Teaching Milton's Hell in *Paradise Lost*: New Paintings by Kathryn E. Lenz

Karmen Lenz, Middle Georgia State University

Abstract: The first two books of Milton's *Paradise Lost* are very difficult for students to understand yet essential to Milton's world. The first two books are a prequel to the human fall. The characters in these early books echo in the dialogue between Adam and Eve. Movement in Milton's Hell reflects its spiritual loss, for it is restricted to unresolving repetition. This motion counters the vibrant peace of Heaven. Through her paintings, Kathryn E. Lenz elucidates the most difficult moments in these first two books. Designed for use in the classroom, Lenz's paintings highlight details that students typically struggle with. At the same time, they complement famous paintings and engravings that respond to Milton's poetry since the first edition with engravings appeared in 1688. The artist incorporates observations made by Renaissance travel writers known to Milton in her vision of Milton's Hell.

KEYWORDS: Milton, *Paradise Lost*, Hell, painting, Moloch, pagan gods, Renaissance travel writers, St. Augustine, Chaos, Chaos Theory.

John Milton's *Paradise Lost* is the literary work former students most often recall with fondness years after they graduate from college. The first two books of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* dramatize Satan's rebellion that sets the cosmic stage for the human fall. Satan's descent into the darkening abyss, his refusal to repent, and his despair animate a cautionary tale that engages students through the rich, visual appeal of Milton's poetry. Once students enter into Milton's world, they observe numerous connections between human and demon worlds, such as the cinematic fracture of the cosmic order in the moment of sin committed by Satan and later Eve. Readers see how sin and loss extend from Satan's thought and ripple through the cosmos into human consciousness. Reading Milton's work strengthens students' critical thinking skills as they synthesize literary resonances and allusions that link Satan and his society in Hell to humankind on Earth. These worlds contrast the brilliant peace and repose of Heaven, first presented in Book III.

Unfortunately, the first two books are the most difficult for students to understand in Milton's epic, weighed down as they are in dense language, complex syntax, and extensive allusions to pagan gods who seduced the Israelites from Canaan and nearby countries. In these books, the simultaneity of action is overwhelming: Satan conceives of Sin in the moment he decides to revolt in Heaven; the abyss of Hell opens up as the angels flood into it, all while Sin is given the key to the gates of Hell. In response to these barriers to learning, I collaborated with Kathryn E. Lenz, a professional artist who created a series of paintings in her show "Milton's Hell: A Prequel to Genesis." I produced a video that combines recordings of professional actors reading passages that relate to each painting. In April 2017, we showed eight of the paintings at a local art gallery where we brought several classes during the week the show was on display. For each show, we played the video and then allowed time for students to view the paintings and write

down their observations. Since then, I have used the video and color print outs of the paintings in the survey classes to recreate the immersive experience of Milton's Hell.

Through her vivid paintings, Kathryn E. Lenz animates the most difficult moments in the first two books. In the program notes to her gallery exhibit, she states that she responds to Milton's text from a modern, secular, feminist perspective. She seeks to evoke the grandeur, agony, heroism, and familiarity of the epic. Her focus is on Milton's telling of the Christian origin story of Sin, Death and Hell that informed the Puritans and the founding fathers of the United States and continues to exert societal influence today. Her paintings are informed by Paradise Lost illustrators or engravers John Baptist Medina (whose engravings are found in the first illustrated edition of Milton's Paradise Lost in 1688), William Blake, Gustave Doré, John Martin, Henry Aldrich, and William Strang. Since images of Milton's catalogue of demons are difficult to find, Lenz bases her representations of devils on those found in paintings by Hieronymus Bosch and Martin Schongauer. Literary sources that further inform her imagination include travel writers of the Renaissance. She combines these influences with her own cartoonish style. Lenz enjoys the challenge of giving life to text though painting, "a text so dense that the power and beauty of its words are locked away from most readers" (2017). She aspires to capture its animated, theatrical nature in a distinctive visual style and rhythm (2017). The dialogue between literature and painting inspires a creative synergy that enhances and deepens the way one thinks about the first two books of Paradise Lost. Lenz follows Milton's shifts between literal and abstract levels of meaning in his descriptions of the outer world of Hell that reflects the inner life of Satan in turmoil.

Students benefit in significant ways when they study images related to Milton's text. Images of paintings and engravings that feature Milton's work is the most effective way to set the context for the structure and animation of his world as found, for example, on the website *Darkness Visible: A Resource for Studying Milton's Paradise Lost*. Works by Gustave Doré and William Blake capture the expansiveness of Hell, the masses of pagan gods who comprised Satan's army, the vastness of the abyss, and the figures of Sin, Death, and Satan. However, there are many passages in the first two books that students typically do not understand that are not represented in the visual arts. This project began as a way to address these narrative gaps in the first two books of *Paradise Lost*.

Painting 1: The Ptolemaic Universe

When students first read the text, Lenz's paintings of the cosmos help them visualize Milton's view of the structure of the universe at a basic level, as presented here in *The Ptolemaic Universe*. Book II closes with the description of Satan flying towards the Earth-centered Ptolemaic universe:

¹ Merritt Y. Hughes (1957) provides several historical engravings in his introduction to his edition, 180-91.



Far off th' Empyreal Heav'n, extended wide In circuit, undetermin'd square or round, With Opal Tow'rs and Battlements adorn'd Of living Sapphire, once his native Seat' And fast by hanging in a golden Chain This pendant world, in bigness as a Star Of smallest Magnitude close by the Moon. Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge, Accurst, and in a cursed hour he hies. (Book II.1047–1055)

Figure 1: The Ptolemaic Universe

Lenz states:

In painting *The Ptolemaic Universe* I seek to portray its potent symbolism. It places mankind at the center of God's creation, is scientifically absurd, and yet holds strong psychic relevance. Each of us is at the center of our own personal universe. All revolves around me in the sense that I can only experience life through my own mind and body. Milton's use of the external Ptolemaic universe, reflective of the personal internal universe, is consistent with his construction of the outer world of Hell as reflective of Satan's inner turmoil (2017).

Painting 2: The Fall

Once students delve into the narrative in Book 1, Lenz's paintings of scenes from the underworld provide a colorful guide to its major scenes and its relentless tones of rage and despondence. Lenz discusses her methods for recreating this world:

In my paintings of Hell and Chaos I make heavy use of primary colors and clashing vivid color combinations to convey a mood of warring elemental forces refusing to combine or work in concert (as they do harmoniously in God's creation). Bright cadmium red and yellow provide heat and anger against the gray and black backgrounds connoting deepest loss and cold. In *The Fall* the rebel angels, cast out from Heaven and hideously transformed, fall and lie chained on the burning lake of Hell. The helter-skelter distribution of figures and flames is deliberately disorienting (2017).

Milton's passage inspired this painting:



Figure 2: The Fall

Him the Almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Sky
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,
Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to Arms.
Nine times the Space that measures Day and Night
To mortal men, hee with his horrid crew
Lay vanquisht, rolling in the fiery Gulf
Confounded though immortal: But his doom
Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him
(Book I.44–56)

Students remark upon Satan's heroic reflections of himself leading the revolt in the war in Heaven depicted on his shield. Lenz notes that for this painting, she borrowed the use of the mirror as an artistic device in paintings from the early Renaissance, such as the *Arnolfini Portrait* by Jan van Eyck (2016).

Painting 3: Satan's Army

In response to Milton's lengthy list of Satan's top generals, Lenz portrays them as they stand obediently in assembly. One figure rarely represented in artworks dedicated to Milton's Hell, yet significant for understanding Milton's symbolism, is Moloch, the fiercest demon and foil to Satan:



Figure 3: Detail from Satan's Army

... Moloch, horrid King besmear'd with blood Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears, Though for the noise of Drums and Timbrels loud Thir children's cries unheard, that pass'd through fire To his grim Idol. (Book 1.392–96) Moloch, an ancient idol-king with the head of a bull or calf, required child sacrifices.² Milton's description of Moloch's savagery echoes one popularized by Renaissance writers:

[Moloch's] arms extended to possess the sacrificial boys who were incinerated by the raging heat of the idols' fiery, evil embrace. Then the hollow idol spoke in signs of fire, and the parents surrendered their most cherished pledges to burn in the detestable embraces.³

The priests would then drown out the shrieks of the children "with continual clangs of trumpets and timbrels" so their parents could not hear their cries.⁴

Jewish commentators recopied this passage from the Jewish Midrash in the margins of the Hebrew Bible where Moloch is mentioned.⁵ These commentaries, in turn, were studied by scholars in the later medieval period who translated the Hebrew into Latin and transmitted this description into the Renaissance period. In Renaissance imagination, the Valley of Hinnon or Gehenna in Jerusalem where Moloch resided *was* Hell. Milton preserves this vision of Moloch's fierce predatory nature. In Milton's poetry celebrating Christ's Nativity, Moloch is the evil counterpart; he represents eternal death in contrast to Christ's salvation of humankind (Hunter 1983, 151). In *Paradise Lost*, Moloch signifies the eternal despair and rage of the damned in his demand for war against God.

In Lenz's rendition, each demon is given a specific identity, derived from images of representations by the cultures that venerated them, to match the catalogue of gods in Hell. In this detail of the painting *Satan's Army*, she paints black streaks that radiate from Satan to his audience in imitation of his powerful magnetism as he inspires them to form a legion against God. Some of these gods are the idols the ancient Israelites worshipped before their Christian conversion, while other gods arise from the pagan beliefs of emperors and rulers, the oppressors of the Israelites. Moloch, who appears in the right lower corner of this detail from *Satan's Army*, leads the long list of generals from ancient Mesopotamia. The next pagan god Milton lists is the god Chemos, "the abomination of Moab" (Purchas 1613, 132). The Phoenician love goddess Astarte, seen here in an embrace with Solomon, is associated with the ram and the moon (Ross 1653, 66).⁶

² The ancient kings of Judah made sacrifices as did royal families to prevent conflict among multiple heirs over inherited property. Arthur Toynbee speculates that the child sacrifice may have been a substitution of the sacrifice of the king himself (1953, 40).

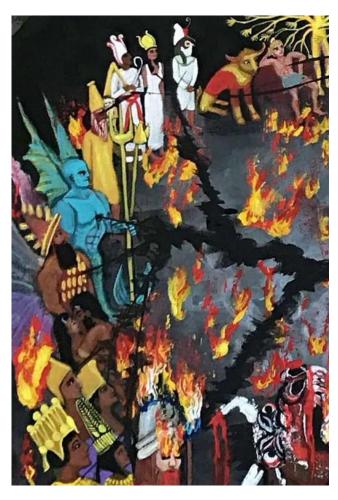
³ This is my translation of this common passage found in Christian van Adrichom Adrichem (1592), 169; others include Samuel Purchas (1613), 134; Alexander Ross (1653), 67 (in paraphrase); and George Sandys (1615), 186. I am grateful to the special collections librarians in the Stuart A. Rose Library and the Pitts Theological Special Collections Library at Emory University for granting access to view works by Christian van Adrichom Adrichem, Fuller, Purchas, and Ross. George Leslie Whiting (1964) indicates that Milton read these authors throughout his study.

⁴ This is discussed in George Moore (1897, 161-65, esp. 162). He traces the passage to the Jewish Midrash which is the only text to present this vivid imagery of Moloch, especially the Yelamedenu. Moore notes that neither the Bible nor the Talmud present this detailed level of savagery in their references to Moloch.

⁵ Books of the Bible that mention Moloch with commentary by Jewish scholars in the margins are Jeremiah 7:31 and 2 Kings 23:10. Medieval writers such as Nicholas of Lyra (ca. 1340–75) provided commentary on Leviticus 18:21, 2 Kings 16:3 in addition to 2 Kings 23:10, as discussed by Moore.

⁶ Thomas Fuller among other writers compared her head to that of a bull in his *A Pisgah-Sight of Palestine*, Book IV, 130-31.

Since Baal and Astarte are referred to in plural form (*Baalim* and *Ashtaroth*), Lenz paints two other couples, each pair in golden headdresses. Next to them stands Thammuz, the beautiful god of the Babylonian underworld whom Renaissance writers such as Samuel Purchas associated with Adonis (Book I.132). Dagon, the hybrid figure appears as a man above the waist but "from the navel downward is in the form of a fish" whom the Phoenicians "worshipped as a mermaid" (Ross 66-67). Next appear the Egyptian gods Osiris, Isis, Horus:



...and thir train
With monstrous shapes and sorceries abus'd
Fanatic Egypt and her Priests, to seek
Thir wand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish
forms
Rather than human.
(Book I.478-82)

Figure 4: Detail from Satan's Army

Apis, the Egyptian bull god, also signifies the golden calf the Israelites worshipped in Milton's passage (Hughes 222-23, n. 446). Belial appears in the top right corner in the painting, seated as the lazy figure Milton describes "flown with insolence and wine" (Book I.502). Next to him are the Ionian gods, figured here as Briareos, Typhon and Cronos. The hands of Briareos appear next to Belial in this detail. Lenz's paintings depict the demons in animal shapes, emphasizing at times animal hides and horns to reflect Milton's bestial descriptions of them. Merritt Y. Hughes indicates that Milton followed the tradition from ancient times in which Christian writers perceived the devils as deceivers who "usurped God's worship by masquerading as the gods of the pagan world" (183). Renaissance writers whom Milton read, such as Alexander Ross, express disdain for this idolatry. According to Ross,

⁷ Hughes identifies these as plural forms in annotation to lines 422-431, p. 222.

idols are called filthiness, pollution, abomination ... repugnant to the love [God] carries in his church, for it causeth jealousy in Him ... and therefore he calleth dolatry whoredom ... and they that worship idols are said to go a-whoring after other gods (63-64).

As noted by George Leslie Whiting, travel writers such as Ross, Purchas, and George Sandys envision the created world as the earthly city of God's church, its growth continuously threatened by idolatry.

Paintings 4, 5, and 6: Birth of Sin, Satan, Sin, and Death, and Sin Pursued by Death

The figure of Sin is another chief figure in Milton's Hell, second only to Satan in dramatic character development. She is the product of Satan's mind, born the moment he conceives of rebellion against God in Heaven. When Satan first sees her, his revulsion mystifies Sin, who then describes her Athena-like birth:



Hast thou forgot me, then, and do I seem
Now in thine eye so foul, once deemed so fair
In Heav'n, when at th' Assembly, and in the sight
Of all the seraphim with thee combin'd
In bold conspiracy against Heav'n's King,
All on a sudden miserable pain
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes and dizzy swum
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,
Out of thy head, I sprung
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
The most averse, thee chiefly....
(Book II.747-58 and 762-63)

Figure 5: Birth of Sin

Students often note that the paintings help them to understand that the moment Satan considers rebellion in heaven, Sin is born in his mind.

The figure of Sin and her tormented relationship with Death are produced by Satan's mind. As the archetype of human suffering, Sin demonstrates the destructive repetition of evil. She endures the endless rape of Death and gives birth to dogs that consume her. The corrupt trinity of Satan, Sin, and Death powerfully represents the chaotic repetition that characterizes movement in Milton's vision of Hell.





Figure 6: Satan, Sin, and Death

Figure 7: Sin Pursued by Death

Painting 7: Pandaemonium

The most perplexing feature of Milton's Hell for new readers is the fact that it is set within abysmal darkness of Chaos, yet within this darkness Satan sees a grand array of devils, steep mountains, cliffs, a burning lake. This hellish place is not part of the physical universe. It exists, as Lenz describes it, in dimensions outside of the human experience of time and space. It translates into our minds as a psychological world alive with color, movement, and sound. Her paintings capture the vastness of Satan's spirit, which Milton "imagined without limit" in the tradition of patristic teaching. Lenz's series of paintings is based on Satan's famous declaration that the mind creates its own reality:

The mind is its own place, and in itself Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n. (Book I.254–55)

In Hell, form is illusory, as indicated in Lenz's shadowy portrayal of Death, which follows Milton's description of him as "The other shape,/ If shape it might be call'd (Book II.666-67). Just as form is illusory, so is movement: it has no sense of progression, only repetition. Lenz's painting titled *Pandaemonium* captures the chaotic unrest of Milton Hell, characterized by perpetual monotony. Her Escher-like patterns symbolize the repetitious actions of the demons in Hell portrayed in Pandemonium—the endless, meaningless debates of the philosophers and the discord of the singers that never resolves. Lenz discusses her view of Milton's Pandaemonium:

Pandaemonium is an attempt by Satan and his fallen angels to make the best of it in Hell. They build a palace of gold and precious gems; they attempt sports and music; and they philosophize. But their actions prove futile. Nothing brings pleasure or satisfaction. Pandemonium is a place of dysfunction and discord. Here Satan and his fallen angels

⁸ In the introduction to his edition, Hughes indicates that the inner hell in Satan juxtaposed against its place in the cosmic realm conforms to patristic tradition (182).

demonstrate the unreality of their plight and the futility of their efforts to find happiness. The three figures on the Escher staircase are destined to tread the same eighteen steps over and over again no matter how long they climb. The water pipes also represents a paradox, in this case three water pipes somehow become four without any transition that could happen in reality (2018).

These details from the painting capture her vision of Milton's description of Pandaemonium:



Figure 8: Detail from Pandaemonium: the Escher-like staircase





Figures 9 & 10: Details from Pandaemonium, the Hell chorus and illusory pipes

Painting 8: Realm of Chaos

In Milton's depiction of Hell within Chaos, neither realm is complete in form or being. Since these realms lack the stability of perfected form, movements within them are corrupt. While Hell is characterized by endless repetition, Chaos, which resists form, has no pattern. Lenz bases her concept of movement on Satan's view of Chaos as he stands with the ruler Chaos looking out over the expanse he must cross to find the Earth:



For Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, four champions fierce

Strive here for mastery, and to battle bring Their embryon atoms ...

Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire But all these in their pregnant causes missed Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight (Book II.898–90 and 912–14)

Figure 11: Realm of Chaos

Lenz, who taught mathematics as an associate professor at the University of Minnesota at Duluth, conceives of Milton's world in terms of modern chaos theory:

In modern chaos theory, points that begin close together may, over time, diverge far apart in unpredictable ways. This notion informed my imagination of how, as Satan embarks on his traverse of Chaos, his body becomes distorted, and it is only through incredible force of will that he is not completely pulled apart, with his atoms dispersing wildly (2017).

Painting 9: Flight through Chaos

As Satan journey's through Chaos, his mind reflects its erratic motions, as Lenz indicates:

Once through the gates of Hell, Satan must to pass through Chaos before he can reach the Earth. He can't tell up from down or find any landmarks in Chaos, a vast space where atoms war against each other, refusing to form into substances. Satan is in Chaos and Chaos is also inside Satan (2017).

Her use of color recreates the tone of confusion:

I make heavy use of primary colors and clashing vivid color combinations to convey a mood of warring elemental forces refusing to combine or work in concert (as they do harmoniously in God's creation). Bright cadmium red and yellow provide heat and anger against the gray and black backgrounds connoting deepest loss and cold As a way to depict Chaos corroding Satan's being, on the left-hand side of the painting I interspersed flesh-tone patches rising in a swirl from Satan's forehead with scraps of red, yellow, blue, and other colors (2017).



Figure 11: Flight through Chaos

Lenz drew inspiration from these lines:

Into this wild Abyss,

The Womb of nature and perhaps her Grave, Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire, But all these in thir pregnant causes mixt Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight, Unless th' Almighty Maker them ordain His dark materials to create more Worlds (Book II.910–16).

She writes:

Here I imagined colors that mix to create Caucasian flesh tones breaking apart and warring. Further along this swirl, in the central part of the painting, Satan's body is distorted as it is sucked and squeezed—hands, arms and then head—into the impossible

singularity of the powerful vortex. Satan's passage through this singularity is indicated by his extruded hands: one large and clawing, and the other small and limp. The stress of holding himself together is almost unendurable (2017).

Once inside Satan's mind, chaos becomes pain, rage, and obsession:

To depict his anguish, I painted Satan's closed eyes and forehead, clenched as if in a tightening vise, in the lower left hand corner. A vortex rises above his brow, swirling into a 'singularity' at the center of the painting that is pulling Satan's body in from one side and extruding it out through the other. This singularity is a point "without dimension, where length, breadth, and height/ And time and place are lost" (Book II.893–94) (2017).

Satan's perverted will drives him into chaos, where he suffers the loss of space, time and the distortion of his body.

Her theoretical view complements Milton's own conception of evil as the absence of the Good and spiritual being, based on the medieval Christian patristic tradition he inherited. Milton's rigorous training in theology emerges in his Augustinian view of the soul. In his argument that evil is the absence of the Good and spiritual being, Augustine reflects upon his earliest moments of conversion, when he first realized the flaw in his earlier Manichean belief that evil was a counterpart to good. Addressing God in his *Confessions*, he states:

When I asked myself what wickedness is, I saw that it was not a substance but a perversion of the will when it turns aside from You (1986, 150).

Likewise, the evil will in the demons corrupts and lessens their spiritual substance. As noted in Vives' edition and translation of Augustine's *City of God*, devils "have bodies of condensate air, such as we feel in a wind, that suffer burning" yet never extinguish in the flames (1620, 85).

As a Renaissance echo of Augustine's earlier, heretical belief that evil is a substance, Milton's Satan believes he is a force that can revolt against the divine. He is unaware that in the moment that he lost his goodness, he has lost his beauty and form, his "Empyereal substance" (Book I.116). Satan, like all the demons, is immersed in an "ever-burning Sulphur unconsumed" (Book I.69). They rustle in the wind like leaves (Book I.302) and float like residual scum along the coast of the Red Sea (Book I.305-06). This lack of substance translates into a realm of meaningless repetitions between Death and Sin, the philosophers, and the singers. These all mirror Satan's endless obsession with revenge, driven by his delusion that evil can challenge good: "cannot we his Light imitate as we please?" Satan asks (Book II.269).

Following the imagery of the poetry, Lenz visualizes movement in Hell as incessant repetition and disorientation that occurs within the inner world of the mind. Repeated movements in Milton's vision of Hell recall Augustine's teaching on thought when it is united with the divine and thought when it is corrupted by its separation from the divine. In meditation on the divine, the mind becomes perfected in union with wisdom and love, forming a spiritual trinity that

Rose library at Emory University.

_

⁹ Milton's education in St. Augustine's works is evident in his theological training. Whiting among others indicates he drew heavily from Vive's translation of Augustine's City of God: *Of the Citie of God: with the learned comments of John Lodovicus [Luis] Vives, Augustinus. Englished first by J. Healey, and now in the second edition compared with the Latin original and in very many places corrected and amended.* 1620. This work is housed in the Stuart A.

mirrors the holy Trinity, as described in his work *On the Trinity*. ¹⁰ In its fullness of being, the mind is in repose. In contrast to this state of stillness and rest is the mind distracted by corrupt desires of the will. As it fixes its attention on perilous delights, it loses its substance and form.

New Approach and Prior techniques

This project reinforces several other techniques that assist students in gaining a deeper understanding of Milton's work. Such techniques include paraphrasing passages; reading passages aloud; writing headlines for a news story with a photograph and byline to capture main ideas in a section of poetry; and looking up allusions, definitions, and historical events in relation to specific passages. The series of paintings accompanied by dramatic readings offers students an immersive learning experience. Students note that the vibrant colors and expressive faces bring the text to life. The paintings spur class discussions about the relationship between Milton's imagery and the artist's conception of it. In the exams, I ask students to find lines that best capture the dynamics in the paintings and discuss their responses. Student form their own analyses of the movement and imagery in the passages, which they then might commit to long-term memory. Lenz's paintings invite further opportunity for students to think critically about Milton's world. Milton's psychological and spiritual dimension defies literal thinking and challenges readers to reflect on a deeper level of metaphorical abstraction.

¹⁰ In Book 9, Chapter 2, Augustine describes the mind in stillness as it contemplates divine love, which Augustine describes as a shining unchanging justice, "an unshaken and abiding truth" (1991, 276). The corrupt mind, by contrast, is seized by passions.

Reference List

- Adrichomius [van Adrichom Adrichem, Christian]. 1593. *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et biblicarvm historiarum* Antwerp: Coloniae Agrippinae. [available in Special Collection in the Pitts Theological Library at Emory University.]
- Adrichomius. 1585. *Urbis, Hierosolimae Descriptio....* Antwerp: Coloniae Agrippinae, 1585. [available in Special Collection in the Pitts Theological Library at Emory University.]
- Augustine. 1986. *Confessions*. Trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin. 1961. Reprint. Middlesex, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- —. 1620. Of the Citie of God: with the learned comments of John Lodovicus [Luis] Vibes, Augustinus.... ed. J. Healey. 2nd ed. London. [available in Special Collection in the Pitts Theological Library at Emory University.]
- —. *On the Trinity*. Trans. Edmund Hill. Ed. John E. Rotelle. Brooklyn: New City Press. Cawley, Robert Rawlson. 1951. *Milton and the Literature of Travel*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Darkness Visible: A Resource for Studying Milton's Paradise Lost. 2008. Cambridge: Christ's College, Cambridge University. http://darknessvisible.christs.cam.ac.uk/illlustration/satans_flight/dore_illustration.html. Accessed 4 April 2017.
- Fuller, Thomas. 1650. A Pisgah-sight of Palestine and The Confines thereof London. [available in Special Collection in the Pitts Theological Library at Emory University.]
- Heider, George C. 2009. Cult of Molek: A Reassessment. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Milton, John. *Paradise Lost: a Poem in Twelve Books*. 1688. 4th ed. Engravings attributed to John Baptista de Medina. London: Miles Fletcher. [This edition is housed in the Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library].
- —. 1957. Paradise Lost. In John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose. Ed. Merritt Y. Hughes. Indianapolis: Odyssey Press.
- Lenz, Kathryn E. Written Correspondence with author. 2017 [ongoing throughout the year]. Moore, George. 1897. "Biblical Notes." *Journal of Biblical Literature*. 16(1): 155-65.
- Purchas, Samuel. 1613. *His Pilgrimage; or Relations of the World and the Religions Observed in all Ages...*. London. [Available in Stuart A. Rose Special Collections Library at Emory University].
- Ross, Alexander. 1653. *Pansebeia: Or a View of All Religions in the World*London: Aldersgate. [Available in Stuart A. Rose Special Collections Library at Emory University].

Sandys, George. 1615. A Relation of a Journey Begun An: Dom: 1610. Four Books....London.

Toynbee, Arnold. 1953. An Historian's Approach to Religion. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Whiting, George Wesley. 1964. Milton's Literary Milieu. New York: Russell and Russell.

~ ~ ~