarify how the Christianization of archetypes from Greco-Roman epic poetry, specifically archetypes of embodied divinity, had a tangible impact on artistic representations of classical myth and poetry. In this thesis, I will examine how Pope and Milton re-purposed classical epic poetry and mythology, through embodied divinity, for a Christian world and their respective impacts on later literature and art, specifically the illustrations of John Flaxman.

Satan as Zeus and Achilles in Milton's *Paradise Lost*

The History of the Poem and the Greco-Roman Mythological Precedent of *Paradise Lost*

In this section I will detail the history of the poem, I will present Milton's use of Greco-Roman mythological precedents, and I will introduce the concept of embodied divinity in *Paradise Lost*. This background will provide a foundation for discussing the particulars of embodied divinity in *Paradise Lost* and will provide context for Milton's incorporation of elements of Greco-Roman mythology in his poem. This foundation will then allow me to explore the bodies of the angels and Satan's alignment with Achilles and Zeus in subsequent sections.

After London had "partially recovered from the effects of the Great Fire of 1666" and the plague had improved, Milton presented the publisher Samuel Simmons with his manuscript of *Paradise Lost.* Between 1667, the year the Archbishop of Canterbury approved Milton's manuscript, and 1674, "five different copies of the poem" were available for purchase. While *Paradise Lost* now contains 12 books, these early editions were only comprised of 10 books, and they were not standardized, meaning that they were all different from each other, although these differences remained slight.[45] One year after the Archbishop's approval, Milton wrote an Argument for the entirety of his poem because, according to Simmons, many readers "desired it." In his Argument, Milton "offered a defence of his blank verse style," which was unusual for the time period, as most epic poetry was composed in the form of heroic couplets. Furthermore, Milton's new Argument had the effect of augmenting the length of his book by 14 pages. Finally,

[45] Moyles lists the differences between the 5 different copies on page 4 in the first chapter of his book *The Text of "Paradise Lost."* Some of the differences include the names of booksellers, using Milton's initials instead of his full name, the addition of Simmons' name, and changes in font size and typography.

in 1674, Simmons noted that the epic poem was "Revised and Augmented by the same Author" because it possessed 12 books instead of the original 10.[46]

Milton's reason for expanding his book remains unclear. However, Flanagan's theory posits that Milton divided existing books to create two additional books to conform with Virgilian and Homeric tradition. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* both made use of 24 books, while Virgil's *Aeneid* contained twelve. Already, Virgil had changed the Homeric convention to fit his own goal of creating an origin story for Rome. By halving the length of the standard epic, Virgil set a precedent for subverting and transforming epic traditions to create something new. Perhaps following in Virgil's footsteps, Edmund Spenser set out to write his *Faerie Queene* in twelve books, and even told Sir Walter Raleigh that he was considering "extending his work to twenty-four books."[47] Unfortunately, Spenser only completed six books out of the twelve he intended to write, with his seventh book remaining incomplete. Nonetheless, the convention, even within English poetry, was for either 12 books or 24 books. Milton's poem did not fall into either category, so Milton might have augmented his poem with two more books to make its connection to classical epics more evident.[48] Whatever the reason, this format of twelve books then became the standard for all editions of *Paradise Lost.*

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[46] MOYLES, R. G. "The Original Texts: A Question of Authority." In *The Text of Paradise Lost: A Study in Editorial Procedure*, 3–29. University of Toronto Press, 1985. All information from Moyles. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctvcj2jwn.4. The page numbers for the quotations, in order of appearance, are as follows: 3, 4, 4, 14, and 15. All information comes from Moyles' and has been paraphrased. This paragraph is based upon a paragraph from my essay, in which I detail the publication history and genesis of the 1688 edition of *PL*, called "The 1688 Edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost:* Changes Big and Small," pp. 1-2. I present information in chronological order, as I did in my original essay, because it is the most logical presentation of the information. See Works Cited for complete citation. I have cited my essay as I would cite an unpublished body of work.

[47] Flanagan, Roy. "The Riverside Milton," pp. xiv.

[48] Flanagan, "The Riverside Milton," pp. xiv-xv. All information comes from Flanagan's notes at the beginning of "The Riverside Milton."

In Milton's eleventh chapter of *De Doctrina*, titled "Of the Fall of Our First Parents, and of Sin," he discusses the precedent of "propitiatory sacrifices for sin"[49] in Virgil's *Aeneid* and points to a specific passage from *The Aeneid* to strengthen his argument. In the corresponding footnote, Kelley, the editor of 1973 Yale edition of *De Doctrina,* explains that "some theologians objected to the quotation of classical authors in Christian writings," but that Milton believed "'it is permissible to give attention to profane writers'" because "'Socrates says it is: Book 3, c[hapter] 16. using not only other sound reasons, but also the example of the Apostle Paul and the most venerable Church Fathers.'"[50] Because there is no way that Socrates could have cited Paul, Milton's prose is confusing. The only reasonable interpretation of this line concludes that Milton intended to cite Socrates and "the example of the Apostle Paul and the most venerable Church Fathers" separately. Nonetheless, Milton justified the quotation of classical authors within Christian writings, and his justification should pose a problem for the topic of this thesis at first glance, as I claim that Milton imitated classical pagan texts in *Paradise Lost* to elevate Christian writings above them. However, Milton's claim that using classical authors in Christian writings is permissible only proves the argument of this thesis, which is that Milton intentionally metamorphosized the traditions of embodied divinity in classical epic poetry to fit his Christian worldview and to demonstrate the extent of the fallen angels' wickedness in *Paradise Lost.*

Milton uses Virgil's *Aeneid* in *De Doctrina* as an example of vengeful punishment acting as a "feature of divine justice."[51] Milton says:

> Furthermore, even the most just men have thought it right that a
>
> crime committed against them should also be atoned for by the punish-

[49] Milton, ed. Maurice Kelley, "Of the Fall of Our First Parents, and of Sin," *De Doctrina,* pp. 387.
[50] Milton, ed. Maurice Kelley, "Of the Fall," *De Doctrina,* footnote 27, pp. 387-388. Kelley quotes Milton's *Commonplace Book, Complete Prose,* I, 376.
[51] Milton, ed. Kelley, "Of the Fall," *De Doctrina*, pp. 387.

> ment not only of the criminal but also of his children. Thus Noah considered the Ham's offence should be avenged upon Ham's son, Canaan, Gen. ix 25. [165]
>
> This feature of divine justice, the insistence upon propitiatory Sacrifices for sin, was well known among other nations, and never thought to be unfair. So we find in Thucydides I… And Virgil, *Aeneid,* I…."

Milton's quotation of *The Aeneid* is:

> …Could angry Pallas, with revengeful spleen,
> The Grecian navy burn, and drown the men?
> She for the fault of one offending foe…[52]

Genesis 9:25 states, "And he said, Cursed *be* Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."[53] The inclusion of this *Aeneid* passage in Milton's treatise on Christian doctrine has the effect of Christianizing Virgil's epic poem, as he compares the *Aeneid* passage about Pallas' wrath to Genesis 9:25 in the Old Testament. Milton's belief that Christian authors could wield the words of classical authors in their Christian writings does not mean that he necessarily pardoned classical authors' polytheism; instead, his inclusion of classical authors in his Christian writings means that he believed he could rehabilitate pagan authors and transform their writings into Christian ones. Milton's inclusion of the hallmarks of classical literature in *Paradise Lost* accomplishes precisely that. Milton's insertion of classical pagan literature into Christian tradition in *De Doctrina* parallels *Paradise Lost* and, therefore, gives credence to the argument expressed in this thesis.

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[52] Kelley cites these lines as 39-41, but in the Penguin Classics' 1997 edition of Dryden's translation they appear as 1.60-2. Milton, ed. Kelley, "Of the Fall," *De Doctrina*, pp. 387.

[53] "Official King James Bible Online." King James Bible Online. Accessed March 8, 2022. https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/.

In *Paradise Lost,* Milton immediately connects *Paradise Lost* to Virgilian and Homeric epic tradition, but he does so in a way that clarifies his position on the use of pagan texts. Directly after the Argument to Book One, Milton's narrator, who parallels the bards of Homer and Virgil's poetry, cries,

> Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
> Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
> That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen Seed,
> In the Beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
> Rose out of *Chaos:* Or if *Sion* Hill
> Delight thee more, and *Siloa's* Brook that flow'd
> Fast by the Oracle of God; I thence
> Invoke thy aid to my adventurous Song,
> That with no middle flight intends to soar
> Above th' Aonian Mount, while it pursues
> Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime.[54]

Milton calls upon his "Heav'nly Muse," who is most likely God because Christians believed that God resided in Heaven, while Greek and Roman pagans believed that their gods lived at Mount Olympus. For Milton, his Muse exists in the metaphysical realm, not the physical one, which immediately distinguishes his proem from those proems of Homer and Virgil. Here, Milton's Muse is God himself, not the Muses of ancient mythology.

[54] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Roy Flanagan, 1.6-16.

Furthermore, instead of invoking Greek or Roman heroes, as Virgil did when he wrote "Arms, and the Man (Aeneas) I sing"[55] and as Homer did when he wrote "The man (Odysseus), for wisdom's various arts renown'd, / Long exercised in woes, oh Muse! resound,"[56] Milton invokes Biblical figures, like Moses, in his proem. While the poets of the *Odyssey*, *Iliad,* and *Aeneid* used characters from Greek and Roman mythology as the subjects of their proem, Milton uses a character from the Christian Old Testament as the subject of his. Once again, Milton Christianizes the Greek and Roman epic poem convention of the proem. Milton inserts Moses ("That Shepherd") into the proem and states that the Muse also inspired Moses' writings. Moses supposedly wrote the first five books of the Bible, called the Pentateuch, and Milton claims that Moses' source for his writings came from Milton's Muse.[57] Milton's claim that the Muse inspired Moses to write the Pentateuch reveals that Milton's Muse is not one of the Muses of Ancient Greece or Rome, but rather God. Milton's reminder of Moses' clear connection to the Muse in the proem, who, in this case, is God, aligns Milton with a theologically great author. Through the proem, Milton provides himself with credibility, as he states that his Muse and Moses' Muse are the same Christian God.

Milton's invocation of the Muse as God also implies that Milton's epic poem bears infallibility. Although Milton was a Puritan who did not believe that God and the Holy Spirit were of the same essence, Protestant churches still believed in the doctrine of "divine inspiration," which is evident in their use of the phrase *"sola scriptura,"* or "scripture alone."

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[55] Virgil, *The Aeneid,* trans. John Dryden, 1.1. I chose to use Dryden's translation because of Dryden's reputation as a poet and translator.

[56] Homer, *The Odyssey,* trans. Alexander Pope, 1.1-2. I chose to use Pope's translation of *The Odyssey* because the foundation of the latter half of this thesis uses Pope's translation of *The Iliad.* I wanted to maintain the same translator for the Homeric epics throughout the paper.

[57] Flanagan discusses Milton's perceived connection to Moses in footnotes 17 and 19, which correspond to lines 6 and 9.

Puritans and Catholics alike believed in the notion of divine inspiration, which is the idea that the Holy Spirit used the talents of the human authors of the Old and New Testaments to create a written record of the word of God. Thus, the content of both the Hebrew and Christian scriptures is considered infallible. As the Holy Spirit is consubstantial with the Father and the Son, its influence on the Biblical authors of both the New and Old Testaments means that their writing is not a facsimile of the word of God, but actually is the word of God. Although Milton was an Anti-trinitarian, who did not necessarily believe in consubstantiality, he might have believed that God was the source of divine inspiration, not the Holy Spirit. If God were the divine inspirer of the scriptures and Moses, and, thus, the divine inspirer of Milton's poetry, then his poem on Christianity could still be considered infallible, in the sense that his inspiration did, in fact, come from God. While Milton's text cannot be considered infallible, his claim that God acted as his Muse can be considered infallible using this logic. Milton's invocation of God suggests that he viewed himself as occupying a similar literary space as the Biblical authors, including Moses, and, therefore, asserts that his poem possesses infallibility in its claim that God was its Muse.

Milton recalls, yet diverges, from classical epic poetry when he establishes God as the source of goodness and creation in his poem. Homer recalls the "woes" of Odysseus, which he attributes to "The god, vindictive,"[58] and Virgil recalls how Aeneas was "expell'd and exil'd"[59] from his home of Troy, which he attributes to the "haughty *Juno's* unrelenting Hate."[60] In these Greek and Roman epic poems, Homer and Virgil implicate the gods as the source of human suffering. However, in Milton's proem, he implicates God as the source of goodness and creation, specifically attributing the power of God to "how the Heav'ns and Earth / Rose out of

[58] Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Pope, 1.11.
[59] Virgil, *The Aeneid,* trans. John Dryden, 1.3.
[60] Virgil, *The Aeneid,* trans. John Dryden, 1.2.

Chaos."[61] Milton maintains the classical epic conventions of the proem and the involvement of the gods, but he diverges in his portrayal of God's impact on humanity. For Milton, the Greek and Roman gods were the source and font of human suffering and hardship, while the Christian god was the source of life and creation. From the beginning of *Paradise Lost*, Milton establishes a dichotomy between pagan gods and the Christian God, and he uses the convention of the proem as a foil for the goodness of the Christian God against the hostility of the Greek and Roman pantheon.

Milton makes the supremacy of his epic poem even more clear within the last lines of his proem when he states "my adventurous Song, / … intends to soar /Above th' Aonian Mount, while it pursues / Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime."[62] The Muses, in Greco-Roman mythology, resided at the "holy mount of Helikon,"[63] which was in Boetia, otherwise known as Aonia.[64] Milton's reference to the "Aonian Mount" both recalls the Muses and undermines them. Milton imagines his "Song" soaring over the Greco-Roman Muses' home, while it "pursues things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime." Here, Milton suggests that the Muses of the Greeks and Romans, whom the great poets Virgil and Homer called upon for inspiration, will not be sufficient for the kind of poem he intends to write. Milton also suggests that Homer and Virgil's poetry, compared to what he expects to write, is of lesser value.

The most straightforward identification of the angels' embodied divinity comes from the end of the first book of *Paradise Lost.* At the end of the first book, when the fallen angels convene for "the great consult,"[65] Milton identifies them as "Demy-Gods."[66] Milton explicitly

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[61] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Roy Flanagan, 1.9-10.
[62] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Roy Flanagan, 1.13-6.
[63] Hesiod, *Theogony*, trans. Richard S. Caldwell, line 2, pp. 27.
[64] Flanagan clarifies in footnote 23 that Boetia was also known as Aonia.
[65] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flannagan, 1.798.
[66] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 1.796.

borrows their classification from classical pagan literature, specifically from *The Iliad* and *The Aeneid*, both of whose protagonists were demigods. Achilles was the demigod son of the goddess Thetis and the mortal Peleus, while Aeneas was the son of the goddess Aphrodite and mortal Anchises. In the first book of *Paradise Lost,* Milton establishes the embodied divinity of the angels as that of demigods. While the characteristics of the angels' embodied divinity diverge from the characteristics of Achilles and Aeneas' embodied divinity, Milton explicitly refers to the angels as demigods and this reference connects the angels to their pagan predecessors. What the angels are or aren't is not a matter of debate; they are demigods. What this means, of course, is that Satan is a demigod and a fallen angel, and this identification only strengthens his similarities with Achilles, which I will discuss later. However, the angels' demigod nature does not align with Achilles perfectly. Achilles can die, but Satan and the other fallen angels cannot; they are immortal. Milton's classification of the fallen angels as "Demy-Gods" maps them onto Achilles, who was also a demigod, and their immortality maps them onto the gods of the Greco-Roman pantheon with Satan also paralleling the king of the gods, Zeus. Milton figured Satan after both Achilles and Zeus in his epic poem *Paradise Lost.*

While Milton only explicitly refers to the fallen angels as "Demy-gods" in Book One, the unfallen angels are demigods, too. The unfallen angels and the fallen angels share the same somatic capabilities as each other, meaning that both categories of angel are demigods.[67] However, what sets the fallen angels apart from the unfallen angels, and specifically Satan from Raphael, is that the fallen angels are, obviously, fallen. While the demigod nature of the angels writ large does not condemn them, the decisions and actions they make with their demigod bodies distinguishes them from one another. Since Satan is a fallen angel, his demigod nature is

[67] I discuss this further in my next section.

impure, unlike Raphael whose demigod nature is pure due to his state of grace. Milton suggests with the identical demigod natures of both the fallen and unfallen angels that what is good in Heaven becomes evil in Hell.[68]

The context of the proem, which includes both Christian themes and classical mythology, implies that Milton desired to upend and supersede the epic poems that Virgil and Homer wrote. Milton's Muse is not one of the nine Muses of antiquity, but rather both the Christian God, as shown through his attribution of Moses' works to the Muse (God, through divine inspiration), whom he calls upon to "Sing" in the proem. Milton further clarifies this position when he states that his poem will "soar" above the Greco-Roman Muses so that it can accomplish greatness formerly unachieved by Virgil and Homer. Furthermore, Milton identifies his angels, both fallen and unfallen, as "Demy-gods" because each group has identical somatic capabilities, once again borrowing from Greco-Roman mythological tradition. Milton re-imagined the hallmarks of Greco-Roman mythology and poetry through his association of them with Christian themes in his epic poem *Paradise Lost.*

The Bodies of the Angels

The substance of the angels, while demigods, has long been a subject of debate. Some scholars, like deGruy and Carver, have argued that the angels did not enjoy corporeal bodies; however, this is incorrect. The angels' ability to modify their bodies and their sexes, their need to eat and digest, and Milton's explicit comparison of Satan's size to the monsters of Greco-Roman mythology clarify that the angels can, in fact, have corporeal bodies. Furthermore, the abilities their corporeal bodies possess make them subordinate to the first humans. The angels in

[68] Carver makes a similar point in his article, "The Angels in *Paradise Lost."* He says: "…[Milton] refuses, like Tertullian, to identify matter with the principle of evil." Pp. 418. Carver, P. L. "The Angels in Paradise Lost." *The Review of English Studies* 16, no. 64 (1940): 415-31. http://www.jstor.org/stable/510090.

Paradise Lost are demigods and can, therefore, have material bodies when they so choose. In this section, I will explain how the demigod angels in *Paradise Lost* can choose to possess material bodies that make them subordinate to Adam and Eve and how Milton's description of Satan's body underscores his wickedness.

Milton describes the way that the angels can metamorphosize, which sets them apart from God's other creation: humans. The angels

> …when they please
> Can either Sex assume, or both; so soft
> And uncompounded is thir Essence pure,
> Not ti'd or manacl'd with joynt or limb,
> Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
> Like cumbrous flesh; but in what shape they choose.[69]

While the lines "Not ti'd or manacl'd with joynt or limb, / Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones, / Like cumbrous flesh" might make it appear as if the angels do not have corporeal bodies, they do. Their corporeal bodies are just a matter of choice. These lines do not mean that the angels are exclusively essence without bodies; instead, these lines mean that angels can exist either corporeally or incorporeally. The angels are not "ti'd or manacl'd with joynt or limb;" yet, this does not preclude them from choosing to experience "joynt or limb," which becomes evident when Raphael takes on flesh to eat with Adam and Eve. The angels can simply "choose" to either have essence or substance, and they are not forced into having substance with no reprieve. They are not "founded on the brittle strength of bones," meaning that their essence does not depend on bones, not that the angels cannot have bones if they should choose. The angels'

[69] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Roy Flanagan, 1.423-28.

essence does not rely upon a body; yet they enjoy the freedom to experience bodies if they so "choose." Milton's choice of words makes the angels' corporeality a matter of choice. The angels are not locked into existences as incarnate beings, nor are they locked into existences as disincarnate beings. The angels have the power of choice.

This passage from Book 1 also indicates that the angels do not have any fixed gender; rather, they can choose their gender at will. Because the angels can choose between corporeality and incorporeality, their ability to also choose their sex is logical. Nonetheless, the angels' power of choice in gender sets their bodies apart from human bodies. Adam and Eve did not have the power to choose their genders. God made that choice for them deliberately, as their fixed and unchanging genders granted them the ability to procreate. The angels in *Paradise Lost,* unlike Adam and Eve, should not procreate with each other, and this becomes relevant later when Satan gives birth to his daughter Sin.[70] The permanent genders of Adam and Eve, whom God himself created, and the ability that Adam and Eve's inflexible genders give them to procreate indicate the angels exist as subordinate beings to humans. The angels' capability to choose and change gender does not offer them any kind of supremacy; instead, their ability to transfigure their gender makes them different from humans as they should not "Be fruitful, and multiply,"[71] while humans should.

To return to fluidity of gender, however, the power to transfigure gender also has precedent in Homer's *Odyssey*, and Milton relies on this precedent to transform the gods of Ancient Greece. Telemachus, while agonizing over the decision he must make about the suitors and his itinerant father, "to Minerva pray'd"[72] and the goddess "indulgent to his prayer… took /

[70] I address this in my next section.
[71] King James Bible, Genesis 1:22. All biblical verses in my chapter on *Paradise Lost* are from the King James Bible.
[72] Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. Pope, 2.296.

Sage Mentor's form."[73] Athena disguises herself as Odysseus' old, and male, friend so that she can speak to Telemachus in secrecy and without fear of discovery. Athena displays the same power as the angels in Book 1 of *Paradise Lost*; both the Greek gods of epic poetry and the Christian angels of *Paradise Lost* can change their gender at will, as the line "Can either Sex assume" reveals. Milton transforms the powers of the Greco-Roman pantheon's bodies into the powers of his demigod angel's bodies.

Furthermore, in Book 5, the good angel Raphael visits Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden where they share a meal together, and this meal further explains how the angels' bodies function. In the text, the narrator describes their meal, saying

> ...So down they sat,
> And to thir viands[74] fell, nor seemingly
> The Angel, nor in mist, the common gloss
> Of Theologians, but with keen dispatch
> Of real hunger, and concoctive heate
> To transubstantiate....[75]

Raphael descends to eat with Adam and Eve, not as a "mist," but with "keen dispatch / of real hunger," which indicates that the angels, like humans, feel the bodily sensation of hunger. At this point, Milton repudiates the beliefs of prior theologians and their "common gloss," and, within the text of *Paradise Lost*, Milton proves their "common gloss" incorrect. These theologians

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[73] Homer, *The Odyssey,* trans. Pope, 2.305-6.
[74] The OED defines "viands" as "articles of food; provisions, victuals, articles of food; provisions, victuals." "viand, n.1". OED Online. December 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/223028?rskey=8iLdt2&result=1&isAdvanced=false (accessed December 24, 2021).
[75] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 5.433-438.

believed that the angels "did not really eat, but only seemed to do so."[76] However, the narrator of *Paradise Lost* indicates that Raphael not only feels "real hunger," but also needs to eat, as humans do, for the purpose of digestion ("concoctive heate / To transubstantiate"). Raphael, like Adam and Eve, feels "real hunger" and must also engage in the process of bodily digestion. Even though the angels exist as divine beings, the rules of sustaining the body apply to them as well as humans. Their divinity does not preclude them from experiencing morally neutral bodily sensations and requiring bodily nourishment.

The word "transubstantiate" provides evidence for why the angels need to eat and digest. Obviously, the angels can choose to possess bodies, but the functions of their bodies remain obscure. "Transubstantiate," which Milton employs here as a reference to the Body of Christ, explains the angels' need to consume and digest. The angels must digest ("concoctive") in order to "transubstantiate." The word means "to change from one substance into another; to transform, transmute," and thus offers the reason for angelic digestion and consumption. For the angels to change from essence into substance, they must eat, and they must digest. Coupled with the theological connotation of the word, in which bread and wine become the Body and Blood of the Savior, this word demonstrates the divine nature of the angels' bodies. The angels must have a corporeal form that requires tangible and three-dimensional food, as Raphael eats the same meal as the humans, Adam and Eve, in their plane of existence, the Garden of Eden. However, their reason for needing such food differs: the angels require real sustenance to support their embodied divinity, as defined by the word "transubstantiate." Within this passage, the inextricable nature of

[76]Carver, P. L. "The Angels in Paradise Lost." *The Review of English Studies* 16, no. 64 (1940): 415-31. http://www.jstor.org/stable/510090. Pp. 417. Carver cites this quote as "*Paradise Lost*, ed. Thomas Newton, notes, in loc." Carver's article, while I used it as a reference for my argument, predominantly discusses Milton's phrase "the common gloss," Tertullian philosophy, Thomas Aquinas, and other theologians and philosophers. He uses the same passage, 5.433-5.438, but puts it in the context of Tertullian philosophy and only interrogates "the common gloss."

the angels' divine and corporeal substances becomes even clearer. The angels' corporeal and divine natures remain indistinguishable from each other when the angels choose to exist corporeally.[77] They are embodied divinities when they so choose.

Moreover, Raphael descends from Heaven to dine with the humans, meaning that he chooses to become corporeal. While Raphael exists as incorporeal in Heaven, he decides to become a somatic being to eat and sit alongside Adam and Eve. Raphael, however, unlike Satan, makes the decision to become incarnate out of love and out of goodness. When Satan becomes incarnate, specifically as a serpent, he does so to create chaos and to destroy the natural order of God's creation. Raphael uses his power of choice to convene with and instruct God's humans, while Satan uses his power of choice to undermine and thwart God's creations. Both angels, fallen and unfallen, possess the same abilities, but these abilities only become wicked when they are used for evil. Because Satan chooses to use his power to become incarnate for evil purposes, he is evil, and so is his body; however, because Raphael uses his power to become incarnate for virtuous purposes, he is good, and so is his body. The virtues and politics of the angels' embodied divinity rest upon the nuance of choice. Unfallen angels make virtuous choices; therefore, they and their bodies are good. Fallen angels make wicked choices; therefore, they and their bodies are wicked. Once again, what is good in Heaven becomes evil in Hell.[78]

The perceived hierarchy of angels and humans has also been long discussed among scholars. Previously, Carver and deGruy have argued that the angels in *Paradise Lost* enjoyed a higher position within the world of God's creations than humans did. Carver, when confronting the issue of humans receiving angelic bodies after death, argued that "the transformation of men

[77] Carver, "The Angels in Paradise Lost." Some information in this paragraph is based on "The Angels in Paradise Lost," as Carver discusses "the common gloss" and the angels' need to eat, although he does not broach the topics of transubstantiation and "viands."
[78] Once again, I address Satan's choices and his body in my next section.

into angels, therefore, is nothing more than the exchange of the human body for a body more tenuous and ethereal, and adapted to a nobler adaptation."[79] DeGruy, similarly, states that "Adam's objective is to become better than he was made, to bring into being the potential with which he was created."[80] Both Carver and deGruy have taken elements of Milton's text and have misconstrued them without considering the context that the Christian scriptures, hundreds of years of theologians, and Milton himself have offered.[81] Both Carver and deGruy contend that the angels must have occupied a position of greater respect and importance than humans because of a passage from Book 5 of *Paradise Lost*, in which Raphael states:

> Your bodies may at last turn all to Spirit,
> Improv'd by tract of time, and wingd ascend
> Ethereal, as wee, or may at choice
> Here or in Heav'nly Paradises dwell;
> If ye be found obedient, and retain
> Unalterably firm his love entire
> Whose progenie you are.[82]

Carter, deGruy, and other Milton scholars believe that this passage explains the order of the creation; specifically, they believe that this passage indicates that the nature of the angels must exist as more excellent than the nature of humans because, if after death, humans are "found obedient" to God, they will become similar in nature to the angels. However, this interpretation of this passage is incorrect.

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[79] Carver cites 5.497-503 to make his point about angelic bodies enjoying a higher supremacy than human bodies. Carver, "The Angels in Paradise Lost," pp. 420.
[80] DeGruy, "Desiring Angels," pp. 124.
[81] Recall that, according to Milton, the angels were "subordinate to God the Father and God the Son, and to humankind." Shawcross, "The Roots of Being," 1-15.
[82] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 5.497-502.

Christian theology teaches that the fallen angels exist as a lower order of creation than humans. Within the Christian tradition, the fallen angels, including Satan, do not receive salvation. These fallen angels, however, commit the same sin as Adam and Eve: pride. Satan and his comrades rebel against God solely because they believe that they are equal in status to God the Father and deserve recognition as such. Likewise, in the Garden of Eden, Eve eats the fruit that Satan offers her because of his promise that if she eats the fruit her "eyes shall be opened, and [she and Adam] shall be as gods, knowing good and evil."[83] Eve's first sin is that she desires to occupy the same place and space as God, even though she is a human, and therefore, exists as subordinate and subservient to God her creator. Both Satan and the first humans commit sins of pride.

However, only the fallen angels are irredeemable, which suggests that angels exist as less excellent than humans in the eyes of God. Adam and Eve, while cast out of the Garden at God's behest, do go on become the mother and father of all humans, and their progeny, while born into a state called Original Sin, receive salvation through Jesus Christ. However, for the fallen angels there exists no equivalent.

After the angels fall, God casts them out of Heaven and He does not offer them salvation, while after the first humans fall, God promises a savior, who eventually comes in the form of Jesus Christ and who redeems all humans, past, present, and future. Both the fallen angels and the first humans, Adam and Eve, are immortal. God only offers himself, through Christ, as savior to humans after he strips them of their immortality. For humans to receive salvation, they must become mortals and die. God does not extend the same mercy to the fallen angels. While Satan and the rest of his army commit the same sin of pride as Adam and Eve, only the fallen angels

[83] Genesis 3:5.

suffer in a realm apart from God for eternity. Humans have the hope of redemption and salvation through death and through God, while the fallen angels have nothing. This disparity of salvation suggests that God views the fallen angels as inferior to humans.

Furthermore, in Book 2 of *Paradise Lost*, Satan discusses the dichotomy between angels and humans, as the disparity relates to God's favor. He says,

> There is a place
> (If ancient and prophetic fame in Heav'n
> Err not), another World, the happy seat
> Of some new race call'd *Man,* about this time
> To be created like to us, though less
> In power and excellence, but favour'd more
> Of him who rules above; so was his will
> Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an Oath,
> That shook Heav'ns whol circumference, confirm'd.[84]

Satan acknowledges that God created humans as "like to" the angels, but that they live in "another World," separate from the angels and separate from God. Furthermore, Satan states that this "new race call'd *Man,*" while created as similar to the angels, is "less / in power and excellence." This piece of the text becomes tricky because it seems to state that the angels have primacy over humans because the angels, by comparison to humans, are more powerful and more excellent. However, the power and excellence of which Satan speaks does not reference any kind of objective supremacy. Instead, the power of which Satan speaks refers to the powers the angels have which set them apart from humans, including the ability to shapeshift and change

[84] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 2.345-353.

gender. The excellence of which Satan speaks references the angels' powers of divinity, but not their immortality because, at this point in the text, Adam and Eve still cannot die. The angels, as they have abilities that the first humans do not, exist as more powerful and more excellent simply because of their unique somatic abilities. Nonetheless, Satan also admits that despite the angels' more powerful and more excellent abilities, the first humans curry more favor with God. Clearly, the angels do not occupy a space or seat more special to God, even though their bodies are, by definition, more divine.

Moreover, Milton uses Satan as the speaker for this passage, which provides a subtext of unreliability and self-inflation. Satan, a fallen angel, whose sin of pride resulted in his banishment from Heaven, certainly believes that angels exist as more powerful and excellent to humans. The words that Satan speaks about the angels' greater power and excellence creates a paradox with his next assertion that God favors humans over angels. This quotation displays Satan's confusion and perversion; Satan cannot fathom why God favors humans over angels, and this is because of his status as a fallen angel. The angels' bodies empirically exist as more "excellent" than human bodies; therefore, God should love and favor the angels more than their human counterparts. However, Satan's status as the speaker corrupts the truthfulness of these lines. While humans clearly carry more favor with God, humans do not necessarily carry this favor despite their somatic inadequacies. Satan, as a fallen angel, prefers to view God's love of humans as a logical aberration, and this only further emphasizes his depravity.

Milton also emphasizes Satan's depravity when he describes his body using language that recalls Greek and Roman mythic tradition. In Book One, Milton compares Satan's size to

> *Titanian*, or *Earth-born*, that warr'd on Jove
>
> *Briareos* or *Typhon*, who the Den

> By ancient *Tarsus* held, or that Sea-Beast
> *Leviathan,* which God of all his works
> Created hugest that swim th' Ocean stream[85]

Milton depicts the largeness of Satan's body with comparisons to other huge, and evil, monsters of antiquity. Hesiod, in his *Theogony,* depicted the monster Briareos and his brother, Gyges, as having "shoulders [that] shot a hundred arms / unimaginable, and fifty heads on the shoulders / of each grew over their strong bodies."[86] Hesiod also describes the horror of the monster Typhon, who had a "mighty god's legs"[87] and "a hundred snake-heads"[88] growing from his shoulders that spoke and "shot fire."[89] Finally, the sea-beast Milton describes comes from the *Aeneid*. In the *Aeneid,* "two Serpents rank'd abreast"[90] emerge from "the Seas below"[91] and swallow up Laocoön's children. Milton compares Satan's size to that of Greco-Roman monsters for the purpose of aligning him with their vices and wicked natures.

Milton's comparison of Satan to the sea snakes from *The Aeneid* reveals the cruelty and wickedness of the fallen angel. Milton conjures up horrifying images of Satan, and even equates him to a monster who swallows up children. The simile that Milton constructs to compare Satan to *The Aeneid*'s serpents parallels Satan's wickedness in the Garden of Eden. Just as the serpents killed the Trojan priest's children, Satan, who transformed himself into a serpent, effectively killed God's children: Adam and Eve. After Satan deceived Adam and Eve in the Garden, God banished them from it and punished them with mortality. Both Laoöcon's two children and

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[85] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Roy Flanagan, 1.198-202.
[86] Hesiod, *Theogony,* trans. Richard S. Caldwell, lines 150-152.
[87] Hesiod, Theogony, trans. Richard S. Caldwell, line 824.
[88] Hesiod, Theogony, trans. Richard S. Caldwell, line 825.
[89] Hesiod, Theogony, trans. Richard S. Caldwell, line 827.
[90] Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. Dryden, 2.270.
[91] Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. Dryden, 2.273.

God's two children died because of snakes. Once again, Milton relies on Virgil's epic to illustrate the extent of Satan's perversion.

Not only does Milton use the serpent from *The Aeneid* to emphasize Satan's wickedness, but he also compares the fallen angels to animals to underscore their wickedness as a group. In Moloc's[92] exhortation to the fallen angels' army, he chides the angels, whom he says

> Longing wait
> The Signal to ascend, sit lingring here
> Heav'ns fugitives, and for thir dwelling place
> Accept this dark opprobrious Den of shame.
> The Prison of his Tyranny who Reigns
> By our delay?[93]

Moloch insists the angels are sitting idle, waiting for an indication to go to war, and that their dawdling is shameful. The word "Den" recalls a dark "cavern"[94] in which "a wild beast"[95] makes its home, while the word "opprobrious" derives from the Latin word "opprobrium," meaning "reproach, scandal, disgrace."[96] Milton conjures the image of animals huddled in a cave; the space where the fallen angels dwell is akin to the places where animals make their homes. Furthermore, Milton ensconces the word "Den" between two synonymous words: opprobrious

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[92] According to Flanagan, Moloc was "treated not only as a god but as a king" in the Old Testament. Milton, *Paradise Lost,* footnote 10, Book 2, page 382.
[93] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Roy Flanagan, 2.54-60.
[94] "den, n.1". OED Online. December 2021. Oxford University Press. https://www-oed-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/Entry/49902?rskey=KPk4z4&result=1 (accessed December 16, 2021).
[95] The Oxford English Dictionary provides 3 definitions for the word "Den," all of which I believe Milton intended to convey in this passage. The first definition is "the lair or habitation of a wild beast," and the second definition is "a place hollowed out in the ground, a cavern," while the third definition is "a place of retreat or abode (likened to the air of a beast); a secret lurking-place of thieves or the like." Flanagan also discusses Milton's use of the word "Den" in footnote 12 of Book 2 on page 383.
[96] D.P. Simpson, "Opprobrium," in *Cassell's Latin Dictionary: Latin-English and English-Latin* (New York, New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 1968), p. 414.

and shame. Milton creates a “Den” out of his language, in which “opprobrious” and “shame” become the walls of the cave, and “Den” occupies their hollow center. Milton resolutely depicts the fallen angels as animals and indicates that their animalistic qualities are deeply shameful. The fallen angels who fight alongside Satan are evil and shameful creatures because their bodies and their actions mimic those of animals.

The angels’ choice to possess bodies and their choice in their gender contrasts them starkly against Adam and Eve, who have no choice in either having bodies or the forms their bodies take. This apparent privilege that the angels have, however, is not really a privilege, as it should prevent them from procreating like Adam and Eve. The angels’ inability to procreate makes them subordinate to Adam and Eve because Adam and Eve are the only members of God’s creation who can fulfill the mandate “Be fruitful, and multiply.” Furthermore, Adam and Eve are also superior to angels because of their potential for redemption. The first humans and the fallen angels both commit the same sin of pride, yet God only grants Adam and Eve mercy. He also describes Satan as having characteristics of monsters from the Greco-Roman mythological tradition, which has the effect of further underscoring his depravity. He then goes further to describe all the fallen angels as animals, which emphasizes their wickedness yet again. Milton’s angels, and specifically the fallen angel Satan, can have bodies, but their bodies do not make them superior to Adam and Eve. While the bodies of the unfallen angels are still good because they use their angelic bodies virtuously, their angelic bodies still do not elevate them above Adam and Eve. Satan, who uses his body in wicked ways, ranks even further below Adam and Eve than the unfallen angels do. In fact, Milton says that Satan’s body is like monsters from Greco-Roman mythology, and this further highlights his fall from grace.

To reiterate, both the good angels and the fallen angels possess the same power of choice in corporeality. The good angels and the fallen angels are both demigods, and their status as demigods with the power to become incarnate is not what makes them corrupt, but rather the moral decisions they make with their fluid bodies and their fluid sexes. Satan, when he so chooses to change his sex and when he so chooses to become incarnate, does so for evil and wicked purposes. Raphael, a good angel, however, when he chooses to become incarnate, does so for the purpose of adhering to God's mandates and for the purpose of acting virtuously. The presence of a body does not make an angel wicked; rather, the choices that an angel makes while incarnate make that angel wicked. Satan, as a fallen angel, who makes immoral and unvirtuous choices with his body, like a snake or another Greco-Roman monster with a monstrous body, is wicked. What is good in Heaven becomes evil in Hell.

The Perversion of Sexuality: Satan as Zeus

Paradise Lost contains many examples of the right practice of sexuality and the wrong practice of sexuality. Satan misuses the sexuality that God granted him, and the misuse of his sexuality bears much resemblance to Zeus' incestuous relationships and the parthenogenesis of his daughter, Athena. However, Adam and Raphael's relationship showcases the restraint of homosexual attraction,[97] and thus provides an example of the right practice of sexuality. Whereas lust and intemperance prevail in Satan and Zeus' sexual relationships, reason and judgement prevail in Adam and Raphael's relationship. All four characters, Satan, Zeus, Adam, and Raphael, experience prohibited sexuality, in one form or another, but only Satan and Zeus act

[97] DeGruy makes a case for Adam and Raphael sharing an attraction to each other in her article "Desiring Angels: The Angelic Body in *Paradise Lost.*"

upon their feelings and desires. Milton aligns Satan with Zeus, and this allows him to re-figure aspects of the Greco-Roman pantheon for use in Christian literature.

Birth cannot occur without bodies, specifically the bodies of the birth-giver and the infant, meaning that the birth of children in mythology remains tied to the phenomenon of embodied divinity. Although birth is a human process and experience, birth does not just befall human women in mythology. In Greco-Roman mythology, birth befalls not only human women, but also goddesses, and not just goddesses, but also gods. In pagan mythology, all bodies can bear fruit. In the *Theogony,* the bard writes that Zeus "himself bore from his head owl-eyed Athena,"[98] which corresponds to Sin's narration of her birth, in which she says that she "sprung" out of Satan's "head." Milton purposefully has Satan birth Sin via parthenogenesis, the same as Zeus, because the pagan pattern of the birth of a female child from a male divinity within Satan re-purposes Greco-Roman mythological tradition for Christian use. Milton employed the trope of parthenogenesis to specifically recall the Greco-Roman pantheon of gods and to re-imagine them as the enemies of Christians: Satan and Sin.

In Book 2, Satan begets Sin, who then incestuously gives birth to Death. In a conversation between herself and Satan, Sin reveals the details of her birth. She says:

> All on a sudden miserable pain
> Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzie swumm
> In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
> Threw forth, till on the left side op'ning wide,
> Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,
> Then shining heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd

[98] Hesiod, *Theogony*, line 924.

> Out thy head, I sprung: amazement seis'd
> All th' host of Heav'n; back they recoiled affraid
> At first, and called me *Sin*....[99]

Satan gives birth to Sin without the presence of another being, specifically female in nature, meaning that he performs an act of fruitful masturbation. In Genesis, God commands Adam and Eve to "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth,"[100] meaning that God condones procreation. However, God directs his decree to a man and a woman, and he firmly imposes the order of creation by his directive. For any being, even an angel, the emergence of a child from an act of self-unification exists as an act of perversion. Satan procreates with himself, and, in doing so, he defies the natural order of creation, which God expressly defined. In this passage, Sin describes exactly how Satan defied God: he became a woman. Satan labored and birthed Sin, meaning that he fulfilled the role of womanhood, not manhood. Satan's labor and birth of Sin underscore his perversion and depravity; he defies the word of God and quite literally gives birth to Sin.

Additionally, no other angel, fallen or unfallen, in the text of *Paradise Lost* has a child. Only Satan reproduces. The angels are not supposed to have children, as God did not direct them to do so, as he did with Adam and Eve. In fact, in Book 8, when Raphael answers Adam's questions about angelic sexuality, he only replies "Whatever pure thou in the body we enjoy'st / (And pure thou wert created) we enjoy."[101] Raphael makes no mention of the angels reproducing. The unfallen angel only says that angels enjoy sex the same as humans do. Since the edict of procreation to humans exists as one of the most important mandates God gave in the Hebrew

[99] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Flanagan, 2.754-761.
[100] Genesis 1:28.
[101] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Flanagan, 8.622-3.

scriptures, the absence of Raphael mentioning an angelic equivalent is striking. Other than Satan, none of the other angels in *Paradise Lost* have children, and Raphael's statement that the angels only enjoy sex as humans do suggests that, in *Paradise Lost*, the angels are not supposed to reproduce. Satan's birth of his daughter Sin, then, makes him even more wicked. He is not supposed to procreate, yet he does.

After Satan births Sin, he copulates with her, his own daughter borne of parthenogenesis, and fathers Death, meaning that Satan commits the sin of incest and, once again, misuses his own sexuality. Sin, after she broaches the topic of her own birth, announces the circumstances of her child's birth saying,

> Pensive here I sat
> Alone, but not long I sat not, till my womb
> Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown
> Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes.
> At last this odious offspring whom thou seest
> Thine own begotten, breaking violent way
> Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
> Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
> Transform'd but he my inbred enemie
> Forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal Dart
> Made to destroy: I fled, and cry'd out *Death*[102]

Sin freely identifies the father of Death as Satan ("pregnant by thee") and then identifies her child, Death, as "odious offspring" and her "inbred enemie." Sin demonstrates that the nature of

[102] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Flanagan, 2.777-788.

her child does not stem from her nature, but rather from the nature of her child's conception and the identity of her child's father: Satan. Satan procreated with his own daughter, and, consequently, Sin bore a child even more monstrous than herself. Satan's appropriation and misuse of his sexuality, and therefore, his embodied divinity, resulted in the incestuous birth of Death.

Milton uses the concept of contrapasso to underscore the deviance of Death's conception. In the same passage, Sin recalls the horrors of her labor, which convey the abhorrent nature of her child. Death "tore through" her entrails in "violent way," which exposes the grotesque nature of Death. Sin endures agonizing labor prior to God's declaration to Eve that she would "in sorrow... bring forth children,"[103] and this discrepancy in the Biblical timeline reveals how Satan has betrayed the natural order of the world as God originally laid it out. Prior to the Fall, women's childbirth passed painlessly and without effort; however, in *Paradise Lost,* Milton claims that a divine woman's labor resulted in her "entrails" ripping apart. Therefore, due to Satan and Sin's transgression upon the natural order of procreation, Sin's divine body also responds to her transgression unnaturally. The divine bodies in *Paradise Lost* remain at the mercy of the natural order and still suffer the consequences of their crimes using Dante's model of contrapasso.

Milton wields contrapasso against Sin to demonstrate the consequences of incestuous relationships, with which pagan mythology is rife. Within Greco-Roman mythology, the pantheon procreates within and with itself. Furthermore, the ruler of the gods, Zeus, was the gravest perpetrator of sexual offenses within the Greek pantheon. Zeus fathered innumerable children with his siblings, most notably with his wife Hera, who was his sister. In Greek

[103] Genesis 3:16.

mythology, however, not all children born of incest exist as malevolent and monstrous beings. Zeus and Hera spawned "Hebe and Ares and Eileithyia,"[104] none of whom were "particularly significant,"[105] conveying that, in Greek mythology, the circumstances of children's births rarely impacted their natures. However, the opposite occurs in *Paradise Lost.* Satan's coupling with Sin results in the mutant Death, and this child exists as entirely significant in Christianity. While the children who were the products of incest in the Greek mythological canon did not impact other members of the Greek pantheon or the community of believers, Death's existence greatly impacts and changes the lives of Satan, Sin, and Christian believers. Because Sin and Satan copulated, against the rules of nature which God invoked, Death exists. Milton's message could not be any clearer: the misuse of the body and its sexuality results in death.

This passage of Sin's labor with Death also inverts the Virgin Mary's labor with Christ. Matthew 1:25 briefly discusses Mary's virginity, saying that Joseph "knew her not till she had brought forth her firstborn son: and he called his name JESUS." Milton makes sure that his readers know that Sin is not a virgin, however. She fornicates with Satan, and her child, Death, is her punishment, whereas Christ is Mary's reward. Mary's labor occurs almost passively; Matthew does not say that she labors, nor does he even imply that she struggles ("brought forth"). Furthermore, Milton refers to Mary in Book 5 of *Paradise Lost*, calling her "second *Eve,"*[106] subtly reaffirming the Immaculate Conception. The Immaculate Conception was a point of much discord between Puritans and Catholics, but Milton's epithet, "second *Eve,"* for the Virgin elucidates his opinion on the matter. For Mary to exist as the "second *Eve,"* she had to have been born without sin, just as Eve was. By calling the Virgin Mother "second *Eve,"* Milton

[104] Hesiod, *Theogony*, line 922. Hebe was goddess of youth, Ares was the god of war, and Eileithyia was the goddess of childbirth.
[105] Caldwell comments on Zeus and Hera's three children in his notes for lines 921-923 of the *Theogony.*
[106] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 5.387.

subtly ratifies that she was not born into Original Sin, unlike all other human mothers after the Fall. Therefore, if Mary was not born into Original Sin, like Eve, she did not necessarily fall victim to the pains of labor, like other human mothers, who were at the mercy of Original Sin. One of the punishments for Original Sin, as God ordained, was for women to experience painful labor; however, as Milton implies in *Paradise Lost,* the Virgin Mary was not born into Original Sin, and, therefore, might not have experienced the pain of labor. Sin, however, does experience the pain of labor. Where Mary might have labored painlessly, Sin labors in such a way that her body "with fear and pain" becomes "distorted." Where Mary gives birth to Christ, the Savior and Redeemer of the World, Sin gives birth to Death. Sin's painful labor works as a foil against Mary's labor and reveals how the misuse of sexuality brings forth not life, as in Mary's case, but literal Death.

Moreover, Milton continues with the theme of misappropriated sexuality in Book 8 of *Paradise Lost,* in which he describes the relationship that Adam and Raphael share with each other. DeGruy hypothesizes in her own work, "Desiring Angels: The Angelic Body in '*Paradise Lost*,'" that Adam and Raphael share a quasi-homoerotic, "human-angel" relationship, and I believe that she is correct.[107] Adam confesses to Raphael "how fully hast thou satisfi'd mee, pure / Intelligence of Heav'n, Angel serene,"[108] which starkly contrasts with the way Adam speaks of Eve, his human wife. When speaking of Eve, Adam describes his perception of her nature:

> For well I understand in the prime end
>
> Of Nature her th' inferiour, in the mind

[107] I used DeGruy's article as the foundation for my argument on Raphael and Adam's relationship, although she does not use all of the same passages, focus on the moral rightness of their restraint, or discuss the differences between Eve's companionship with Adam and Raphael's companionship with Adam (she focuses on the differences between Adam's sexual attraction to Raphael and his sexual attraction to Eve). She puts their relationship in the context of angels existing as erotic beings, not in the context of right sexuality versus wrong sexuality.
[108] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 8.180-1.

> And inward Faculties, which most excell,
> In outward also her resembling less
> His image who made both, and less expressing
> The character of the Dominion giv'n[109]

Adam readily admits that he believes himself superior to Eve because her intellect does not compare to his, nor does her body resemble God's as much as his does. Adam also states that God gave him "Dominion" over all creatures, including Eve, because of his superiority. Adam does not perceive Eve as his equal, and he perceives Raphael as his superior. Adam's relationship with Eve does not fulfill him because God created her as inferior to her male partner; however, the male angel, Raphael, "fully" satisfies Adam. The angel's body, being more divine than Eve's, and his intellect, being more superior to Eve's as well, offers Adam a companionship that his human wife's companionship cannot rival.

Adam's companionship also fulfills Raphael, and the mutuality of their relationship allows for discussion concerning the right practice of sexuality. Raphael admits to Adam in the Garden that he is "Pleas'd with thy words no less then thou with mine,"[110] immediately after Adam finishes the speech in which he confesses that Raphael's presence "fully" satisfies him. The human and the angel both admit to each other that they find pleasure and satisfaction in each other's presence; however, God created Eve, not Raphael, as a companion for Adam. Adam's satisfaction with Raphael's companionship and Raphael's satisfaction with Adam's companionship do not conform to the heavenly mandate God created with the incarnation of

[109] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 8.540-5.
[110] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 8.249.

Eve. The text of *Paradise Lost* suggests that the angel and the human share an attraction to each other, even though their mutual attraction transgresses upon the will of God.

However, after this admission, Milton allows Raphael and Adam the chance to redeem themselves when Adam poses Raphael this query:

> Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask;
> Love not the heav'nly Spirits, and how thir Love
> Express they, by looks onlely, or do they mix
> Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch?[111]

Adam questions Raphael about how the angels physically love each other, and implicitly asks whether the angels engage in sex with each other. Adam has a profound curiosity concerning the physicality of the angels and for what purposes they use their bodies. The text then says this about Raphael's response to such a question:

> the Angel with a smile that glow'd
> Celestial rosie red, Loves proper hue,
> Answer'd. Let it suffice thee that thou know'st
> Us happie, and without Love no happiness.
> Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'st
> (And pure thou wert created) we enjoy[112]

Raphael explains to Adam, that like Adam and his wife, angels do, in fact, have sex. Raphael even admits to Adam that angels do not only have sex, but that their bodies "enjoy" it, the same as Adam and Eve's bodies. Raphael provides Adam with an enthusiastic endorsement of

[111] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Flanagan, 8.614-7.
[112] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Flanagan, 8.619-624.

sexuality, and this endorsement bolsters the righteousness of human sexuality, as it mimics the sexuality of the good angels. Furthermore, Raphael "glows[s]" with a "Celestial rosie red" that Milton calls "Loves proper hue," which "rescues human physiology and affect from the shame with which Christian patristics had tended to clothe it."[113] Raphael glows not with lust at the suggestion of sex, but rather with "Loves proper hue."[114]

Raphael then goes on to explain the right practice of sex and sexuality:

> Be strong, live happie, and love, but first of all
> Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
> His great command; take heed least Passion sway
> Thy Judgement to do aught, which else free Will
> Would not admit[115]

Raphael instructs Adam that the right practice of "love" involves restraint, or rather, the practice of "keep[ing God's] great command," which is the conquering of "Passion." Raphael reminds Adam that sexuality must be confined to a certain context of proper "Judgement," in order for it to be good and righteous. Adam and Raphael exercise proper restraint upon their mutual attraction; they do not act upon it. These passages clearly define the right practice of sexuality, and they implicitly condemn Satan's use of his own sexuality, which is characterized not by restraint, but by forms of "Passion."[116]

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[113] DeGruy, "Desiring Angels," pp. 123. DeGruy references Augustine, a revered "Christian patristic[s]," whom she says perceived blushing as "an involuntary physiological response to the jarring experience of postlapsarian lust" (123).

[114] Degruy makes these same points in her article "Desiring Angels." On pp. 123, she says that Milton's inclusion of Raphael's "endorse[ment]" of sexuality "rescues sexuality from sin and erotic activity from being only a pale, imperfect, and limited shadow of divine love."

[115] Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Flanagan, 8.634-8.

[116] DeGruy, on pp. 140, says "We might read the gendered state of humankind in the garden as a corrective to Satan's intemperance…," and I have extrapolated her theory into my own argument, in which I assert that Raphael and Adam's attraction (which DeGruy also argues for) acts as a foil against Satan's "Passion."

Satan's practice of sexuality exists as unjust and unrighteous because he does not have any control over his body. He births Sin and then produces another offspring, Death, through incest. The ways Satan exhibits the sexual use of his body do not align with the instructions that Raphael gives Adam, nor do they align with the restraint that Adam and Raphael show with their prohibited attraction to each other. Satan misuses his body again and again, and this misuse underscores his wickedness. Furthermore, Satan's misuse of his body parallels that of the pantheon of gods within Greco-Roman mythology. Just as Zeus could not and did not exercise restraint over his body's sexuality, neither does Satan. Milton, through offering a patina of the right practice of sexuality in Adam and Raphael and a patina of the wrong practice of sexuality in Satan, re-figures the use of Greco-Roman divinities' bodies in classical pagan texts, as the uses of their sexuality mimic those of Satan more than they mimic those of Raphael and Adam.

Demigods: Satan as Achilles

Milton also intentionally bestowed upon Satan, a demigod, many of the same qualities as Homer's demigod Achilles, which I argue he did to re-purpose the ancient Greco-Roman literary tradition for Christian literature. The first recognizable similarity between the two characters is their pride and the consequences which stem from it. The second similarity is the armor that Milton depicts Satan using in battle, as its description comes directly from *The Iliad.* The third similarity is the Greek demigod's homosexual relationship with Patroclus and the angelic demigod's auto-homosexuality when he births Sin. Milton aligns Satan with Achilles to make the wickedness of the archetype of the demigod evident, and this further re-purposes the Greco-Roman literary tradition for Christian use.

Achilles gambled with the outcome of the Trojan War because of his pride, similar to how Satan gambles with his position in Heaven because of his pride. *The Iliad* begins with the

consequences of one of Achilles' prideful choices: his refusal to join his fellow Greeks in battle because Agamemnon stole his war bride, Briseis, from him. After Agamemnon demands that Achilles relinquish Briseis to him, Achilles says:

> And darest thou threat to snatch my prize away,
> Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day?
> A prize as small, O tyrant! match'd with thine,
> As thy own actions if compared to mine.
> Thine in each conquest is the wealthy prey,
> Though mine the sweat and danger of the day.
> Some trivial present to my ships I bear:
> Or barren praises pay thy wounds of war.
> But know, proud, monarch, I'm thy slave no more;
> My fleet shall waft me to Thessalia's shore:
> Left by Achilles on the Trojan plain,
> What spoils, what conquests, shall Atrides gain?[117]

Achilles scathingly tells Agamemnon that he believes himself superior to the king of Mycenae and that Agamemnon's theft of Briseis is an insult to his honor. Because of this perceived insult to his honor, Achilles witholds his aid in battle as punishment. Achilles withdraws from the battle, not because of injury or ailment to his body, but because of injury to his pride. From there, the battle takes a turn for the worse for the Greeks. While Achilles sulks over his loss of Briseis, his comrades continue fighting, and most importantly, dying. The war drags on for twelve days

[117] Homer, *The Illiad*, trans. Alexander Pope, Book 1, pp. 6-7. I chose to use Pope's translation of *The Iliad* because Pope's translation is the focus of my chapter on Achilles and Patroclus. I wanted the translator of the Homeric epics to be consistent throughout the paper.

without Achilles, and he only rejoins the battle because of the loss of his beloved Patroclus.[118] The injury that Achilles' pride sustains is the sole reason the Greeks nearly lose the Trojan War.[119]

Similarly, the events of *Paradise Lost* transpire due to Satan's pride. Beginning in Book 1, the narrator recalls

> The' infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile
> Stird up with Envy and Revenge, deceiv'd
> The Mother of Mankind, what time his Pride
> Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his Host
> Of Rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
> To set himself in Glory above his Peers,
> He trusted to have equal'd the most High,
> If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
> Against the Throne and Monarchy of God,
> Rais'd impious War in Heav'n and Battel proud
> With vain attempt.[120]

Milton explicitly outlines the origin of Satan's disgrace: pride. Satan regarded himself as "equal['d] to the most High," which caused him to "rais['d] impious War in Heav'n." Satan's crime against God occurs because of his pride. Satan, like Achilles, perceived himself as greater than he was and above reproach. While I certainly do not intend to conflate Agamemnon with

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[118] I discuss Patroclus and Achilles' relationship later. My use of the word "beloved" is intentional and is meant to convey more than platonic relationship between the two.
[119] Ulysses, at Agamemnon's behest, admits to Achilles that the Greeks are in dire straits without him in Book 9, pp. 164-165.
[120] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 1.34-44.

God, the similarities between Achilles and Satan remain striking. Satan viewed himself as equal to God, and therefore, the rightful ruler of Heaven, a sin which Milton clearly and obviously indicts within the first lines of *Paradise Lost.*

Both Satan and Achilles share status as demigods, meaning that they are both embodied divinities, and their identical sins of pride allowed Milton to repurpose the figure of the demigod for use in Christian literature. Within Christianity, the gravest sin is the sin of pride, and eminent Christian authors frequently presented pride as an impediment to communion with God. In Milton's *De Doctrina*, he argues that Adam and Eve were "proud and arrogant"[121] because they were "sacrilegious and deceitful, cunningly aspiring to divinity, although thoroughly unworthy of [divinity]."[122] The sin of which Milton accused Adam and Eve is exactly the sin he assigns Satan: pride. Milton considered Adam and Eve's sin to be "instigated first by the devil,"[123] meaning that he, like other Christian patriarchs, considered Satan's sin of pride the reason for humanity's fall. Therefore, for Milton, Achilles' acts of pride were equally as sinful as Satan's, who was the originator of sins borne from pride and the reason for man's expulsion from Paradise. Satan and Achilles shared identical sins, which granted Milton the opportunity to re-make the figure of the demigod for use in Christian literature.

Furthermore, Milton borrowed the emblem of Achilles' shield in *The Iliad* and gave it to Satan, which further re-imagines the archetype of the demigod. Satan carries a "ponderous shield"[124] that "[hangs] on his shoulders like the Moon,"[125] while Achilles' shield "like the moon… / Blaze[s] with long rays."[126] Milton, quite explicitly, aligns Satan with Achilles, and he

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[121] *De Doctrina,* pp. 384.
[122] *De Doctrina*, pp. 384.
[123] *De Doctrina,* pp. 383.
[124] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 1.284.
[125] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 1.287.
[126] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Alexander Pope, Book 19, pp. 374.

specifically uses the armaments with which they defend their semi-divine bodies to do so. Milton's allusion to Achilles' shield as the armor with which Satan protects his semi-divine body allowed Milton to "measure[s] his material debasement"[127] as the shield becomes "an emblem of Greco-Roman warfare as a crutch."[128] Dobranski argues that the "emblem" of the shield "suggests that [Greco-Roman] conventions have become old and lame,"[129] but I would like to push this analysis further.

Not only does Milton's description of Satan's shield allude to the frailty and feebleness of Greco-Roman tradition, it also further aligns the traits of Greco-Roman heroes with the Christian antihero, Satan, who is also a demigod. Milton's suggestion that an angel and a former warrior of God must guard his body in the same way as the demigod Achilles, whose mortality remained intact despite having a goddess mother, minimizes and humbles the figure of Satan. Satan, who exists as an immortal being, meaning that he cannot die, must still protect his physical body from the wrath of God. Milton underscores Satan's weakness and contrasts his behavior with his embodied divinity. God's wrath does not pose Satan's body any mortal threat. While Satan does receive a grievous wound in Book 7, in which a "girding sword with discontinuous wound" passes "through him," Raphael reports "Yet soon he heal'd."[130] Satan, while he can be wounded, cannot die. Unlike Achilles, who needed to bedeck himself with armor and carry defensive weaponry only to have Paris fell him with an arrow to his heel, no such reason for Satan's armament exists because he cannot die. For Satan, there is no Paris, there is no arrow, and there is no heel. Nonetheless, Milton uses Achilles as his pattern for Satan. Achilles' weaknesses

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[127] DOBRANSKI, STEPHEN B. "Pondering Satan's Shield in Milton's 'Paradise Lost.'" *English Literary Renaissance* 35, no. 3 (2005): 490–506. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24463632. Pp. 491.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Milton, *Paradise Lost,* ed. Flanagan, 7.319-330, 344.

transform into Satan's weaknesses, and Satan's weaknesses become even more shameful than Achilles' because Satan is immortal. Satan should not need to fear God because he cannot die; yet, because of his pride and fallen state, fear of God becomes relevant. Milton, through the "emblem" of the shield, compares the demigod Achilles with his Christianized antihero Satan, and this allusion serves to further re-figure the archetype of the demigod for Christian literature.

Additionally, Satan's misuse of his sexuality, while it bears many similarities to Zeus' misuse of his divine sexuality, also resembles Achilles' misuse of sexuality. According to the ancient discourse surrounding Achilles and Patroclus' sexuality,[131] the two Greek heroes were lovers. Since Achilles and Patroclus were both men, they were involved in a homosexual relationship, which all denominations of Christianity prohibited at the time during which Milton lived. While the specifics of Satan's misuse of sexuality parallel Zeus, the general characteristics of Satan's misuse of sexuality coincide with the characteristics of Achilles' misuse of sexuality. Achilles, like Satan, engages in a prohibited relationship. Satan copulates with himself, resulting in his daughter Sin, and Achilles shares a sexual relationship with another man. Both relationships defy God's intentions for the natural order of procreation, which states that man should only lie with woman. Satan, in copulating with himself, not only engages in the illicit act of fruitful masturbation, but also engages in a sort of auto-homosexuality. While his body does fulfill the role of the woman, he still exists as a male who performed a sexual act upon, and with, his own male body. Achilles, similarly, performs sexual acts with a man. Milton echoed the literary tradition and precedent of Achilles' sexual relationship with a man in his character of Satan. Satan's sexuality, because it exists as reminiscent of Achilles', underscores the fallen

[131] The next chapter discusses Aeschylus and Plato's perceptions of Achilles' sexuality in much more detail.

angel's wickedness. By using Achilles' sexuality as a pattern for Satan's, Milton re-purposes the archetype of the demigod for Christian literature.

Throughout *Paradise Lost,* Milton converses with and repudiates Greco-Roman epic and mythological tradition. Milton drew upon what he perceived as Zeus' sexual deviance and transformed the Greek god's misappropriation of sexuality into Satan's misuse of his own sexuality. By contrasting Satan's practice of sexuality with Raphael's sexuality, Milton provides a clear portrait of the right practice of sexuality, implicitly explaining that the correct mode of sexuality is one that aligns with the natural order of creation as God ordained. Furthermore, Milton made Achilles' and Satan's sins of pride identical. Milton also assigned Satan the same battle gear as Achilles and borrowed extraordinarily similar language from Homer, like the description of Satan's shield as "like the Moon," to accentuate the futility and powerlessness of the fallen demigod angel when compared to the supreme divinity of God himself. Finally, Milton designed Satan's auto-homosexuality to subtly recall Achilles' homosexual relationship with Patroclus, which further emphasized the fallen angel's separation from grace and God. Milton re-purposed elements of Greco-Roman embodied divinities in his character Satan, resulting in the rehabilitation of epic poetry for Christian use.

Pope's *Iliad* and The New Testament: Achilles as a Christ-Like Figure

The History of Pope's Translation, Flaxman's Illustrations, and Pope's "Introduction" to *The Iliad*

In this section, I will briefly explain the history of Pope's translation of *The Iliad* and the history of John Flaxman's illustrations of *The Iliad,* before discussing Pope's "Introduction" to his translation. The histories of Pope and Flaxman's works will provide background for the in-depth analysis of their respective art. In my explanation of the translation's history, I will also

clarify why I used The Heritage Press' 1943 re-print edition of Pope's *Iliad.* Finally, the discussion of Pope's Introduction will provide context for his translation of *The Iliad.*

In March of 1714, Pope signed a contract with Bernard Lintot, promising to translate Homer's *Iliad* with his own notes. His translation took him six years to publish entirely, and it was originally published on a subscription basis in six parts. The publishing of his translation began in 1715, a year after he signed his contract, and it was completed in 1720, after all six sections had been released. Pope, after receiving £1,275 as a signing bonus from Lintot, earned about £5,000 total after selling the subscriptions to his translation. However, the translation of Homer's epic poem, while it did bolster Pope's finances, did not come easily to him. Pope noted in his private correspondences that his translation was taking enormous effort and even told his friend Joseph Spence (1699-1768), himself an author, that he "'wished any body would hang me.'" Nonetheless, Pope's translations of Homer afforded him great monetary success and augmented his reputation as a poet and translator. [132]

Not much information exists on the subsequent editions of Pope's translation. John Butt's edition of *Letters of Alexander Pope* (1960) contains a list of the "Principal Dates in Pope's Life," and it lists the publishing year of each original volume of Pope's translation of *The Iliad,* yet does not list any publishing years for other volumes or editions.[133] Whether or not Pope's original six volumes were compiled into a single volume during his lifetime remains unclear. In fact, the re-print of any of his volumes after their initial release also remains obscure.

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[132] Erskine cites the preceding quotation as "Spence, 197, 193," and I believe that this citation references this longer citation: J. Spence, *Observations, anecdotes, and characters, of books and men*, ed. J. M. Osborn, new edn, 2 vols. (1966). All information in this paragraph, excluding footnote 126, comes from the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography's entry on Alexander Pope. Erskine-Hill, Howard. "Pope, Alexander (1688–1744), poet." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 16 Mar. 2022. https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-22526..

[133] Pope, Alexander, and John Butt. *Letters of Alexander Pope*. London: Oxford University Press, 1960.

Nonetheless, single volumes and multi-volume editions of Pope's translations do exist, but these are much more modern, and do not seem to have existed during or immediately after Pope's lifetime.

While modern publishers occasionally publish Pope's translation in one volume, it still finds itself published in separate volumes. The "Twickenham" edition, a reference to Pope's massive estate in Twickenham, and generally edited by John Butt, for example, was published between the years of 1939 and 1961. This edition includes seven volumes, not just of Pope's translations of Homer, but of his other poetry and writing as well. This same "Twickenham" edition has also been compiled into one volume but does not contain "many of the notes" or have "any of the introductions" found in the multi-volume version.[134] The volume that I make use of in this section is not the "Twickenham," however, but a single volume re-print edition from 1943 and with a prefatory note by Carl Van Doren.

Carl Van Doren (1855-1950) was an acclaimed scholar of American literature and winner of the Pulitzer Prize for his biography on Benjamin Franklin, called *Benjamin Franklin* (1938). He was born in Illinois, where he attended the University of Illinois at Urbana and eventually received his B.A. in 1907. From 1908 to 1911, he studied at Columbia University, where he received his Ph.D. After he graduated from Columbia, he taught at the university part-time, while also acting as headmaster at the Brearley School and working on four volumes of *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (1917-1921). He wrote major works on American literature, including *The American Novel, 1789-1939* and *Contemporary American Novelists, 1900-1920.* The latter was published in 1922, while the former was published in 1921, with a

[134] Hunt, John Dixon. "A Short Guide to Pope Studies." *Critical Survey* 3, no. 2 (1967): 100–105. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41553735. All information, including quotations, prior to this footnote comes from Hunt's "A Short Guide to Pope Studies." Pp. 100.

revised edition published in 1940. These two works "were pioneering studies and appeared when scholarship in American literature was still dominated by critics who preferred European literature." Eventually, he even wrote a "study" on Jonathan Swift, entitled *Swift,* which was published in 1930.[135] Considering that Jonathan Swift was a dear friend of Alexander Pope's, Van Doren most likely read Pope's literature as well, which might explain why he wrote a prefatory note for Pope's translation of *The Iliad.*

The Heritage Press re-print edition I use does not have line numbers, nor does any other edition of Pope's translation. Not even the single volume "Twickenham" edition contains line numbers. Since Pope's translation does not correspond with the line numbers of the Greek on a one-to-one basis, owing to its looseness, I have chosen to cite the longer passages in the format of "Book number, page number," followed by the line numbers in the original Greek. The line numbers of the original Greek do, however, correspond with both Richard Lattimore's and the Loeb Classical Library's translations of *The Iliad.* The citation style I have chosen will, hopefully, allow readers to identify the book number and page number of longer passages in the Heritage Press re-print, while the line numbers of the original Greek will provide references to Lattimore's translation, the Loeb translation, and Homer's language. This way Pope's translation can be easily read against both the Greek original and other English language translations.

The Heritage Press re-print, unlike the "Twickenham" edition, also contains the illustrations of John Flaxman. The edition has 39 plates scattered throughout the text. While John Flaxman was not commissioned to create illustrations specifically for Pope's translation of *The Iliad,* the inclusion of his illustrations implies that the original editor of the book thought they

[135] Gale, Robert L. "Van Doren, Carl (1885-1950), author and educator." *American National Biography.* 1 Feb. 2000; Accessed 19 Mar. 2022. https://www-anb-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/10.1093/anb/9780198606697.001.0001/anb-9780198606697-e-1603256. All information is paraphrased from the ODNB, and since the ODNB lists information in chronological order, so did I.

were relevant to Pope's translation. Indeed, Flaxman "enthusiasts,"[136] when the illustrations were first released, compared Flaxman's illustrations to Pope's translation, as they believed that Flaxman's illustrations bore a resemblance to Pope's text. The historical perception of Flaxman's illustrations as reminiscent of Pope's translation makes those illustrations relevant to my discussion about the impact Pope's translation had on later depictions and interpretations of *The Iliad.* Specifically, Flaxman's illustrations clarify that Pope's modification of Achilles had an influence on ensuing portrayals of the demigod.

At the beginning of his translation, Pope attached an 18-page "Introduction," in which he praises the works of Homer and also discusses their "imperfections."[137] Pope refers to Homer as having had "the greatest invention of any writer whatsoever," even compared to Virgil, and he states that although Virgil has "justly contested with [Homer]," Homer's "invention remains yet unrivalled."[138] Pope admired Homer, and his lauding of the Grecian poet makes his admiration obvious. Pope then goes further to say that Homer's poetry, while it possessed "great virtues," still "border[s] on some imperfections," including his "too exuberant"[139] similes, his "grosser representations of the gods," and his "constant use of the same epithets to his gods and heroes."[140] Nonetheless, Pope still manages to defend these "imperfections" by stating that the similes "are like pictures,"[141] Homer's representations of gods and heroes are products of

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[136] Symmons, Sarah. "Flaxman, John (1755–1826), sculptor, decorative designer, and illustrator." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 11 Feb. 2022. https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9679.
[137] Pope, "Introduction," pp. xiii.
[138] Pope, "Introduction," pp.v.
[139] Pope, "Introduction," pp. xiii. All quotes in between this footnote (139) and the former footnote (138) come from page xxiii.
[140] Pope, "Introduction," pp. xiv. The quote between this footnote (140) and the former footnote (139) also comes from page xiv.
[141] Pope, "Introduction," pp. xiii.

Homer's belonging to a "heathen world," and that epithets were a necessity of Greek "religion."[142]

Pope then explains the value of what he calls "simplicity."[143] Pope lambasts previous translators, whom he does not call out by name, for how they either "swelled into fustian in a proud confidence of the sublime" or "sunk into flatness, in a cold and timorous notion of simplicity."[144] Pope remarks that true simplicity is, however, "the mean between ostentation and rusticity."[145] Pope then clarifies his position on the merits of simplicity in his next paragraph, in which he states that

> This pure and noble simplicity is nowhere in such perfection as in the Scripture and our author. One may affirm, with all respect to the inspired writings, that the Divine Spirit made use of no other words but what were intelligible and common to men at that time, and in that part of the world; and as Homer is the author nearest to those, his style must of course bear a greater resemblance to the sacred books than that of any other writer.[146]

Pope, here, makes his allegiance to a Christian reading of Homer's epic poems clear. He suggests that because the Holy Spirit ("Divine Spirit") inspired the writers of Scripture ("sacred book") in their native languages that the Holy Spirit must have also inspired Homer in his native language. He then states that this is because the bard was the "author nearest" those of Scripture. Whether Pope means this geographically or stylistically is unclear, but he might have intended his audience to read that statement about Homer's proximity to the authors of the "sacred book" both literally and metaphorically. Homer, living in Greece, was only across the Mediterranean

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[142] Pope, "Introduction," pp. xiv. The quote between this footnote (142) and the previous footnote (141) also comes from page xiv.
[143] Pope, "Introduction," pp. xviii.
[144] Pope, "Introduction," pp. xvii. Both quotations in this sentence from from page xvii.
[145] Pope, "Introduction," pp. xvii-xviii.
[146] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Pope, Book 20, pp. 381. Pope, "INTRODUCTION," pp. xviii.

from the Holy Land, and his style of "simplicity," Pope argues, is similar to the simplicity of the "sacred book." Pope's phrase "author nearest" could mean both, but the semantics of the phrase do not really matter. Pope's point is clear: Homer's poetry bears a strong resemblance to Scripture. Pope's introduction elucidates his commitment to reading *The Iliad* through the lens of the "sacred book," and this surely influenced his translation.

Pope, as a Catholic, provides a relief against which to compare Milton's Puritan methodology for Christianizing Homeric epic poetry. Milton re-purposed the Greco-Roman pantheon and the Greek demigod within *Paradise Lost* through his alignment of Satan with Zeus and Achilles; however, Pope takes a different approach in his translation of Homer's *Iliad*. Pope, instead of aligning Achilles with Satan, turns Achilles into a Christ-like figure. Pope did so through preserving the rage and wrath of Achilles, while simultaneously obscuring the homosexual relationship Achilles had with Patroclus. Pope's introduction to his translation elucidates that he made allowances for Homer's polytheism by claiming that Homer and the authors of Scripture shared in the divinely inspired "simplicity" of their respective works. Pope understood that Homer was, historically, a polytheist, yet he tried to reconcile the content of the bard's epic poems with his own Catholic faith. In his Introduction, Pope's method for this reconciliation was to attribute the divine inspiration of Christian authors to Homer, while in his actual translation, Pope's method for this reconciliation was through changing Homer's portrayal of the demigod Achilles. Moreover, Pope also borrowed language from the "sacred book" that explicitly referred to Christ's role as Savior and used it to describe the Greek demigod. Whereas Milton re-imagined the Greco-Roman pantheon and the demigod, Pope modified portions of *The Iliad,* particularly the Greek vocabulary used to explain the embodied divinity of the demigod

Achilles, so that he could, perhaps even unwittingly, soothe his cognitive dissonance surrounding Homer's polytheistic religion and his own Catholic faith.

Pope's Pattern of Modifying Language in *The Iliad*

Throughout his translation of Homer's *Iliad,* Pope subtly modified words and phrases of the Greek text to change it from a pagan text into a Christian one. Kathryn Lynch, in her article "Homer's *Iliad* and Pope's Vile Forgery," does a magnificent job detailing the ways in which Pope transformed *The Iliad*. She proposes that Pope changed the text with his translation in two ways that are relevant to my argument about Pope's modification of Achilles into a Christ-like figure: linguistic frames, and most specifically, the death of Sarpedon. She also argues that Pope mistranslated various portions of the text because "Pope [was] unwilling to concede contradictions between Homer's theology and his own."[147] Therefore, the only mechanism for reconciling the two was near mistranslation. Lynch's argument that Pope changed his source material to reconcile the contradictions between his religion and Homer's religion echoes my argument that Pope modified the demigod Achilles to subtly re-make him into a Christ-like figure.

Linguistic frames, or rather the idea that the proximity of words denotes their relationship to each other,[148] become particularly relevant when comparing Homer's Greek to Pope's translation. The first example Lynch offers is Pope's translation of the words "attend" and "descend" in the passage detailing Apollo's conference with Chryses, which she argues "occupy

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[147] Lynch, Kathryn L. "Homer's Iliad and Pope's Vile Forgery." *Comparative Literature* 34, no. 1 (1982): 1–15. https://doi.org/10.2307/1770359. Pp. 15.

[148] Lynch quotes Richard Ohmann's "Modes of Order" (1970, pp. 215, 217) to explain linguistic frames. The explanation in Ohmann's words is: "A kind of axiom for interpreting human artifacts might go, 'Things are not placed together without reason," or "Proximity implies similarity'…tight parallelism, through the juxtaposition of identical linguistic frames (grammatical forms) whose slots are filled with different words, clearly signals a collection of meanings." "Vile Forgery," pp. 4.

an identical linguistic frame, both grammatically and in their location in the line."[149] She then asserts that Pope's translation serves to imply that "gods are distant from men," even though there is neither "no authority in the Greek for either word," nor any "precedent for this emphasis on the remoteness of the gods."[150] Lynch provides an example and a framework for how Pope changed the meaning of Homer's original text to create his own implications for it; in this case, the implication that the gods live separately and remotely from humans.

With this framework and example in mind, I now offer my own example from Book 19, in which Briseis says:

> Πάτροκλέ μοι δειλῇ πλεῖστον κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ
>
> ζωὸν μέν σε ἔλειπον ἐγὼ κλισίηθεν ἰοῦσα,
>
> νῦν δέ σε τεθνηῶτα κιχάνομαι ὄρχαμε λαῶν
>
> ἂψ ἀνιοῦσ᾽: ὥς μοι δέχεται κακὸν ἐκ κακοῦ αἰεί.[151]

Pope translates this passage as:

> "Ah, youth for ever dear, for ever kind,
>
> Once tender friend of my distracted mind!
>
> I left thee fresh in life, in beauty gay;
>
> Now find thee cold, inanimated clay!
>
> What woes my wretched race of life attend!
>
> Sorrows on sorrows, never doom'd to end![152]

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[149]Both words occur at the end of their respective lines. Unfortunately, Lynch does not cite the book number, nor the line numbers from which these words come. Lynch, "Pope's Vile Forgery." Pp. 4.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Homer, *The Iliad*, book 19, lines 287-290. I translated the passage as thus: "Patroclus, dearest to my wretched soul, I left you alive when I went out from the shelter, but now I arrive back to find you dead, leader of men: thus, for me, one evil ever comes from another always." Dr. Katrina Dickson, my advisor within the Classics Department, helped me with this translation.

[152] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 19, pp. 371. Original Greek: 19.287-290.

Here, Pope places the words “tender” and “friend” beside each other which implies that Briseis and Patroclus shared a romantic relationship. However, the original Greek translates as “Patroklus, dearest to my wretched soul,” and is a much more accurate translation than Pope’s because the Greek is translated with the correct syntax and grammar. Where Pope takes the genitive for the fragment “of my distracted mind,” the dative of the original Greek is preserved in the fragment “to my wretched soul.” The translation of the word *“δειλῇ”* as “wretched” exists as a much better choice than Pope’s “distracted” because “wretched” implies deep misfortune, while “distracted” implies a pre-occupation of some kind. The two words have drastically different meanings. The phrase “Patroklus, dearest to my wretched soul,” while an intimate description, does not possess the romantic intimacy of “tender friend.” The words “tender” and “friend” when juxtaposed with each other insinuate romance as “tender” has a somatic connotation, but when separate or written as singular entities, the words do not insinuate any kind of intimacy. However, “dearest to my wretched soul,” conveys grief and sadness, but not necessarily romantic love, as it does not include a defined relationship. The difference, while technically minute, still changes the meaning of the line. When “tender” and “friend” are taken outside each other’s respective contexts, the meaning becomes entirely different. While this might seem obvious, this observation clearly demonstrates how Pope placed the words, absent in the original text, within a symbiotic and proximal context for the purpose of inculcating his perceptions into his translation. The Greek and Pope’s translated poetry simply do not align, and Pope’s translation conveys neither the same emotion nor the same tone as the original Greek. They are distinctly different.

While Patroclus and Briseis most certainly could have shared a romantic and sexual relationship, that passage (Book 19, pp. 371) does not necessarily include those undertones. The

passage itself does not technically imply a romantic or sexual relationship, but Pope's translation makes it seem as if it does. Pope's portrayal of Briseis' relationship with Patroclus subtly emphasizes heterosexual relationships and has the effect of diminishing and obscuring Patroclus' romantic relationship with Achilles. Pope modified the Greek in his translation through linguistic framing.

My example and the earlier example Lynch provided both establish a precedent of Pope transforming the original text of *The Iliad*. Pope's Greek was excellent; thus, he possessed the ability to translate Homer's poetry as he wrote it. Lynch cites another example, which concerns embodied divinity, within her article: Zeus' lamentation over Sarpedon's fated death. Lynch asserts that Pope "claims to find [in the passage] that Jove is superior to fate,"[153] which she argues Pope does to "make Homer's Zeus like his own Christian God."[154] To further prove her point, Lynch compares Pope's translation to Lattimore's translation, and the differences between the two are striking.

> *Jove* view'd the Combate, whose Event foreseen,
> He thus bespoke his Sister and his Queen.
> The Hour draws on; the Destinies ordain,
> My godlike Son shall press the *Phrygian* Plain:
> Already on the Verge of Death he stands,
> His Life is ow'd to fierce *Patroclus'* Hands.
> What Passions in a Parent's Breast debate!
> Say, shall I snatch him from impending Fate,

[153] Lynch, "Vile Forgery," pp. 12.
[154] Lynch, "Vile Forgery," pp. 11.

And send him safe to *Lycia*, distant far
From all the Dangers and the Toils of War;
Or to Doom my bravest Offspring yield,
And fatten, with celestial Blood, the field?
Then thus the Goddess with the radiant Eyes:
What words are these, O Sov'reign of the Skies?
Short is the Date prescrib'd to mortal Man;
Shall *Jove*, for one, extend the narrow Span,
Whose Bounds were fix'd before his Race began?
How many Sons of Gods, foredoom'd to Death,
Before proud *Ilion*, must resign their Breath!
Were thine exempt, Debate would rise above,
And murm'ring Pow'rs condemn their partial *Jove*.[155]

And watching them the son of devious-devising Kronos
was pitiful, and spoke to Hera, his wife and sister:
"Ah me, that is destined that the dearest of men, Sarpedon,
Must go down under the hands of Menoitios' son Patroklos.
The heart in my breast is balanced between two ways I ponder,
whether I should snatch him out of the sorrowful battles
and set him down still alive in the rich country of Lykia,
or beat him under at the hands of the son of Menoitios.

[155] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 16, lines 528-46.

> In turn the lady Hera of the ox eyes answered him:
> "Majesty, son of Kronos, what sort of thing have you spoken?
> Do you wish to bring back a man who is mortal, one long since
> doomed by his destiny, from ill-sounding death, and release him?
> Do it, then; but not all the rest of us gods shall approve you.
> And put away in your thoughts this other thing I tell you;
> if you bring Sarpedon back to his home, still living,
> think how then some other one of the gods might also
> wish to carry his own son out of the strong encounter;
> since around the great city of Priam are fighting many
> sons of immortals. You will awaken grim resentment among them.[156]

Comparing the two passages elucidates how Pope modified Zeus to align him more closely with the God of Christianity. Lynch makes the argument that Pope "substitutes 'Fate' for the Greek *μαχης δακροεσσης* 'tearful battle,'"[157] because his translation alludes to Jove having supremacy over Fate. Lynch then says that Pope "omits the word 'Fate'"[158] from his response to Hera when she chides him, saying that "mortals are ruled by *αισα* 'Destiny' (XVI.441)," because this omission also elevates Jove above Fate. Furthermore, Pope's elevation of Jove completely "eliminates the background of the Homeric religious myth, replacing it with his own Christian context."[159] Lynch attributes this to Pope's exclusion of Hera's reminder that his sparing of

[156] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Lattimore, XVI.432-49.
[157] Compare Lynch's translation of the Greek ("tearful battle") to Lattimore's ("sorrowful battles"). Their translations are nearly identical, while Pope's translation hardly resembles either. "Vile Forgery," pp. 12-3.
[158] Instead of using the word Fate, Pope translates the Greek as "Short is the Date prescrib'd to moral Man" (XVI.542). "Vile Forgery," pp. 13.
[159] "Vile Forgery," pp. 13.

Sarpedon will give rise to insurrection against him because including a matching translation of the Greek would "undermine[s] Jove's authority,"[160] and set him apart from Christianity's God.

In the Christian tradition, God remains unchallengeable, yet within the Ancient Greek mythological convention, Jove's supremacy is threatened frequently, and his supremacy over the other gods is often a narrative point in the plots of Greco-Roman mythology. An excellent example of this is the birth of Zeus' daughter, Athena. The myth of Athena's birth begins with Zeus and the goddess Metis, whom Zeus impregnated. After hearing of Metis' pregnancy, Zeus learned of a prophecy that foretold of his own deposition at the hands of their male child. To obviate this threat, Zeus swallowed Metis while she was pregnant, and this act of ingestion culminated in Hephaestus splitting Zeus' head open with an axe so that the Zeus' daughter could emerge, fully formed. Fortunately for Zeus, Athena was female, and his worries never came to fruition. Nonetheless, many other examples of prophecies and the other gods challenging Zeus' position of supremacy exist. Pope, when he changed the Greek of Hera's response, redacted "the background of the Homeric epic myth," and thus shaped Jove into the image of the Christian God, who exists as unchallengeable.

I would like to add to Lynch's already astute analysis of Pope's modification of Jove. When comparing Lattimore's translation with Pope's translation an obvious disparity occurs within the first two lines of Hera's response to her husband; Pope has her call Jove "Sov'reign of the Skies," while Lattimore has her call Jove "Majesty, son of Kronos." Pope's translation echoes two monikers for God in the Old Testament: the God of Heaven[161] and the King of

[160] Ibid.
[161] Douay-Rheims Bible, Ezra 7:12, 23; Daniel 2:37; Nehemiah 2:4. All verses used in this chapter on Achilles come from the Douay-Rheims Bible, as it was the version Pope would have read as a Catholic. Complete citation: *The Holy Bible: Douay-Rheimes Version*. DRBO.org, 2001. http://www.drbo.org/index.htm.

Heaven.[162] Lattimore's translation, however, uses an epithet that references Jove's genealogy instead of his station. While Lattimore does translate a part of Hera's invocation of Jove as "Majesty," that designation is immediately followed by "son of Kronos." Pope's translation of the invocation emphasizes Jove's power, while Lattimore's emphasizes Jove's biological right to rule. Pope's translation has the effect of mirroring the Christian God's divine right to rulership, while Lattimore's more closely mimics the tradition of primogeniture from the classical period.

Lynch attributes Pope's decision to omit "the background of Homeric religious myth" to his desire to preserve Jove's, and therefore God's, ultimate supremacy, but she neglected to mention how Pope also disregarded the hierarchy of the Greek pantheon, which had the same effect of erasing the precedent of religious myth in Homer's works. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, the poet names the Moirai "Klotho and Lachesis and Atropos…,"[163] whose names denote their purposes: to spin, measure, and cut the thread of life.[164] Zeus does not have this power; he does not and cannot choose when a life begins, nor when it ends. The canon of Greek mythology clearly designates the Moirai with this power, not Zeus. This, once again, differentiates the ruler of the Greek pantheon from the ruler of the Christian religion, but Pope attempted to reconcile this difference through his translation.

Therefore, given that Hesiod's *Theogony* and Homer's *Iliad* were written at roughly the same time,[165] Pope's translation of the Fates as acting as subservient to Jove is incorrect. Also considering that Pope had extensive knowledge about Greek mythology, and, therefore, its hierarchy, his translation reveals his own subliminal priming to look for Christianity in the

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[162] Daniel 4:37. Neither citation (159-160) provides an exhaustive list of the occurrences of these phrases in the Bible.
[163] Hesiod, *Theogony*, ed. Caldwell, pp. 78, lines 904-905.
[164] Ibid. Caldwell's notes for lines 901-906.
[165] The *Theogony* is dated at around the 8th century BC, while *The Iliad* is dated at around 726 BC.

ancient poem. Pope's choice to present Jove as superior to the Fates corresponds with God, who according to the Christian faith, creates fate (providence). During his Passion, Christ kneels in the Garden of Gethsemane and begs his Heavenly Father "if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt."[166] Here, Christ denotes God, his Father, as the one who sets his course. Similar to Zeus, who, in Pope's translation, allows his son Sarpedon to die, so does God. Just as Zeus ultimately decides to let his son perish, so does God. However, in the original Greek, Zeus is not the one who makes this decision: the Fates do. Homer's original text clearly shows who has power over life and death and who doesn't; the Fates do, Zeus does not. But this hierarchy does not align with Christianity nor the Christian God, who has ultimate supremacy over life, death, and fate. Pope's own religious background influenced his subtle portrayal of Jove as the Christian God.

Achilles' Mythological Background and Embodied Divinity

Now that I have explained Pope's modification of Zeus, I'd like to turn to an explanation of Achilles' embodied divinity. Before I can address how Pope reconciled his Catholic faith with Homer's polytheism through Achilles, I must explain the nature of Achilles' embodied divinity and his mythological background.

The king of the gods, Zeus, had received a prophecy that the son of the water nymph Thetis would become more powerful than him, which threatened Zeus' supremacy within the Greek pantheon. To thwart this problem, Zeus determined that a mortal man, named Peleus, would father a child with Thetis, albeit against her will. From the union of Thetis and Peleus, Achilles was born, leaving him straddling the mortal world and the immortal world. From his

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[166] Matthew 26:39.

mother, Achilles inherited godlike strength and battle prowess, but from his father, he inherited mortality. From Achilles' conception, his body breached the division between god and mortal. He had the gifts of a god, but the lifespan, and physical weaknesses, of a human. However, time has convoluted the legend of Achilles; Thetis did not dip Achilles into the River Styx to render him infallible, aside from the spots on his heels where she held him, in *The Iliad*.[167]

Several times throughout the text, Achilles himself and others refer to him as "the seed of Thetis,"[168] "half human, half divine,"[169] the "offspring"[170] of "the immortal mother,"[171] and "like a god in fight."[172] Thetis even speaks of how Achilles "sprung from [her] bed"[173] as a "godlike hero."[174] The most obvious evidence of Achilles' godlike nature comes from Book 2 of the poem, in which the bard sings "While stern Achilles in his wrath retired: / (His was the strength that mortal might exceeds, / And his the unrivall'd race of heavenly steeds:)."[175] Thetis was pregnant and gave birth to Achilles like any other child, but upon his birth, his divinity was already astonishing. Even as an infant, Achilles distinguished himself from other humans; his divinity manifested itself physically.

Physically, Achilles had the power of a god, and he displays this power when enraged. In Pope's translation of Homer's *Iliad*, he translates the first lines of the poem as "Achilles' wrath, to Greece the direful spring / Of woes unnumber'd, heavenly goddess sing!"[176] Immediately,

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[167] This is where the term "Achilles' heel," both in medicine and colloquial speech, originates.
[168] Homer. *Homer's Iliad in the English Verse Translation by Alexander Pope*. Translated by Alexander Pope, The Heritage Press, 1943. Book 20, pp. 381.
[169] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 20, pp. 382.
[170] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 17, pp. 348.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 1, pp. 5.
[173] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 17, pp. 348.
[174] Ibid.
[175]Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 2, pp. 44. Original Greek: 2.769-770.
[176]Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 1, pp. 1. Robert Fagles, in his 1990 translation of *The Iliad*, translates this line of the proem as "Rage—Goddess, sing of the rage of Peleus' son Achilles" (Book 1, page 1). Numerous

both Pope and Homer align Achilles with rage and violence. The rage that Homer, via Pope, refers to is a product of his embodied divinity, and it grants him more strength than any other warrior on the battlefield. Achilles' rage typifies and defines his brand of embodied divinity. Because Achilles rages, he kills. When Achilles does not rage, he leaves the Greeks in dire straits. Achilles withdraws from battle after Agamemnon steals his war bride, and he refuses to fight, resulting in many days of lost battles. Eventually, Nestor exhorts the Greeks to continue fighting without him, saying:

> How near our fleet approach the Trojan fires!
> Who can, unmoved, behold the dreadful light?
> What eye beholds them, and can close to-night?
> This dreadful interval determines all;
> To-morrow Troy must flame, or Greece must fall.[177]

Achilles' absence on the battlefield places the entirety of the Greek camp in danger. The profundity of his battle skill cannot compare to any other mortal man's ability: even Sarpedon and Ajax cannot compare. Without Achilles and his rage, the Greeks risk losing the entirety of the Trojan War.

Even Agamemnon, who loathes Achilles, realizes the necessity of his violent, godly talent. Agamemnon approves of sending an envoy to plead with Achilles to return to battle. Ulysses, on behalf on Agamemnon, begs Achilles to

> "Return… oh return, though late,
> To save thy Greeks, and stop the course of Fate;

translators have created different renditions of this line, but all of them discuss and reference the rage of Achilles: his defining characteristic.

[177] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 9, pp. 160. Original Greek: 9.76-8.

If in that heart or grief or courage lies,

Rise to redeem; ah, yet to conquer, rise!

The day may come, when, all our warriors slain,

That heart shall melt, that courage rise in vain:

Regard in time, O prince divinely brave!"[178]

Here, Agamemnon pleads with Achilles, through Ulysses, to return to battle. Achilles' battle prowess exceeds that of all the Greek soldiers, and they face annihilation without him. Achilles' divine power remains evident to all those around him, even to those, like Agamemnon, who detest him.

These passages reveal how Achilles' divinity relies on rage. The mortals who fight around him, even the mortals who are revered for their skill in battle, cannot compare to Achilles. Without him, they face not just losing a single battle or even the war, but complete destruction. Achilles' physical strength completely supersedes that of his peers, and it is completely attributable to his divine genealogy. Achilles' divinity manifests itself in his physical body; however, he does not display the extent of his divinity until he rages.

Achilles like Christ: Divine Rage and Redemption

Achilles' rage supplies him with the power to redeem; therefore, Pope could tenuously reconcile the presence of the demigod with his Christian beliefs. This is because divine rage has precedent within the New Testament, specifically within Christ. While *The Iliad* does not contain other characters with New Testament parallels, like the Virgin Mary, or any scenes like the Crucifixion, the Son of God and Achilles share experiences of rage and wrath. However, while Pope's translation does not contain a scene of crucifixion, it does contain an allusion to Achilles

[178] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Pope, Book 9, pp. 165. Original Greek: 9.247-251.

as redeemer, which recalls the Christian epithet of "Redeemer" for Christ. The similarities between *The Iliad* and the New Testament are nuanced and result in the almost imperceptible alignment of Christ and Achilles. Nonetheless, the near imperceptibility of Christ and Achilles' alignment does not erase their similarities; their similarities are just more difficult to ascertain. Although nuanced and subtle, Pope's potentially unwitting alignment of Christ and Achilles through rage and redemption does exist, and this alignment inserted a subtle Christian parallel into the Homeric epic.

When Jesus returns to Jerusalem for the celebration of Passover, he

> found in the temple them that sold oxen and sheep and doves,
> and the changers of money sitting.
> And when he had made, as it were, a scourge of little cords, he drove them all out of the temple, the sheep also and the oxen; and the money of the changers he poured out, the tables he overthrew.[179]

Jesus, the Son of God, finds that individuals have desecrated the temple, a place of worship, and turned it into a place of monetary of exchange, a place that caters to the frivolity and greed of man. Merchants and moneychangers usurped and perverted a physical symbol of his Father's holiness, and by extension, did the same to him. Jesus found the desecration of the sacred space abhorrent, but he neither requests that the merchants and money changers leave, nor boycotts the temple and its inhabitants. Instead, he drives them out with a "scourge of little cords" and overturns their tables. Jesus' rage is palpable and fierce.

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[179] John 2:14-15.

This rage that Jesus feels and acts upon, however, is justified. The merchants and moneychangers in the temple had committed a grave transgression, as they had defiled the holy house of the Lord. The temple, supposedly a place of consecration and worship, had been converted to a house of profit. This was not, however, just a transgression against the physical space of the temple, or just a divergence from its purpose. This was a transgression against God, and thus, Christ. In the Book of Mark's account of the story, Jesus rebukes the merchants in the temple and asks them, "Is it not written, My house shall be called the house of prayer to all nations? But you have made it a den of thieves."[180] Jesus perceives the economic use of the temple as theft and refers to the building as his. Jesus' ownership and claim to the Temple indicates that what he perceives as a sin against God is also a sin against him; therefore, his rage against the vendors and lenders in the temple is both righteous and justified.

Yet again, in Matthew 10:34-35, the rage and violence of Achilles find precedent within Christ. Jesus speaks to his disciples, saying: "Do not think that I came to send peace upon earth: I came not to send peace, but the sword. For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law."[181] Christ describes the purpose of his incarnation in this passage: violence. Jesus claims that he came not to "send peace on earth," but rather to "send" a "sword." In this passage from the New Testament, he could not make the intentions of the incarnation any more explicit. Jesus himself declares that he is not a bringer of peace, but rather a harbinger of violence. He then goes on to state that he took on flesh to "set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against

[180] Mark 11:17.
[181] I used Sarah Sumner's chapter "What Does Jesus' Anger Look Like?" from her book *Angry Like Jesus* to find examples of Jesus' anger and rage. SUMNER, SARAH. "What Does Jesus' Anger Look Like?" In *Angry Like Jesus: Using His Example to Spark Your Moral Courage*, 31–48. 1517 Media, 2015. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt155j34x.7.

her mother, and the daughter in law against her mother in law." Jesus describes the violent breaking of social and familial bonds, and this atomization of the social order also finds itself in Achilles, when he pits himself against Agamemnon. Achilles and Agamemnon are both Greeks and both on the same side of the war, yet Achilles breaches the social contract when he withdraws from the war. Achilles sets himself at variance against his own kinsmen, just as Christ claims that he will do. Once again, the New Testament reveals that Christ existed as a bearer of violence and rage, just as Achilles exists as a bearer of violence and rage in *The Iliad.*

Several more examples of the divine wrath and violence of Christ exist in the Book of Revelations. In Revelations 2:20-23, the apostle John says the Lamb of God addressed the church in Thyatira through an angel, saying

> But I have against thee a few things: because thou sufferest the woman Jezebel, who calleth herself a prophetress, to teach, and to seduce my servants, to commit fornication, and to eat things sacred unto idols.
>
> And I gave her a time that she might do penance, and she will not repent of her fornication.
>
> Behold, I will cast her into a bed: and they that commit adultery with her shall be in very great tribulation, except they do penance from their deeds.
>
> And I will kill her children with death, and all the churches shall know that I am he that searcheth the reins and hearts, and I will give to every one of you according to your works.

In Revelations 6:15-17, Jesus opens the sixth seal "And the kings of the earth, and the princes, and tribunes, and the rich, and the strong, and every bondman, and every free man, hid themselves in the dens and in the rocks of the mountains: / And they say to the mountains and

rocks: Fall upon us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth upon the throne and from the wrath of the Lamb: / For the great day of their wrath is come; and who shall be able to stand?" Finally, in Revelations 14:9-10, the "third angel" declares that "If any man shall adore the beast and his image, and receive his character in his forehead, or in his hand; / He also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God, which is mingled with pure wine in the cup of his wrath, and shall be tormented with fire and brimstone in the sight of the holy angels, and in the sight of the Lamb."

In all three examples from the Book of Revelation, the Son of God bears witness to violence due to his feeling wrath and rage. In Revelations 2:20-23, he threatens to kill the children of Jezebel "with death" because of their mother's sins, meaning that he intends to deprive them of salvation, which is the greatest act of violence possible in Christianity. In Revelations 6:15-17, humans explicitly reference "the wrath" of the Lamb and express their fear of it. Revelations 14:9-10 reveals how sinners will "be tormented with fire and brimstone… in the sight of the Lamb," which implies that Christ does nothing to intervene and silently encourages the torture of the sinners. The Son of God's divine rage and violence are exhibited throughout the New Testament, and Pope's exposure to Scripture influenced his subtle transformation of Achilles from a mere demigod to Christ-like hero.

Furthermore, when Ulysses entreats Achilles come back to battle, he asks that the demigod "Rise to redeem; ah, yet to conquer, rise!"[182] Ulysses begs Achilles to return to war with vengeance and fury so that he can "save thy Greeks"[183] through "ris[ing]" and "redeem[ing]," which are both words with deeply Christian connotations. Christ, through his

[182] Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. Pope, Book 9, pp. 165.
[183] Ibid.

suffering and death, rose to redeem all the sinners of the world; likewise, Ulysses asks for Achilles to become the redeemer of his people. Through the bloodshed of Christ, the world receives salvation and through the bloodshed of Achilles, the Greeks receive redemption.

Christ also bears the epithet "Redeemer," and Pope echoed this epithet in his translation of the line, where it does not exist at all. The original Greek, with some of the surrounding context, says

> ταῦτ᾽ αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα, μή οἱ ἀπειλὰς
> ἐκτελέσωσι θεοί, ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ αἴσιμον εἴη
> φθίσθαι ἐνὶ Τροίῃ ἑκὰς Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο.
> ἀλλ᾽ ἄνα, εἰ μέμονάς γε καὶ ὀψέ περ υἷας Ἀχαιῶν
> τειρομένους ἐρύεσθαι ὑπὸ Τρώων ὀρυμαγδοῦ.
> αὐτῷ τοι μετόπισθ᾽ ἄχος ἔσσεται, οὐδέ τι μῆχος
> ῥεχθέντος κακοῦ ἔστ᾽ ἄκος εὑρεῖν· ἀλλὰ πολὺ πρὶν
> φράζευ ὅπως Δαναοῖσιν ἀλεξήσεις κακὸν ἦμαρ.[184]

A.T. Murray, the translator for the Loeb *Iliad*, translates this passage as

> This is the dreadful fear of my mind, that the gods may fulfill his threats for him, and it be our fate to perish here in Troy, far from horse-pasturing Argos. But up then, if you are inclined, late though it is, to rescue the sons of the Achaeans who are being worn down from the war din of the Trojans. On yourself will sorrow come hereafter, nor can healing be

[184] Homer, *The Iliad*, 9.244-251.

> found for a harm once done. But rather, before it is too late, consider how you may ward from the Danaans the day of evil.[185]

Pope's translation of one of the lines in the passage as "Rise to redeem: ah, yet to conquer, rise!" simply does not appear anywhere in Greek. None of the verbs in those sentences could be translated as "rise" or "redeem;" in fact, the only verb in the imperative mood (*φράζευ*) translates to "ponder" or "consider."[186] Ulysses implores Achilles to "ponder" how he might "ward from the Danaans the day of evil," but he does not ask Achilles to "redeem" the Greeks. "Ponder" and "redeem" do not have equivalent meanings within the passage. Pope inserted the verbs "rise" and "redeem" into his translation, and these words recall Christ's resurrection and his crucifixion, even though the Greek words for "rise" and "redeem" do not appear anywhere in the text. Pope's translation styles Achilles after Christ, even though no indication of Achilles as the potential redeemer of his comrades exists in the Greek text.

The Bible contains many more examples of Jesus' righteous anger,[187] and this means that rage existed as an emotion that could be acted upon with moral permissibility for Christians. Therefore, Pope would not have felt any kind of discomfort surrounding the issue of Achilles' rage, as he would have found precedence for it within the Bible and within Christ. Furthermore, Pope's translation of the Greek in Book 9, lines 244-251 uses the same language contained in Scripture to describe Christ as a redeemer. Through the letting of Christ's blood, the world finds salvation, and perhaps through Achilles' letting of blood on the battlefield, the Greeks might find

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[185] Homer. "The Iliad." Revised by William F. Wyatt. Translated by A.T. Murray. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard University Press. Accessed March 14, 2022. https://www-loebclassics-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/homer-iliad/1924/pb_LCL170.413.xml?result=1&rskey=OUXNea. Book 9, pp. 413.

[186] "Φράζω." Logeion.uchicago.edu. University of Chicago. Accessed March 14, 2022. https://logeion.uchicago.edu/%CF%86%CF%81%CE%AC%CE%B6%CF%89.

[187] See Sarah Sumner's book "Angry Like Jesus" for her list of fifteen examples. While Sumner's book is more instructive than scholastic, it does contain many examples of Jesus' rage.

salvation. Pope both changed and maintained aspects of the original Greek concerning Achilles' rage in his translation; consequently, Achilles becomes subtly Christ-like.

Achilles as Christ: The Obscuration of Achilles' Homosexual Relationship

While the rage of Achilles did not require any kind of modification in its translation, the love of Achilles did. Pope modified passages of *The Iliad* about Achilles and Patroclus' relationship because Achilles' rage over the loss of his friend was far more justified and morally right than Achilles' violent grief over the death of his male lover. Whereas Pope could keep Achilles' rage in his translation because Christ exhibited rage in the New Testament, he could not keep Achilles' homosexual relationship within his translation because Christ did not have a sexual relationship with anyone, much less a sexual relationship with a man. Pope's obscuration of Achilles' relationship with Patroclus, however, is subtle and chiefly relies upon his translation of the word "*φιλον*." Nonetheless, just because the erasure is subtle does not mean it does not exist. By rendering a translation that obscured Achilles and Patroclus' relationship from the text, Pope aligned Achilles with Christ and made the originally pagan text more palatable for its Christian audience.

To be clear, this section is not one that makes the claim that Alexander Pope modified the entirety of Achilles' and Patroclus' relationship, nor is it one that suggests Pope modified swathes of Homer's language concerning their relationship. This section deals with how minute details affect the reading of the whole work. Pope transformed Homer's language in select passages and upheld Homer's language in other passages. The combination of the two, however, obscures the nature of Patroclus' and Achilles' relationship. Pope did not change their relationship entirely, nor did he change *The Iliad* entirely. He simply modified select elements of the heroes' relationship, and this has the effect of changing how readers perceive their

relationship throughout the text. Specifically, just because Pope translated "*φιλον"* as "friend" in one passage does not mean that he translated "*φιλον*" as "friend" in all the passages in which it might occur. However, even one instance of translating the word "*φιλον*" as "friend" creates confusion surrounding the nature of Achilles' relationship with Patroclus. For example, if readers believed that Patroclus and Achilles were just friends due to a passage they read early in the text, then later read a portion of text that said they were each other's beloveds, readers would feel confused about the nature of the male heroes' relationship. Pope did not have to modify the translation of the word each time it cropped up in the text; instead, one time was enough to obscure Achilles' relationship with Patroclus. Therefore, I only analyze one precise instance of Pope translating "*φιλον*" as "friend," but apply Pope's translation of the Greek word "*φιλον*" to the text as a whole.

Pope's translation explicitly refers to Patroclus and Achilles as friends; however, this is not the case. Patroclus and Achilles were lovers, and this was a problem for Pope. No precedent for homosexuality exists within the Bible, and according to Catholic tradition, Jesus never took a lover nor a wife. Achilles' romantic and sexual relationship with Patroclus sharply diverges from Christian tradition on both fronts. The word *φίλον* is a masculine noun, which clearly denotes it as a word that can communicate male romantic love. Pope obscures the true definition of the word *φίλον* with the context of friendship, and he glosses over the Homeric context of the word. The romantic nature of Achilles and Patroclus' relationship serves to underscore Achilles' humanity in the original text, and, without this reminder of Achilles' humanity, he becomes Christ-like.

Homer's inclusion of a romantic relationship humanizes Achilles, but Pope's translation of the romantic relationship re-makes Achilles in the image of Christ, who is, heretically or not,

synonymous to God. In Pope's text he translates the word "*φίλον*" as friend; however, the connotation of this word is closer to "beloved" or even "object of love."[188] In one passage, after Patroclus' death, during Achilles' incitement to battle, Pope translates the Greek as

> Let not my palate know the taste of food,
> Till my insatiate rage be cloy'd with blood:
> Pale lies my friend, with wounds disfigured o'er,
> And his cold feet are pointed to the door.
> Revenge is all my soul![189]

In this passage, Achilles' bloodlust, grief, and love for Patroclus intersect. If the word "friend" were translated as the nominal word "love," which would still preserve the meter of the line, the meaning of this passage, and the text overall, would change profoundly. In Pope's translation of the verses, Achilles and Patroclus exist as only friends, which strips Achilles of his desire to "not let [his] palate know the taste of food" and his motivation for "Revenge!". Through this mistranslation, Pope slightly changes Achilles' human motivation, which is his love for his lover, and, instead, redesigns him to more closely mimic Christ, who did not have a lover.

Moreover, Achilles displays and expresses his deep love for Patroclus after his lover falls in battle. Immediately after Antilochus, the son of Nestor, delivers the news of Patroclus' death,

> A sudden horror shot through all the chief,
> And wrapp'd his senses in the cloud of grief;
> Cast on the ground, with furious hands he spread
> The scorching ashes o'er his graceful head;

[188] "Φίλος." Logeion.uchicago.edu. Accessed December 15, 2021. https://logeion.uchicago.edu/%CF%86%CE%AF%CE%BB%CE%BF%CF%82.
[189] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Pope, Book 19, pp. 369. Original Greek: 19.209-212.

His purple garments, and his golden hairs,
Those he deforms with dust, and these he tears;
On the hard soil his groaning breast he threw,
And roll'd and grovell'd, as to earth he grew.[190]

Pope translates the original Greek in a way that showcases the immense grief Achilles feels. Achilles does not feel just sad or angry; instead, a "horror" shoots through him and all of his senses, his sight, his hearing, his smell, his touch, and his taste, are "wrapp'd" in grief. The grief Achilles feels possesses him so strongly that he throws himself on the ground, rending his hair and his garments. He groans and he grovels. The physical sensations of Achilles' grief might just speak to the death of a friend in Pope's translation, but they speak more to Homer's original text in which Achilles and Patroclus are lovers. The context of Achilles' grief clarifies the romantic relationship he shared with Patroclus beyond the word choice of "*φίλον*," and, therefore, make Pope's translation of the word as "friend" incongruous to the context in which it functions.

Before Patroclus died, neither the words of Ulysses nor Nestor could compel Achilles to rejoin the war. Even Agamemnon, who pled with Achilles through Ulysses, could not convince Achilles to return. However, immediately after Achilles learns of Patroclus' death he wails to his mother Thetis that

'Tis not in fate the alternate now to give;
Patroclus dead, Achilles hates to live.
Let me revenge it on proud Hector's heart,
Let his last spirit smoke upon my dart;
On these conditions will I breathe: till then,

[190] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Pope, Book 18, pp. 347. Original Greek: 18.22-7.

I blush to walk among the race of men.[191]

Achilles hates to live now that Patroclus has died; he cannot imagine, nor does he desire to live in, a world without him. Until he avenges Patroclus, he will not consider himself a man. Achilles' sole motivation for participating in the war effort is Patroclus.

Achilles continues on, declaring to his mother,

"…Let Hector die
And let me fall! (Achilles made reply)
Far lies Patroclus from his native plain!
He fell, and falling, wish'd my aid in vain.
Ah then, since from this miserable day
I cast all hope of my return away;
Since, unrevenged, a hundred ghosts demand
The fate of Hector from Achilles' hand…."[192]

Both Homer and Pope make it abundantly clear that Achilles is only rejoining the war because of Patroclus. Over and over, Homer, through Pope, repeats that Achilles is not spurred to battle by anyone or anything other than the loss of Patroclus. Pope suggests in his translation of the word "*φιλον*" that Achilles desires vengeance because of the death of his friend, not this lover, and this changes the character of Achilles as a whole. Where Homer most likely intended for Achilles to seek vengeance over the death of his lover, Pope subtly changes Achilles' motivation to seeking vengeance for the death of a friend.

[191] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Pope, Book 18, pp. 349. Original Greek: 18.80-93.
[192] Ibid. Original Greek: 18.97-103.

This modification does not remove the righteousness of Achilles' rage, and it still almost imperceptibly aligns his rage with the justified rage of Jesus. Patroclus' death existed as a massive loss for Achilles, and the rage over the death of a dear friend is always reasonable and justifiable. Pope's translation of the word "*φιλον*" does not prevent him from portraying Achilles' rage as justified; in fact, it does the opposite. Pope, whether consciously or unconsciously, modified Achilles into a Christ-like figure through this translation, and its inclusion actually strengthened Pope's transformation of Achilles. In fact, Pope's line "On the hard soil his groaning breast [Achilles] threw," borrows language from chapter 11 of the Book of John. Chapter 11 details the death of Christ's friend, Lazarus, and Christ's reaction to learning of Lazarus' death. When Mary Magdalene, the sister of Lazarus, tells Jesus "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died,"[193] Jesus "groaned in the spirit"[194] both because of Mary's words and the news she told him. While Christ does not throw himself on the ground like Achilles, both he and Achilles "groan." Christ "groaned in spirit," while Achilles "groan[ed]" in his "breast." Since the breast is where the spirit is thought to live, Achilles' reaction to learning of Patroclus' death parallels that of Christ's reaction to Lazarus' death. Pope describes Achilles as "groaning" in another of his other poetic verses as well. Pope says that Achilles, after his mother Thetis inquires why he is grieving, answers her while "deeply groaning."[195] In John 11, again, the author says after the Jews ask if Jesus could have saved Lazarus, that Christ "again groan[ed]."[196] Pope's vocabulary concerning Achilles' reaction to the death of his friend echoes that of Jesus' reaction to learning of the death of Lazarus.

[193] John 11:32.
[194] John 11:33.
[195] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Pope, Book 18, pp. 348.
[196] John 11:38.

And, this time, Pope's vocabulary matches with the Greek and other translations of the text. A.T. Murray's translation, with context, says this:

> So he spoke, and a black cloud of grief enfolded Achilles, and with both hands he took the dark dust and poured it over his head and defiled his fair face, and on his fragrant tunic the black ashes fell. And he himself in the dust lay outstretched, mighty in his mightiness, and with his own hands he tore and marred his hair. And the handmaids whom Achilles and Patroclus had taken as booty shrieked aloud in anguish of heart, and ran out from inside around battle-minded Achilles, and all beat their breasts with their hands, and the knees of each one were loosed beneath her. And facing them Antilochus wailed and shed tears, holding the hands of Achilles, who groaned in his noble heart; for he feared that he might cut his throat with the knife. Then terribly did Achilles groan aloud, and his queenly mother heard him as she sat in the depths of the sea beside the old man her father.[197]

Both Pope and Murray translate the word *"στένω"* as "groan," which is precisely what it means in the Greek.[198] Pope's adherence to the correct translation of this word when he subtly changed the meanings of other Greek words suggests that he reconciled its meaning and context in the Greek poem with his Catholic sensibilities. Perhaps Pope subliminally recognized the word from the Biblical story of Lazarus and therefore decided to preserve it in his translation, as it allowed him to subtly re-make Achilles in the image of Christ, who also mourned the death of his male friend.

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[197] *The Iliad*, Loeb, trans. Murray, 18.22-35.
[198] "Στένω." Logeion.uchicago.edu. University of Chicago. Accessed March 19, 2022. https://logeion.uchicago.edu/%CF%83%CF%84%CE%AD%CE%BD%CF%89.

Furthermore, Mary Magdalene and the other Jews tell Christ that if he had been at Lazarus' side when he had died, that he would have been able to save him, and this sentiment is echoed in Pope's translation. Achilles wails that "[Patroclus] fell, and falling, wish'd my aid in vain."[199] Just like how criticism is levied against Jesus for not preventing Lazarus' death, Achilles levies criticism against himself for not preventing Patroclus' death. While these two examples are not direct equivalents, they do share similarities. The men with the power to prevent the deaths of their friends did not. Once again, Pope uses language and precedents within the Christian scriptures that allude to Christ. The Christian scriptures contain a precedent of Christ mourning the death of his male friend, Lazarus, not the death of his male lover. Therefore, Pope could reconcile Achilles' mourning of Patroclus as the mourning of a friend, not a lover.

Pope once again rehabilitates the genre of epic poetry by transforming Achilles into a Christ-like figure. Just as Christ mourned his friend Lazarus after his death, Achilles mourns Patroclus. Just as Christ could have prevented Lazarus' death, Achilles could have prevented Patroclus' death. Pope re-imagined the relationship Achilles and Patroclus shared as one of friendship instead of romance because Achilles' romantic relationship with Patroclus existed at odds with his faith. By transforming the nature of their relationship, Pope created a subtly Christian narrative from a pagan one.

Due to the homophobia of Pope's time and his, perhaps even unconscious, desire to connect Achilles to Christ, Pope did not represent Achilles and Patroclus' relationship accurately, despite a plethora of evidence supporting Achilles' homosexuality existing in other classical texts. Aeschylus, in his play *The Myrmidons,* presents the two characters as lovers. In one of the fragments of the play, the speaker, presumably Patroclus, rebukes his lover because

[199] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Pope, Book 18, pp. 349.

Achilles "did not respect the sacred honor of the thigh-bond, / ungrateful that [he was] for those countless kisses!"[200] Achilles says after Patroclus' death: "And I honoured the intimacy of your thighs by bewailing you. / And yet to me, because I love him, this is not loathsome."[201] Clearly, the two heroes were thought to reciprocate each other's sexual and romantic overtures, meaning that Homer's portrayal of their relationship was recognizably, and acceptably, homosexual to its audience. If readers did not perceive Patroclus or Achilles' advances as mutual, then Aeschylus would not have possessed the authority to create a homoerotic relationship characterized by reciprocation in his play. *Phaedrus*, written by Plato, sees the titular character "chastise[s] Aeschylus for not casting Achilles as the *eromenos* when, he claims, Homer represents him as younger and more attractive than Patroclus."[202] Again, Aeschines, an Attic orator, provided a "pederastic reading of the friendship between the two heroes."[203] Whether or not Patroclus and Achilles shared a homosexual relationship was not the question; instead, Ancient Greek authors questioned the nature and procedure of their homosexual relationship. In the Greek Classical

[200] This line does not have a speaker assigned to it, but Sommerstein argues in his notes that it is likely in the lines preceding line 135 that the "speaker now is Patroclus, whose intimacy with Achilles would enable him to speak more boldly." As the content of line 135 is intimate and sexual in nature, the only speaker who could logically utter those words would be Patroclus. Aeschylus, and Alan H. Sommerstein. "Myrmidons." In *Aeschylus: Fragments.* Cambridge, MA: Loeb Classical Library, 2009, pp. 145, line 135. https://www-loebclassics-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/aeschylus-attributed_fragments/2009/pb_LCL505.143.xml.

[201] The speaker here is clearly designated as Achilles, so a problem of attribution does not exist, unlike in the previous line (line 135). However, the specific context of line 137 raises questions. Sommerstein notes that line 137 could either reference "the sight of Patroclus' bloody corpse, or… the act of affectionately touching or even kissing it." Aeschylus and Sommerstein, "Myrmidons." Pp. 147, lines 136-7.

[202] Jusdanis' chapter explores how "eros inspired friendship," but his scholarship remains relevant to this thesis. In his chapter, Jusdanis, while clarifying the nuances surrounding perceptions of male homoeroticism, writes about Ancient Greek authors' acceptance and discussion of Achilles and Patroclus' homosexuality. Jusdanis, Gregory. "Friends and Lovers." In *A Tremendous Thing: Friendship from the "Iliad" to the Internet*, 1st ed., pp. 120. Cornell University Press, 2014. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctt1287cg1.8.

[203] Sanz and Mariscal provide a longer list of ancient authors who agreed that Patroclus and Achilles shared a homosexual relationship. They include Theocritus, Martial, Meleager, and Ps-Lucian. Morales, Manuel Sanz, and Gabriel Laguna Mariscal. "The Relationship between Achilles and Patroclus According to Chariton of Aphrodisias." *The Classical Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (2003): 292. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3556498.

world, Achilles and Patroclus' homosexual relationship existed as well-established and well-accepted.[204]

Pope, however, does not seem to have considered classical thought and tradition as it pertained to the homosexual relationship that Achilles and Patroclus shared. As mentioned previously, even though Pope's initial, and primarily self-taught, education mostly included poetry, by the time he translated *The Iliad* at 25, he had both reprised and expanded his education to include philosophy and other forms of writing. Therefore, Pope had certainly read, if not Aeschylus, then at least Plato. While Pope's reading of *Phaedrus* cannot ever be known for sure, his early interest in Classics and his later interest in rhetoric would have made the play something of potential intrigue and importance to him. Therefore, I feel comfortable asserting that Pope knew, at least, of Plato's discourse on Achilles and Patroclus' sexual relationship in *The Iliad*, if not of the discourse other ancient Greek authors offered. Pope's subtle modification of the meaning of the word "*φιλον*," then, becomes even more obvious. Pope modified the text of Homer's *Iliad* as it related to Achilles' and Patroclus' homosexual relationship, not because he remained unaware of its historicity, but because his own personal beliefs made him blind to it. Pope's faith influenced his translation of Homer's *Iliad* and, consequently, his depiction of the male heroes' relationship with each other.

This modification of "*φιλον*" had the effect of making Achilles more god-like and less human; thus, it subtly aligned him with Christ. Pope would not have been able to create a Christian text without first believing that the demigod and the Son of God shared similarities. Achilles, a hero who possessed salvific abilities, seen in his redemption of the Greek army, could

[204] Sanz and Mariscal offer that "the single relevant piece of evidence for the contrary view is from Xenophon, who puts in Socrates' mouth the opinion that the friendship between Achilles and Patroclus was not erotic in character (*Symp.* 8.31)." Ibid.

easily, and unwittingly, be re-worked into a Christ figure. Just as Christ mourned the death of his dear friend because of their platonic relationship, Achilles mourned the death of his dear friend, because, according to Pope, Achilles felt platonic love for Patroclus. Pope, perhaps inadvertently because of his pre-existing belief system, modified Achilles into a Christ-like figure and, therefore, created a vaguely Christian epic from a non-Christian one.

Flaxman's Illustrations

I would like to discuss the title page of the re-print before I analyze Flaxman's illustrations. The title page of the book uses the same typeface and the same font-size for Alexander Pope and John Flaxman's names.[205] The matching font and the matching size reveal that the editor of the original book believed that Pope's "English Verse Translation" was just as important as Flaxman's "Classical Designs." Both artists, the first a poet, the second an illustrator and sculptor, receive equal attention on the title page. The focus of the title page is not solely on Pope, but rather on both Pope and Flaxman. The editor of the edition clearly believed Pope and Flaxman deserved equal recognition for their labor. The illustration on the title page is one of Flaxman's as well. This illustration is titled "Thetis and Eurynome Receiving the Infant Vulcan," and it also appears within the text, labelled as "Plate XXIX," on the facing page to page 356. This image references Vulcan's origination story, in which Thetis and Eurynome care for and nurture him after Jove and Juno cast him down from Olympus. Vulcan, who was the god of fire and metalworking, and, therefore, who was associated with innovation, is featured prominently on the title page. The use of this illustration of Flaxman's, and not one of his illustrations that features Achilles, highlights the arts of creativity and innovation.

[205] See Figure 1.

Pope's "Introduction" to the text provides more clarity surrounding the editor's choice of this illustration of Vulcan. In his "Introduction," Pope discusses "poetic fire," which he says

> is discerned in Virgil, but discerned as through a glass, reflected from Homer, more shining than fierce, but everywhere equal and constant: in Lucan and Statius it bursts out in sudden, short, and interrupted flashes: in Milton it glows like a furnace kept up to an uncommon ardour by the force of art: in Shakespeare it strikes before we are aware, like an accidental fire from heaven: but in Homer, and in him only, it burns everywhere clearly and everywhere irresistibly.[206]

Homer, Milton, Pope, Flaxman, and "poetic fire" are united on the title-page image. Vulcan, being the god of fire, then becomes the god of "poetic fire;" he serves as a reminder and as the patron of the "poetic fire" found in Homer, Pope, and Milton. Although Vulcan only appears as an infant in the illustration and there is no visible fire present, Vulcan himself represents the presence of fire. As the illustration was done by Flaxman's hand, his artistry is also included in this unification. The illustration of Vulcan on the title-page functions a symbol of Homer, Pope, Flaxman, and Milton's "poetic fire."

Now I would like to explain why only two of Flaxman's illustrations, other than the Vulcan illustration, appear in this section. In the 1943 re-print edition of Pope's translation of *The Iliad,* there are 39 illustrations. Of these 39 illustrations, only four feature Achilles. Of these four illustrations with Achilles, only two depict scenes after the death of Patroclus. As one of the main arguments of my thesis deals with the aftermath of Patroclus' death, I did not think the other two images relevant to this section. Moreover, the other two images of Achilles do not

[206] Pope, "Introduction," pp. vi.

depict him in battle, meaning they still are not relevant to the section of the chapter that discusses the rage of Achilles. The only two relevant illustrations are the ones written about in this section.

Pope's modification of "*φιλον*" had its desired effect of changing Achilles and Patroclus' relationship, and this can be seen in Flaxman's illustrations. In 1792, Flaxman suggested to Georgina Hare-Naylor, wife of Francis Hare-Naylor and a painter herself, [207] that he create outlines for Milton's *Paradise Lost*; however, instead of commissioning him to illustrate Milton, she commissioned him to illustrate the Homeric epic poems.[208] "Enthusiasts"[209] of Flaxman's illustrations of *The Iliad* compared them to the text of Pope's translation of *The Iliad*, as well, implying that they perceived traces of Pope's interpretation of Homer's text in Flaxman's work. Given the popularity of Pope's translation and Flaxman's later illustrations of the tragedies of Aeschylus, Pope's influence on Flaxman can be assumed.[210] Flaxman reflected Pope's modification of *The Iliad* in his illustrations of the text, and the artist's knowledge and awareness of Aeschylus, clarify that his visual depictions of Achilles merge with Pope's modification of the text more than they match with classical perceptions of *The Iliad*. Therefore, just as Milton influenced Pope's decision to create a Christian epic from a pagan one, Pope influenced Flaxman's depiction of the demigod, visually cementing Achilles as more Christ-like than demigod.

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[207] Toit, Alexander Du. "Naylor, Francis Hare- (1753–1815), historian." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 11 Mar. 2022. https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12309.
[208] Symmons, Sarah. "Flaxman, John (1755–1826), sculptor, decorative designer, and illustrator." Oxford Dictionary of National Biography. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 11 Feb. 2022. https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9679.
[209] Symmons, "Flaxman," www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.emory.edu.
[210] Ibid. All information in this paragraph, other than footnote 201, is from Symmons' ODNB entry.

The first illustration of Flaxman's I would like to examine is *Plate XXXIII. Achilles Contending with the Rivers* from Book 21 in Pope's translation of *The Iliad.*[211] At the beginning of the book, Pope offers an argument, which I shall transcribe for the sake of context and clarity: "The Trojans fly before Achilles, some towards the town, others to the river Scamander: he falls upon the latter with great slaughter: takes twelve captives alive, to sacrifice to the shade of Patroclus; and kills Lycaon and Asteropeus. Scamander attacks him with all his waves… the scene is on the banks and in the stream of Scamander."[212] Here, Achilles ravages his enemies for the sake of his lover. At the end of the book lies Flaxman's illustration of the scene, in which Achilles stands glorious, furious, and violent, straddling his victims, who lie between his feet. One arm bears a shield, the other a short sword. The river gods face Achilles on opposing sides. Within this mighty scene, Flaxman makes the might of Achilles apparent; in Flaxman's illustration, Achilles exists as powerful, brutish, and, above all else, skilled in battle. He contends with the gods astride nude human bodies. Furthermore, Flaxman depicted Achilles in the foreground of the illustration, while the gods are situated directly in his line of sight. Flaxman drew Achilles, quite literally, as occupying the same space as gods, which is the space that Christ himself occupies since he is God.

Moreover, Flaxman changes how Achilles' grieves in *Plate XXXI. Thetis Bringing the Armour to Achilles.*[213] In this scene, Thetis delivers sacred armor to Achilles, where she finds him, "in tears / strecth'd o'er Patroclus' corpse."[214] In Flaxman's illustration, Achilles looks like a shadow of himself from *Plate XXXIII.* In this illustration, Achilles' face is barely visible. His body, while muscular, bears none of the weapons seen in other illustrations. A sword does not

[211] See Figure 2
[212] Homer, *The Iliad,* trans. Pope, Book 21, pp. 391.
[213] See Figure 3
[214] Title and accompanying text to Flaxman's illustration. Bottom right of pp. 372.

appear in any part of the image; one has not been cast into a corner, neither does one lie at Achilles' feet. In this image, there is a stark lack of violence. Achilles' face rests upon his dead friend's body, his nose tucked into his elbow, almost childlike and innocent. No vestige of brutality, blood, or butchery exists. Instead, Flaxman drew Achilles as bereft and grief-stricken.

However, George Dawe's 1803 oil painting "Achilles, frantic for the loss of Patroclus, rejecting the consolation of Thetis,"[215] depicts Achilles' grief much differently than Flaxman's illustration does. Dawe was a student at the Royal Academy Schools, and he hailed from a family of artists. His father was an engraver and both of his siblings, one brother and one sister, became painters as well. Dawe's painting of Achilles, which he completed at the age of 22, was lauded as "'the best ever offered to the [Royal] Academy on a similar occasion.'"[216] In Dawe's painting, Achilles reclines on a throne with his head throne back over its right side, the audience's left side. His right arm, left to the viewer, supports his head, while his other arm stretches towards the sky with its hand outstretched. Achilles' face is not visible; the only portions of his face in relief are his jaw and his nostrils. Achilles' grief, in this painting, is palpable. Whereas in Flaxman's illustration of the same scene, Achilles looks still and almost serene, Achilles looks undone over the loss of Patroclus in Dawe's painting. Most striking, however, is Dawe's inclusion of a soldier bedecked in his armor, who stands over Achilles. Although Achilles himself does not wear any kind of armor, Dawe did paint a subject who serves as a reminder of violence. The soldier's arm mimics the shape of Achilles' arm, which is bent in a triangle. The imitation of Achilles' position in the soldier makes clear that the soldier's grief

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[215] See Figure 4

[216] Andreeva, G. "Dawe, George (1781–1829), history and portrait painter." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. 23 Sep. 2004; Accessed 12 Apr. 2022. https://www-oxforddnb-com.proxy.library.emory.edu/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7328. Andreeva cites the quote about Dawe's accomplishment as *"Arnold's Library of the Fine Arts,* 1831, 1, 10."

reflects Achilles' grief, and, therefore, that the soldier exists as a reminder of violence, as that violence is reflected in Achilles' nature. In Dawe's painting, unlike Flaxman's painting, grief and violence coexist. A mere 10 years after Flaxman produced his illustration of Achilles' grief, Dawe produced his painting, and the two pieces of art display diverging perceptions of Achilles.

Flaxman's images, unlike Dawe's painting, exist on a binary: Achilles as a warrior and Achilles as a friend. Never do they intersect, even within Flaxman's imagery. Nevertheless, Flaxman's imagery does reveal the influence of Christianity on pagan literature. Because of Achilles' status as a lover, and perhaps even that of an *eromenos*,[217] his role in mourning is analogous to that of an Ancient Grecian woman's. After the death of her husband, a woman would rend her hair and her face.[218] Homer describes Achilles' external grief in a similar way: he pulls his hair, destroys his garments, and flings dirt upon himself. However, no plate of this scene exists within the text; instead, the only scene of Achilles' grief is *Plate XXXI.* In this scene, Achilles does not grieve like a lover. Rather, he grieves passively, almost calmly. In short, Flaxman strikes Achilles' womanly and, in relief of Ancient Greek practices, grief over his dead lover from the record. Flaxman, like Pope, transforms Achilles' grief from grief over the death of a lover to grief over the death of a friend.

The combination of these two images elucidates the impact that Pope had on Flaxman. Where Pope upholds Achilles' rage, so does Flaxman, and where Pope obscures the homosexual

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[217] Achilles and Patroclus' roles in their relationship were the subject of much debate in the classical world. While Achilles' role of *eromenos* cannot be known for sure, evidence for it does exist. See pages 74-76 for more information on the classical world's debate on the matter.

[218] Shapiro discusses "black-figure vases with *prothesis* scenes," in which he directly references "the lamentation" over Achilles' corpse, which he says lasted for 17 days. He then goes on to say that "the largely separate roles of men and women at the *prothesis* are consistently depicted on the vases and match Homer's account rather closely. Women mourn openly and emotionally, tearing their hair and cheeks with both hands. They regularly stand closest to the body, particularly to the head, which one of them occasionally cradles." Pp. 634. Shapiro, H. A. "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art." *American Journal of Archaeology* 95, no. 4 (1991): 629–56. https://doi.org/10.2307/505896.

relationship between Achilles and Patroclus, so does Flaxman. Flaxman created an image of Achilles in the glory of battle, preserving the rage that Pope translated from the original text. Then, Flaxman illustrated a scene in which Achilles grieves, not as a womanly lover, but as a friend, which parallels Pope's modified translation of the word "*φιλον."* Pope's subtle changes of the original text of *The Iliad* affected Flaxman's illustrations of the epic poem. In changing the words of Homer, Pope subtly re-designed pagan literary tradition to appeal to and uphold the Christian values of the 18th century, and, therefore, transformed critical interpretation and depictions of *The Iliad,* which departed from the original meaning of the text itself.

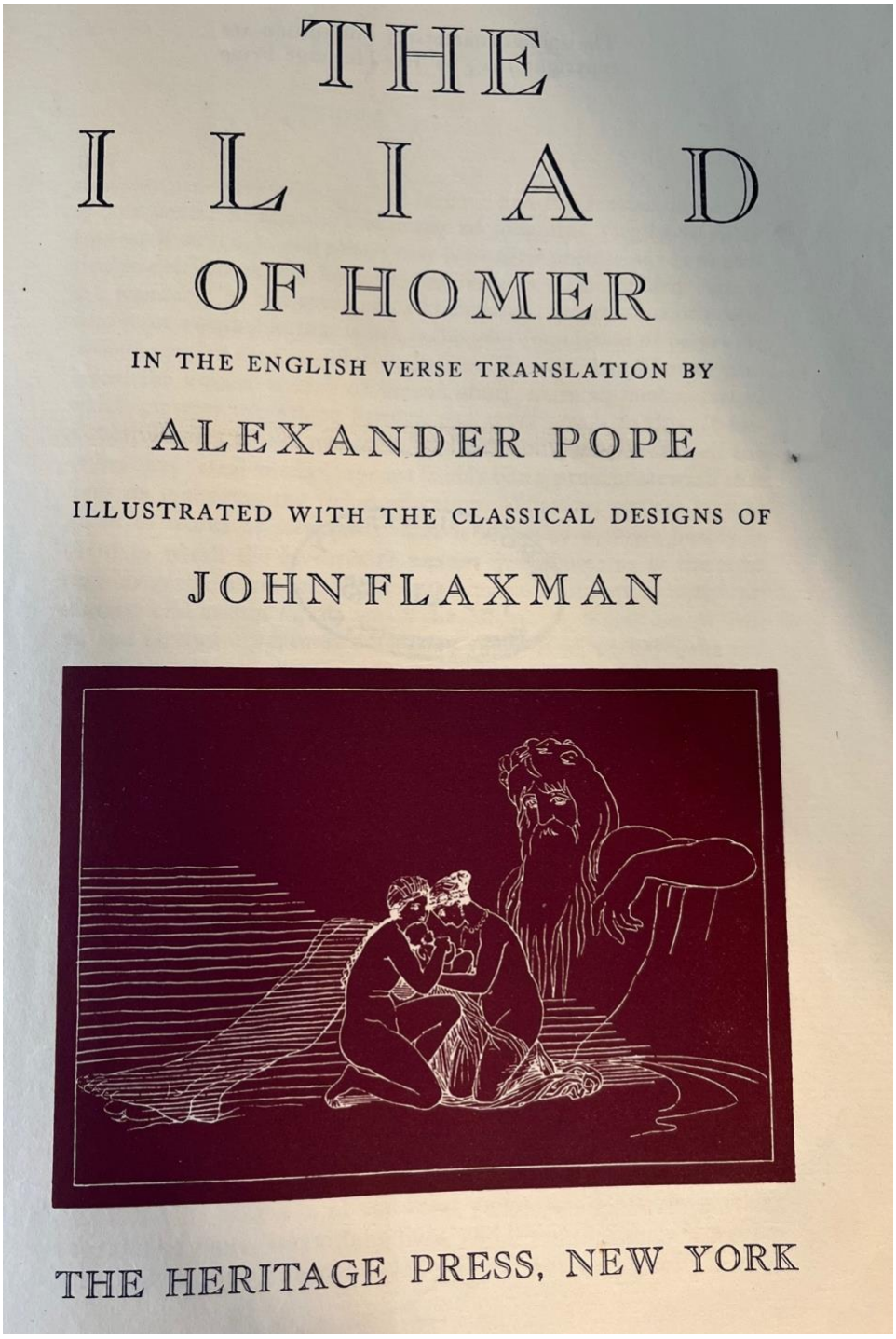

Fig 1., Homer. Translated by Alexander Pope. In *Homer's Iliad: In the English Verse Translation by Alexander Pope Illustrated with the Classical Designs of John Flaxman*. New York, NY: The Heritage Press, 1943.

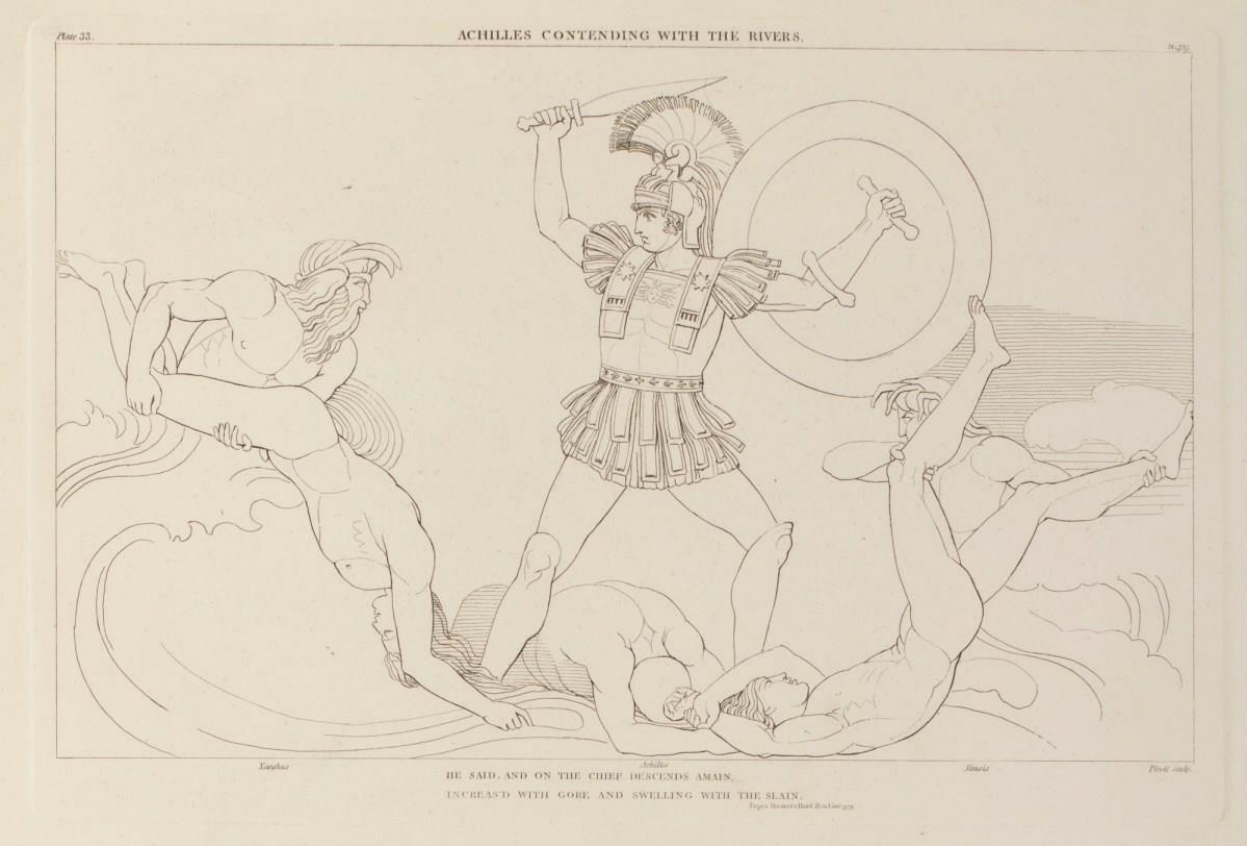

Fig. 2, Flaxman, John, "Achilles Contending With the Rivers," Engraving on Paper, March 1, 1805, Royal Academy of Arts, London, in *Homer's Iliad in the English Verse Translation by Alexander Pope*, Plate XXXIII, New York: The Heritage Press, 1943.

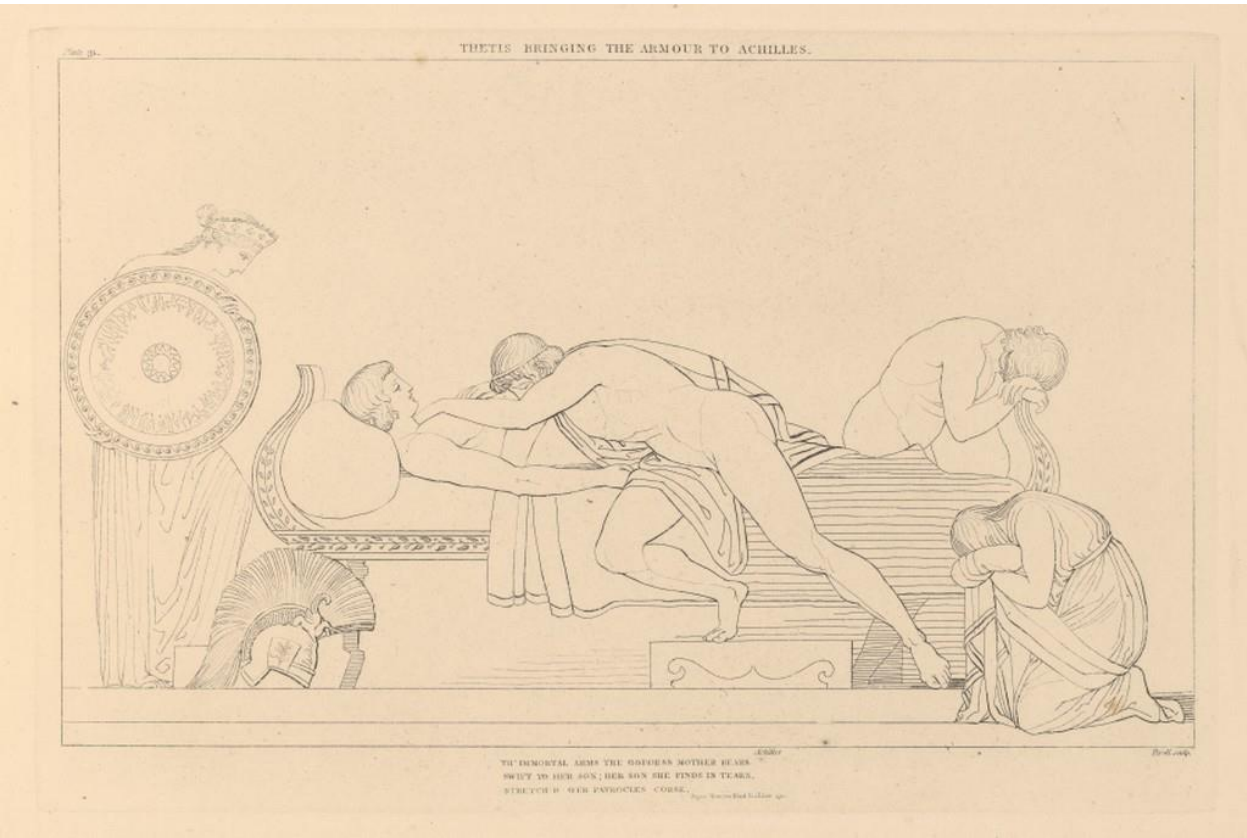

Fig. 3, Flaxman, John, "Thetis Bringing the Armour to Achilles," Engraving on Paper, 1793, Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, in *Homer's Iliad in the English Verse Translation by Alexander Pope*, Plate XXXI, New York: The Heritage Press, 1943.

Fig. 4, George Dawe. 1803. Achilles, frantic for the loss of Patroclus, rejecting the consolation of Thetis. oil paintings. Place: Museum of New Zealand - Te Papa Tongarewa; Collection: Art, Gift of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, 1936. https://library-artstor-org.proxy.library.emory.edu/asset/27024152.

Milton and Pope's Impact

Milton established the precedent of re-figuring Greco-Roman literary traditions to coincide with Christian values. In *Paradise Lost,* Milton discusses the misuse of sexuality and constantly refers to hallmarks of Greco-Roman mythology in ways that re-figure them for use in Christian literature. In doing so, Milton re-purposes Greco-Roman literature and implies that the Christian imagination makes the use of classical allusion permissible. His portrayal of Satan as the father of Sin and of Death[219] through incest contrasts against his depiction of Raphael and Adam, who display proper restraint and the right use of sexuality. Milton, while contrasting Satan with Raphael and Adam, simultaneously compares the fallen angel to Zeus, who also misuses his sexuality according to Christian standards. Milton's characterization of Satan as a demigod, who possesses a perverted sexuality, echoes the beliefs surrounding Achilles' and Patroclus' homosexual relationship, as Satan engages in auto-homosexuality when he brings forth Sin from his male body. To Christians, homosexuality and incest existed as perversions of sexuality. Furthermore, his portrayal of Satan as a character whose sins are borne of pride directly recalls the character of Achilles in Homer's *Iliad*, as do the armor in which he dresses Satan and the fallen angel's auto-homosexuality. In *Paradise Lost,* Milton re-centers the convention of epic poetry around Christianity and re-purposes the inherent mythological aspects of Homer's literature for use in Christian poetry.

Milton's transformation of pagan literature is readily shown in Pope's translation of *The Iliad,* and Pope admits to Milton's influence upon his work. Pope's biography shows that the poet possessed the proper knowledge of ancient texts and Grecian poets, yet he translated

[219] The genealogy becomes tricky here. Satan gives birth to Sin himself and then copulates with her to produce Death, making him both Death's father and grandfather.

Homer's poetry in a way that opposed classical tradition and thought. Pope maintained the portions of the text addressing the rage of Achilles because Achilles' rage has a precedent within Christ, and this effectively created a subtly Christian epic from a pagan one. Pope's modification of the word "*φιλον*" also aided in his alignment of Achilles with Christ. The word, which Pope could have translated as "beloved," changes the romantic relationship between Patroclus and Achilles to a platonic one. Furthermore, just as Christ mourned the loss of his platonic friend Lazarus, Achilles mourns the loss of his platonic friend Patroclus, according to Pope. Additionally, just as Christ never married or took a lover, neither does Achilles in Pope's translation of *The Iliad.* Pope's translation works to match pagan literature with Christian morality, perhaps because of his allegiance to Christian readings of pagan texts, which he makes evident in his Introduction to his translation. Pope, following in Milton's footsteps, rehabilitated classical epic poetry for Christian reading.

Finally, John Flaxman's illustrations clarify Milton and Pope's widespread impact on their audiences. Flaxman, himself a Christian man, created illustrations of Homer's *Iliad* that depicted Achilles and Patroclus' relationship as purely platonic. Pope's, and therefore Milton's, impact upon him becomes obvious. Pope, taking his cue from Milton, re-designed the epic to center Christian morality because of his own cognitive dissonance, and Flaxman's artwork exhibits exactly that. Pope and Milton's combined, yet unintended, effort to re-imagine Greco-Roman literature had a profound impact on portrayals and interpretations of Homer's *Iliad.* The two poets' transformation of the embodied divinities within their respective works culminated in the Christianization of Homeric poetry and Greco-Roman mythology.

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