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The Myth of the Fallen Angel in English and French Romantic Poetry

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Figure 1: Gustave Doré, ‘Towards the Coast of Earth beneath, / Down from the ecliptic, sped with hoped success, / Throws his steep flight in many an aëry wheel’, 1866, in *Paradise Lost illustrated by Gustave Doré*, ed. R. Vaughan, London: Cassell, Peter, and Galpin, 83.

Aux étoiles de mai

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Summary

Once the most powerful archangel of heaven, Lucifer, together with an army of angels who supported him, rebelled against God. He attempted to overthrow his creator but was defeated by Michael's legions. As punishment for his rebellion, he was cast out of heaven, and sent to hell with his army, doomed to eternal darkness. The curiosity about this archetypal story of a dramatic fall is the starting point of this project. Many Romantic authors, both from England and France, were fascinated with the figure of the fallen angel, and especially with 'Satan' or 'Lucifer' (to use two of his many names), the so-called leader of the fallen. Romantic writers including William Blake, François-René de Chateaubriand, Lord Byron, Alfred de Vigny, and Victor Hugo wrote poems or plays dedicated to the former archangel. Some of the key texts in which the fallen angel features include Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1793), Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs* (1813), Byron's *Cain* (1821), Vigny's *Eloa ou la soeur des anges* (1824), and Hugo's *La Fin de Satan* (1886).

This thesis explores the reasons why the figure of Lucifer appealed so strongly to the Romantic imagination. Beginning with an analysis of the influence of John Milton and his emblematic Satan figure in *Paradise Lost* (1674), it charts the distinguishing features of the Romantic representations of the fallen angel, and explores the specific socio-cultural differences that shape the distinctive treatment of this figure in English and French Romantic texts. Based on detailed comparative close readings embedded in analyses of the respective historical contexts, this thesis illuminates the ways in which influence and intertextuality have shaped the Romantic literature dedicated to the figure of the fallen angel. It sheds light on the visions of God offered in these texts in a century undergoing dramatic political and cultural change, explains the diverse representations of the dynamics of the relationship between God and Lucifer, and determines how a broader and specifically Romantic myth of the fallen angel emerges.

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Introduction

'Je suis le Ténébreux, le Veuf, l'Inconsolé'
Gérard de Nerval

Once the most powerful archangel of heaven, Lucifer, together with an army of angels who supported him, rebelled against God. He attempted to overthrow his creator but was defeated by Michael's legions. As punishment for his rebellion, he was cast out of heaven by God, and sent to hell with his army, doomed to eternal darkness. Many Romantic authors, both from England and France, engaged with this narrative to explore Romantic values and aesthetics. They focused on fallen angels and especially on 'Satan' or 'Lucifer' (to use two of his many names), their so-called leader. Thus, poets including William Blake, François-René de Chateaubriand, Lord Byron, Alfred de Vigny, and Victor Hugo wrote poems or plays dedicated to the former archangel. Some of the key texts in which the fallen angel features include Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1793), Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs* (1813) and his translation of John Milton's *Paradise Lost, Le Paradis perdu* (1836), Byron's *Cain* (1821), Vigny's *Eloa ou la soeur des anges* (1824), and Hugo's *La Fin de Satan* (written circa 1854 and published posthumously in 1886). However, the reasons for this strong interest in the figure, and why the fallen angel was such a popular Romantic topos, remain unclear.

This thesis explores the reasons why the figure of Lucifer appealed so strongly to the Romantic imagination. Building on an analysis of the Biblical origins of the story and the influence of John Milton and his emblematic Satan figure in *Paradise Lost* (1674), this work analyses the distinguishing features of the Romantic representations of the fallen angel, and explores the cultural differences that shape the distinctive treatment of this figure in English and French Romantic texts. This thesis aims to define the vision of God offered in these texts; to explain the dynamics in the relationship between God and the fallen archangel; to explore Lucifer/Satan's quest for identity and its successive steps; and to highlight the poetical pattern and influential parameters that enabled the co-creation of a broader Romantic fallen angel narrative. It will therefore pay close attention to questions of influence, and to the distinctive features of English and French representations of the fallen angel.

The introduction explains the difference between the 'fallen angel' and the 'devil' before introducing the corpus of this thesis. It then explains the originality of such an undertaking, and finally, outlines the methodology and structure of the thesis.

The Fallen Angel

a. The Emancipation from the Medieval Representation

The title of this thesis features the expression 'fallen angel' instead of the word 'devil' or the name 'Satan', which is included in many key studies on the topic.[1] As Harold Bloom points out: '"Fallen angels", though theologically identical with 'devils' and sometimes with 'demons' retain a pathos and a dignity and a curious glamour' (2007: 13). It seems that it is even possible to affirm that fallen angels and devils are completely different in the eye of Romantic authors. The devil is linked to the medieval representation of a grotesque creature. Jeffrey Burton Russell concisely summarises how the evil being may have been represented in medieval literature and folklore:

> Often the Devil appears monstrous and deformed, his outward shape betraying his inner defect. He is lame because of his fall from heaven; his knees are backward; he has extra face [sic] on belly, knees, or buttocks; he is blind; he has horns and a tail; he has no nostrils or only one; he has no eyebrows; his eyes are saucerlike and glow or shoot fire; he has cloven hooves; he emits a sulphurous odor, and when he departs, he does so with stench, noise, and smoke; he is covered with coarse, black hair; he has misshapen, batlike wings. Iconographically he becomes much like Pan, horned, hooved, covered with goathair, with a large phallus and a large nose, and with Saturnine features. (1984: 68)

A striking representation of this grotesque creature is, of course, Alighieri Dante's weeping Lucifer: 'With six eyes did he weep, and down three chins / Trickled the tear-drops and the

[1] See Max Milner, *Le Diable dans la littérature française de Cazotte à Baudelaire* (1960); Maximilien Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature* (1973); Mario Praz, *La chair, la mort et le diable. Le romantisme noir* (1977); Peter A. Schock, *Romantic Satanism. Myth and the Historical Moment in Blake, Shelley and Byron* (2003); Neil Forsyth, *The Satanic Epic* (2003); Jeffrey Burton Russel, 'The Romantic Devil' (2005), etc.

bloody drivel' (2008: 233). This need to ridicule the devil helped the then-believers to cast away their fear of this malevolent and dangerous being.

b. The Importance of Religious Changes

Nineteenth-century writers are relieved from such a fear as Europe begins gradually to emancipate itself from religious worldviews. The French Revolution, but also the Industrial Revolution, and the advance of scientific explanatory models, have helped to question the necessity of religion and have thus allowed people to depart from an imposed Christian faith. In this increasingly secular age, then, the devil gives way to the fallen angel, a beautiful creature that embodies the Romantic sublime rather than the incarnation of ridicule. Moreover, the fallen angel is just fallen. He is not yet completely evil. Since he has fallen, he can, at least in theory, also climb the ladder of redemption to become a proper angel once more. The devil delights in the sufferings and unhappiness of humankind; the fallen angel possesses the power of introspection, guilt, and remorse. It is interesting to note that the authors who have portrayed their fallen angels as most devil-like – Chateaubriand, Hugo – are those whose religious faith remained strong despite all the changes surrounding them. And, of course, the most beautiful beings, those who still look like angels, princes of heaven, are portrayed by the more doubtful Byron and Vigny. Blake is neither completely religious nor an atheist. He did not subscribe to Anglicanism and decided to create his own mythology instead. Thus, his fallen angel is not only a more glamorous and appealing creature, he is also a more complex being, one who does not fit in the Manichean categories imposed by Christianity. This thesis, then, does not focus on accomplished evil beings, but rather on lost, doubting souls, some of whom wish for nothing else than to become whole again. It is this liminality, the potential to go either way, which contributes to the attractiveness of this figure.

The advent of secularism in France in the late eighteenth century enabled a new perception of the notions of good and evil. The moral values attached to Christianity were gradually replaced by a civic understanding of the concepts.[2] Good and evil became relative. Even Napoleon's reinstatement of Catholicism as France's state religion in 1802 departed from the Ancien Régime dogmatism. During the First Empire, religion helped the general to embed

[2] The French Revolution allowed the emergence of two major legal texts still used in contemporary France: The Declaration of Human and Civic Rights (26 August 1789) and the Civil Code (written during the Revolution but promulgated in 1804 by Napoleon 1st). Both these texts define the fundamental rights of French citizens and clarify the concepts of good and evil from a legal point of view, thus departing from Religion. The pope Pie VI even condemned the Declaration in 1790 (Rémond 2001: 102).

his newly acquired power in traditional patterns. However, Christianity never gained its original influence and power back, and, eventually, the Church and the French State were definitively separated in 1905 (Berstein and Milza 1996). This new religious dynamic can also be observed in England during the nineteenth century, although the United Kingdom remained officially Christian. Seventeenth-century thinkers such has John Locke and Thomas Hobbes opened the door for an enlightened perception of religion. Dogmatism and superstitions were gradually put aside and though religion remained an important framework and served as a moral compass, its power was diminished.

Nonetheless, differences can be observed on both sides of the Channel. French poets seem to have a less conflicted relationship with religion. Hence, Chateaubriand and Hugo are the only writers studied who were openly following a rather traditional Christian faith. On the other hand, Blake and Byron's attitude towards religion was more aggressive. It does not mean that they did not believe in God and in what constitutes the basis of Christianity – both authors quote the Bible, for instance – but rather that they did not follow accepted Church dogma. Their stances were perceived as scandalous in an officially Anglican country. The fallen angel appears as a tool, a figure used to project and explore their critiques of religion. Blake's and Byron's archangels are more cynical and aggressive, sometimes even traditional. Hugo's and Chateaubriand's, by contrast, are more emotional, expressing openly their sadness and pain.

The case of Vigny remains the most interesting one from a religious point of view. The author of *Eloa* is not an atheist. It seems that the poet was still hoping for the existence of a benevolent being that would take care of humanity. However, the lack of visible actions from such a being has pushed Vigny to believe in God's eternal absence and carelessness, as will be explored in this thesis. Together with Byron's influence on the French poet, this attitude has resulted in the creation of the most complex fallen angel discussed in this thesis. Vigny's Satan is aggressive in his actions, almost evil, but also deeply emotional. His display of pain and sadness is the most obvious. Thereby, Vigny's Satan illustrates the evolution of attitudes towards religion during the nineteenth century. His character is a perfect example of how the myth of the fallen angel is the product of both specific cultural developments and intertextual elements.

c. A Matter of Names

The term 'fallen angel' has also been chosen over 'Satan' since by no means all of the authors in the texts discussed in this thesis have opted for this name in their poems. In *Paradise Lost*,

Milton explains that Lucifer was the name of the archangel that fell, and that this angel took a new name: Satan. He writes 'Of Lucifer, so by allusion called, / Of that bright star to Satan paragoned' (2003: 288, 425-426). The fallen angel's fall, just like Adam's and Eve's fall, brings in its wake a change of identity. The celestial nature of the apostate archangel justifies that his change of status also implies a change of name, which is not the case for the mortals Adam and Eve. Therefore, Lucifer is supposed to be the angel's pre-lapsarian name, and Satan, his post-lapsarian name. However, this pattern is not always strictly followed. In Byron's *Cain*, for example, the fallen angel is named Lucifer. Though his character is a post-lapsarian angel, Byron decides to use his angelical name. This choice reveals an important feature of Byron's play: Lucifer, though fallen, is still an angel; he is the one who has been unfairly punished by God, the one who warns Cain against such an unfairness. Victor Hugo, by contrast, follows Milton's approach. He writes in *La Fin de Satan*: 'Il n'eût rien retrouvé dans ce dieu de l'enfer / Du géant éclaireur qu'on nommait Lucifer' (1984: 225). He also follows *Paradise Lost*'s author by naming his own character Satan. The poem opens with the angel falling from heaven. The name 'Satan' is only deployed after God pronounces these words: 'Tombe! – / Les soleils s'éteindront autour de toi maudit!' (1984: 38). Ordered to fall and damned by God, the creature loses his former angelic state, and Lucifer becomes Satan.

Alfred de Vigny made a different choice when writing *Eloa ou la soeur des anges*. His fallen angel is presented under the name Lucifer at the beginning of the poem: 'Un Ange peut tomber; le plus beau de nous tous / n'est plus ici […] / Appelant *Lucifer* l'étoile matinale' (1973: 26, 106-112). The poem retells the story of Eloa, the last angel created by God, who is being seduced by the fallen one. She does not know his identity and feels that the creature in front of her is animated by an inner fight. During the entire poem, we feel that Vigny leaves a choice to the seducer: he can either step back and leave Eloa pure, or he can seduce her. Taken over by his dark side, the protagonist decides to seduce the angel. It is at this moment, at the very end of the poem, that the seducer reveals his identity: he is Satan.

The fact that Vigny introduces Lucifer at the beginning of the poem and Satan at the end of it highlights the problem of identity attached to the Luciferian myth. Each text studied displays an introspecting character. The fallen angel questions the reasons that pushed him to rebel against God, and, in doing so, the position and role he used to have as a celestial being; then, he addresses the new role of opponent that is imposed on him, always oscillating between the desire to embrace it and remorse. But this political turnaround is not the only change in identity he has to face. The fall also triggers a physical change. Whether the fallen angel has retained partially his former beauty or transformed into a monster, he is still a lesser version of

himself, a tarnished being. This metamorphosis is echoed by the advent of a new set of feelings. Lucifer or Satan is overwhelmed by sensations and emotions he cannot control. Pain, sadness, remorse are all new to him. This staggering situation pushes him to seek refuge in denial and repression.

However, the fallen angel is never alone in this process. Secondary characters act as doubles and reflections. Lucifer/Satan seeks self-understanding in beings whose struggles resemble his own. Cain, Eloa, and the sisters Isis-Lilith and Liberté all embody and echo the fallen angel's ambivalence. They are characters either oscillating between good and evil, as in the cases of Cain and Eloa, and even personifications of Lucifer/Satan's goodness and malevolence, with characters such as Isis and Liberté. Finally, the apostate archangel's identity journey is also displayed in the relationship he has with his creator and father, God. By being cast away from heaven, Lucifer/Satan is physically and mentally cut from the creative energy and the sweltering power of his father. This paternal absence forces Lucifer/Satan to look for his very own identity and to detach himself from such an influence. The term 'fallen angel' used in the title of this thesis, then, underlines the lack of a clear and stable identity that characterises Lucifer/Satan after his fall.

This problem of identity is one of the core reasons for the Romantics' interest in the myth. This thesis aims to identify the aforementioned theories, patterns and motifs in each text studied. It also seeks to demonstrate that representations of the fallen angel tend to be shaped by the authors' own projections of themselves onto their characters. Just like Lucifer/Satan, each author studied here went through a public change – scandal, apparent madness, exile, or literary explorations – that led to a period of introspection. The crucial father-son relationship, moreover, illustrates the Romantic inclination to oppose the self, meaning, the fallen angel, to society, embodied by God. In addition, focusing on Lucifer/Satan's quest for identity also allows them to explore further Satan's need to become Lucifer again, and thus to add a new dimension to the fallen angel: the possibility of redemption. During the second century, Origen had already expressed the idea that the Devil could obtain redemption from God, as G.W. Butterworth explains in the introduction of *De Principiis*: 'According to the First Principles Origen did assert that the devil would at least be saved' (1936: xvii). Yet, Origen went back on his theories and from this moment, the idea of the possibility that the devil, too, could experience salvation, was banned by the Church. The desire of the Romantics to see Satan redeemed is paradoxical as none of them, apart from Hugo, actually granted redemption to their characters. This thesis aims to show that Satan's redemption results in an intertextual and cross-cultural journey and that each author studied helped their character gradually to evolve into a

more deserving fallen angel. Without personal interpretations of and projections into the myth, specific cultural and historical influences, complex literary intertextual exchanges and unconscious appropriations, and time, the Romantic myth of the fallen angel could not have been spun and developed in the way it was.

Presentation of the Core Texts

The myth of the fallen angel is the product of a religious narrative and its various literary interpretations. The religious narrative appears as a patchwork of successive changes, additions and interpretations. It starts with a warning addressed to the Babylonian kings featuring in the Ancient Testament. This excerpt was gradually reinterpreted into a Luciferian narrative as different translations arose. Smatterings of this story can be found in the New Testament. However, none of these biblical references form a proper myth in its own. One has to wait for the commentaries of the Church Fathers before a more consistent and coherent story emerges. The rediscovery of the apocryphal Book of Enoch, in the late eighteenth century, challenges the 'biblical' version of the narrative. Indeed, the inter-testamentary text offers another rendition of the myth, one in which Lucifer/Satan gives way to the Watchers and their leaders, Azrael and Semjaza. Beginning with an exploration of the origins of the Book of Enoch, the chapter proceeds to underline its influence on the New Testament writers and also on John Milton. Finally, it highlights how this text impacted on the Romantics and, more specifically, on William Blake. The British author produced six illustrations of the Book of Enoch.[3] Most of these drawings are closely analysed to determine the impact of the Watchers' narrative on the Romantic Satan.

While the emergence and evolution of the religious myth of the fallen angel is studied in depth in the first two chapters of this thesis, the core structure of the Luciferian myth was only developed in much more depth in a literary text: John Milton's *Paradise Lost* – which is the subject of chapter three. John Milton's final version of *Paradise Lost* was published in 1674. In this epic poem, Milton depicts Adam and Eve's fall. Satan's fall actually serves the function of illustrating why the serpent has tempted Eve; his story is not the poem's main focus. Nevertheless, *Paradise Lost* has been highly influential for its retelling of the Luciferian myth from its first publication. It is in Milton's epic that the correlation between Satan and Lucifer, the precise reasons of Satan's fall, the description of the battle that defeated Satan, and the fact

[3] None of these drawings were intended to be part of a specific edition of The Book of Enoch.

that the fall has allowed the creation of hell are explored in detail for the first time.[22] The seventeenth-century audience discovered, therefore, a structured and extended version of the myth and the 'marvellous scandal of this poem': Satan (Bloom 1991: 98). In the epic poem, though still functioning as representation of evil, Satan is shown as a creature capable of feelings such as hatred, jealousy, and envy, of course, but also pain, hesitation, and even remorse. Milton's fallen angel is no longer the rightfully punished creature; he is also the victim of God's power. As Bloom states, 'Milton, in his great epic *Paradise Lost*, truly invented the literary Satan' (2007: 39). It is with the Miltonic version of the myth and of the former archangel that Romantic authors will engage in their own works, making *Paradise Lost* their primary source, which demonstrates further that the formerly religious myth has only properly unfolded in the realm of literature, and has, in effect, become a literary one. Milton's story, then, lays the foundation of the Romantic myth. *Paradise Lost* introduces important recurring topoi: the ambiguity of Satan's role, the complexity of his feelings, his complicated relationship with God, and his quest for a new post-lapsarian identity. Milton also uses the motif of the double or reflection, which will also be used by the Romantics.

William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* is the subject of chapter four. It was published in 1793. It is a complex text that gathers poems and proverbs, and explores the notion of good and evil, which Blake associates with the principles of reason and energy. These contrary forces are also used in the 'Proverbs of Hell' – a dense and rich part that seems to act as a counter-Bible. This helps to understand Blake's attitude towards the fallen angel. At first regarded as a necessary rebel figure, Blake's Satan gradually transforms back into the traditional opponent preventing a figure of love and unity to thrive. Other texts such as *The French Revolution* (1791) and *Milton* (1810) help with understanding Blake's vision of God and Satan, and the influence of Milton on the British artist.

In France, Milton's poem has become well known primarily owing to François-René de Chateaubriand. The father of French Romanticism allowed the rediscovery of Milton's poem after his exile in England. In *Génie du Christianisme* (1802), the author outlines the beauty of the epic poem. Chateaubriand's text was what would now be called a best-seller, and has contributed significantly to stimulating French interest in Albion's poet. There are and were many French translations of *Paradise Lost*, but the most literal one was composed in 1836 by Chateaubriand himself. His interest in the Miltonic Satan is also evident in his own Christian

[22] Though Mario Praz explains that Milton was influenced by two major texts: Gambiattista Marino's *La strage degli innocenti* (1632) and Dante's *Divine comedy* (1472). (1977: 73)

epic, *Les Martyrs* (1813). In this work, Chateaubriand briefly but significantly portrays a rather cynical fallen angel.

Lord Byron's *Cain*, discussed in chapter five, also portrays a cynical fallen angel. In his play, Byron retells the myth of Abel and Cain, the two star-crossed brothers. However, he introduces Lucifer as an additional character to this well-known story. The fallen angel gradually becomes Cain's mentor and diverts him from his family and from God. Lucifer shows him chosen visions of the future. In the end, Cain becomes a pariah and, doomed by God to wander the earth forever, he leaves with his wife after having expressed remorse for his actions. Byron portrays a cynical Lucifer who explores his own guilt and traumas through Cain's actions and feelings. Byron also engages with the fallen angel in two other texts: *The Vision of Judgment* (1822) and 'Sun of the Sleepless' (1815). His fallen angel is intriguing and elusive, but also appears to be despairing.

This complexity of feelings is reflected in Vigny's own fallen angel, which is the subject of chapter six. Published in 1824, Alfred de Vigny's *Eloa ou la Sœur des anges* is a long poem in which Eloa, the last angel created by God, departs from heaven to save the doomed angel she heard about. When she finally reaches the in-between realm of chaos, she meets a handsome but dangerous being. Vigny portrays a seductive fallen angel who oscillates between his fear and hatred of God, and his desire for redemption. The lack of a name, up until the very last line of the poem, underlines Satan's quest for a stable, clear identity and belonging.

This idea is explored by Victor Hugo in *La Fin de Satan* – subject of the final chapter. Written in exile in the mid-nineteenth century, the French epic poem was published posthumously, in 1886. *La Fin de Satan* retells Satan's fall, his birth as the devil, and the end of evil on earth. It is a complex poem that features the most tortured and desperate fallen angel analyzed in this thesis. It is also the only poem in which Satan achieves redemption.

Methodology, Originality and Structure

Bernard J. Bamberger writes that 'The myth of the rebel angels has had a great influence on world literature. […] The drama is heightened when the rebel against Deity is not a human being but an angel – one of God's holiest creatures' (1952: 3). The precise reasons for the fallen angel's transition from angel to devil, and of course his motivations and feelings, are questions to which Romantic authors, both French and English, try to provide answers. Their works are also the result of distinctive cultural and literary influences and these influences shape their

respective re-interpretations of the myth. Particular attention will be paid to the many complex literary-cultural exchanges between French and English writers in this thesis. The methodology used in this thesis also involves close comparative readings of the text under discussion, paying particular attention to the progression of the myth, to metaphors and imagery, and to parallels and differences. A further focus is on translation analysis and the identification of recurring patterns and motifs. Throughout, I also emphasise the importance of the respective socio-cultural contexts and how they shape aesthetic choices, as well as influential structural parameters of the myth, the respective physical and mental representations of Lucifer/Satan and how they differ, and the role of the double in these texts. Finally, taken together, I argue that the chapters of this thesis chart the emergence of an Anglo-Franco collective myth of the fallen angel.

Such was the appeal and fascination of the figure of Lucifer in the nineteenth century both in England and in France that there are too many texts dealing with the myth of Lucifer to be included and studied in depth in this thesis. This thesis therefore focuses on a selection of the most relevant English and French texts that engage with the Miltonic Satan and that contribute to the creation of a distinctive Romantic Lucifer/Satan. All of the chosen poems are paradigmatic case studies that include vital representations of the figure of the fallen angel. In addition, I argue that they form an evolving narrative that develops over the long nineteenth century. When reading these poems successively, one can see the emergence of a thread binding them together. Close attention will be paid to the question of influence, and how the complex intertextual dynamics at play contributed to the weaving of this broader Anglo-Franco Romantic myth.

The Romantic interest in the myth of the fallen angel has already been the subject of many studies. They include, amongst others, Max Milner, *Le Diable dans la littérature française de Cazotte à Baudelaire* (1960); Jean Gillet, *Le Paradis Perdu dans la littérature française de Voltaire à Chateaubriand* (1975); Peter A. Schock, *Romantic Satanism: Myth and the Historical Moment in Blake, Shelley and Byron* (2003); Neil Forsyth, *The Satanic Epic* (2004); Jeffrey Burton Russell, 'The Romantic Devil' (2005); and Gisèle Vanhese, *Luceafărul de Mihai Eminescu: portrait d'un dieu obscure* (2011). However, so far there is no thorough and detailed study comparing French and English Romantic interpretations of this myth. This thesis seeks to provide new insights and knowledge by comparing and contrasting key French and English Romantic representations of the myth of the fallen angel, and by analysing why this figure appealed so powerfully to the Romantic imagination. From England to France, France to

England, and England back to France, this thesis charts movements of influence and cross-cultural exchanges that shaped the literary engagement with the myth of the fallen angel.

Chapter 1: Religious Origins

What is the nature of the fallen angel's story: a legend or a myth? According to Chris Baldick the term 'legend' was originally used to characterise the lives of the Saints. Nowadays, it is used for stories 'concern[ing] human beings rather than gods [and having] sometimes, […] some sort of historical basis' (1996: 121). Since Lucifer was a divine creature and because his story has no historical basis – as will be demonstrated later – it would be incorrect to classify his story as a legend. It seems more appropriate to define it as a myth. Jean Bottéro defines myth in the following way:

> un mythe est un récit forgé pour répondre aux grandes questions que les hommes se sont toujours posées quand ils réfléchissent à leurs origines, aux raisons d'être et aux destins de notre univers et de notre race, aux grands phénomènes énigmatiques qui s'y présentent à nous de toutes parts. […] Un mythe n'est donc pas, au moins à sa naissance, un récit gratuit, de pure fantaisie, destiné au seul plaisir, à l'art, à l'enchantement, c'est la réponse à une question, c'est la solution d'un problème, c'est toujours une explication. (1992: 281)

If one were to consider the fallen angel's story a myth according to Bottéro's criteria, it would raise two questions: what origins is it supposed to clarify, and to which problem is it a solution?

The myth of the fallen angel could be an attempt to clarify the following biblical paradox: why would an almighty, and essentially kind, God allow the presence of evil on earth? This attempt is one of many explanations of the origin of evil, one of many theodicies.[4] Paul Ricoeur explains that the elaboration of numerous myths that address the question of evil in different cultures essentially prevents humankind from questioning their responsibility in the existence of evil. It also precludes the questioning of God's existence (2006). Therefore, the myth of the fallen angel is an answer provided by religion to explain the origin of evil, reaffirming God's power, and his kindness towards humankind.

[4] The term 'theodicy' was invented by Gottfried Leibniz in his work *Theodicy* (1710). As Jeffrey Burton Russell states, 'theodicies can be theological or mythological' (1977: 56). In the present case, the myth of the fallen angel is both a theological and mythological theodicy. Theological because the myth is mainly an explanation of the Church Fathers of a precise point of Christian teachings, and mythological because, as explained, it has also been invented to clarify the origins of the world.

If this myth provides a story explaining the birth of evil, Satan could be perceived as its allegory.[5] In many cultures, and specifically in polytheistic cultures, we can find darker entities such as Hades, Seth, or Pluto, who contrast with the luminosity of other entities such as Zeus, Osiris, or Jupiter. However, none of these divinities are either completely good or completely evil, as we can see in the mythologies surrounding them. They always oscillate between the two sides and are defined by their functions rather than by their personalities. Jeffrey Burton Russell explains that 'the opposition of Horus and Seth was perceived as a series of opposites […] but never, at least not until the late period when the original myth had been altered, sheer good against sheer evil' (1977: 82). He then adds that 'the deities of the underworld, in Greece as elsewhere, brought both fear and hope' (127). Thus, pure evil is not the product of polytheism. Monotheism, and more specifically, Christianity, establishes the need to introduce an allegory of evil, the embodiment of everything that God holds in contempt, in order to solidify his legitimacy. The myth of the fallen angel can therefore be seen as a cautionary tale, warning humankind against evil, but also warning men and women of what their fate would be if they ever decided to follow Satan's path.

Although Satan could be perceived as the allegory of evil, and his story as a cautionary tale, this chapter essentially focuses on the mythological aspect of his story, on its evolution in time, its functions and the ways in which it has been constructed. Indeed, if nowadays it is commonly accepted that Satan's story begins with his fall, it has not always been the case. Many texts, amongst which counts the Bible, have contributed to the elaboration of the Luciferian myth. The study of these texts is conducted chronologically, starting with the Ancient Testament and continuing with the Book of Enoch, and the influence of both the Ancient Testament and the Book of Enoch on the New Testament.[6] In the second part of this chapter, the emphasis is on post-biblical readings. Thus, this chapter starts with the different translations of the Bible, then focuses on the influence of the Church Fathers, including Origen of Alexandria and Saint Augustine, and ends with the literary dimension of the myth.

1.1. The Fallen Angel in Biblical Texts

When referring to the Bible, readers often think about the Old Testament and the New Testament composing the Holy text. However, apocryphal texts that were not recognised by the

[5] However, this is not the case of Lucifer, since he is the pre-lapsarian angel. This is further explained later.
[6] The Book of Enoch is studied thoroughly in the second chapter of this part. This chapter only aims to clarify the chronological dynamic surrounding the Luciferian myth-making.

Vatican surround the two canonical writings. The myth of the fallen angel originates from both Scripture and one of these pseudepigrapha: the Book of Enoch. The religious books offer a fragmentary version of the Luciferian myth. Although the name Lucifer originates in the Old Testament, one can see that, through a chronological study of the aforementioned works, there is no clearly defined myth of the fallen angel in the Bible.

1.1.1. The Old Testament

In order to understand the Old Testament allusions to the myth it is important to address the difference between Satan and Lucifer. In popular culture, these names are, most of the time, regarded as synonyms and used to designate the devil. As Henry Ansgar Kelly explains, the noun *satan* is Hebrew for 'adversary'. In the Old Testament, 'the satan' is actually a prosecutor, an accuser obeying God's orders. It is only in the New Testament that 'the satan' becomes Satan, God's opponent. As for Lucifer, he is mentioned once in the Old Testament and is not related to Satan. As Kelly states 'It was not until post-Biblical times that Lucifer was associated with Satan' (2006: 1). An explanation of this association is proposed later in this thesis. The Romantic authors studied in this thesis mostly follow John Milton's view that Lucifer becomes Satan after the fall. However, for some of the writers the boundary between the angel and the fallen angel is not as clearly established as one may think. To clarify these two identities that form part of a larger entity, this study embraces the idea that Lucifer becomes Satan once he has fallen. However, we will see that the Romantics interrogate this boundary.

The first and only mention of Lucifer – 'light bearer', 'morning star' in Latin – in the Old Testament appears in the Book of Isaiah. According to the *Dictionnaire de la Bible* (1990), Isaiah is a prophet who would have lived in Jerusalem during the eighth century B.C. In his book, which forms part of Genesis, he mainly retells the reign of Ezekias, a Babylonian king who tried to raise himself to God's height. While telling this story, Isaiah makes a comparison between Ezekias and Lucifer:

> Hell from beneath is moved for thee to meet *thee* at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, *even* all the chief ones of the earth: it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations.
> All they shall speak and say unto thee, Art thou also become weak as we? art thou become like unto us?
> Thy pomp is brought down to the grave *and* the noise of thy viols: the worm is spread under thee, and the worm cover thee.
> How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! *how* art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!

> For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my thrones above the stars of God: I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north:
> I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the most High.
> Yet, thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit.
> They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, *and* consider thee, *saying*
> *Is* this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms (Isaiah 14:9-16).

This passage touches on many of the key features of the Luciferian myth. Lucifer is depicted as the 'son of the morning', alluding to his former status in heaven. Other mentions of his power are made: he is the one that used to render 'the earth to tremble'. Furthermore, the 'kings of the nations' may represent the other angels that followed Lucifer in his rebellion. However, in this text the kings of the nations have preceded Lucifer in his fall and are warning him not to reproduce their mistake. The motives of the rebellion, which are often identified as pride and lust for power, are also expressed in this passage since Isaiah mentions Lucifer's wish to equal God. Finally, the prophet clearly refers to the fall from heaven, one of the Luciferian myth's primary features. Thus, in this passage Isaiah lays the foundations of the common myth: Lucifer was a powerful angel who desired to equal his creator and who was cast out of heaven and thrown into hell with other angels.[7]

Another prophet of Genesis, Ezekiel, also draws a comparison between a proud king – the king of Tyre – and 'a guardian cherub', 'seal of perfection' who was 'expelled' from 'the holy mount of God' after 'wickedness was found [in him]' and his 'heart became proud' (Ezek. 28:12-17). However, if this story may have contributed to the elaboration of the myth of the fallen angel, there is no mention of either Satan or Lucifer and it rather tends to prove that such associations between a corrupted holy being and a tyrant were quite common in the Bible.

Even if the pattern of the common myth can be found in them, the Old Testament does not provide a clear myth of the fallen angel in these two passages. Isaiah and Ezekiel are not retelling the full story of the fallen angel but only allude to it, using it as a cautionary tale to serve their purpose: warning the kings against excessive pride. It is only during the third century B.C., according to Philip Almond, that a more detailed story about angels who lost their divine state appears in the Book of Enoch (2014: 4).[8]

[7] However, it is important to note that Isaiah does not aim to establish the myth. This thesis studies later how Isaiah's writings were associated with the myth of the fallen angel.

[8] Almond also explains that other Apocalyptic texts have contributed to shape the myth of the fallen angel. Thus, he evokes the Life of Adam and Eve which 'filled in the gap in demonological theory that had been created by the decline in the myth of the watchers at the time of Noah as the origin of the fallen angels. The fall of the devil and that of his angels now occur at the same time' (2014: 41). However, this thesis focuses on the Book of Enoch and

1.1.2. The Myth of the Watchers: An Alternative

The Book of Enoch is an apocryphal or 'Inter-Testamental' text, according to Kelly (2006: 34). It was supposedly written by the prophet Enoch, one of the ten pre-Deluge Patriarchs, before the New Testament was written. This book gathers apocalyptic visions, considerations on astronomy and important writings dedicated to the myth of 'the Watchers'. The Watchers are defined in the first part of the Book of Enoch as angels supposed to look after humankind. The only other mention of the Watchers in holy texts can be found in the Old Testament, when Daniel reports that he has seen 'a watcher and a holy one [coming] down from heaven' and that they had taken a decision, revealing, therefore, that this watcher holds power (Daniel 4:13-17). Thus, the Watchers are, both in the Bible and in the Book of Enoch, powerful emissaries of God.

The Book of Enoch is also inspired by the sixth chapter of Genesis which explains the Flood:

> And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them,
> That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose.
> And the Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years.
> There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown.
> And God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.
> And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.
> And the Lord said, I will destroy man whom I have created from the face of the earth; both man, and beast, and the creeping thing, and the fowls of the air; for it repenteth me that I have made them.
> But Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord. (Gen 6:1-8)

Neil Forsyth argues that 'the mystery in the Genesis flood myth, namely the apparent lack of connection between the mixing of gods with women and the subsequent flood, is now clarified

not the other Apocalyptic literature, since it is more likely that the Book of Enoch had a direct impact on the Romantic interpretation of the Luciferian myth, as will be explained later. Indeed, the Life of Adam and Eve was made popular again in 1878 and 1893, and the last text studied in this thesis, *La Fin de Satan* was written around the 1850's.

through the retelling of the story as a rebellion myth' (1987: 167). Under Enoch's quill, the 'sons of God' become the 'angels', the 'watchers' and thus the myth begins.

The first part of the Book of Enoch deals with the fall of the angels from heaven. However, the story told by Enoch differs from the common myth that has been mentioned previously. In the apocryphal text, a group of angels were driven by their lust for human women and decided to have children with them, defying God's authority. Their leader Semjaza took upon him the punishment for this sin:[9]

> In those days, when the children of men had multiplied, it happened that there were born unto them handsome and beautiful daughters. And the angels, the children of heaven, saw them and desired them; and they said to one another: 'Come, let us choose wives for ourselves from among the daughter of man and beget us children.' And Semyaza, being the leader, said unto them: 'I fear that perhaps you will not consent that this deed should be done, and I alone will become responsible for this great sin.' (Enoch 6:1-4)

Then, the figure of Azazel, biblical version of Prometheus – since he, too, shared divine knowledge with human beings – appeared:

> And Azaz'el taught the people (the art of) making swords, and knives, and shields, and breastplates; and he showed to their chosen ones bracelets, decorations, shadowing of the eyes with antimony ornamentation, the beautifying of the eyelids. (Enoch 8:1)

Enoch's vision of the myth presents two figures that each embody key traits of Lucifer. Semjaza represents Lucifer's position in heaven and amongst the other fallen angels. Enoch presents him as the Watchers' leader and Michael, Gabriel, Uriel and Raphael remind God that he has 'given [Semjaza] power to rule over his companions' (Enoch 9:7). Therefore, one might understand that God used to trust Semjaza more than the other angels. Furthermore, as Lucifer did, Semjaza is the one who takes upon him the responsibility for the Watchers' acts. Azazel represents the rebellious aspect of Lucifer. Indeed, Semjaza does not wish to defy God, he is only driven by his lust for women. Azazel, however, shared divine secrets that could lead to God's overthrow. Azazel's acts fall under defiance rather than a lack of control of himself. This defiance could be an explanation for Azazel's harsher punishment.[10] God did not appreciate

[9] The Ethiopic spelling of the names Semjaza and Azazel will be used in this thesis.
[10] Semjaza was condemned to watch, together with the other fallen angels, their offspring killing each other, until the day of judgment. Azazel was chained and condemned to spend eternity in the abyss alone.

seeing his omnipotence questioned and his knowledge shared. Nevertheless, God might also simply have been more disappointed by Azazel than by Semjaza because of this defiance. This interpretation is closer to the Romantic vision of the myth, as will be shown later in this thesis.

The Book of Enoch presages the common Luciferian myth. Thus, the figure of Lucifer tends to find his shape in the Watchers' story, specifically in the combination of Semjaza and Azazel. Although it is possible to find signs of the distinctive relationship that God and Lucifer share and that Milton will later emphasise in *Paradise Lost* (1674), the myth of the fallen angel is not yet completed. The fall, the most distinctive feature of the myth, is not represented in the Book of Enoch since the Watchers have decided themselves to leave heaven and to settle on earth.[11] Finally, the Watchers' story is less of a cautionary tale than the proper Luciferian myth since it does not involve an important feeling: pride. Although the Book of Enoch is the only official religious text that offers a structured version of the myth, it still remains incomplete. The New Testament, influenced by the Ethiopic sacred text, also offers scraps of the myth.

1.1.3. The New Testament

As stated before, it is only in the New Testament that Satan becomes God's opponent. The stories of his attempts to corrupt humankind can be found throughout the second part of the Bible. However, in the King James translation, there is one name that cannot be found anymore: Lucifer. The reasons for this absence could be that there is no angel named Lucifer in the Bible for the writers of the New Testament since the association between the 'morning star' and Satan is made only later by the Church Fathers.

The New Testament provides a range of fleeting references to the myth of the fallen angel. Thus, in his second epistle, Peter writes: 'For if God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgement' (Peter 2:4). Jude, in his own epistle, also refers to the punishment of the angels: 'And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness into judgement of the great day' (Jude 6). These two references echo the Enochian Watchers' myth, as Philip Almond explains (2014: 9). Indeed, Jude writes that the angels, as did the Watchers, have left heaven willingly, which is not the case in the Luciferian myth. However, these passages tend to emphasise the idea of a cruel and necessary punishment, a concept asserted in the common myth. It is important to note that there

[11] However, it can be argued that there is a fall of state. This point is further discussed in Part 1, Chapter 2.

is no mention of a particular angel but only of a group of angels. The link between the New Testament and the Luciferian myth is clearer in the last book of the Bible: Revelation.

The Revelation of St John the Divine, also called Apocalypse, tells the future end of the world. In the ninth chapter, John makes a significant allusion to Lucifer. He writes: 'And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit' (Revelation 9:1).[12] The 'star [who] fall[s] from heaven' can be an allusion to the Latin term 'lucifer', meaning 'morning star', and can, therefore, designate the former archangel. Ian Boxall explains that 'this star is almost certainly an angelic being […] There is, however, considerable disagreement as to his precise identity: […] is he a positive agent of God or a demonic figure paradoxically used by God to bring about his purpose?' (2006: 142). He then emphasises that 'this star-angel is already fallen' (142). Thus, the character evoked in this passage of Revelation could be Lucifer. The identification of John the Divine's 'star-angel' with Isaiah's 'morning star' could be enhanced by the words that Luke attributes to Christ: 'And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven' (Luke 10:18). Luke, through Christ's words, is also making a prediction. According to Norman Perrin and Dennis Duling, the Gospel of Luke has been written between 70 and 90 A.D. and the Revelation of St. John the Divine between 90 and 100 A.D. (1982: 43). It is therefore most likely that the author of the Revelation has been influenced by the author of Luke's Gospel. Under their quills, the myth of an angel of light cast out of heaven by God is taking shape progressively. Indeed, for the first time, Satan and the 'star-angel's' identities are combined. This association, albeit slightly different, is also found in Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians where the apostle writes: 'for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light' (2Paul 11:14). There, Satan is associated with an angelic being. However, there is no mention of a fall, and Paul seems rather to emphasise the fact that Satan can take many shapes rather than asserting that he was an angel of light before. Satan's ability to transform himself is highlighted by Burton Russell: 'The Devil like gods and angels, is not restricted to any one form. He has the power to change his shape at will, and in order to deceive he may appear as a handsome youth, a beautiful girl, or even an angel of light' (1977: 254).

[12] The 'bottomless pit' 'denotes the place of origin of the monster (11:7; 17:8) and Satan's temporary place of imprisonment' (Boxall 2006: 142). The fact that Lucifer has been given the key to this pit might sounds confusing but as Boxall writes 'God can use even hostile and rebellious forces to accomplish his ultimate will' (2006: 142). In the common myth, Lucifer is cast out of heaven and condemned to remain in the abyss. This abyss, as explained earlier, gradually becomes hell, Satan's kingdom, in popular belief. Therefore, if God has given willingly the key of hell to the fallen one, then he is still having power over Satan in a way. This interpretation is found later in the Romantics' works.

St John the Divine continue to contribute to the myth in the twelfth chapter of the Revelation. Thus, he describes the heavenly war opposing Satan and his legions to Michael and the other angels:

> And there was a war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels,
> And prevailed not; neither was their place found anymore in heaven.
> And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into earth, and his angels were cast out with him. (Revelation 12:7-9)

The association between the Dragon and Satan has been made in between the writing of the Old Testament and the New Testament as Burton Russell explains:

> By the end of the Apocalyptic period, then, the Devil was more firmly and more permanently than ever associated with the following characteristics found in Hebrew demonology and folklore: darkness, the underworld and the air, sexual temptation and molestation, the goat, the lion, the frog or the toad, and the serpent or dragon. (1977: 217)[13]

Though the motive of this Rebellion is not explained in this passage, John reveals that there was a war between the angels and therefore, that God's power was threatened. Isaiah's vision of the myth might explain this conjecture: Lucifer tried to raise himself above God with other angels and they had to face God's legions led by Michael. This interpretation is enhanced by the fact that Isaiah is warning Lucifer of the fate that awaits him if he continues to be prideful: 'Yet thou shalt be brought down to hell, to the sides of the pit' (Isaiah 14:15). However, this is not the explanation provided by the Bible if one reads the whole chapter 12 of the Revelation. In this passage, John explains that the Dragon is after the Virgin Mary and her child because he has recognized in this child an enemy. To protect the Virgin Mary and Christ, God sends his legions to defeat the Dragon and his angels. Furthermore, as Almond writes, Revelation of St.

[13] This association is also made by Origen in *De Principiis* (c. 231) since he writes: 'it is certain that the dragon means the devil himself' (1936: 50). The Church father bases his assertion on the twentieth verse of the fortieth chapter of the Book of Job: 'Thou wilt take with a hook the apostate dragon'. However, it is not possible to find this sentence in the Bible. The Vulgate sentence for Job 40:20 is 'an extrahere poteris Leviathan hamo et fune ligabis linguam eieus' which contains the idea of catching a monster, the Leviathan, with a hook but not the idea that this monster has fled. Furthermore, the Latin word for 'dragon' is 'draconis' and not Leviathan. This type of interpretation is actually a key element in the elaboration of the Luciferian myth but also of the devil's biography as Almond, Ansgar Kelly, Burton Russell, Forsyth and Stanford explain in their studies, respectively: *The Devil: A New Biography* (2014), *Satan: A Biography* (2006), *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity* (1977), *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (1987) and *The Devil: A Biography* (1996).

John the Divine is a set of predictions, supposed to take place after Christ's death and not at the beginning of times as the common myth states (2014: 28).

The passages formerly mentioned do not form a complete and clear myth in its own right. On the contrary, when assembling these biblical pieces, it seems that the Luciferian myth is blurry, sketchy, not really understandable. Thus, the Old Testament mentions 'sons of God' who caused God's anger after impregnating the 'daughters of men' (Gen. 6); Isaiah depicts a 'morning star', 'Lucifer' in Latin, a prideful creature who tries to equal God and who will be punished for that; the Book of Enoch tries to explains Genesis and proposes the myth of the Watchers: angels who left heaven to have intercourse with women and share divine knowledge, without mentioning either Lucifer or Satan In the New Testament, Peter mentions angels punished for their sins; Jude blames the angels who 'left their own habitation'; Christ through Luke predicts the end of Satan who will 'fall as lightning'; Paul warns the people against Satan's ability to transform himself in an 'angel of light'; and St. John the Divine evokes a fallen star who opens the 'bottomless pit' and an apocalyptic battle between Michael and the devil who is also called the Dragon. Although one can glimpse some features of the myth, it remains a blur. The different translations of the Scripture reinforce this impression. The sense attributed to specific words such as *lucifer*, shift from one translation to the other. In order to understand the origins of the myth, it is primordial to understand the signification of these biblical concepts. It is also important to observe how the Church Fathers used these disparate translations to shape the basis of the common Luciferian myth. Indeed, it is in the texts of Origen and Saint Augustine – mainly— that the story of the fallen angel as it is known today has begun to arise. However, the myth remains unclear until the intervention of John Milton in 1667, who transforms the sketchy biblical story into a literary myth.

1.2. The Elaboration of a Myth: Post-Biblical Influence

Translated from Hebrew into Greek, from Greek into Latin, and from Latin into French, English and other languages, the Bible can sometimes feel like a patchwork of translations rather than a single entity. Many authors interpreted the Bible based on the translation that was available to them and not necessarily the original text. Important meaning was lost in this process and mistakes may have been made. It is with this in mind that one should read the Church Fathers' readings of the fallen angel story. Although some of them were perfectly able to read Hebrew

and Greek, others, such as Saint Augustine, did not have this ability. Furthermore, the Church Fathers' mission itself – to spread the Christian faith – may have shaped their interpretations and, therefore, those of later, literary authors such as Milton.

1.2.1. The Importance of Translations

This part intends to explain how the different translations of some excerpts of the Bible had an impact on the elaboration of the myth of the fallen angel.[14] From Isaiah, to Peter and Revelation, the word *lucifer* has many meanings. Sometimes a fallen angel, occasionally the Christ himself, this 'character' – if a character he is – seems out of reach.

The most relevant example of this is the translation of Isaiah 14:12: 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! *how* art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations!' Neil Forsyth explains the different translations of what is now known as 'Lucifer', starting with the Hebrew expression *Hêlēl ben Šaḥar*. According to the author, the expression designates a feminine Indo-European dawn goddess and his son, the sun. However, it could also allude to the planet Venus. He then writes that:

> Whether or not the composer of the Isaiah passage made this explicit identification, the Greek translators of the Septuagint certainly did, since their translation of *Hêlēl ben Šaḥar* as *Heōsphoros ho prōi anatellōn* clearly combines the astronomical identification with Hesiod's Heōsphoros, son of Heōs, the dawn-bringer, Venus. The Greek was in turn rendered by the Latin Vulgate as *Lucifer, qui mane oriebaris*, and the name has stuck to the rebel ever since. (1987: 136)

The name 'Lucifer' is therefore the result of the Greek translation – or interpretation – of an Hebrew expression which might have designated either the son of an Indo-European goddess or the planet Venus. The cosmic interpretation could be enhanced by the second part of the sentence 'how art thou cut down to the ground' which implies the fall of the star-angel. Indeed, as J. W. McKay explains:

> Venus, like Mercury, lies inside the Earth's orbit and appears in the west at evening following the Sun to rest and in the east at or before dawn rising

[14] The present study focuses on the parts relevant to its topic: the fallen angel. However, the translations of the Bible are an important topic and many studies were written. Amongst these studies, one can mention F.F Bruce's *The English Bible: A History of Translations* (1961), Larry Stone's *The Story of the Bible: The Fascinating History of its Writing, Translation and Effect on Civilization* (2010), and Harry Freedman's *The Murderous History of Bible Translations: Power, Conflict, and the Quest for Meaning* (2016). More generally, Umberto Eco has produced an interesting essay on translations*: Experiences in Translations* (2001).

> before the Sun. Because of its orbital path it is never seen to attain the celestial zenith before it is blotted from sight by the light of the rising Sun. Instead it seems to the observer that it is unable to ascend "above the stars of El" and is compelled to descend from its highest point towards the morning horizon, eventually disappearing from view, as it were "cut down to the ground" and "brought down to Sheol, to the recesses of the Pit" beneath the eastern horizon. (1970: 454)

By comparing the Greek and Hebrew translations of Isaiah's passage and analysing Pierre Grelot's theories, McKay establishes a clear parallel between the Hebrew *Hêlēl ben Šaḥar* and the Greek myth of Phaeton, son of Helios who stole his father's sun-chariot and was struck by Zeus' thunderbolt which made him fall from the chariot into a river (1970: 456). Forsyth also draws a parallel between the two myths (1987: 133).[15] Thus, the authors of the Septuagint might have translated a middle-eastern myth into one of their own.

The Latin translators, on the other hand, decided to translate literally the Greek word *heōsphoros* into *lucifer*: morning star, bearer of light. The English translators of both the Geneva Bible and the King James Version decided to render the word *lucifer* as a name contrary to the French translators. Thus, the French translation does not name the angel:

> Comment es-tu tombé du ciel,
> étoile du matin, fils de l'aurore?
> As-tu été jeté à terre,
> vainqueur des nations? (Isaïe 14:12)

The word *lucifer* is considered a noun and therefore translated as 'morning star'. In the Vulgate, one can find this Latin version: *Quomodo cecidisti de caelo lucifer qui mane oriebaris corruisti in terram qui vulnerabas gentes*. The literary French and English translations of this sentence are the ones mentioned above. However, if one had to translate this sentence literally, it would lead to this: 'How have you been knocked down on earth, bearer of the morning light, how have you been thrown on earth, you who used to destroy the nations.' The noun 'lucifer' would not be translated as a name, since it is not written with a capital letter, contrary to the Hebrew and Greek words, and the noun *caelo* would be implied in the idea of a fall but not necessarily from heaven. The English official translation of the Bible chose to transform what the Latin translators may have seen as a concept into a name, rendering the Latin word 'lucifer' as a vocative. This literary rather than literal choice brings a new dimension to the Bible since it

[15] Forsyth also highlights the fact that the comparison between Phaeton and Lucifer was already known during the nineteenth century (1987: 134).

creates Lucifer, angel of light cast out from heaven, then becoming God's main opponent: Satan. Therefore, the leader of the fallen angels is in fact the result of an interpretation of the Holy Scripture rather than a proper biblical character.

The myth of the fallen angel is therefore based on biblical scraps which, once put back in their context, are not clearly referring to this tale. Its main protagonist, Lucifer, seems to lack legitimacy. This is further enhanced by the fact that the fallen angel is not the only 'morning star' of the Bible. Burton Russell writes that 'the name Lucifer, light-bearer, already attached to the head of the fallen angels in Apocalyptic literature, is not used in the New Testament, where the "bearer of light" is the Christ' (1977: 229). Although Burton Russell is mainly right, it is important to note that if the name Lucifer is not used in the New Testament, it is not the case for the noun *lucifer* which is used in Peter's second epistle and rendered as 'day star' in the King James Version translation:

> 'This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.' And this voice which came from heaven we heard, when we were with him in the holy mount. We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arises in your hearts. (2Peter:17-19)[16]

This comparison between Christ and the 'morning star' – or 'day star' – seems to correlate the fact that the New Testament's writers did not perceive the term *lucifer* as a proper name, and that they did not associate the idea of 'day star' or 'bearer of light' with the former angelic state of Satan. Moreover, John assigns to Christ these words in Revelation: 'I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches. I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning star' (Revelation 22:16). Here, Christ himself qualifies his person with the terms 'bright and morning star', thus planting seeds of doubts regarding the identity of the fallen one. These two passages also raise a new question: what if Christ and Lucifer were two aspects of a same entity since they share the same function? As Burton Russell explains:

> The basic postulate is that all things, good and evil alike, come from the God. But to the extent that people feel that the God is good and do not wish to ascribe evil to him, they postulate an opposition of forces within godhead. The opposition gradually is externalized, and a twinning occurs. The god principle is still the source of evil, but it is now twinned (literally or figuratively) into a principle of good and a principle of evil, the former

[16] The English translation of the last part of this passage is the transposal of the Latin version: 'et lucifer oriatur in cordibus vestris'.

> usually being identified with the High God, the latter becoming the God's adversary. Such pairs are called 'doublets.' (1977: 57-58)

In this case, the twinning would not be between God and Lucifer but between Christ, son of God and part of the Holy Trinity, and Lucifer. Lucifer's function would therefore be 'a counterprinciple to Christ' (Burton Russell 1977: 229). The word 'twins' also implies another thought. Indeed, Genesis' sixth chapter retells the story of the 'sons of God' highlighting the fact that, contrary to what Origen affirms in *De Principiis,* there is not only one but several sons of God (1936: 15). As mentioned previously, these 'sons of God' are identified with the angels amongst whom is Lucifer. Thus, if Lucifer and Christ are both the sons of God, then they are also brothers.[17] This reinterpretation of the Bible may explain the Romantic treatment of the myth as it is studied later.

In the light of all these biblical scraps, it seems that the character of Lucifer and its story are not clearly established. Many questions remain regarding the nature of Lucifer and his link with Satan or Christ, but also regarding the myth in itself. Indeed, the temporality – before or after the original sin? – and the circumstances of the fall – pride or lust? – are not defined. It was the Church Fathers who appropriated the Scripture scraps and turned the scattered pieces into a more sharply defined myth, a theodicy.

1.2.2. A Literary Myth?

As Bloom remarks, 'just as there is no single origin of Satan, there is no definitive story about him' (2007: 37). The biography of Satan is, indeed, not easy to establish. The Bible only provides disparate hints on Lucifer-Satan's identity and the numerous studies of this key biblical figure – Philip Almond's, Henry Ansgar Kelly's, Jeffrey Burton Russell's, Neil Forsyth's, Peter Stanford's, to name some of the most important – prove that it is still theologically difficult to construct Satan's proper story. So why is it the case that nowadays, when people are asked about Satan's origins, they refer to the constructed Luciferian myth? The answer to this question is provided by Bloom: '*Paradise Lost* is the last and greatest stand of that myth, which had the curious destiny of never receiving a full treatment in canonical Jewish or Christian writings' (1991: 98).

[17] However, it seems important to note that this interpretation is not scholarly but more the result of 'esoteric tradition' as Harold Bloom states in *Fallen Angels* (2007: 11).

John Milton's final version of *Paradise Lost* was published in 1674. In this epic poem, Milton depicts Adam and Eve's fall. Satan's fall actually serves the function of illustrating why the Serpent has tempted Eve; his story is not the poem's main focus. So why is it that *Paradise Lost*, from its first publication, has been highly regarded for his retelling of the Luciferian myth? First, as previously stated, even if Saint Augustine has defined the most important parameters of the myth (Satan's fall happening before humankind's downfall, and the fact that the devil was an angel who was cast out of heaven because of his pride), there were still some significant blanks that needed to be filled. Thus, the correlation between Satan and Lucifer, the precise reasons of Satan's fall, the description of the battle that defeated Satan, and the fact that the fall has allowed the creation of hell are explored in detail for the first time in Milton's epic poem.[18] The seventeenth-century audience discovered, therefore, a complete version of the myth, which was until then an oral tradition with no official shape. Moreover, the public was also intrigued by what is now described as *Paradise Lost*'s main character: Satan, the 'marvellous scandal of this poem' (Bloom 1991: 98).

Yet Bloom, after reminding the reader that Percy Bysshe Shelley used to say that the devil owes everything to Milton, proposes that 'the Devil's true debt was to Saint Augustine' (2007: 42). There is no doubt that the devil owes a lot to Saint Augustine and his *City of God*, as demonstrated above. However, no one, until Milton, had given such power and splendour to Lucifer-Satan. As Shelley states in *A Defence of Poetry* (1821), 'Nothing can exceed the energy and magnificence of the character of Satan as expressed in *Paradise Lost*' (2016: 16). Indeed, in the epic poem, though still the representation of evil, Satan is represented as a creature capable of feelings such as hatred, jealousy, and envy, of course, but also pain, hesitation, and even remorse. Milton's fallen angel is no longer the rightfully punished creature; he is also the victim of God's power. As Bloom states, 'Milton, in his great epic *Paradise Lost*, truly invented the literary Satan' (2007: 39). It is with the Miltonian version of the myth and of the former archangel that Romantic authors will engage in their own works, making *Paradise Lost* their primary source, which demonstrates further that the formerly religious myth has only properly unfolded in the realm of literature, and has, in effect, become a literary one.

As this chapter has shown, the myth of the fallen angel grew gradually more complex, beginning with short, fragmentary references in biblical texts, elaborations in the Church Fathers' commentaries on these texts, and coming to full fruition in the works of literary writers.

[18] Although Mario Praz explains that Milton was influenced by two major texts: Gambiattista Marino's *La strage degli innocenti* (1632) and Dante's *Divine comedy* (1472) (1977: 73).

The Old Testament provides three important features: the name of the angel –although it has been explained that it is more the result of translations than Isaiah's conscious product – the fall, and the theme of pride. The New Testament associates Isaiah's story with Satan but also clouds the myth by introducing the idea that the light-bearer, the morning star, could also be Christ. The Church Fathers corroborate what was proposed in the New Testament: Lucifer and Satan are the same being. They also use St John the Divine's Revelation to contribute to the myth. However, Saint Augustine transforms the Apocalyptic battle into a pre-lapsarian conflict, turning the story of the fallen angel into a myth of origin. The myth of the fallen angel finally reaches its most complete form in Milton's epic poem. In *Paradise Lost*, the English author gives Lucifer-Satan a constructed story, transforming the biblical myth into a literary one.

In this brief sketch of the history of Luciferian myth-making, one text is not cited: The Book of Enoch. As stated before, the apocryphal text provides an alternative to the Luciferian myth. The story of the Watchers unveils other characters, such as Semjaza and Azazel. Although it is also a tale of rebellion, the Watchers narrative does not portray prideful beings. Instead, Semajza is driven by lust, and Azazel defies God by sharing divine knowledge. It is precisely these two important aspects of the Enochic myth which are to be found in Romantic texts. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that the Inter-Testamental text was rediscovered at the end of the eighteenth century – although some parts of it were very likely known before by some scholars and literary writers such as John Milton. Thus, the following close-reading of this text together with an analysis of its reception aims to highlight some key features of the Romantic appropriation of the myth of the fallen angel.

1.2.3. The Influence of the Church Fathers

As Judith Lee writes: 'the Church Fathers synthetized [the biblical] disparate narrative elements into a single cosmological myth according to which evil originated with Lucifer's rebellion' (1997: 226). In his biography of Satan, Kelly explains that the Luciferian myth is the result of a progressive construction (2006: 194). First commented upon by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, two important Christian commentators, the Luciferian myth as we know it begins to take shape under the quill of Origen of Alexandria. Origen lived between the second and the third centuries in Alexandria. He commented on every chapter of the Old and New Testaments and, though a great part of his work has been lost, his commentaries are still perceived as controversial.[19] According to Kelly, Origen's comments are a turning point in the construction of the fallen

[19] Origen's commentaries are particularly criticised when it comes to the concept of the pre-existence of the soul.

angel's myth. He explains that Origen was the first one openly to say, in *De Principiis* (231), that Isaiah's story about a Babylonian king is actually a cautionary tale explaining that Satan was a former archangel named Lucifer (2006: 196). Almond also insists on the fact that 'Origen's most significant contribution was his identification of Satan with the "Day Star" of Isaiah 14, that is Lucifer […] Thus did "Lucifer" become an alternative for the Devil, a fallen being of light' (2014: 42). Indeed, Origen writes that it was 'most clearly proved by [Isaiah's] words that he who formerly was Lucifer and "who arose in the morning" has fallen from heaven' (1936: 49). He then adds: 'Yet, [Christ] also compares Satan to lightning, and says that he fell from heaven, in order to show thereby that he was in heaven once, and a place among the holy ones, and of which the angels become "angels of light"' (1936: 50). Here lay two important features of the actual myth: the fact that there was an archangel named Lucifer who fell from heaven, and the fact that this Lucifer is also known under the name Satan. However, the reasons for his rebellion are not clear and the myth remains incomplete.[20] According to Harold Bloom, Saint Augustine is the one who gave the myth its first proper shape:[21]

> What we might call the Christian Satan is central to the *City of God*, in which we are given the story of Satan's rebellion, caused by his pride and crushed before the creation of Adam, so that Satan's subsequent seduction of Adam and Eve is secondary to the fall of the angels. Augustine also invented the very original idea, totally un-Judaic, that Adam and Eve were created by God in order to replace the fallen angels. (2007: 43)

Indeed, in the *City of God* (426), Saint Augustine affirms that the devil was not created as a demonic creature but as an angel:

> As for John's statement about the Devil, that "he is a sinner from the beginning", the Manichees do not realise that if the Devil is a sinner by nature, there can really be no questions of sin in his case. But what are they to make of the witness of the prophets; either what Isaiah says when he denotes the Devil in the figurative person of the Babylonian emperor, "What a fall was that, when Lucifer fell, who rose in the early mornings!"[…] The inference is that the Devil was once without sin. […] "The Devil sins from the beginning" will then mean, not that we are to think that he sinned from the first moment of his creation, but from the first beginning of sin, because sin first came into existence as a result of the Devil's pride. (1984: 446-7)

[20] Origen explains that 'the devil[…] since he possessed free-will, desired to resist God, and God drove him away' but his explanations remain quite confused and have no link with the Luciferian myth (1936: 67).
[21] Saint Augustine lived in what is now called Algeria during the fourth and the fifth centuries.

Saint Augustine states that the first sin was not the original sin, that is, Adam's and Eve's fall, but the devil's pride, indicating, as Bloom highlights, that the Luciferian myth is pre-lapsarian. He also makes the link between Lucifer and the devil, denoting that the Babylonian king is actually a metaphor to designate Lucifer, and not the reverse. Burton Russell notes that 'Augustine knew virtually no Greek' (1987: 186). The Church father could not, therefore, consider the Hebrew and Greek version of Isaiah, in which no mention of the devil can be found. Moreover, some important elements of the myth, such as the battle between Michael and 'the dragon' are still missing.[22]

As Burton Russell writes, 'some of [Augustine's] arguments were weak, even incoherent' (1987: 218). Thus, even if 'Augustine's influence […] dominated medieval, Protestant and post-Reformation Catholic theology', it appears that the myth of the fallen angel still does not have a proper written story (195). It is only in the seventeenth century that John Milton truly gives a story to Satan, once Lucifer, fallen angel.

[22] Henry Ansgar Kelly explains that Andrew, Archbishop of Caesera, wrote a commentary on Revelation around 600 in which he clearly establishes a link between John's description of the battle and the fall of the angels, at the beginning of times (2006: 207-8).

Chapter 2: The Book of Enoch

There are many occurrences of the name 'Enoch' in the Bible. The Old Testament mentions the prophet three times and the New Testament twice.[23] The first mention of Enoch can be found in Genesis 4:17: 'Cain knew his wife, and she conceived and bore Enoch. When he built a city, he called the name of the city after the name of his son, Enoch.' This direct filiation between Cain and Enoch is not to be found anywhere else in the Bible. Indeed, in all the remaining sections on Enoch, he is referred to as the great-great-great-great-grandson of Adam, and not his grandson, since Jared fathered him (see Gen 5:18). The other mentions of Enoch in the Old Testament allude to his particular status: he is the only human being admitted to heaven as an angel. Thus, it is explained in Genesis that 'Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him' (5:24). More information on Enoch's divine status is provided in the New Testament:

> By faith Enoch was taken up so that he should not see death, and he was not found, because God had taken him. Now before he was taken he was commended as having pleased God. (Hebrews 11:5)

Jude also mentions for the first time that Enoch is a prophet: 'And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints' (14).

George Nickelsburg explains that although there is a relationship between the Book of Enoch and Genesis 6-9, it is impossible to state that the apocryphal text is built upon Scripture (2001: 166). Ephraim Isaac disagrees with this idea. According to him 'it should be evident […] that 1 Enoch is as dependent upon the Old Testament as it is influential upon the New Testament and later extracanonical literature' (2011: 9).[24] There are two different Enochs in the Old Testament and the New Testament only develops one of them: the prophet Enoch taken by God. This fact shows that there is a dependency between the Book of Enoch and the New Testament. This theory is emphasised by the fact that 1 Enoch was 'a viable religious document [before] the canonical decisions were made' (Nickelsburg 2001: 4). The authors of the New Testament knew 1 Enoch and were relying on it as they were relying on any other texts from

[23] There are also mentions of a man named 'Hanoch' in Gen. 25:4, Gen. 46:9, Ex. 46:9, Num. 26:5, and 1 Chr. 5:3. However, it appears that the names are not linked since Hanoch is depicted as Reuben's son.

[24] The strong connections between Genesis and the Book of Enoch are detailed in Paul D. Hanson's article: 'Rebellion in heaven, Azazel,and Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6-11' (1977).

the Old Testament. This relationship of dependency is interesting when it comes to the myth of the fallen angel. It means that the allusions to the fall and to Lucifer-Satan in the New Testament might have been influenced by 1 Enoch and more specifically by the Book of the Watchers. The Book of Enoch is composed of five books. The first one, named the Parable of Enoch (1-36), is also well-known under the name 'Book of the Watchers'; the second one is the Book of Similitudes (37-71); the third one, The Book of Heavenly Luminaries (72-82); the fourth one, The Dream Visions (83-90); and finally, the last one is called The Epistle of Enoch (91-108).[25] Though there are mentions of the fallen angels throughout the Book of Enoch, this thesis focuses mainly on the Book of the Watchers which retells the actual fall of the angels.

The present chapter analyses the discovery, rediscovery and the reception of the Book of Enoch to explain its vital place in the Luciferian myth-making. As mentioned before, the story of the fallen angel is a genuine mosaic. Studying the reception of 1 Enoch allows us better to understand its elaboration. The Book's reception history is also essential for comprehending how the original religious myth has been transformed into a literary one. Thus, after studying the Enochic Odysseus and the construction and evolution of the Luciferian myth, this chapter focuses on the appropriation and the rewriting of the myth. There is evidence to suggest that the writers of the New Testament might have drawn upon the Book of Enoch to write the canonical texts. However, they were not the only ones who saw in this text a rich source of inspiration when it comes to the myth of the fallen angel. This chapter concludes by highlighting the influence of the Book of Enoch on Milton and on the English and French Romantics.

2.1. The Book of Enoch and the Myth of the Fallen Angels: From Discovery to Rediscovery

According to Nickelsburg, the Book of the Watchers – the earliest text composing the Book of Enoch – was 'completed by the middle of the third century B.C.E' (2001: 7). The authorship of this text remains unclear. Kevin Sullivan explains that 'given the composite nature of this booklet within 1 Enoch, it is difficult to be certain about the author and audience of the Book of the Watchers' (2014: 93). If Sullivan speaks of a single author, Annette Yoshiko Reed insists

[25] The structure of the Book of Enoch is still questionable. Indeed, four of the five books aforementioned were found at Qumran in 1948, whereas the Book of the Similitudes was missing. However, another book was found, the Book of the Giants. According to Nickelsburg, it is complicated to assert that the Book of the Giants is part of 1 Enoch although it is 'an expansion of material in 1 Enoch 6-16' (2001: 8). Scholars are still debating over this matter, as Isaac explains (2011: 7).

on the fact that 'the Book of the Watchers was not the result of a single act of authorial creativity. Rather this apocalypse was shaped by multiple stages of authorship, redaction, and compilation' (2005: 16). She then explains that the Book of the Watchers has been in constant changes since 'tradents continued to copy and translate this text for centuries afterwards, anthologizing it together with other writings and excerpting portions for inclusion in new works' (21). Thus, the Book of the Watchers has no clear author(s). Nevertheless, it was regarded as one of the most important Jewish texts (Nickelsburg 2001: xxiii). The original language of the Book of Enoch is still not determined since scholars are divided about the question whether it was written in Hebrew or Aramaic. According to Nickelsburg, it would most likely be Aramaic (2001: 1), but, as Isaac suggests 'neither theory provides wholly convincing arguments which may be accepted without reservations' (2011: 6). Nonetheless, there is no extant copy of the whole text in either of these languages. Only Ge'ez manuscripts dating approximately from the fifth century C.E. remain (2001: 1). The Ethiopic translation only arrived in Europe in the late eighteenth century. However, one can find references to the Book of Enoch, and more specifically, to the Book of the Watchers, in works written before 1773. To understand how this was possible, and to clarify what material might have been available to authors such as Milton, it is important to retrace the story of 1 Enoch's transmission.

2.1.1. The Enochic Odysseus

The journey of the Book of Enoch begins with the Church Fathers. As Isaac states: 'Church Fathers including Justin Martyr, Ireneaus, Origen, and Clement of Alexandria, either knew 1 Enoch or were inspired by it' (2011: 8). Thus, in *De Principiis*, Origen mentions Enoch numerous times. He explicitly refers to the apocryphal text – 'Similar statements are made in the Book of Enoch' (1936: 31) – and bases some of his commentaries upon it. Thus, when he explains the role of the angels, he refers to a precise part of 1 Enoch (66), and when he suggests the limitation of God's power, he writes: 'Enoch speaks thus in his book' (323). The influence of the Book of Enoch upon Origen highlights two important points: on one hand, the Book of Enoch was still accessible and read in the second century B.C.E. Christian world, and on the other hand, Origen does not distinguish 1 Enoch from the rest of the Bible. His attitude was echoed by many of the early Church Fathers. Thus, Nickelsburg explains that Justin's 'knowledge of the story in 1 Enoch is evident' since he refers to the Watchers when he reveals the origins of sin (2001: 88). Nickelsburg also adds that Tertullian of Carthage used to 'defend [1 Enoch's] authenticity and inspiration' (89) whilst Isaac underlines Tertullian's 'high regard

for it' (2011: 8). The early Church Fathers' concern for the Book of Enoch proves that the apocryphal text was still regarded as a valuable religious work during their time. It is only in the course of the fourth century B.C.E. that one can notice a shift in the treatment of 1 Enoch. Augustine – amongst other Church Fathers – 'rejects the veracity of the story of the watchers' (Nickelsburg 2001: 95).[26] Gradually, the Book of Enoch's religious value is denied – except in Ethiopia – and it becomes impossible to lay a hand on the text in Europe.

In 1606, Joseph Scaliger, an Italian-Dutch-French scholar, includes in his work some parts of 1 Enoch. He found these excerpts in the *Chronography* of George Syncellus, a ninth-century Byzantine monk (Boccaccini 2014).[27] The texts are written in Greek and they constitute 'the only textual evidence for 1 Enoch in the West' until the nineteenth century (Nickelsburg 2001: 12). Nathaniel Schmidt states that 'in the humanistic period indications begin to appear among Christian scholars in the western world of acquaintance at least with the existence of some books bearing the name Enoch' (1922: 45).

Despite the existence of scattered references, it had been impossible to read the whole Book of Enoch since the fourth century C.E. Readers had to wait until the eighteenth century to discover that 1 Enoch is much larger than Syncellus' excerpts. In 1773, during an exploration to discover the source of the Nile, James Bruce, a Scottish explorer, finds the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch (Nickelsburg 2001: 22). In his account of his travels, Bruce writes that he brought back three copies: one for him, one he 'consigned to the library in Paris' and 'a third copy that [he] presented to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, by the hands of Dr Douglas, the Bishop of Carlisle' (1964: 422). The texts were written in Ge'ez and parts of it, including the Book of the Watchers, were translated into Latin only in 1800 by Silvestre de Sacy. In 1821, Richard Laurence of Oxford translated the Ethiopic manuscript into English; and in 1856 Gustave Brunet translated it into French (Nickelsburg 2001: 09).[28] The French authors who wrote poems inspired by the fall of the Watchers before 1856 have probably either read the Latin or the English translation, or have been indirectly influenced by the English works dealing

[26] It is interesting that one of the most important contributors to the Luciferian myth is the one who is rejecting the competing version of the origin of evil. This highlights the fact that the Luciferian myth is not a biblical myth in the strict sense of the term but rather the joint product of religious writers and literary authors.

[27] Most of the time, the second edition (1658) of Scaliger's edition of the *Chronography* is put forward. However, as Gabriele Boccaccini explains, this second edition was made after Scaliger's death (2014).

[28] In the notes, it is explained that Bruce himself attempted to translate the first eighteen chapters relating the Watchers narrative 'but, weary of the subject, proceeded no further' (1804: 425). Later in his book, Bruce explains that he entrusted the book to Dr Woide so that he could bring it to England from France. He then adds '[t]his accordingly obtained, and a translation of the work was brought over; but I know not why, it has nowhere appeared. I fancy Dr Woide was not much more pleased with the conduct of the giants than I was' (426). Therefore, it seems that Bruce's translation was lost.

with this topic. This supposition reinforces the idea that the Romantic vision of the Luciferian myth is the result of influences and perceptions rather than the product of theological research.

Two other significant steps in the Book of Enoch's reinstatement are to be mentioned. First, Robert Henry Charles's English translation, published in 1893, which remained the official translation of the Book of Enoch for many years. Secondly, the discovery of manuscripts of the Book of Enoch at Qumran between 1949 and 1956.[29] These are major events in Enochic studies but they are not relevant to this thesis since they both happened after 1886 which is the date of publication of the last text studied: *La Fin de Satan*.

Finally, it is also important to mention 2 Enoch – or Slavonic Enoch – a text supposed to be written by 1 Enoch authors. However, as Neil Forsyth explains, 'all the part of this work that refer to Satan, Satanail, or Sotoan, are the additions of a late reviser or editor, possibly a fifteenth-century Slavic scholar' (1987: 242). This means that the Church Fathers have not used this text to shape the outline of the fallen angel myth. Moreover, the Slavonic Enoch only 'became known to Western scholars through the edition and Latin translation of Matvei Sokolov [in 1899]' (243). Therefore, 2 Enoch could not have been used by Milton or the Romantics.

The Book of Enoch's complex afterlife allows us to understand how the text was known to Milton and Romantic authors. The fact that there were two official versions of the myth shows that the interest in the fall of divine creatures onto earth was meaningful. Paul D. Hanson explains that the Book of the Watchers 'revives the ancient concern in mythopoetic thought of producing a cosmogonic explanation of the basic polarities discerned at the centre of human existence' (1977: 202). Thus, it seems that the writers of 1 Enoch – and of the Bible – through the search for the origin of evil, were also clearing humankind from their implication in this emergence.

2.1.2. The Myth of the Watchers: A Rebellion Myth?

The Book of Enoch's first part is dedicated to the Watchers, a group of angels who decided to abandon their position in heaven to mate with human women. Once on earth, the former angels taught divine arts to humankind and begot children. These children, described as giants, and

[29] James C. Vanderkam explains that '[f]ragments from all the major components of 1 Enoch have been identified among the texts from Qumran cave 4, with the exception of the Book of Parables and chapter 108' (2010: 3). He then explains that eleven copies of fragments of the Book of Enoch were found at Qumran and that these copies were written between 200 B.C.E. and 1 C.E. mostly in Aramaic (3).

called *Nephilim*, destroyed the earth and its population.[30] Fearing for their lives, human beings asked for heavenly help. Alarmed by humanity's requests, Michael and other angels intervened. They annihilated the giants and imprisoned the guilty angels. Thus is the story of the Watchers.

As previously mentioned, the word 'watcher' can be found in the Old Testament (Daniel 4:13-23) as a synonym for angel. However, the story retold by Enoch does not take into consideration this part of the Bible. Instead, the story's starting point is Genesis 6-9 which tells of the Flood. In this brief part of the Old Testament, it is explained that 'the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose' (6:2). From this alliance were born giants which are also depicted as ancient heroes. Then, without any clear explanation, except for the fact that 'God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually', God decided to destroy humanity by flooding the earth (6:5). There are two points to be made about the original Flood narrative. The first one is that there is no clear connection between the 'sons of God', their offspring, and the Flood. The second one is that the word 'evil' is clearly associated with humankind rather than the 'sons of God.' Thus, God's decision is a decision against humankind rather than a protective one. God loses his role of benevolent father – admittedly linked with the New Testament rather than the Old Testament – to become a punisher. Furthermore, it places humankind in a difficult position since the Flood narrative assigns the origin of evil to human beings. That is where the Book of Enoch interferes. By providing a more detailed and structured explanation for the Flood, the authors of 1 Enoch reaffirm God's status and power on the one hand, and shift the origin of evil on the other hand. Thus, the Book of Enoch introduces the idea that sin is not only a human fault but also the responsibility of heavenly beings, as Isaac explains (2011: 9). Bernard Jacob Bamberger writes that 'Those who wrote of fallen angels in the Book of Enoch were not playing with a folk tale. They were wrestling with a central problem of religion' (1952: 26). The story of the Watchers shares the same original purposes with the Luciferian myth: it is both a theodicy and an explanation of the origin of evil.

Nonetheless, the Watchers narrative also has a political function. According to Margaret Barker, the Book of Enoch was 'used as the basis for comment on contemporary situations' (1988: 40). She then adds that 'the angels who lusted and took earthly wives, for example, are thought to have been used as the pattern for condemning the corrupted priesthood of the second

[30] The Hebrew word *Nephilim* originates from the Hebrew verb *naphal* which means "to fall". The word *Nephilim* thus designates those who have fallen.

century B.C.E' (40). Nickelsburg supports this idea: '[r]eligious persecution and social oppression are the matrices for much of the apocalyptic speculation in 1 Enoch and its sister apocalypses' (2001: 5). Reed does not agree with the fact that 1 Enoch authors could have entertained a conflicted relationship with the Temple (2005: 65). However, she explains that the Book of the Watchers was written in the times around the Diadochi (323-302 B.C.E.) and that 'for two centuries the fate of the Jews was entangled in the rivalry between the two Hellenistic dynasties that they founded' (59). Thus, from its very beginning the fallen angels are used for political purposes. This political dimension is enhanced by the denomination of the heavenly beings. Indeed, in Genesis 6:2, the expression 'sons of God' is used, whereas 1 Enoch's authors prefer to use 'watchers'. The difference is important since the Watchers-angels are heavenly creatures but are not regarded as divinities in Christian mythology. As Kevin Sullivan writes: 'the Watchers are not considered equivalent with God, and yet […] they are much more than human –they initially reside in heaven and are privy to knowledge that humans do not have' (2014: 91). Burton Russell goes further by explaining that

> by demoting [the sons of God] to the status of angels, Enoch has safely removed them beyond the limits of the divine nature itself, and this in turn allows him and his fellow Apocalyptic writers a free hand in bringing out their evil nature. (1977: 187-8)

Thus, this change would allow 1 Enoch's authors to deny both humankind's and God's responsibility in the origin of evil. Although this idea is very interesting, one can disagree with it. Indeed, if the Watchers narrative is originally used as a political statement against priesthood, then the 'transformation' of the sons of God into angels can also be a strong statement against divinity and power. One can argue that there is no change in status between the sons of God and the angels, since the angels may be regarded as the actual offspring of the Almighty. Thus, the Book of the Watchers could be a statement against what the Old Testament's God represent: an omnipotent hegemony. From the beginning, the myth of the fallen angel could be read as a rebellion myth rather than a theodicy.

2.1.3. The Appearance of Luciferian Features in the Watchers Narrative

Despite being rejected by the late Church Fathers, the Watchers narrative provides many features of the Luciferian myth. Indeed, it includes four important elements: the celestial metaphors, the notion of hell, the idea of a fall, and evil figures.

The motif of the fallen star pervades the Book of Enoch. The first occurrence happens in the Book of the Watchers. Whilst Uriel is giving Enoch a tour of the earth and Sheol, the prophet provides an interesting description of the Jewish hell:

> And I saw a deep pit with heavenly fire on its pillars; I saw inside them descending pillars of fire that were immeasurable (in respect to both) altitude and depth. And on top of that pit I saw a place without the heavenly firmament above it or earthly foundation under it or water. There was nothing on it—not even birds—but it was a desolate and terrible place. And I saw there the seven stars (which) were like great, burning mountains. (Then) the angel said (to me), "This place is the (ultimate) end of heaven and earth: it is the prison house for the stars and the powers of heaven. And the stars which roll over upon the fire, they are the ones which have transgressed the commandments of God from the beginning of their rising because they did not arrive punctually. And he was wroth with them and bound them until the time of the completion of their sin in the year of mystery. (2011 18:12-16)

There are two major ideas in this passage. The first one is the depiction of what is commonly known as hell. In folk tales, hell is most generally the devil's kingdom, a place of punishment for humans where Satan exercises his power with cruelty. However, in this case, hell is the celestial bodies' place of punishment. It has nothing to do with humankind, it is a strictly divine region. The depiction of hell enhances the idea that God is its ruler and not an evil entity. Indeed, the fire – which is generally Satan's attribute – is considered to be 'heavenly'. In *Paradise Lost*, Satan shouts out 'Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n.' (Milton 2003: 9.263) But is he really reigning in hell? It seems, according to the Enochic depiction, that the actual ruler of hell is God, and that, therefore, even fallen, Satan is still God's servant. This turnaround is central in the Romantic vision of the fallen angel.

The second important idea of this passage is the fallen stars. Uriel describes the celestial bodies lying in the pit of hell as 'stars and powers'. The heavenly hierarchy of angels is composed of three spheres, each of which contains three orders. In the second sphere, the third order of celestial beings is called 'powers'.[31] Thus, one may think that these fallen stars are actually the fallen angels. Bamberger – although he points out that the association between angels and stars is common – disagrees with this idea:

> Several scholars have suggested that the myth of the fallen angels was inspired by the phenomenon of shooting stars. This may be true of pagan

[31] The details of the angelic hierarchy can be found in Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita's *De Coelesti Hierarchia* (fifth century B.C.E). Saint Thomas Aquinas also develops this hierarchy in *Summa Theologica* (1273).

> sources of our myth – not the myth itself. But in the present section, wicked stars and wicked angels are not the same. (1952: 11)

In the present case, Bamberger is right. Even if the choice of words is confusing, there is no clear association between the fallen stars and the fallen angels. Actually, the stars and the fallen angels are imprisoned in two distinct parts of hell. However, there is another passage in the Book of Enoch that corroborates the confusion of the two celestial bodies:

> Again I saw (a vision) with my own eyes as I was sleeping, and saw the lofty heaven; and as I looked, behold, a star fell down from heaven […] Once again I saw a vision, and I observed the sky and behold, I saw many stars descending and casting themselves down from the sky upon that first star. (2011 86:1-3)

In Enoch's vision, the stars are descending on earth to mate with cattle. This action recalls the Watchers narrative since lust is also what drove the stars to 'cast themselves down from the sky'. In this case, it seems pretty clear that the fallen stars are the fallen angels. This idea is reinforced by the punishment of the first fallen star: 'I then saw one of those four [archangels] who had come out earlier seizing that first star, binding his hands and feet, and throwing him into the abyss' (88:1). This punishment is similar to Azazel's. Thus, it seems that even if no name is clearly stated, Enoch links the fallen angels to the fallen stars. Burton Russell confirms this idea:

> In the Book of Enoch, the falling angels are likened to stars falling from heaven. The identification of angels with stars is not uncommon in the Old Testament, but the imagery of Enoch indicates that a certain overlap between the Watchers myth and passage in Isaiah may already have begun. (1977: 196)

This overlap is important. Earlier in this chapter, the idea that the Book of Enoch did not depend on the Old Testament was mentioned. The association between the stars and the angels in the Old Testament and its reproduction in the apocryphal text show that 1 Enoch authors have read the Old Testament and that they are using it as a primary source. One can see gradually how Venus became Lucifer, bringer of light, and fallen angel.

Another key aspect of the myth is also explored in the Book of the Watchers: the fall. Scholars are still arguing upon the nature of this fall. Thus, to Burton Russell, the Watchers have fallen spiritually. Kyle A. Fraser agrees with this:

> If we look to the actual motivation of the angels, their descent from the spheres seems not to represent a normal cosmic function at all, but an aberration and a perversion. It seems, in other words, to constitute a "fall" in the Enochian sense. (2004: 135)

Although this idea can be admitted, it seems that there is no proper fall in the Watchers narrative. Indeed, it is said that the Watchers 'descended' onto the earth, knowing that it was a sin; a bit later, when Enoch sees the stars falling to mate with bovines, he says that they 'cast themselves' onto the earth. If the Watchers are well aware of their sin and its consequences, then one cannot speak of a fall but rather of an abandon. In the Luciferian myth, Lucifer is defying God to take his position, he aims to win, he does not envisage losing his battle. Thus, his fall is both physical and spiritual.

In the previous chapter, the two main characters of 1 Enoch, Semjaza and Azazel, were introduced. Forsyth writes about them that:

> When we look at the details of [the Watchers'] myth, we discover several inconsistencies, the most glaring of which is that the rebel leader is alternately *Šemiḥazah* (Semjaza in Ethiopic; hereafter anglicized Semihazah) or *'Aśa'el* (Azazel; hereafter anglicized as Asael). (1987: 12)

If Semjaza is introducing himself as the leader of the angels, it seems that Azazel is a closer avatar of Lucifer. Thus, Azazel is presented as the leader of the stars in Enoch's visions and Uriel also tells the prophet about 'the armies of Azaz'el' (54:5). However, the angel is only listed in the tenth position when Enoch enumerates the Watchers' names, whereas Semjaza is designed as the first one (69:2). Yet, there is no Semjaza in the Bible whereas there is an Azazel in Leviticus 16:

> And Aaron shall cast lots over the two goats, one lot for the Lord and the other lot for Azazel. And Aaron shall present the goat on which the lot fell for the Lord and use it as a sin offering, but the goat on which the lot fell for Azazel shall be presented alive before the Lord to make atonement over it, that it may be sent away into the wilderness to Azazel. (New International Version Lev: 8-10)

This Azazel does not appear in the King James Version where his name is translated as 'scape-goat'. However, the most modern version of the Bible correctly translates the Hebrew name. Azazel is the only figure, apart from God, to whom a sacrifice is being made. There is no addition to this passage and the biblical Azazel remains a mystery. Nevertheless, his privileged status reminds of Lucifer's one in heaven. Thus, could Azazel be Lucifer?

Nickelsburg explains the significations of the names 'Semjaza' and 'Azazel' in his commentary of 1 Enoch. Semjaza can mean either "my name has seen" or "heaven has seen" (2001: 179). This could mean that right from the beginning, God knew that Semjaza will deceive him. As far as Azazel is concerned, his name means 'God has made', highlighting his function of maker angel as Nickelsburg explains (2001: 180). Still, this name could also mean something else. 'God has made' could also be read in a psychoanalytical way: God has made Azazel, he is therefore responsible for Azazel's sin. This reading would design Azazel as the Luciferian protagonist of the Watchers narrative.

Moreover, Azazel's functions are closer to Satan's functions than Semjaza's. Indeed, when the Watchers are sharing knowledge with humankind, Semjaza is in charge of the plants whereas Azazel is in charge of the metal and the mineral. Forsyth explains that these two elements are coming from the depths of the earth, the same depths that are associated with hell (1987: 175).

The Watchers narrative also shares similarities with Greek myths. Thus, when the fallen stars are described as 'great, burning mountains' (18:15), one is reminded of the Greek Titans who tried to rebel against Zeus and where cast into Tartarus. Nickelsburg writes that 'If one dates the creation of the Asael myth to the fourth century B.C.E., […] there are no clear reasons why Jews would be reticent to use pagan sources from their Greek environment' (2001: 193). This association between Hellenistic myths and the Book of the Watchers is further enhanced by the Promethean dimension of the Azazel myth. Maximilian Rudwin writes that 'the belief in a movement of rebellion within the family of gods is common to the mythologies of all races' (1973: 2). He is certainly right in the case of the Azazel myth. Indeed, the maker-angel, like Aeschylus' Prometheus, shared forbidden knowledge with humankind and was punished for doing so. Nickelsburg also remarks that their punishments are quite similar since Zeus entombs Prometheus until his final judgment and punishment (2001: 221). In the case of Lucifer's myth, however, the light bearer is not rebelling against God in order to help humankind – rather, it is a selfish action, and one can see there the Christian transformation. Yet crucially, Milton and the Romantics highlight the Promethean dimension of the myth, thus diminishing Lucifer's responsibility.

Could Azazel be Lucifer? The Watcher and the Morning Star share many similitudes. However, as Judith Lee writes, the Watchers narrative 'includes no mention of the angel's envy for human blessings, and it suggests that by his transgression Azazel proclaimed himself adversary of God but not of humankind' (1997: 224). Lucifer-Satan is commonly known in folk tales to be the tempter of humankind and its punisher. From this point of view, Azazel

cannot be Lucifer. However, Milton and the Romantics tend to downplay this side of the fallen angel in their writings. Lucifer-Satan is still jealous of humankind but, in this case, it is because of God's actions, not because he takes pleasure in punishing them.

2.2. From the New Testament to Milton: A Takeover of the Watchers Narrative

The Book of Enoch is linked to the Old Testament in many ways. Indeed, it provides a rewriting of the Flood narrative, mentions the Watchers already quoted in Daniel, and uses a character from the Leviticus: Azazel. Hence, it seems logical that the writers of the New Testament drew upon the Book of Enoch in various places. These quotations contributed to the elaboration of the Luciferian myth. However, the New Testament's authors are not the only one inspired by the Watchers narrative. John Milton, in *Paradise Lost*, seems also to have some knowledge of the apocryphal text. Therefore, it seems that the Book of Enoch plays a key role in the literary construction of the fallen angel story.

2.2.1. Appropriation and Transformation

1 Enoch is an 'inter-testamental' text. This means that most parts of the Book of Enoch were written between what are nowadays called, the Old Testament and the New Testament. For many years, the Book of Enoch was an official religious text and it seems, therefore, logical that the New Testament's authors have been influenced by the apocryphal text. This impact is mainly visible in Jude 1:6, Revelation, and Luke 10:18.

> There are clear allusions to the Watchers story in the New Testament […] In each case, however, the allusions are brief and general enough that they would not guarantee the persistence of the Watcher tradition in the presence of a serious rival. Indeed, the language of these passages [Jude, Revelation] could apply equally well to the prideful rebel, once he was seen to be an angel. (Forsyth 1987: 349-50)

Forsyth is partly right: the Watchers do have a serious rival in the person of Lucifer. However, the parts that are inspired by the Book of Enoch cannot 'apply equally well' to the light-bearer narrative. The analysis of the aforementioned passages proves the contrary.

The study of Jude 1:6: 'And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto the judgment of the

great day' highlights the fact that there is no mention of a fall in this passage. The Latin version of this sentence enhances this observation: 'angelos vero, qui non servaverunt suum principatum, sed dereliquerunt suum domicilium, in judicium magni diei, vinculis aeternis sub caligine reservavit.' The important word in this sentence is the word 'dereliquerunt' a form of the verb 'derelinquo' which means to forsake, to abandon. The Watchers have abandoned their position in heaven, they have willingly 'left their own habitation'. Lucifer's fall is a passive act, he did not wish to abandon heaven, God cast him away. The only thing that the Watchers and Lucifer share, when it comes to their departure from heaven, is that there are both responsible for it. Indeed, the Watchers actively left the heavenly spheres and Lucifer knew what the consequences of his rebellion could be. This difference between the fall and the abandon proves that Jude is not associating the Watchers with Lucifer. Moreover, Jude does not mention either Lucifer, or Satan, or the devil. He only writes about angels. Thus, Jude's writings underline the fact that, in his view, there are two distinct myths: the fallen angel and the Watchers.

Other important references to the Book of Enoch can be found in Revelation. The motif of the falling star is present again:

> And the fifth angel sounded, and I saw a star fall from heaven unto the earth: and to him was given the key of the bottomless pit. And he opened the bottomless pit; and there arose a smoke out of the pit, as the smoke of a great furnace; and the sun and the air were darkened by reason of the smoke of the pit. (9:1-2)

The association of the falling star and the bottomless pit recalls 1 Enoch 18:12-16 where the prophet sees seven stars in the abyss. The depiction of this place – mainly the fire and the void – echoes the dark 'great furnace' where air and light are absent.

Enoch's influence can also be seen in the war between Michael and his legions, and Satan and his angels. Rudwin notes that:

> The New Testament account of a war in heaven which resulted in the defeat of Satan and his fall like lightening from heaven (Luk. x, 18; *cf.* Rev. ix, 1) was not derived from the Old Testament which has no hint whatever of a rebellion and expulsion of angels from heaven. This belief was brought back by the Jews from their Babylonian sojourn and first finds expression in the non-canonical Hebrew writings, particularly the Book of Enoch. It is from the Old Testament apocrypha that this idea found its way into the New Testament. (1973: 3)

Although Rudwin is right, his statement is lacking some important elements. There is, indeed, no mention of such a war in the Old Testament. Moreover, Michael is not designed as Satan's

opponent anywhere in the Bible. The only text where Michael appears as God's hand is the Book of Enoch. Indeed, in 1 Enoch 10:11, God asks Michael to punish Semjaza. In the chapter 20, Michael is described as the protector of humankind: 'Michael, one of the holy angels, to wit, he that is set over the best part of mankind and over chaos' (20:5). This may be why the author of Revelation chose Michael to bring the dragon down: because he had read the Book of Enoch. Finally, the dragon's punishment – 'he was cast out into the earth' (12:9) – is reminiscent of Azazel's punishment. According to all these elements, it appears that St John the Divine, the supposed author of Revelation, had some knowledge of the Book of Enoch, or, at least, of the Watchers narrative.

The last biblical excerpt commonly linked to the Book of Enoch is Luke 10:18: 'And he said unto them, I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven.' It is possible to perceive the Enochic association of celestial manifestations and the angels in this sentence. However, in this case, it seems that the author of Luke's gospel was more influenced by Isaiah 14 and the Hellenistic myth of Phaeton. Forsyth notes that 'Phaeton too was identified with the planet Venus in the later Greek tradition' (1987: 133). Venus is only mentioned in Isaiah 14 as 'the morning star'. Therefore, the influence of the Book of Enoch seems minimal in this case.[32]

In conclusion, it appears that the Book of Enoch had an important influence on the New Testament and on its treatment of the fallen angel. John Milton may also have been influenced by the apocryphal text since he probably had access to it. Furthermore, the poet interspersed *Paradise Lost*, with Enochic motifs.

2.2.2. The Watchers and Paradise Lost: A Case of Direct Influence?

In seventeenth-century England, the Book of Enoch did not exist as a whole and one could only find the story of the Watchers in texts such as Syncellus' *Chronographia* published, especially, by Scaliger originally in 1606, and then, posthumously, in 1658. Grant McColley asserts that 'it is […] certain that Milton knew and utilized Syncellus, regardless of whether or not he purchased the 1652 edition before or after 1658 […]' (1938: 23). Forsyth does not disagree with McColley but prefer to be more cautious by saying that

> Milton may have known this Jewish apocryphal work through the parts of the Greek version cited in Syncellus, to which Scaliger had called attention

[32] However, Forsyth also states that 'some late sources […] make Phaeton's rebellion the occasion for Zeus to destroy the world with a flood of fire' (132). It might be possible, then, that Phaeton's myth also inspired the authors of 1 Enoch.

> in *Thesaurus Temporum, Eusebii Pamphili Chronicorum Canonum Omnimodae Historia Libri Duo,* 2d ed. (Amsterdam, 1658). (2003: 404-5)

As for Don Cameron Allen, he thinks it rather difficult to assert that Milton had Syncellus' excerpts between his hands. According to him, Milton was indeed inspired by the Watchers narrative but rather through Eutychius who 'certainly knew the Book of Enoch' and would have used it in his own work *Nathm-el-Gauhar* (*A String of Jewels*) published into Latin in 1658 (1946: 78-9).

From all these perspectives it is complicated to assert from where Milton had its knowledge of the Watchers' story. However, the most tangible proof could be found in Milton's Commonplace Book. Discovered in 1874 by A.J. Horwood, this autograph manuscript gives an insight of Milton's library. Horwood listed the authors cited by Milton in the *Camden New Series* and neither Syncellus nor Euthychius appear on the list (1876: 64-6). Nevertheless, in 1921, James Holly Hanford, whilst analysing the manuscript, establishes a link between Nicetas, who figures in the list, and an epistle written by Milton which states that the author had a copy of Nicetas' work before 1658. He then draws upon this discovery to assert that:

> Since Milton lists the items in the *Byzantinae Historia Scriptores* which were not at that time in his library we can, by referring to Fabricius' account of the edition (*Bib. Graec*., vii, 520 ff.) definitely name some dozen folio volumes which he possessed. These include, besides Nicetas and Codinus (See No. 96), the histories of Theophylactus, Georgius Monachus, Nicephoras Patriarcha, Nicephoras Caesariensis, Cedrenus, Anna Comnena, Georgius Acropolita, Cantacuzenus, Laonicus, Duca, the *Excerpta de Legationibus*, and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, all of which had appeared before 1658. (284 n149)

Again, there is no George Syncellus in Hanford's list. However, Denis Saurat notes that 'Syncellus is in the list under his other name of George Monachus' (1944: 210). He then adds that 'in his Letter XXI [the same quoted by Hanford], Milton asks his correspondent to send him Theophane's book, which is a sequel to Syncellus's –a fair proof that he had read the latter' (210).[33] Therefore, according to Saurat, Milton has read 1 Enoch through Syncellus' excerpts.

Although Saurat's 'fair proofs' of this fact can be discussed since they are based on suppositions, it appears that Milton had some knowledge of the Watchers narrative. Did he believe in the religious accuracy of this text, one cannot assert. It seems more likely that, as

[33] John McClintock and James Strong explains that Monachus was, indeed, Syncellus' other name. They also explain that: 'The *Chronographia* of Theopahnes […] may be regarded as a continuation of that of Syncellus, and completes the author's original design' (1880).

Syncellus, the poet might only have seen in the Book of Enoch a 'fabulous material' (Nickelsburg 2001:95). Indeed, the epic poem is interspersed with references to the apocryphal text.

Published for the first time in 1667, *Paradise Lost* retells the original sin and Satan's fall from heaven. Angels – fallen or not – are central in the poem and Milton's treatment of these heavenly beings – particularly Uriel – reminds the reader of the Book of Enoch. The description of hell also recalls the apocryphal text. However, one of the most striking Enochic motifs is Azazel.[34] In his poem, Milton describes Azazel as Satan's army standard bearer:

> Then strait commands that at the warlike sound
> Of trumpets loud and clarions be upreared
> His mighty standard; that proud honor claimed
> Azazel as his right, a cherub tall: (2003: 6.9531-534)

There is no mention of Azazel as a fallen angel, or even as an angel, in Scripture. Indeed, in the Geneva Bible – Milton's version – Leviticus, he is a scape goat and the name 'Azazel' is not used. Thus, it seems that Milton's Azazel is an Enochic conception rather than a biblical one.

According to these observations, it seems that Milton knew the Watchers narrative and used it in his epic poem. However, it is important to note that, Milton may also have borrowed motifs from the New Testament that were influenced by 1 Enoch, for instance, Michael. As mentioned earlier, Michael as Satan's opponent was mainly an Enochic idea. It was then developed by St John the Divine in Revelation. Grant McColley asserts that Michael's character, in *Paradise Lost*, is an Enochic character (1938: 27). This might be the case, but one must consider the fact that Milton may have elaborated his character using Revelation rather than the Book of Enoch. In that case, he would have been influenced subconsciously by the inter-testamental text.

2.3. The Romantic Book of Enoch

Brought back to Europe in 1773, the Book of Enoch is known in two important translations: the partial Latin translation of the French scholar Silvestre de Sacy (1800), and the full English

[34] See also Denis Saurat, *Milton: Man and Thinker* (1944).

translation of Richard Laurence (1821).[35]Thus, the question of influence of 1 Enoch on the Romantics is crucial. There is proof that the apocryphal text directly influenced some authors of the studied corpus. There is also evidence of indirect influence, in the form of Romantic authors influencing other Romantic authors. The following part of the chapter demonstrates that the Book of Enoch acted as a primary source for many authors, thus helping the construction of the Romantic Luciferian myth.

2.3.1. A Question of Influence

As mentioned previously, the Book of Enoch was accessible in Greek during the seventeenth century. John Milton has used the apocryphal text in his epic poem and therefore influenced indirectly many authors during the following century. Hence, he was regarded as the most important English poet and was quoted by many authors both English and French. The attraction of novelty may have accelerated the impact of 1 Enoch on biblical related literature at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of nineteenth century. Indeed, Nigel Leask explains that James Bruce became famous when he returned from his exploration: 'On the strength of initial public acclamation, Bruce was elected a member of the Royal Society, and […] was presented to the king and fêted by polite society' (2002: 55). Leask then adds that after knowing this positive fame, the Scottish explorer has experienced its darker side since the veracity of his stories was questioned (56). Nonetheless, he notes that:

> Bruce's *Travels* [1790] –an instance, as contemporaries noted, of textual gigantism which mirrored the mythic gigantism of its author –was probably the most widely read, cited, and anthologized travel book of the period after Hawkesworth's *Account of the Voyages*, although much more maligned. (64)

The fame surrounding James Bruce has probably had an impact on the diffusion of the Book of Enoch. Furthermore, Silvestre de Sacy's translation into Latin and Laurence's English translation allowed authors to have a full access to the text. Paley writes that

> it is not surprising that such a combination of the supernatural-erotic and the apocalyptic stimulated the imaginations of poets such as Lord Byron and Thomas Moore and artists such as John Flaxman and William Blake. (2003: 268)

[35] These translations have been made on both sides of the Channel because on the three manuscripts Bruce brought back, two of them were given respectively to the King of France, and to the Bodleian Library, in Oxford.

György E. Szönyi confirms that 'one can ascertain even without absolute evidence that Blake knew the Laurence translation since it made quite a splash in contemporary intellectual life' (2011: 43). He also explains that 'Thomas Moore, Byron's friend and biographer […] prefixed to [*The Love of Angels*] a scholarly introduction in which he pinpointed the Book of Enoch as a source of inspiration' (2011: 44). Indeed, Thomas Moore mentions the apocryphal text in a footnote in his preface while justifying the subject of his poem:

> The error of these interpreters […] was in making it 'the Angels of God,' instead of 'the Sons' - a mistake which, assisted by the allegorizing comments of Philo, and the rhapsodical fictions of the Book of Enoch, was more than sufficient to affect the imaginations of such half-Pagan writers as Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, and Lactantius, who, chiefly among the Fathers, have indulged themselves in fanciful reveries upon the subject. (1929: 6)

In 1821, Lord Byron wrote two texts in which the reader can feel the influence of 1 Enoch: *Heaven and Earth* and *Cain*. Paley states that '[i]t is doubtful that Byron had read Enoch: he did not claim to have done so, and his subtitles quote Gen. 6:1-2, not Laurence's translation' (2003: 268). However, Bentley wrote in a note that 'Byron's *Heaven and Earth* is also based on the Book of Enoch, for the text mentions "The scrolls of Enoch" and a footnote cites "the Book of Enoch preserved by the Ethiopians"' (1978: 238). Byron does mention 'the scroll of Enoch' (1991: 362, line 275). He also names his angels Samiasa and Azazel. However, as Jerome J. McGann and Barry Weller note, this does not mean that Byron read the Book of Enoch but only that he had heard of it:

> Particularly relevant to *Heaven and Earth* are the chapters [of the Book of Enoch] concerned with the fallen angels (6-10) and the prophecies of the flood (54-5, 64-9), but other aspects of the book's cosmology may have had some influence on B[yron] (or the traditions through which he indirectly absorbed the apocalyptic visions of *Enoch*). A complete English translation of the *Book of Enoch* by Richard Laurence was published in 1821, but there is no evidence that B[yron] had seen it. (1991: 682)

English authors have either read or heard of the apocryphal text and decided to use it clearly in their texts. The influence of the Book of Enoch on French authors is less easy to discern. It seems that, for some authors such as Vigny, the Enochic influence is more an indirect influence than a direct influence. Alfred Jarry, for example, explains: 'En dehors de la Bible, qui ne fournit guère qu'un cadre, […] on discerne également l'influence de Byron, de Bernardin

de Saint Pierre, de Chateaubriand, de Thomas Moore' (1986: 962). It seems, therefore, that Vigny, when writing *Le Déluge* in 1822, must have read Thomas Moore's *The Love of the Angels* and Byron's *Cain*, both published the same year.[36] The influence of 1 Enoch is quite clear when reading this passage of *Le Déluge*:

> Souvent, fruit inconnu d'un orgueilleux mélange,
> Au sein d'une mortelle on vit le fils d'un Ange.
> Le crime universel s'élevait jusqu'aux cieux.
> Dieu s'attrista lui-même et détourna les yeux. (1986: 33, lines 33-36)

The son of the angel provoking God's sorrow recalls both Genesis 6:1-6 and the birth of the giants in 1 Enoch. Thus, Jarry writes:

> La note au vers 34 se rattache à un thème à la mode, exploité en particulier, par Thomas Moore et par Byron. Le mythe s'appuie non seulement sur le passage obscur de la Genèse auquel Vigny fait référence, mais aussi sur le livre, apocryphe, d'Enoch, découvert à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle. (1986: 962)

This indirect influence can also be found in *Eloa ou la soeur des anges*, the poem preceding *Le Déluge* in *Poèmes antiques et modernes*. *Eloa* is, indeed, a tale of seduction.

The appeal for the Watchers narrative for the Romantics, whether they have read the Book of Enoch or discovered it through their peers' works, seems important. Thus, one can find many Enochic motifs scattered throughout their works.

2.3.2. Luciferian Myth and Enochic Poetic

In the common Luciferian myth, there is no trace of lust, Lucifer falls because he has been too proud. However, during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century, the Romantics approach the idea that the fallen angel may have fallen for other reasons than pride. This Enochic dimension is even more interesting since some of the authors studied do not employ the figure of Lucifer when they are influenced by the Watchers narrative Hence, Vigny, in *Le Déluge*, uses common angels. Lord Byron, in *Cain*, gives an important part to Lucifer. However, in this play, Lucifer is not the Enochic fallen being. Indeed, Cain can also be perceived as a figurative fallen

[36]As George Bentley explains, Moore's *Love of the Angels* was first published in the novel *The Epicurean* in 1821. It was then published separately in 1823 both in English and in French translations (1978: 213, 221) Since Alfred de Vigny was mastering English early in his life, as Marc Citoleux explains (1924: 375), it is possible that Vigny had access to an English version of Moore's poem. He may also have read Byron's *Manfred* (1817) and *Heaven and Earth* (1821).

angel. Finally, Vigny is the only one who applies the idea of lust to Lucifer directly in *Eloa ou la soeur des anges*, although it can be argued that the former angel is more driven by revenge than desire.

In addition to lust, one can also find other important Enochic motifs in the aforementioned texts. Thus, the transmission of knowledge as a transgression is utilised by Byron. In *Cain*, the eponymous character keeps reminding himself that his parents were cast out from Eden because they wanted to gain more knowledge. Lucifer's intervention emphasises this idea by showing the future to Cain. Lucifer is the embodiment of evil and he is the one who is sharing knowledge with Cain. Nevertheless, Byron explores the idea that God is preventing humankind from having access to knowledge because he is a tyrant rather than a protector.

The other important motif is the Flood. In Vigny's *Le Déluge*, the Flood is the result of angels mating with women. Although this explanation is given briefly in Genesis 6:1-6, it seems that the author draws upon other sources to develop his plot. As I explained earlier through Jarry's quotation, Vigny had access to the Book of Enoch through Byron's works.

Moreover, the structure of *Cain* is quite surprising. Indeed, just as Uriel shows divine knowledge to Enoch, Lucifer shows the future to Cain. Furthermore, one has to remember that the Bible (Gen 4:17) states once that Enoch is Cain's son. The link between the two-biblical characters associated with the structure of his poem may highlight the fact that Byron was alluding to both the Bible and the apocryphal text in his play. If the influence of the Book of Enoch can be found in nineteenth-century literature, it also appears in nineteenth-century art.[37]

2.3.3. William Blake's Illustrations of the Book of Enoch

William Blake illustrated the apocryphal text. To date, six drawings linked to 1 Enoch have been identified: *The Descent of the Angels to one of the Daughters of Men* (Fig.2), *An Angel teaching a Daughter of Men the Secrets of Sin* (Fig 3), *The Daughter of Men becomes a Siren* (Fig.4), *Enoch before the Great Glory* (Fig. 5), *The Vision of the Lord of the Spirits* (Fig. 6), and *The Book of Enoch* (Fig. 6).[38] The genesis of these drawings is quite peculiar. They were first mentioned by William Michael Rossetti in his 'Annotated Catalogue of Blake's Paintings and Drawings' which was used to illustrate Alexander Gilchrist's *Life of William Blake* (1863).

[37] Other authors such as Percy Bysshe Shelley in *Prometheus Unbound* or Alphonse de Lamartine in *La Chute d'un ange,* have used 1 Enoch as a source of inspiration. It is interesting to note that in both these texts, Lucifer or Satan do not appear.

[38] These titles are the ones used by Washington's National Gallery of Art for the first five and by the Fogg Art Museum for the sixth one. These titles and not Brown's ones will be used throughout this thesis.

Rossetti only refers to the first five drawings mentioned above – the sixth was not found before 1970 – as follows: 'Five Designs to "the Book of Enoch." [Linnell.]' (1880: 270). There is no date and no individual titles for the drawings. However, this brief identification allows us to understand two things: firstly, that these drawings are, without any doubt, illustrations of 1 Enoch; and secondly, that they belonged to John Linnell. The latter was both Blake's friend and patron during the last part of his life as Geoffrey Keynes explains (1971: 205). Keynes also adds that '[t]he world owes to Linnell's encouragement of his friend […] Blake's Illustrations of the Book of Job, which culminated in the series of twenty-one engravings published in March 1826' showing thus that Linnell was fond of Blake's drawings and more particularly of his illustrations of religious texts (205). Bentley suggests that it is quite possible that Linnell ordered Enoch's drawings (1978: 230). However, the fact that Blake had previously expressed his interest for the prophet Enoch through his lithography (c.1807) as Morton D. Paley mentions, highlights the idea that Blake may have illustrated 1 Enoch because he was simply interested in the text (2003: 269). Moreover, the sixth drawing has been found on the verso of one of Blake's illustrations of the *Divine Comedy* meaning that Blake might have made a connection between Dante's Lucifer and the Book of Enoch (Bentley 1978: 230). Some drawings are watermarked '1796' (Brown 1940: 80). Bentley discards these dates and asserts that

> we may be confident that the designs were made quite late, both because they derive from Laurence's 1821 translations (the fragments available previously in Greek and Latin do not account for some elements in Blake designs) and because one of them (Plate 144) is on the verso of one of the series of designs Blake made for Dante about 1824-1827[…]. (1978: 230)

Martin Butlin reinforces this assertion: 'the late style of the drawings suggests that they were done between [1821] and Blake's death in 1827' (1981: 595).

Nevertheless, the designs disappeared until the 'John Linnell Collection' auction of March 15, 1918. The five drawings were sold in one lot (Lot 161) and were thus designated: 'The Book of Enoch: Five designs for illustrations' (1918: 22). Jeffrey Pilkington, Principal Researcher of Christie's Archive, kindly told us that Parsons bought the drawings for 25 guineas, that it is to say £26.50. According to this information, it seems that the drawings were not as valued as other pieces of the collection. This may explain why the public had to wait until 1940, to have access to the first five drawings. Indeed, in an article, Allan R. Brown discloses the designs, identifies which parts of the Book of Enoch they illustrate and christens

them.[39] Although some of these titles have slightly changed since then, they still remained roughly the same. In 1970, John E. Grant discovers a sixth drawing called *The Book of Enoch* (Taylor 1974: 86).

Blake did not illustrate the whole apocryphal text. He focused on the Book of the Watchers – except for one drawing – and only chose to represent what seems to be significant to him. Thus, the first two drawings depict the fall of the Watchers (6-11); the third one illustrates a part of Enoch's journey with Uriel, where the prophet sees the angels in the pit and is being told what will happen to the Watchers and their wives after the Great Judgment (17-19); the fourth drawing takes place when Enoch tries to intercede for the Watchers and meets God in a vision (12-16); in the fifth drawing Blake, according to Taylor, seems to portray Jesus as he is described in the Book of Similitudes (37-71); finally, the sixth drawing seems to represent the fallen stars in the pit as Enoch describes them in 21:1.[40] This study analyses the drawings linked to the Watchers narrative and, therefore, leaves aside the fifth drawing depicting Jesus.

There are four main themes emerging from Blake's drawings: the celestial dimension of heavenly beings, lust, the implication of women, and the question of divine responsibility.

The celestial dimension of the Watchers is explored in two drawings: *The Descents of the Angels to One of the Daughters of Men*, and *The Book of Enoch*. In the latter, one can see a blurred figure falling from the edge of what seems to be a rock. Underneath this figure feature four little stars grouped together and one big lonely star. These stars could be the one mentioned in 21:3: 'There, too, I beheld seven stars of heaven bound in it together, like great mountains, and like a blazing fire' (Laurence 1883: 27). However, there are only five stars on the design and, later in the text, a clear distinction is made between the prison of the fallen stars who disobeyed God's orders, and the prison of the fallen angels. The likening of the stars and the fallen angels appears in The Dream Visions 85:2-87:3, as mentioned earlier. Laurence's translation of this passage is as follow:

> And behold a single star fell from heaven. […] Again I looked in my vision, and surveyed heaven; when behold I saw many stars which descended, and projected themselves from heaven to where the first star was […] Then I looked at that one of the four *white men*, who came forth first. He seized the first star which fell down from heaven. And, binding it

[39] This identification is later questioned by Peter Allan Taylor who notes that Brown used Charles' translation of the Book of Enoch and not the one available to Blake, namely, Laurence's. The texts are slightly different, and therefore Brown's interpretation is a bit biased as Taylor shows (1974: 82-6).
[40] The drawing could also refer to The Dream Visions (83-90) in which the fallen stars try to mate with cattle.

> hand and foot, he cast it into a valley; a valley narrow, deep, stupendous, and gloomy. (1883: 123-5)

There is no precise number in this excerpt. It is only said that the first fallen star was joined by 'many others.' In this regard, one may think that Blake tried to illustrate this passage. Yet the identity of the human-like figure remains unclear. Could this be 'one of the four white men', meaning, an archangel, throwing the stars in the abyss? But then, why leave aside the three remaining archangels? On the other hand, if Blake tried to illustrate Enoch's journey in the Book of the Watchers, this figure could maybe be Enoch watching the fallen stars. However, something prevents one from fully agreeing with this hypothesis since the figure on the rock seems to either throw something or fall, and Enoch only has a passive role in his vision. A final theory could be considered. Although this drawing is merely a sketch, one can perceive what seems to be some long hair. Blake was maybe representing a woman, a Daughter of men, joining the fallen Watchers in the abyss. In the Book of the Watchers (19:2), it is written that 'For in the great day *there shall be* a judgment, with which they shall be *judged*, until they are consumed; and their wives also shall be judged, who led astray the angels of heaven that they might salute them' (Laurence 1883: 26). However, it is not stated that the Daughters of men who sinned are awaiting their judgment in the Watchers' abyss. Many uncertainties emerge from this last drawing, but one thing remains clear: Blake associates the fallen stars with the fallen angels. Indeed, in his first drawing, the poet merges the humanlike – and almost classical – representation of the angel with the celestial representation. Thus, Brown writes that 'by a bold and strikingly effective arrangement the angels are portrayed not only anthropomorphically but also in the guise of stars with phallic attributes' (1940: 83). It is interesting to note that the very centre of the angel-stars are their penises, as if Blake wanted to convey the idea that these creatures have two main features: their heavenly status and their sexual drive. This highlights the fact that lust and sexuality hold a major place in Blake's vision of the fallen angel.

In [Figure 2] and [Figure 3], Blake represents crudely the sexual dimension of the Book of Enoch. In the centre of the first drawing, a naked woman is surrounded by two angels with consequent phalluses. Both seem to lean their crotch forward. The woman touches one of the Watchers' genitals as she gazes at the other Watcher's phallus. On the second drawing, a woman is still in the middle, and still naked. She is surrounded by two giant figures who appear to be *Nephilims*. An angel is descending – or falling – from the sky and touches the woman's vulva. Interestingly, in Laurence's translation of the apocryphal text, there is no mention of lust

or desire. Instead of this, Laurence chooses to render 1 Enoch 6:2 as follow: ‘And when the angels, the sons of heaven, beheld [the daughters of men], they became enamoured of them’ (1883: 6). Then, it is clearly stated that the angels intend to have children with these women. Therefore, there is a sexual dimension in the text, but there is also the idea of infatuation, of love. Blake shifts love for desire, nay a crude bestiality. Bentley writes that ‘[o]n a supernatural level, the relationship between the sexes has been reduced to mere sexuality, and the very stars of heaven have fallen to earth to enter the wombs of women’ (1978: 231).

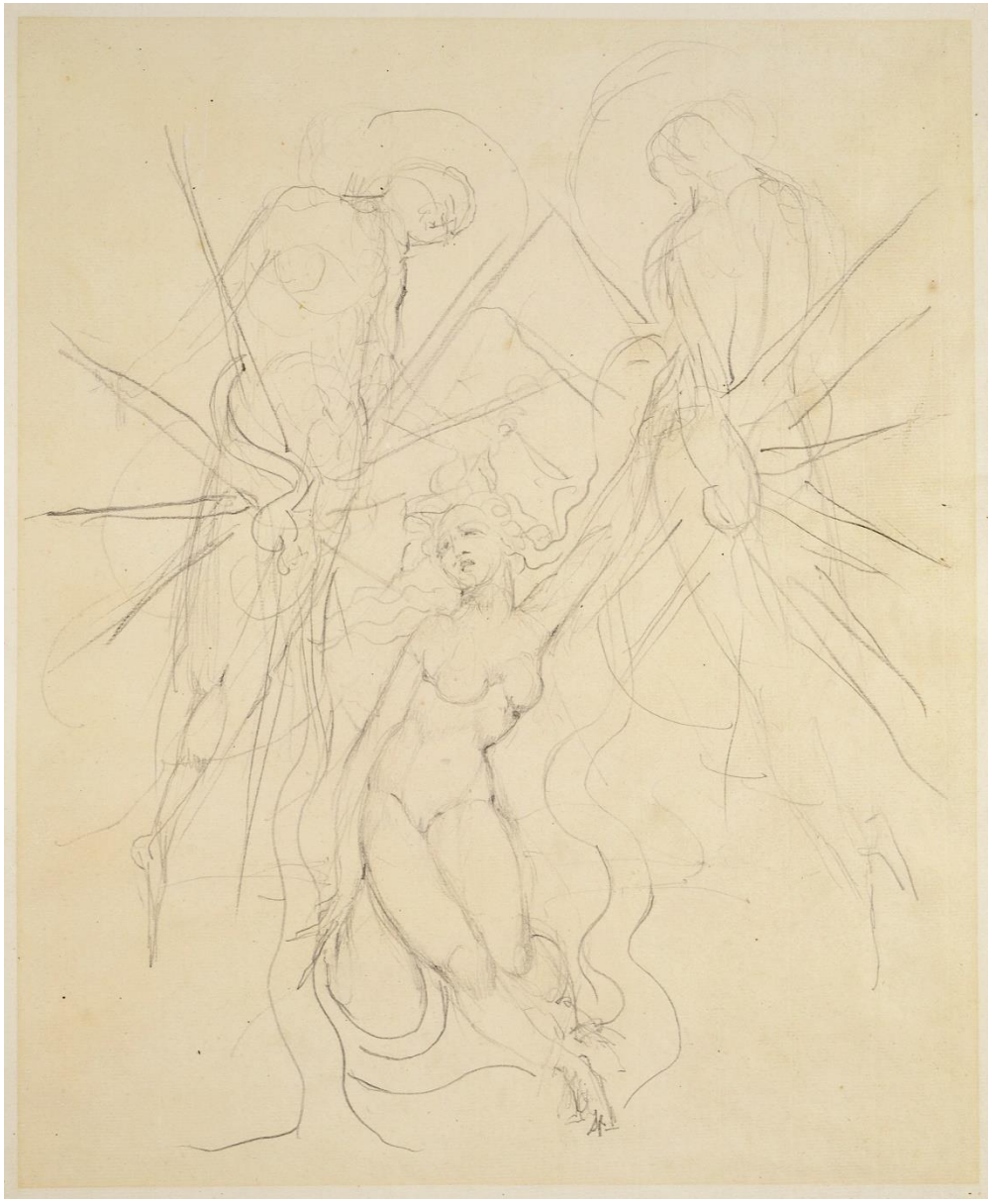

Figure 2: *The Descent of the Angels to one of the Daughters of Men*, c.1824-7. The National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection).

Figure 3: *An Angel teaching a Daughter of Men the Secrets of Sin*, c.1824-7. The National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection).

Figure 4: *The Daughter of Men Becomes a Siren,* c.1824-7. The National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection).

Blake's relation to sexuality is complex. Indeed, as Alicia Ostriker explains, the poet adopts successively four attitudes: he firstly 'celebrates sexuality and attacks repression', then he 'depicts sexual life as a complex web of gender complementarities and interdependencies', later he 'sees sexuality as a tender trap rather than a force of liberation', and finally, he 'see[s] the female principle as subordinate to the male' (1982-83: 156). It is difficult to explain clearly why Blake changed his opinion gradually. The Enoch illustrations were made at the end of his life. Therefore, they are supposed to mirror Blake's almost misogynistic views, asserting women's submissiveness regarding men. Yet, these drawings could also be perceived through the lens of the younger Blake, who praised sexual liberation. Indeed, Ostriker explains that in *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793), Blake 'delineat[es] male sexual aggressiveness as a component of Urizenic patriarchy, and illustrat[es] the kinds of damage it does to both males and females' (1982-83: 157). In the Blakean mythology, Urizen is often regarded as a counterpart to the God of the Old Testament. Thus, Blake could blame God for the Watchers situation. It is difficult to establish which Blake is drawing and it is therefore important to remain aware of the plurality of interpretations.

Blake's different opinion on sexuality raises the issue of his representation of women in his drawings. Indeed, in the first two drawings the consent of the women remains ambiguous. In [Figure 2], the woman's position is peculiar. It seems that her legs gave way and that she is falling on the floor. This fall could be caused by three things: she could be overwhelmed by the heavenly aura of the angels, she could also be overwhelmed by desire, or, the two angels above her, could put pressure on her so that she submits to them. Her touching the phallus of one of the Watchers could be related to the fact that she did not have a choice as a human facing 'the sons of heaven'. Similarly, in [Figure 3], the woman does not look at the angel touching her sex, she is looking the opposite way. She might be trying to avoid staring at her predator. Moreover, her right hand seems to cover her intimacy whilst her second hand is placed on the angel's arm. She might be holding him or trying to push him away. Finally, in [Figure 4], one can see two women. The one on the right is naked and seems to be afraid, whilst the woman on the left, covered in scales, is rising above what seems to be an inanimate body. According to her posture and the expression on her face, she seems to be contented. Brown identifies the woman on the left with a siren:

> [t]he woman has become a siren, or as we should perhaps say, vampire. Wearing the scales of sin, she rises exultant from the prone body of a man, while an innocent sister, balancing the composition, stands at his feet, frozen with grief and horror. (1940: 83)

Taylor explains that there is no mention of a siren in Laurence's translation: 'In identifying the woman of [Figure 4] as a siren, then, Brown has reached a conclusion that Blake could not have intended from the text available to him' (1974: 85). Indeed, in the 1821 translation of the Book of the Watchers 19:2, it is only written that the women who had intercourse with the angels will be punished with them. The word 'siren' only appears from the late nineteenth century onwards. Moreover, it is important to note that the creature represented by Blake is not a siren but a mermaid. Indeed, in Greek and Roman mythologies the sirens were creatures who had the body of a bird and the head of a woman.[41] The only characteristics of the siren that could apply in this case is that sirens, particularly in *The Odyssey* (8th c. B.C.E.) – where they are not depicted – are well known to be seductresses. Therefore, if Blake wanted to represent a siren, he may have chosen to depict women as responsible for their fate but also of the angels' one. This is highlighted by the fact that in [Figure 3], both women are standing in front of a tree, alluding to the Tree of Knowledge and therefore, to original sin. This idea is echoed by the flowers represented in [Figure 3]. These flowers refer to the teachings provided by the angels in the Book of Enoch, 8:3: 'Amazarak taught all the sorcerers, and dividers of roots' (Laurence 1883:8). Amongst many teachings, Blake has chosen to draw flowers, alluding, maybe, to Eden. In Genesis, the original sin is mainly attributed to Eve. By combining all these elements, Blake seems to follow the Book of Enoch which pictures the women as being as faulty as the fallen angels. Their transformation into sirens after the sin committed, reveals their true identity. This vision of the myth is interesting since in folklore and even in Isaiah 14, the morning star, Lucifer, is often depicted as a seducer. Here, even if the Watchers are represented as seducers, Blake emphasises the part played by women in the origin of evil. Thomas Moore, in the *Loves of the Angels*, also portrays faulty women, who seduce the angels to obtain a heavenly status. Byron, in *Heaven and Earth*, portrays two selfish women driven by their love for the angels. Alfred de Vigny in *Eloa ou la soeur des anges* portrays an ambivalent female-angel who dooms and saves Satan simultaneously. However, Romantic texts related to the Book of Enoch do not always embrace this vision. Thus, Lamartine, in *La Chute d'un Ange*, describes Daïdha as an innocent child, whilst Hugo, portrays Liberté, a female-angel, as a beautiful moral character.

[41] They are depicted in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book 15, for instance.

Figure 5: *Enoch Before the Great Glory*, c.1824-7. The National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection).

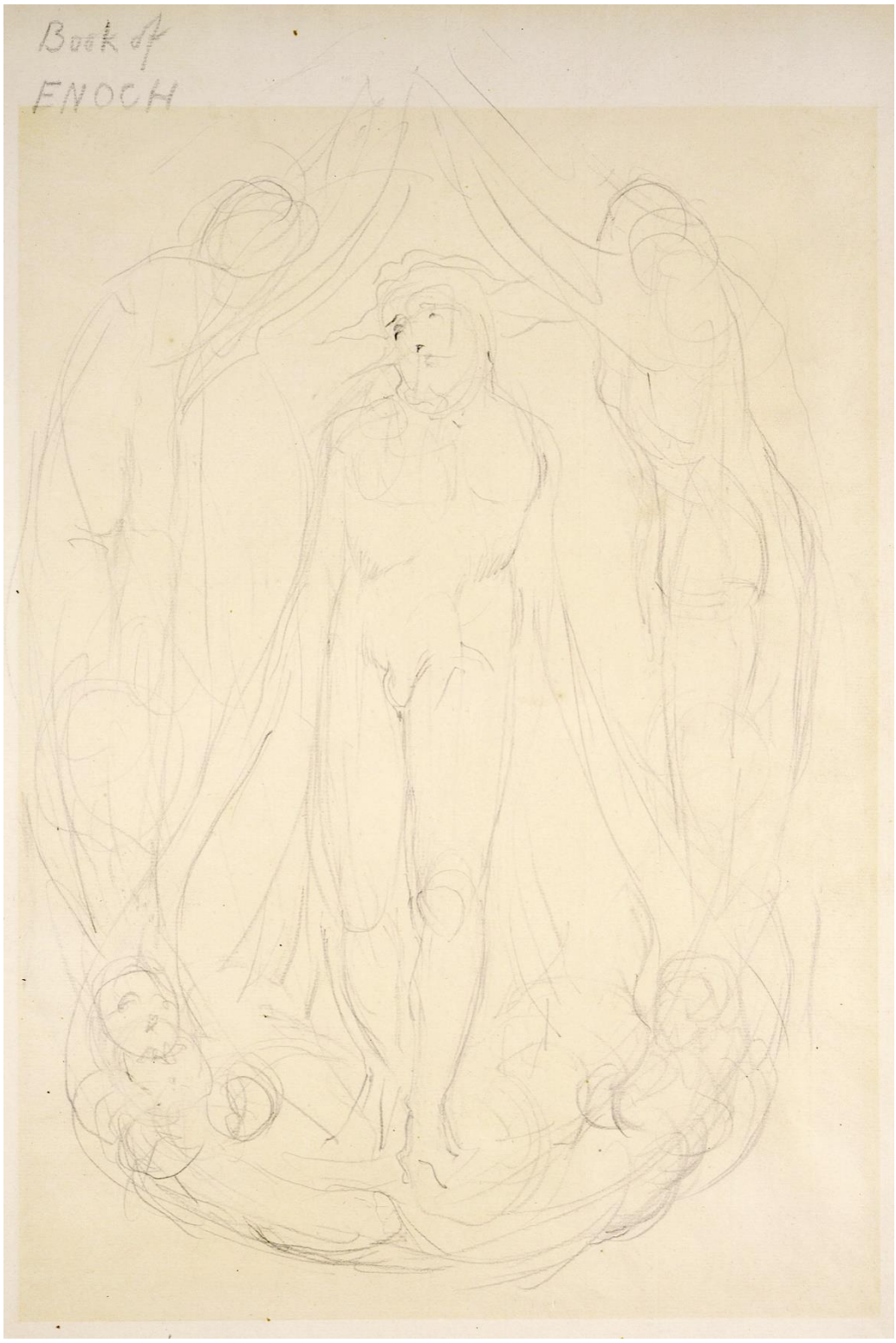

Figure 6: *The Vision of the Lord of the Spirits*, c.1824-7. The National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C. (Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection).

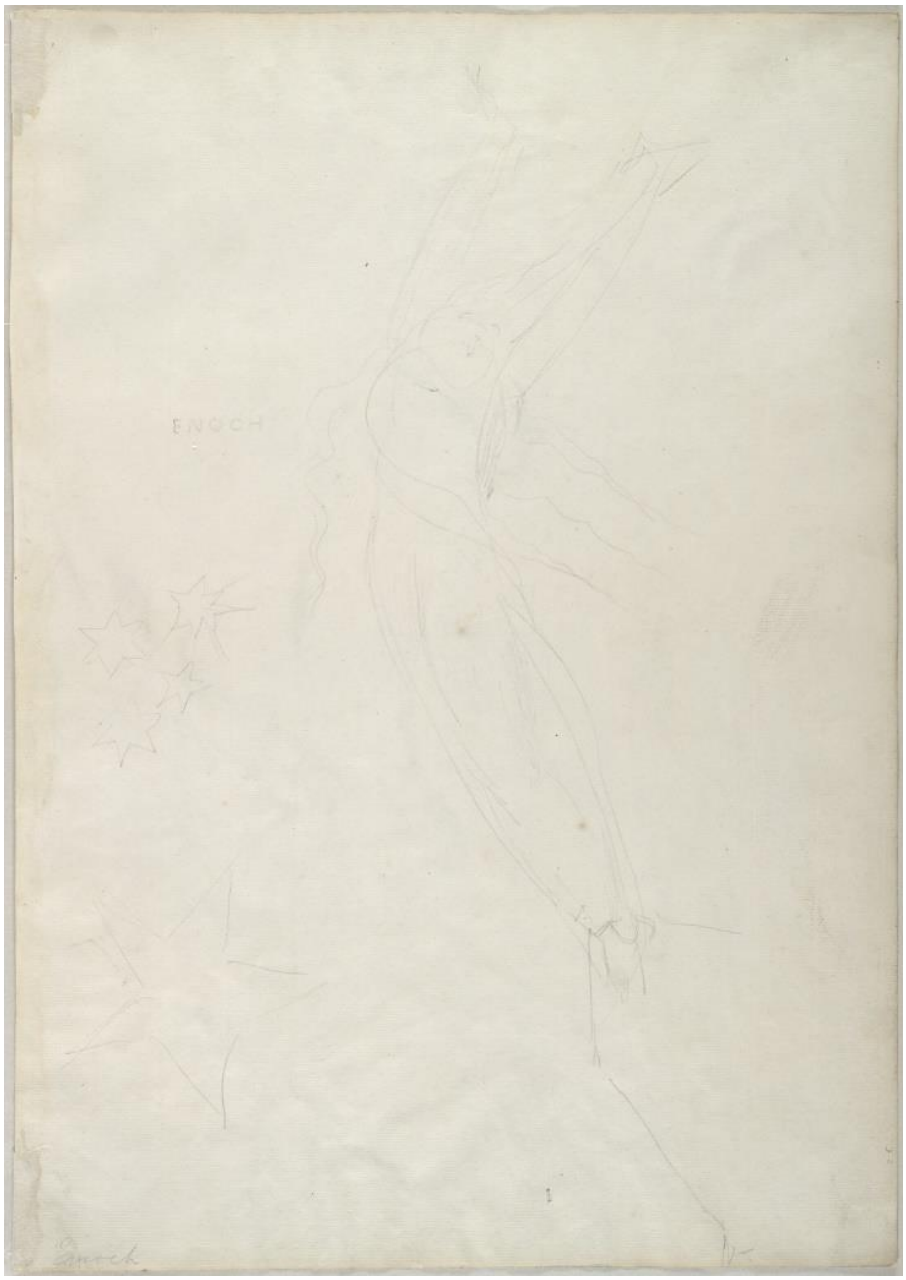

Figure 7: *The Book of Enoch*, c.1824-7, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University.

The Blakean representation of women also questions his portrayal of angels. Indeed, both creatures are represented in a bestial way. Women are human beings and regarded as sinners, it is therefore not surprising to see them drawn as such. However, Blake seems to depart from the classical representation of angels. In his drawings, the Watchers are naked, almost entirely represented by their manhood. Their heavenly status is conveyed by the stars surrounding them and by the haloes crowning their heads. Traditionally, angels can be represented in many ways: they can be tiny chubby children, grown-up men; they can be dressed or naked – although sexes are mostly always hidden –; they can have haloes, or not. However, one thing characterises them: wings. It is very unlikely to find an angel represented without his wings and Blake himself often represents his angels with this attribute. For instance, in his watercolour *Satan in his Original Glory* (c.1805; Fig. 8) representing Satan before his fall, Blake gave the Seraphim many wings. The Enoch drawings do not feature winged Watchers, although their ability to fly is pictured. This absence raises one important question. Blake has read both the Bible and the Book of Enoch. In Genesis 6:1-6, the reader cannot find 'angels' but 'sons of God'; in the Book of Enoch, Watchers are both identified with angels and the 'sons of heaven', according to Laurence's translation. As argued earlier, this shift allowed the Book of Enoch writers to provide an origin to evil without questioning the responsibility of divinity. By demoting his Watchers of their wings, Blake may have chosen to represent the sons of God and not angels, thus, turning 1 Enoch's author's technique around.[42] If the Watchers are the sons of God, then divinity, and God by extension, is responsible for the origin of sin. Through his drawings, Blake may question the legitimacy of God and his benevolence. This is further enhanced by the portrayal of the Almighty in his fourth drawing in which Enoch is portrayed asking for the redemption of the Watchers. The expression on God's face seems quite severe compared to the angels' and humans' faces. He is, of course, gigantic compared to the other characters and his aura of power can be perceived. Blake's God appears as a menacing character. Brown confirms this idea:

> Jehovah, the God of punishment, was always abhorrent to Blake. This was Satan. His God was Jesus, the God of forgiveness. Therefore, the features of the Almighty in the fourth design have something sinister. Blake could have pleaded the cause of the fallen angels better than Enoch did. (1940:84)

[42] The loss of wings could also be characteristic of the fallen angels as Satan is hell is not represented with wings in paintings such as *Satan arousing the Rebel Angels* (c. 1808; Fig. 9).

Figure 8: William Blake, *Satan in his Original Glory: 'Thou wast Perfect till Iniquity was Found in Thee'*, c. 1805, Tate Gallery, London.

Figure 9: William Blake, *Satan Arousing the Rebel Angels*, 1808, Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

The hyper eroticism, the faulty women, the wingless Watchers, and the despotic God, assembled together, give an idea of Blake's insight regarding the fallen angels, the fallen sons of God. The poet does not portray victims: his Watchers are very Enochic, they are responsible for their actions. However, the fault is not entirely theirs. Human women play an important part in their fall, and God, a greater one. The Book of Enoch, and Genesis 6:1-6, justify the Flood. By portraying a 'sinister', merciless God, who destroys the earth because of a few women, his sons, and their offspring, Blake emphasises the idea that this God is not a benevolent one. Under Blake's pencil, God becomes an omnipotent figure, who wipes out the earth, on a whim. The overly proud character is no longer Satan, but the Creator himself. This idea of a God lacking clemency is a key concept in the enhanced Romantic version of what may be called the Miltonic Satan.

From the very beginning, the Book of Enoch appears as an ambiguous text. Supposed to provide a theodicy and an explanation of the origin of evil, it actually emphasises God's responsibility in this matter. The Watchers narrative and the Luciferian myth share some features although they cannot be regarded as strict doubles. Indeed, there is an absence of fall in the apocryphal text. Furthermore, the Watchers' motivation is lust whereas Lucifer's one is pride. From the Enochic tale, readers often remember this lust dimension. However, Laurence, when he translated the text in 1821, decided to use the word 'enamoured', thus granting the angels a more human dimension. Poets and drawers begin to clearly design God as the person at fault. A shift occurs: God is the proud character of the Watchers narrative, not Azazel or Semjaza. However, these artists also explore the desire present in 1 Enoch. Moore decides to represent loving angels, Byron portrays very human like heavenly creatures, whilst Vigny and Hugo follow Moore's path and depict infatuated or benevolent beings. The only author focusing clearly on the sexual drive is Blake. The ambiguity regarding the identity of his heavenly beings – are they sons of God or angels – allows one to question the responsibility of God.

The Enochic Odysseus recalls the construction of the myth of the fallen angel, although the apocryphal text offers a much more structured story. Nevertheless, its influence on literary texts allows authors such as Milton to build a structured, detailed Luciferian myth. Indeed, in *Paradise Lost*, John Milton provides what had never been provided until then: a true biography of the fallen angel. If the title – as the original story – is supposed to be alluding to the original sin, the epic poem has gradually become linked only to Satan. In this work, the former archangel

appears as a fascinating hero, almost a victim and not an executioner. It is this compelling figure that Romantic authors will look up to, will use as a standard bearer in order to express their own feelings, concerns about their era.

Chapter 3: The Miltonic Satan

John Milton (1608-1674) wrote a first version of *Paradise Lost* in 1667 and published a revised version in 1674, to which he added arguments preceding each book and 'The Verse' – an introductory paragraph justifying his aesthetic choices (Rogers 2007). Milton is the first English poet to write in blank verse and to break the rhythm of the iambic pentameter round by using enjambments. Therefore, the very form of Milton's epic is revolutionary as the poet emphasises by writing that he 'pursues / Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme' (1.15-16). However, as Christopher Caudwell states, 'Milton's theme is even more revolutionary than his style' (1970: 48). *Paradise Lost*'s main plot focuses on the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden. Milton also explores two other biblical myths related to original sin: Creation and the fall of Satan and his legions. Humankind's fall and Creation are inspired by Genesis and Milton sometimes reproduces the biblical text *verbatim*. However, as explained in the first chapter of this thesis, there is no official story of the fall of Satan in the Bible. In his epic, Milton fills in the gaps and provides a structured narrative: Satan, formerly Lucifer, is regarded as the most powerful, beautiful, and beloved divine creature. One day, God introduces his new creation, the son, to all the angels, declaring the son's superiority over all of them and asking the angels to submit to him. The prideful Satan, however, together with other angels, refuses the son's dominance and tries instead to overthrow God. A war ensues in heaven and Satan and his legions are defeated by the son and cast out into hell where they decide to avenge themselves by destroying God's newest creation: man. Thus, Milton assembles narrative details from pieces of Scripture such as Isaiah 14, Revelations, and Luke 10:18. He also draws upon the Book of Enoch by insisting on the role of knowledge in Adam and Eve's fall and by insisting on Eve's abilities to seduce, consciously or not. Moreover, his 'version of the Fall story is substantially that of St Augustine', since the Fall of Adam and Eve was not caused by a 'magic apple' but rather by disobedience (Lewis 1961: 66). Finally, Milton also uses contemporary science to explain reasonably some divine facts, summoning figures such as Galileo (Rogers 2007).

The fact that *Paradise Lost* provides a structured narrative of the fall of Satan draws the readers' attention to this story rather than the Creation one or that of original sin, with which they would already have been familiar. As Jeffrey Burton Russell (1986: 95) and Harold Bloom (1991: 98) have stated before her, Regina M. Schwartz writes that

> so powerful is his reading of the brief biblical story, so compelling his interpretation in his own epic, that generations of readers have proceeded to confuse Milton's narrative with the Bible's. They think that Satan, rather than a serpent, tempted Eve, that Satan fell from heaven before tempting humankind, that Eve was alone during her temptation, that Adam fell for love – none of which is biblical. (2001: 44)

The power and the originality of *Paradise Lost* rest upon its myth-making dimension. Milton creates something new with this story, and specifically with its main protagonist: Satan. The medieval grotesque devil embodied by Dante Alighieri's weeping Lucifer is gone, and the reader discovers a new devil, who still bears the beauty that had once been attached to his angelic state.[43] Mario Praz writes that

> avec Milton, le Malin prend définitivement un aspect de beauté déchue, de splendeur voilée de tristesse et de mort; il est 'majestueux dans sa chute'. L'Adversaire devient étrangement beau […] La beauté maudite est un attribut permanent de Satan; le tonnerre et la puanteur de l'Etna, vestiges de la sombre figure du démon médiéval, ont disparu. (1977: 73)

By representing Satan as a magnificent and powerful character, Milton does not just emphasise that Satan has his own identity, that he is a being whose story is worth telling, but also shows that he is a creature of feelings.[44] In other words, Milton humanises Satan, turning him into an emotionally complex, conflicted and tormented creature capable of reasoning (and thus responsible and culpable for his choices). He provides a compelling psychological account of the origins of evil, and this is why readers continue to be so fascinated with it.

Milton draws upon the Bible to provide Satan with a backstory, but it seems that his character is epic rather than biblical. Milton uses the genre's established codes since he introduces 'arguments' in the 1674 version, invokes the muse, writes his text in lines, and starts his story *in medias res*. But the most epic-like feature of his poem remains his portrayal of Satan. Milton represents the fallen angel as a tragic hero with a fatal flaw: his pride. William G. McCollom defines the tragic hero as 'guilty from one point of view and innocent from

[43] 'With six eyes did he weep, and down three chins
Trickled the tear-drops and the bloody drivel' (*The Divine Comedy* 2008: 233)

[44] However, it is important to note that as the epic unfolds, Satan is represented less and less as a magnificent creature. At the end of the epic, he is represented as a grotesque serpent and this representation is almost medieval. This could mean that, by tempting humankind, Satan has gained a new identity but lost his essence, as it will be further explained in this chapter.

another. […] Faced by terrible alternatives, he sees the evil in both. He experiences "existential" anxiety and dread. But he chooses and acts' (1957: 54). In this way, Satan resembles heroes such as Achilles or Odysseus, whose pride also causes them to verge on death, or even die. Therefore, by weaving these epic features with the biblical background available to him to build his character, Milton, consciously or not, designates Satan as the hero of his epic and not Adam and Eve, or even God and his son. Furthermore, still inspired by Homer's heroes, Milton has also equipped his Satan with the conflicted nature that defines characters such as Achilles and Odysseus. The fallen angel is not only represented as the leader of the hellish legions, or as a simple adversary only driven by evil feelings. On the contrary, Satan is presented to the reader as a rather humanlike creature, full of conflicting feelings such as pride, guilt, desire for revenge, sadness, arrogance, pain, etc. For the first time, the fallen angel is not only the devil, but also a former archangel who lost everything in his rebellion.

This desire for rebellion may echo Milton's own life. Before writing his epic, Milton was well-known for his political engagement. He is thirty-four years old when the English Civil War starts, in 1642. In this conflict opposing pro-monarchists to pro-parliamentarists, Milton embraces the cause of the Roundheads, who want an egalitarian state. He wrote many texts advocating a republican regime rather than a monarchy. He often uses religion to support his ideas: in *Areopagitica* (1643), for example, and in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649), he clearly states that a tyrant should be put to death if he does not use his power reasonably (Rogers: 2007; Carey: 2002). These political ideas may have fuelled his representation of Satan and of God. However, critics disagree on whether or not Milton has seen a representation of himself in Satan. This question is raised by a Romantic author, at the end of the eighteenth century.

In 1793, in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* William Blake writes 'The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels and God, and at liberty when of Devils and Hell, is because he was a true Poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it' (1978: 80). The same year, François-René de Chateaubriand escapes the French Revolution and arrives in London where he rediscovers English literature. In 1802, he is allowed to go back to France thanks to a text, *Le Génie du Christianisme* in which he praises Milton's *Paradise Lost*. In 1821, Lord Byron states that Milton's epic inspired him to write his mystery, *Cain* (2008: 883). In France, Alfred de Vigny and Victor Hugo both declare themselves heirs of Chateaubriand and Byron in their journal, *La Muse Française* (1824). Their texts, *Eloa ou la soeur des anges* (1824) and *La Fin de Satan* (1886), recall both Byron and Chateaubriand's works and Milton's epic. Thus, the influence of *Paradise Lost* on Romantic authors is established. This interest for a

seventeenth century text can be explained by the fact that after a century of Enlightenment, poets were inclined to go back to introspection and to understand their role in society. Thus, the tragic hero that is Satan feels closer to them and to what they feel than to the perfection attached to a standard hero. Blake's famous sentence links directly the 'Devil' to the 'True Poet' meaning that one cannot go without the other. Moreover, the idea of introspection, of focusing on oneself rather than on the community, and the quest for identity echoing the concept of narcissism as defined by Sigmund Freud (1919) and Jacques Lacan (1949), may also explain such an attraction to the brooding character. Indeed, Milton uses this concept anachronistically in characters such as Satan, Eve, and God and develops notions such as pride, rebellion, redemption and free will. Furthermore, Milton's portrayal of God as a vengeful tyrant triggers the Romantics' interest for another reason: it reminds them of their own political context. Peter L. Rudnytsky writes that 'Milton portrays God as a tyrant because he wishes to overthrow all forms of heavenly as well as earthly kingships' (2014: 258). It is possible to apply literally Milton's reasons to portray God as a tyrant to the political context in which Romanticism arises, specifically to the French Revolution. The French Revolution takes place from 1789 to 1793, and leads to the death of Louis XVI, king of France. Although it takes place in France, the Revolution has a great impact on Europe, and specifically on England, since many aristocrats – amongst them François-René de Chateaubriand – must seek exile in Albion to avoid death.

Thus, many aspects of *Paradise Lost* have triggered the Romantic interest. Since this thesis does not focus on Milton, this chapter does not intend to provide a thorough study of the epic. It rather aims at defining the influential parameters of the Miltonic Satan and at understanding his quest for identity. After analysing his heroic dimension and the fallen angel's complex psychology through a close-reading of the text, this chapter will focus on Satan's relationship with the other characters of *Paradise Lost*. Sometimes a political leader, sometimes a scorned son and brother, Satan defines himself through characters such as the other fallen angels, God, the son, and Eve. Indeed, Satan only becomes the Adversary because of the pressure that these external characters seem to put on him, although they are not always doing it purposely.

3.1. The Complexity of the Miltonic Satan

Satan's character is often described as conflicted and conflicting since many critics argue about his nature.[45] Controversially perceived as the hero of the epic, he offers a complex psychological portrait that often challenges the boundaries between good and evil. His humanlike behaviour has led many readers to think, as Blake, that Milton was on Satan's side. However, it is still rather unclear whether Milton consciously identified with his character, as the Romantics will, a century later.

3.1.1. An Epic Hero?

Right from the beginning of his poem, Milton creates an aura of mystery. Indeed, if he mentions Satan just after finishing his invocation to the Muse, he only names him in line 81 by calling him the 'Arch-Enemy', and then by using his name, Satan, in line 82.[46] Before these direct designations, Milton describes Satan's actions, mentions his fall, and gives a brief description of hell. Therefore, even if both the seventeenth-century and twenty-first-century readers know that Milton is talking about Satan, they first encounter him through a brief biography. This method recalls classical epics, such as Homer's or Virgil's, which introduce their heroes by enumerating their deeds – for example, Aeneas' and Odysseus' exploits during the Trojan war – and their filiations. These actions constitute their renown, also called κλέος (*kleos)*.[47] Although Satan's *kleos* is dark and structured around the Christian principles of good and evil, it remains fame. It seems therefore that Milton indicates that Satan is going to be *Paradise Lost*'s hero, and not Adam and Eve as expected.

Neil Forsyth draws a parallel between Virgil's Aeneas and Milton's Fiend. He writes that 'the Virgilian allusion both establishes a parallel between the heroes of the two epics and invites us to consider the differences' (20). Aeneas and Satan are alike, but not identical and their dissimilarities highlight the fallen angel's identity crisis.[48] The same phenomenon can be

[45] Thus C.S. Lewis criticizes the Romantic perception of Satan, whilst the new Miltonic criticism, embodied by critics such as William Empson or Stanley Fish, qualifies Lewis' words.

[46] He also mentions the 'infernal Serpent', but this designation is quite controversial since the Serpent and Satan are two separate beings. Thus, for the seventeenth-century reader, the association may not be clear.

[47] In *The Odyssey* (8th c. BCE), Homer introduces Odysseus' deeds for twenty-four lines before using his name (2003: 3). In *The Aeneid* (1st c. BCE), Virgil also introduces Aeneas during ten lines and then retells what happened at the end of the Trojan war before designating his hero by his name, line 91 (2003: 3-5)

[48] Neil Forsyth explores in details the similarities between *The Aeneid* and *Paradise Lost* in his article (2014).

identified when comparing Satan to Homer's main heroes: Achilles and Odysseus. When analysing Milton's representation of Satan, it seems, at first, that the English poet has used Achilles as a primary source of inspiration. The Achaean is a brooding character, filled with anger. In the war against the Trojans, Achilles is more animated by his wrath against the Greek king of kings than by the actual conflict. Agamemnon has, indeed, taken Briseis, Achilles' love interest, from him. His interest for the Trojan war lies in the fact that his victories will ensure that he is remembered and has eternal life. These characteristics recall those of Satan. The fallen angel is also a brooding figure animated by his anger against God, king of kings, who took something he beloved: his status in heaven. Thus, Forsyth writes 'Milton can also add the motive that animates Achilles in Homer. The *Iliad* and *Paradise Lost* both turn on the connection between "a sensed of injured merit" (*PL* 1.98) and the hero's wrath' (2014: 26). Satan's pride can be likened to Achilles desire of fame. Both characters are ready to lose their life to gain a new status.

The physical descriptions are also similar. Both characters are described as beautiful. Furthermore, according to Véronique Mehl, Achilles is described as a bulwark. This word recalls Milton's use of the simile of the tower to describe Satan: 'he above the rest / In shape and gesture proudly eminent / Stood like a tow'r' (1.589-591). Mehl notes that the adjective 'bulwark' shows 'l'aspect extraordinaire, prodigieux, presque monstrueux, il qualifie ainsi Arès, Hadès, ou Polyphème' (2008: 31). Thus, Achilles is described as the war god, the underworld god, and as a Cyclops. By using the same kind of simile, Milton could also seek to associate his character with the war god – Satan is after all the one inventing artillery in heaven – and with the underworld god – under the English poet's quill, Satan becomes officially ruler of hell. The last association, with the Cyclops tricked by Odysseus, is quite interesting since it would mean that Satan is, like Polyphemus, a rather grotesque creature, closer to Dante's Lucifer than the magnificent creation encountered at the beginning of Milton's epic. The evolution from a god living on the Olympian mount, to another god living under the ground, and finally to a creature fooled by a human being, echoes Milton's own evolution of Satan, as will be shown later in this chapter. Finally, both characters are associated with their weapons, and specifically their shields. In the *Iliad,* Homer describes Achilles' shield across 130 lines. The protective weapon, engraved by Hephaistos, represents the cosmos and famous deeds (2003: 332-5; 18.478-608). Milton also gives a great importance to Satan's shield:

> [Beelzebub] scarce had ceased when the superior fiend
> Was moving toward the shore; his ponderous shield

Ethereal temper, massy, large and round,
Behind him cast; the broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening from the top of Fesole,
Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe. (1.283-291)

He also depicts Satan's spear, thus recalling Achilles' father's spear, which could only be lifted by the Greek hero:

His spear, to equal which the tallest pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
Of some great admiral, were but a wand,
He walked with to support uneasy steps
Over the burning marl, not like those steps
On Heaven's azure, and the torrid clime
Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with fire;
Nathless he so endured, till on the beach
Of that inflamèd sea, he stood (1.292-300)

In these lines, Satan's stature is immoderate. Milton draws a comparison between his shield and the moon, and his spear and a mast, to give an idea of how big and tall Satan is. The reader is supposed to picture a giant, a titan, a bulwark. This impressive stature and the weapons convey the idea that Satan is a great warrior – as is Achilles. However, the poet differs from the Homeric representation by insisting on the fact that the fallen angel is wounded, weakened, almost fragile. He must 'support uneasy steps.' The reader faces a frail epic hero, but this fragility only seems to be known by the narrator and the reader, since it is stated that Satan 'endured' the pain. The other archangels are still lying on the burning lake 'Under amazement of their hideous change' (1.313). Therefore, Satan must pretend that he is not lost, that he is strong and stable, so that the other angels can recover from 'their hideous change.' Where Achilles can express freely his rage and despair, Satan needs to put on a mask to sustain his role of leader of the rebellion.

Véronique Lostoriat-Delabroise confirms this by writing that 'Dans le contexte épique, [l'armure] prend le pas sur le vêtement et fonctionne même comme une seconde peau, ou comme un second moi, elle matérialise les qualités du guerrier, aussi bien que le ferait son corps' (2001: 61). This idea is further highlighted by the moonlike shield simile. Indeed, as John Rogers explains, during the Renaissance, the moon and the ether were perceived as perfect. Galileo, the 'Tuscan artist', disapproved this assertion since he discovered spots on the

side of the moon (2007). According to Rogers, the introduction of Galileo in this description of the fallen angel could then mean that 'like the moon Satan may look beautiful, but upon a closer scrutiny that beauty begins to yield certain metaphysical flaws' (2007).[49] This could also mean that like the moon, Satan appears to be the perfect leader, when, actually, he is flawed.

If Satan resembles Achilles, then, he is not his identical twin. Even if both share a conflicted nature, Achilles does not hide his feelings, he does not try to deceive others, and his honesty is what makes him a true hero. Satan is shadier. The role he plays emphasises his human emotions but also displays his abilities to trick people, an ability that he shares with Odysseus. The main character of Homer's second epic is known for his shrewdness. Thus, when Priam asks her to describe the king of Ithaca in the *Iliad*, Helen says that Odysseus is 'a master of all kinds of manoeuvres and strategies' (2003: 50; 3.202). Odysseus' cunning allows him to defeat adversaries such as Polyphemus or Penelope's suitors, as Satan's cunning allows him to defeat Adam and Eve. However, where Odysseus can defeat Poseidon's son, the son defeats Satan. The other important similarity between Odysseus and Satan is their mastering of λόγος (*logos*). When Helen describes Odysseus to Priam, Antenor adds that 'when he liberated that great voice from his chest, and poured out words like the snows of winter, there was no man alive who could compete with him' (2003: 51; 3. 222-3). Later in the text, Odysseus gains help from Alcinous by telling his own story, thus showing how powerful his words are. If Achilles was looking for *kleos* on the battlefield, Odysseus seems rather keen on building his through storytelling. This aspect of his personality recalls Satan's own mastering of speeches. Forsyth writes that 'It is especially those speeches to his fellow devils, and later to himself, in the first quarter of the poem that make Satan such a compelling character' (2014: 18). Satan is a skilful storyteller. This ingenuity can be perceived in the speeches he addresses to himself and his fellow fallen angels, as Forsyth states, but also in his temptation of Eve. Indeed, if Satan's cunning allows him to inhabit the body of the serpent and thus to approach Eve easily, it is not what tempts her. What strikes Eve at first is the serpent's ability to talk:

> Thee, serpent, subtlest beast of all the field
> I knew, but not with human voice endued;
> Redouble then this miracle, and say,
> How cam'st thou speakable of mute […] (9.560-563)

[49] Rogers also explains that Galileo is the only contemporary artist mentioned – three times – by Milton in *Paradise Lost*. Milton used to admire the scientist and seemed to identify with him since Galileo also turned blind at the end of his life and was also imprisoned for his intellectual daring. Rogers states that 'the rebellious artist Milton and the rebellious astronomer Galileo are continually threatening to lapse in some sort of identity with Satan himself' (2007). Therefore, it seems that Milton through figures such as Satan and Galileo, and later, Abdiel and Eve, also tries to define his identity.

Satan's temptation rests on two things: the fact that he has gained the ability to talk, thus awaking Eve's curiosity, and how he flatters Eve, making her vanity and her desire for power – and equality? – more important than her love for God and for Adam. Milton designates *logos* as Satan's ultimate power since it is the one that makes humankind fall. This power resembles Odysseus', as Homer describes it in Book 13: 'Odysseus' tale was finished. Held in the spell of his words they all remained still and silent throughout the shadowy hall' (2003: 169; 13.1-3).[50]

Odysseus and Satan also share another quality: both are incredibly prideful. Thus, after having deceived the Cyclops, Odysseus, proud of his trick, reveals his identity to satisfy his ego. This revelation is at the origin of Odysseus' curse. Indeed, Polyphemus demands of his father, Poseidon, justice for what Odysseus has done to him. By revealing his name, Odysseus dooms himself to wander on the sea for ten years. More importantly, he dooms his whole crew with him. The likeness of this situation with Satan's is quite striking. Indeed, the fallen angel has also driven his legions to a kind of death because his pride had been scorned. In this way, Satan is much more like Odysseus than Achilles. He may share some common features with Achilles, but where the Achaean remains a true hero, strong and just, Satan, as Odysseus, lets his own misplaced feelings hurt his friends. Critics have often depicted Achilles as the true Homeric hero, and Odysseus as an anti-hero. The fact that Satan resembles Odysseus more than Achilles proves that the fallen angel is not *Paradise Lost*'s hero, but rather its anti-hero. As Forsyth writes, Satan 'may not be a hero in the epic sense, but it is hard to deny him the status of a tragic hero' (2014: 27). Contrary to Achilles and almost as Odysseus, Satan is more human. His flaws are less justifiable than those of the *Iliad*'s hero and this may be why the Romantic authors had identified with him. After a century of Classical literature praising reason and measure, the Romantics needed to express what had been confined: their own fatal flaws. Romantic poets were not looking for figure who could show them the way to perfection anymore, they were not aspiring to be a gentlemanly, modern version of the hero. On the contrary, they were trying to look for figures that looked like them and feel the same things, because they finally allowed themselves to explore their true feelings. Thus, authors such as Chateaubriand and Byron created shady characters such as René (1802), Manfred (1817), and Childe Harold (1818) who have often been perceived as representations of themselves. These characters are also inspired by anti-heroes such as Faust (1808) and Dom Juan (1665), often

[50] It is also interesting to note that Milton mentions Odysseus and Alcinous a few lines before the temptation (9.441), when the reader sees the serpent, still innocent, through Satan's eyes.

linked to Satan. All these characters offer conflicted psychological portrait that may have been inspired by the Miltonic Satan.

3.1.2. A Passionate Satan

Harold Bloom writes that 'If Satan in Paradise Lost is aesthetically superior to God and Messiah, […] it is because passion is grander in him than in them', pointing out a key parameter of the Miltonic fallen angel: Satan is passionate (1991: 101). The word 'passion' has many definitions. Thus, it can relate 'to physical suffering and pain'; be a 'strong, controlling, or overpowering emotion [such as] as desire, hate, fear', 'Intense anger', or 'love' and 'Sexual desire'. It can also be an 'An aim or object pursued with zeal; a thing arousing intense enthusiasm'; or 'a fit of madness or mental derangement' (*OED*). These definitions highlight the fact that the very concept of 'passion' is complex and paradoxical. In Satan's case, many aspects of the concept can be applied. Satan is indeed in physical pain, as the shield and spear depiction shows; he is overpowered by feelings such as a desire, hate, fear, etc, which led him to his fall; he is angry and wants revenge, and this revenge leads him to pursue frantically his aim: destroying humankind. Hence, he seems, sometimes, on the verge of madness, although he remains quite sensible in the end. Even if Satan cares about his legions, Milton does not really explore the amorous and sexual dimensions of the word passion. Romantic authors such as Alfred de Vigny, or William Blake, will explore it later in their own writings. Because he answers to many facets of the word passion, Satan appears as a conflicted character, who seeks his identity through or despite his feelings. This attitude is very human. It seems that Milton has chosen to represent Satan as a more relatable character than God and the son, creating a bond between Satan and the reader.

The passionate nature of Satan is expressed in three key passages of *Paradise Lost*. The first one takes place in Book I, lines 590-621, when Satan acknowledges the fact that his pride has caused the fall of his friends. The second one takes place in Book IV, lines 31-113, when Satan addresses the Sun before breaking into Eden. Finally, the last key moment displaying Satan's conflicted nature is split in two parts: the first part takes place in Book IV, lines 505-535, when Satan expresses his jealousy regarding Adam and Eve; and the second part takes place in Book IX, lines 461-472 when Satan is having second thoughts regarding the destruction of humankind.

As stated before, Satan puts on a mask when addressing his legions. Thus he 'endures' the physical pain without showing it. Later in Book I, the narrator slightly changes his tone.

Indeed, he intertwines Satan's physical and mental descriptions, as if to point out that if one were to look at his face closely, one would see the psychological battle that happens within the fallen angel:

> […] he above the rest
> In shape and gesture proudly eminent
> Stood like a tow'r; his form had yet not lost
> All her original brightness, nor appeared
> Less than Archangel ruined, and th' excess
> Of glory obscured: as when the sun new ris'n
> Looks through the horizontal misty air
> Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon
> In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
> On half the nations, and with fear of change
> Perplexes monarchs. Darkened so, yet shone
> Above them all th' Archangel: but his face
> Deep scars of thunder had intrenched, and care
> Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
> Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
> Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast
> Signs of remorse and passion to behold
> The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
> (Far other once beheld in bliss) condemned
> For ever now to have their lot in pain,
> Millions of Spirits for his fault amerced
> Of Heav'n, and from eternal splendours flung
> For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood,
> Their glory withered. […]
> Thrice he assayed, and thrice in spite of scorn,
> Tears such as angels weep, burst forth: at last
> Words interwove with sighs found out their way. (1.589-621)

Three times, Milton uses a kind of chiasmus: 'darkened so, yet shone / […] but his face / Deep scars of thunder had intrenched', 'care / Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows / Of dauntless courage', 'cruel his eyes, but cast / Signs of remorse and passion'. This construction enhances the duality of Satan. He is represented as the fiend, leader of the hellish legions, and God's adversary: he is cruel, proud, glorious, determined to bring down his Creator. However, he is also physically and mentally wounded, careful, guilty, remorseful, and capable of tears. Maximilian Rudwin writes that 'Milton knew how to render in words of surpassing beauty the impressive sorrow and the introspective pangs of the Archangel ruined' (1973: 10-1). The fact that the critic uses the oxymoron 'Archangel ruined' highlights its importance. The paradoxical nature of this expression lies in the fact that the narrator names Satan's previous state but does not explain what he has become. Instead, Satan is doomed to be a lesser version of what he was,

not a new creature. This state is enhanced by the word 'ruined', as synonyms for this term could be 'wrecked', 'broken'. 'Archangel ruined' is therefore a strong expression conveying Satan's identity crisis. Satan is still an archangel, but a destroyed one, only pieces of his former state remain, he is not whole anymore.

This identity crisis is further heightened by the simile comparing Satan to the 'Shorn of his beams' sun and the eclipsed sun. Satan appears as a black sun, an image used by alchemists and by Romantic poets such as Gérard de Nerval in 'El Desdichado' (1854).[51] This image conveys the paradoxical nature of Satan who is, despite his fall, still compared to a luminous celestial body, highlighting his identity division. Milton also draws a comparison with the eclipsed sun. As previously mentioned, Satan, through his shield, had been compared to the moon by Milton. Therefore, it seems that the poet, by drawing a simile between the fallen angel and the sun hidden by the moon – or hiding behind it – imparts the idea that a shift is occurring in Satan: the former day star, is turning into the night star, which has no proper light, but only reflects that of the sun. However, an eclipse is always ephemeral, which implies that glory could be returned to the sun. Once again, Milton's simile remains ambiguous. However, it foreshadows the Sun soliloquy that takes place in Book IV, in which Satan tells the Sun that he hates him because the day star is embodying light, the same light that he no longer bears.

Lewis explains that 'the terrible soliloquy in Book IV was conceived and in part composed before the first two books. It was from this conception that Milton started [*Paradise Lost*]' (1961: 100). It seems that Milton wanted this speech to be pivotal for Satan. If the anti-Satan Lewis grants it importance by calling it 'terrible' Forsyth disagrees and explains that 'Whatever his moral stature, a soliloquy brings the hero close to the audience' (2003: 150). Not only does the form of the soliloquy allows the reader to sympathise with Satan, but its content, filled with human feelings, favours an identification. This speech truly defines Satan's character. In this passage he finally finds out who he is, although it is not definitive:

> O thou, that, with surpassing glory crowned,
> Lookest from thy sole dominion like the God
> Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
> Hide their diminished heads; to thee I call,
> But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
> O Sun! to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
> That bring to my remembrance from what state
> I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere; (4.32-39)

[51] The 'black sun' is represented particularly in the *Splendor Solis*, an alchemical manuscript dating from the sixteenth century.

In this astral simile, the emphasis on the hated beams recalls the 'shorn of his beams' archangel mentioned in Book I. Furthermore, Satan also mentions the 'stars' and their 'diminished heads', alluding to his former name, Lucifer. In these lines, the fallen angel is no more a heavenly creature. But the most striking aspect of the soliloquy's opening is its last line: 'how glorious once above thy sphere.' The proud general is gone. There is no more victory in Satan's rebellion. He has lost everything. From the beginning, the reader knows that the Satan speaking here does not wear a mask which makes this passage vital to understand Milton's creature. Throughout the soliloquy, Satan acknowledges God's superiority, stating that he is a 'matchless king', which leads him to recognise his own responsibility in his fall (41). Indeed, if, until then, he had put the blame on God, here he clearly states that 'pride and worse ambition threw [him] down' (40). He goes further by admitting that God did not 'deserve no such return/From [him]' (42-3); he questions the idea that he might have remained faithful to God if he had been an 'inferiour Angel' but concludes that 'other Powers as great / Fell not' (59; 63-4). Finally, he addresses two key aspects of the myth of the fallen angel: free will and redemption. Satan admits that he had the 'same free will and power to stand [to temptation]'and that he 'chose freely' to rebel (66; 72). He then explains that 'repentance' and 'pardon' are possible only if he submits which he cannot do (80). The first reason he provides is that he would be ashamed to do so regarding his fellow fallen angels:

> […] and that word
> Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
> Among the Spirits beneath, whom I seduced
> With other promises and other vaunts
> Than to submit, boasting I could subdue
> The Omnipotent. (4.81-6)

Again, his pride forbids him to admit that he was wrong. Thus, he must maintain appearances. The other reason he invokes is that even if God pardoned him, he would 'relapse', 'For never can true reconcilement grow / Where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep' (100; 98-9). In his speech, Satan admits that rebellion is in his nature, he refuses submission. By doing this, Milton asserts that the fall is not the result of external pressures but rather the product of Satan's own nature. The archangel was going to rebel, no matter what, and the advent of the son was just a pretext. Regina M. Schwartz explains that

> Satan does not understand the command as a sign of freedom (of reason), but as a deprivation (of knowledge) and a condemnation (to inferiority).

> […] Satan's thinking is based upon the presupposition that there is only room for one at the top, that only one can prosper and only at the others' expense. (2001: 51)

This realisation leads Satan to acknowledge the nature of his psychological pain and to define his new identity. In this passage, Satan pronounces one of the most important lines regarding his passionate nature:

> Me miserable! which way shall I fly
> Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?
> Which way I fly is Hell, myself am Hell;
> And in the lowest deep a lower deep
> Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
> To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heav'n. (4.73-8)

Here, Satan truly acknowledges his suffering. He is not the leader of hell, but hell itself, meaning that he is his own torments. The conflicting feelings that inhabit him – the aversion of submission and the desire to gain back his former state – are defining him and terrifying him at the same time. He voices the fact that the state he is in could be worse, that something is threatening him. The fallen angel appears powerless in front of this threat. In the definition of the word 'passion' aforementioned, one of the possible significations given was 'madness'. Therefore, Satan could be afraid of becoming mad because of his tormented nature thus echoing the Romantic interrogation: is the poet a seer or a mad person? John Guillory writes that 'The failed prophet in *Paradise Lost* is called Satan, and he is […] a successful poet' thus embracing the idea that Satan could be perceived by the Romantics as the poets' standard-bearer (Bloom 1991: 110). Satan feels that he might be consumed by torments stronger than the ones he is experiencing already. To counteract this feeling, Satan makes what would be controversially called a reasonable choice. Indeed, if he cannot be above God, or submit to him, then he must become something else, something new, something that would prevent him to sink into madness. However, he does not commit to this change wholeheartedly:

> So farewell, hope; and with hope farewell, fear;
> Farewell, remorse, all good to me is lost;
> Evil, be thou my good; by thee at least
> Divided empire with Heaven's King I hold,
> By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;
> As man ere long, and this new world, shall know. (4.107-12)

These lines act as Satan's credo. The fallen angel does not wish to embrace evil, he just does not have any other choice. Because he cannot be allowed to hope anymore then he does not fear God. In this passage, Satan truly departs from heaven and from his former state. Merritt Y. Hughes notes that in Book I, lines 62-69, there is an 'allusion to the inscription over the gate of Dante's hell in Milton's words, "hope never comes"' (1965: 138-9). This allusion to Dante's 'Abandon all hope – You who enter here' can be found again in this speech (1984: 89). As any other soul going to hell, Satan abandons hope. However, evil becomes his 'good', meaning that the fiend creates his own new set of rules, new values. Evil offers him what God and his own tormented feelings did not until then: power and an apparent peace of mind. The last line of the soliloquy establishes Satan's rebirth, in a 'new world', perhaps even a new era. At the end of his speech, it seems that Satan has become the devil. However, the immediate lines following the speech tend to qualify this feeling:

> Thus while he spake, each passion dimmed his face
> Thrice changed with pale, ire, envy, and despair;
> Which marred his borrowed visage, and betrayed
> Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld. (4.113-6)

The narrator alludes to the fact that Satan pronounces his speech in the shape of a Cherub since he needed to fool Uriel. The fallen angel's passions reveal his identity and allow Uriel to warn God that the apostate angel is going to break in Eden. However, these lines also mark Satan's evolution and insist on the fact that if he is deceiving the archangel, he is also deceiving himself. Forsyth writes that after this soliloquy, 'The doubleness of the Satan character should now be obvious' (2003: 152). Thus, it would mean that Satan is not yet the devil, that even if he knows that it is the reasonable choice to make if he does not want to sink into madness, it is not yet who he really is. Bloom does not agree with this since he writes that Satan's transformation is completed on the Mount Niphates (1991: 93). However, Satan's next apparitions tend to prove the contrary.

Lewis writes that Satan is a 'personified self-contradiction' (1961: 97). When reading *Paradise Lost*, one encounters two speeches which contradict each other. In Book IV, Satan is delighted to cause humankind's fall. This pleasure is fuelled by his jealousy:

> The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
> Of bliss on bliss, while I to Hell am thrust,
> Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
> Among our other torments not the least,

> Still unfulfilled with pain of longing pines; (4.505-11)

Satan would like to share Adam and Eve's life and because he cannot, he is willing to cause their loss. To do so, it seems that he wishes to inflict his fate on the couple in Eden. Thus, he wants them to be 'Equal with gods [or] aspiring to be such' and 'to reject / Envious commands', as he did himself (4.526; 523-4). He also tells them to 'enjoy […] / Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed', since he has himself known the same fate: he enjoyed the power he had in heaven and now must endure eternal pains (4.534-5). Satan identifies himself with Adam and Eve. In this speech, he seems to embrace his devil role, and Milton introduces him for the first time as such. However, in Book IX, Satan has doubts, highlighting the fact that the transformation is not completed yet. These doubts are verbalised by the narrator, and not Satan himself. They are triggered by the sight of Eve, alone:

> His malice, and with rapine sweet bereaved
> His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought:
> That space the Evil-one abstracted stood
> From his own evil, and for the time remained
> Stupidly good; of enmity disarmed,
> Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge:
> But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
> Though in mid Heaven, soon ended his delight,
> And tortures him now more, the more he sees
> Of pleasure, not for him ordained: then soon
> Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
> Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites. (9.455-72)

For one moment, Satan is Lucifer again, a benevolent angel, but his torments are so strong that they overpower this feeling. The expression 'hathe he recollects' seems to imply that Satan's true nature is evil. However, this evil nature 'tortures him'. Again, the fallen angel seems to be torn. However, he is not the 'personified self-contradiction' that Lewis sees in him. Self-contradiction implies denial. Satan is aware of the conflict raging inside of him. He is aware of his loss of identity. Bloom explains that

> When Satan addresses himself, he either confirms the major change of his Fall or defies it, but he does not lean to change further. Endlessly agnostic, he never ceases to ask himself the triple question of the sublime mode: Am I more than, equal to, or less than I was – or, rather, than others still are? He knows that it does not matter what he answers. He is the perpetual poem of his climate, an angel upon whom the sun has gown down, a relic of having been thrown out of heaven by Messiah, and so he is the true form of loss. (1991: 111)

Satan is defined by what he is not anymore and tries to gain a new identity through evil. 'Torn between love and hate, Satan eventually has to admit that hate is what now defines him' (Forsyth 2014: 24). Milton seems to grant him this new identity after the temptation, by turning him into a grotesque creature, a medieval vile serpent. The contrast between this creature and the 'Archangel ruined' represented in three quarters of the epic is striking. It is as if Milton had decided not to linger on him anymore because he could not himself believe this radical change. If Satan seems to have become the devil by himself, as his soliloquy to the sun seems to prove, he also has been defined by external characters such as the fallen angels, God, the son, and Eve.

3.2. Leader, Son, and Double

Although Satan claims that he is responsible for his fall and therefore, for the torments he is in in Book IV, it seems that the characters surrounding him also play an important part in the elaboration of his new identity. Thus, Satan is not the same when he is facing the other fallen angels and when he is alone; God deprived him of his identity by appointing the son and casting Satan out of heaven, leading the latter to reject him as a maker; and finally, Satan seems to define his personality by opposing or likening himself to two double-figures: Messiah and Eve.

3.2.1. The Leader of Hell

In Book I, Satan pronounces one of his most famous speeches:

> […] Farewell happy fields
> Where joy forever dwells: hail horrors, hail
> Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
> Receive thy new possessor: one who brings
> A mind not to be changed by place or time.
> The mind is in its own place, and in itself
> Can make a Heav'n of Hell and a Hell of Heav'n.
> What matter where, if I be still the same,
> And what should I be, all but less than he
> Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
> We shall be free; th'Almighty hath not built
> Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
> Here we may reign secure, and in my choice
> To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:

Better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven. (1.249-63)

This verse is in itself very complex. Satan is not talking to himself as in the passages studied before, he is addressing a crowd of fallen angels, desperate and suffering. It is the speech of a 'courageous military leader, rousing his rebel angels from their abject state, [and of] a skilful politician, employing the fierce language of resistance as he continues, unrepentant, to defy God' (Loewenstein 2001: 349). This Satan is different from the one that talks to himself. Indeed, here Satan is not the victim of hell but its 'new possessor' who rules by 'choice'; there is no apparent quest for identity since he is 'still the same'; there is no feeling of imprisonment – psychological or physical – since they are 'free', 'secure'; and finally, there is no wish for repentance or pardon, since Satan declares himself happy with his fate. However, when one looks closer at the text, Satan's discourse remains ambivalent, in cohesion with the rest of his speeches. Thus, he opposes the heavenly 'joys' to the hellish 'horrors' and then affirms that he can turn hell into heaven, revealing that, in fact, he would rather be in heaven than where is he is. The syntax he uses also helps him to conceal his feelings without denying them. Thus, he does not say 'I am still the same' but 'if I be still the same'; he does not affirm that he is greater as a fallen angel but rather hides his doubts behind a rhetorical question; lastly, he claims that the apostate angels are free but then reminds us that God is the creator of hell and thus, still a potential threat. Satan cannot achieve his full transformation as a leader, but only him, the narrator and the reader know that. To the fallen angels, Satan is, in appearance, their leader.

Milton uses words belonging to the political lexical field such as: 'Leader', 'Sultan', 'Commander', 'Emperor', 'chief', and 'monarch' to anchor Satan in his apparent role of political ruler (1.272,348,358,378,566; 2.467). This political dimension is very important in the opening books of *Paradise Lost*. Indeed, as previously stated, Milton was deeply involved in the political life of his time. Many readers and critics have questioned the political impact of *Paradise Lost* and specifically of Satan and have not been able to conclude firmly that his words were either embodying Cromwell's ideas or Charles I's. Peter C. Herman states that 'Satan justifies his revolt in much the same language that Milton and others used to justify their revolt against Charles I' (2011: 264). Hughes disagrees with this idea and writes that

> Since in *Eikonoklastes* Charles I was so definitely compared with the proverbial Turkish tyrant, and since in *Paradise Lost* that comparison is implicit in several of the description of Satan, it is easy to conclude that Charles and the sultans were alike ectypes of the Satanic archetype in Milton's mythology. (1965: 172)

This political dimension surrounding Satan is quite important for the Romantics, who are also living during a period of revolt and taking part in it. Thus, some of them, such as Chateaubriand, Vigny, and Hugo, are official politicians (Bénichou 2004), and Byron is part of the House of the Lords where he expresses his anti-conservative ideas, and helps Greece to be independent from the Ottoman Empire (Drummond 2014). All of them are fighting what they consider a form of tyranny. Lewis writes that 'Others have assumed that since he was a rebel against the monarchy of the Stuarts he must also have been a rebel against God and secretly of the devil's party' (1961: 72). According to the critic and his reference to Blake, the Romantics have chosen to associate Satan with Milton, and by extension to the figure of the poet, because of the English writer's political background. This assertion must be qualified since Romantic authors such as Chateaubriand have decided to discern Milton's opinions from the poem. However, most of them have indeed read *Paradise Lost* with the idea worded by Lewis in mind. The ambivalence of the political message has been fuelled by the representation of God in the poem. Sometimes perceived as a tyrant, sometimes as a benevolent being, God seems to be the embodiment of the flawed paternal figure.

3.2.2. The Miltonic God: A Tyrant?

Bloom gives quite a daring description of the Miltonic God:

> I cannot explain the disaster of Milton's God, who resembles, say, Ronald Reagan more than he does, say, Sigmund Freud […]. Milton after all was most unsympathetic to earthly tyrants, and he is not very persuasive when he moves the divine right of kings back up into remote heavens, with time-serving angels circling the throne while chanting praises of their irascible and self-righteous monarch. (1991: 106)

The tyrant depicted by the American scholar is quite controversial. Milton wrote his epic 'to justify the ways of God to men' (1.26). As John Carey explains, to Milton, this enterprise was allowed by the fact that God and his creations were reasonable (2002). Thus, when Milton tries to produce a theodicy, he does not intend to question God, but rather to enforce his actions. But why produce a theodicy then? Rogers explains that religious scholars have always faced a paradox in the Bible: God is at the same time granting free-will to his creatures, and in possession of foreknowledge (2007). Thus, how can a human being be truly free if his or her life has been already written? This question is also important when it comes to the fall of humankind. As Satan himself remarks in Book IV: 'knowledge forbidd'n? / Suspicious,

reasonless. Why should their Lord / Envy them that?' (4.515-17). He then adds that this incongruity is the 'fair foundation laid whereon to build / Their ruin!', thus highlighting the fact that God is as responsible as he is – if not more – for the fall of humankind. William Empson writes that 'however wicked Satan's plan may be, it is God's plan too' (1965: 39). The scholar also alludes to the fact that God predicts Satan's victory in Book III and does nothing to prevent him to tempt humankind. Furthermore, the king of heaven is willing to see men fall to remind them of his power:

> By me upheld, that he may know how frail
> His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
> All his deliverance, and to none but me. (3.180-3)

In these lines, it is difficult not to see the pride that is traditionally incumbent upon Satan. Moreover, God demands a sacrifice to redeem humankind: 'death for death' (3.212). Milton represents here the Old Testament Yahweh who appeals to the talion law. The benevolent father of all that can be found in the New Testament is not in *Paradise Lost*. Instead of him, the reader faces a flawed paternal figure.

In the epic, Satan is presented by Raphael as '[…] of the first / If not the first archangel, great in power / In favour and pre-eminence' (5.659-661). Therefore, Satan seemed to be God's right arm. In Book V, through Raphael's retelling, the reader learns that God pronounces these words to the angels about Messiah:

> This day I have begot whom I declare
> My only Son, and on this holy hill
> Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
> At my right hand; your head I him appoint;
> And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
> All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord: (5.603-8)

By doing this, God downgrades Satan to the status of a simple angel. He is not the favourite anymore, his creator refuses to see him as his son, proclaiming that he has 'only' one son: Messiah. Furthermore, God asks Satan to bow in front of his new rival and to accept his superiority over him. Satan's reaction is quite predictable: he is 'fraught / With envy against the Son of God, that day / honoured by his great Father' and cannot 'bear / Through pride that sight, and [thinks] himself impaired' (5.661-5). Milton uses a key word when it comes to the Luciferian myth: 'pride'. However, he adds a small twist. Indeed, until then Satan was cast out of heaven because he wanted to take God's throne. In *Paradise Lost,* Satan's wish to overthrow

the Almighty is the second reason for his rebellion, and it stems from the first reason, which is alienation. Satan is no longer the favourite son. By affirming that Messiah is his only son, God deprives Satan from two important parameters of his identity: his filiation and his status. Thus, the ruler of heaven creates Satan's rebellion. This assertion is reinforced by the fact that God is supposed to have foreknowledge. In Book I, whilst the narrator describes Satan in hell, Milton writes:

> […] the will
> And high fore-knowledge of all-ruling Heav'n
> Left him at large to his own dark designs
> That with reiterated crimes he might
> Heap on himself damnation […] (1.211-5)

Empson writes about these lines that 'Here we are specifically told that God's actions towards Satan were intended to lead him into a greater evil' (1965: 42). Thus, God's position towards Satan is not benevolent and influences the latter in his quest for identity. Satan suffers because he has led the other angels to their damnation, the reader cannot find this concern in the Creator, who pushed his angels to rebel against him and to be further tormented, who put in Eden the death of humankind, his other creation, and who asked for the sacrifice of his only son, in order to solve the problem he may have created. Milton did not intend such a reading. Thus, Schwartz writes that 'Milton's God is far from tyranny that in *his very command* he is offering the opposite: freedom' (2001: 48). If it is possible to input the blame on God regarding Satan's rebellion, he is also responsible for his own fate, as he recalls in his soliloquy to the sun. However, this argument is always counteracted by the existence of foreknowledge in a debate that seems irreconcilable. The only true freedom is the reader's, who can decide what he wants to see in the text. As far as the Romantics are concerned, it seems that most of them have decided to see in God a tyrant. Thus, as Brown explains, Blake's God is not Jehovah but Jesus, the 'God of forgiveness' (1940: 84) and Nerval in 'Le Christ aux Oliviers' makes Jesus question God's implication right before his crucifixion: 'Abîme! abîme! abîme! / Le dieu manque à l'autel où je suis la victime' (1993: 649). In Nerval's lines, God's absence can refer to the lack of a paternal figure but also to an argument advanced by Satan when he tries to convince the other angels to team up with him against God:

> That we were formed then say'st thou? and the work
> Of secondary hands, by task transferred
> From Father to his Son? strange point and new!
> Doctrine which we would know whence learned: who saw

> When this creation was? remember'st thou
> Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
> We know no time when we were not as now;
> Know none before us, self-begot, self-raised
> By our own quick'ning power (5.854-61)

Thus, the fallen angel denies any direct link with God. He is not a divine creation anymore, but the product of his own abilities. This allegation has often been perceived as specious. Lewis explains that

> the property of a self-existent being is that it can understand its own existence; it is causa sui. The quality of a created being is that it just finds itself existing, it knows not how nor why. […] admitting ignorance of its own beginnings proves that those beginnings lay outside itself (1961: 97-8)

The 'self-begotten' theory seems indeed quite fragile. But it is not the theory in itself that is interesting, but rather the motivations lying behind it. By asserting that he is self-made, Satan denies any filiation with God. In *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899), Sigmund Freud writes that 'The more absolute the father's rule in the ancient family, the more the son as rightful successor is forced into the position of enemy, and the greater his impatience to come to power himself through the death of the father' (2008: 197). Satan rejects his father, and in some ways, kills him. This rejection allows him to create his new identity. However, as Freud adds: 'parents play the main parts in the inner life of all children who become later psychoneurotics' (2008: 201). The father of psychoanalysis often links neurosis to anxiety. Although he appears as a proud and strong character, Satan has shown his true colours to the readers on Mount Niphates. His assertion 'myself am hell' and the anguish he expresses regarding a possible threat can be taken as signs of anxiety. In light of this reading, God would be responsible for the birth of the devil. Psychoanalysis was born at the end of the nineteenth century, a century that has tried to decipher mental illnesses such as neurosis. In these tormented times, Romantic authors have turned themselves towards figures such as Satan, who embodied their anxieties, and towards God's son, Jesus who bears many similarities with the fallen angel. In *Paradise Lost*, Jesus appears as a benevolent figure, controlled by his father. Milton entrusts actions normally attributed to God, such as Creation, to the Messiah, making him, indirectly, the true God of the poem. The Messiah also acts as a counterpart to Satan. However, he is not his exact double, since Milton creates another being, much closer to the fallen angel than the Messiah: Eve.

3.2.3. Identity and Doubleness: The Son and Eve

The son has often been perceived as Milton's true God. The English poet transfers many godly tasks to him. Thus, it is the Messiah who ends the war in heaven and cast out the angels; it is also he who is responsible for Creation; and finally, it is also he who goes to Eden to pronounce Adam and Eve's punishment. Lewis explains that such a transfer of power is mentioned in some parts of the Bible, and therefore that it is not heretical (196: 85). The heretical dimension is not really what matters here but rather why Milton decides to apply these controversial readings of the Bible. The tasks given to the Messiah – except for Creation –are quite tedious, they demand power and severity. Thus, it seems that the Miltonic God is initiating his son, preparing him to be a tyrant. However, the Messiah is willing to sacrifice himself for humankind, thus surprising his father. In this way, he is different from him, and more alike Satan. Indeed, Satan too is ready to sacrifice himself in order to achieve the fallen angels' revenge. Bloom writes that 'There are esoteric traditions that makes Satan Christ's twin brother' (2007: 11). The transfer of tasks contributes to empower the son at the expense of Satan. In this case, Satan and the Messiah foreshadows Abel and Cain who will fight to be God's favourite. Byron uses this biblical story in his play, *Cain*, in which Lucifer holds a major place. Thus, the son seems to deprive the fallen angel of his identity and pushes him to create a new one at the same time. Despite being alike, Satan and the Messiah are not twins, as Bloom states, but rather each other's counterpart. Eve, on the other hand, seems to be Satan's reflection.

Satan may recognise himself in Eve. When she retells her birth, Eve says that the first thing she did was to look at her reflection in a pond. She is so compelled by her beauty that she does not want to go with Adam. She would rather stay all day watching herself, as Narcissus did, than go with this 'less fair / Less winning soft, less amiably mild, / Than [her] smooth watery image' (4.478-80). When Adam seizes her hand for the first time, she 'yield[s]' (4.489). Rogers explains that Eve must be told that she is not Adam's equal since she thinks that she is superior to him, at least physically (2007). Herman writes that 'God creates Eve as Adam's intellectual inferior […] although it is perfectly clear from Eve's channelling *Areopagitica* in Book 9 that she is a lot smarter than Adam allows' (2011: 263). God reproduces what he has done with the son and Satan, he deprives one by expanding the other. It seems therefore natural that Satan recognises himself in the first woman. This identification is quite probing during the temptation. The fallen angel, in the serpent's shape, appeals to her with the same motives that pushed him to rebel: a desire of superiority fuelled by unfair inequality, pride, and vanity. Furthermore, as was mentioned earlier, Satan is almost abandoning his plan of revenge when

he sees Eve alone. He is struck by her beauty, but he might also see in her a bit of himself. She cannot and will not subdue to Adam, as the fallen angel cannot and will not subdue to God and his son. Furthermore, both characters are responsible for their fall from heaven. Lewis notes that in *Paradise Lost* 'The Fall consisted in Disobedience. All idea of a magic apple has fallen out of sight' (1961: 68). He then adds that 'while the Fall consisted in Disobedience it resulted, like Satan's, from Pride', and that it also results from 'thinking that you are God' thus linking the fiend and Eve indirectly (1961: 69; 71).

Milton's representation of Eve, and women by extension, is therefore quite daring. The first woman is, at the same time, a vain creature and the standard-bearer of equality. This theme is enhanced by another Miltonic thought: angels 'Can either sex assume' (1.424). Thus, angels can be feminine. These visionary ideas have led authors such as Blake and Vigny to use the representation of women in their rewriting of the myth of the fallen angel. Eloa in the eponymous poem, appears to be another version of Eve and Satan's reflection. She also has the power to redeem Satan even if in the end, as in the epic, he succumbs to his dark nature.

In the course of his epic, Milton depicts what could be regarded anachronistically as the first Romantic character. Satan is a brooding, conflicted figure. He is not evil by birth but turns to the dark side because of a tyrannical father who deprives him of his identity. On the quest to find himself, Satan faces many obstacles: a brother indirectly responsible for his alienation; a woman in whom he sees a reflection of himself and whom he seeks to destroy as if he were actually wanting to destroy himself; fellow fallen angels whom he cannot disappoint since they now look up to him as father-figure; and finally, the two facets of himself: the archangel and the fallen angel. Forsyth writes that 'The great, defiant, and once beautiful angel is humiliated in the form he had himself chosen to adopt [a snake]. And with that he disappears from the poem' (2014: 18).

The last books of the epic are often regarded as inferior to the rest of the poem. This could be because they are the post-lapsarian books and therefore cannot convey the magnificence of the unfallen world. This idea can be applied to Satan. Once his transformation into a grotesque devil-figure is achieved, Milton seems to lose interest. Satan ceases to be a beautiful conflicted character. Satan's fall is not a single event, as Schanzer explains: 'while Satan's spiritual fall is a process continuous throughout the poem, his physical fall is a single, terminated event' (1955: 145). Milton describes Satan over the course of nine books as he describes humankind's fall, intertwining their destinies. After both humankind's fall and Satan's spiritual one, he abandons his 'Archangel ruined'. However, more than a century later,

a new generation of poets, freed from the chains of religion thanks to the Enlightenment, see in the fallen angel an avatar of themselves. This political leader, revolting against tyranny, aware of his feelings, and in quest of his true identity, captures their attention. Thus, Rudwin writes that

> During the period of the Romantic revolt in all European countries Satan was considered as a Prometheus of Christian mythology. He was hailed as the vindicator of reason, of freedom of thought, and of unfettered humanity. The French Romantics saw in Satan the greatest enthusiast for the liberty and spontaneity of genius, the sublimest and supremest incarnation of the spirit of individualism, the greatest symbol of protest against tyranny, celestial or terrestial. (1973: 15)

He then mentions Byron and Shelley, influenced by the epic. Bloom also writes that 'Only two books truly mattered to Blake, as Frye noted: the Bible and Milton' (1991: 123).

Georges Bataille adds that the Satanic appeal is not only linked to identification but also to poetry:

> La religion qui a la pureté de la poésie, la religion qui a l'exigence de la poésie ne peuvent avoir plus de puissance que le diable, qui est la pure essence de la poésie: le voulut-elle, la poésie ne peut édifier, elle détruit, elle n'est vraie que révoltée. Le péché et la damnation inspiraient Milton, auquel le paradis retirait l'essor poétique. (1957: 65)

Bataille justifies Blake's intuition by saying that if Milton was of the devil's party it was because poetry itself belongs to hell, to rebellious people. Romantic authors are rebellious. They are living in a century of changes, of political instability, of profound revolutions. In England and in France, the nineteenth-century poets are from different social backgrounds and embody different political ideas. However, all of them are fighting against the established order as Satan did. In 1789, the French Revolution breaks out and pushes aristocrats to flee the country. François-René de Chateaubriand seeks refuge in England to avoid the guillotine. There he discovers Milton's epic which has a considerable impact on his life. At the end of the Revolution and at the threshold of the first empire, Chateaubriand uses Milton to write his *Génie du Christianisme* (1802) after a specious conversion to Catholicism. In the book that allows him to go back to France, the French author praises the English poet and awakens the interest of the French readers in *Paradise Lost*. In 1836, after many years of work, Chateaubriand publishes a translation of the poem that is praised by other authors, including Victor Hugo. This

translation is, still today, regarded as the most beautiful and faithful translation of the English epic.[52] Despite his religious beliefs, Chateaubriand admires Milton's apostate angel. Rudwin writes that 'In Chateaubriand's opinion there is no poetic character, ancient or modern, to equal the Devil in grandeur' (1973: 272). The French author brings back his admiration for Satan to France and influences a whole generation.

[52] In an article written in 1836, Pushkin writes about Chateaubriand's translation: 'Aujourd'hui (précédent inouï !) le premier des écrivains français traduit Milton *mot à mot* et déclare qu'une traduction juxtalinéaire eût été le comble de son art, si seulement elle avait été possible ! Pareille humilité chez un écrivain français, le premier maître dans son art, devait fortement étonner les partisans des *traductions arrangées*, et, vraisemblablement, aura une grande influence sur la littérature' (quoted in C. Mouchard, 'Chateaubriand et Milton', 1993: 37). Chateaubriand's translation of *Paradise Lost* has been the subject of many critical essays. Thus, Antoine Berman, notes its novelty and his exemplarity, whilst Marie-Elisabeth Bougeard-Vetö writes that Chateaubriand has 'marqué de son empreinte' the English epic (1999: 112; 2005: 569). Nonetheless, it is important to note that other translations of the text have been produced. Thus, in 2001, Armand Himy translated into French the Miltonic epic (*John Milton. Le Paradis Perdu.* Editions La Salamandre). In an article justifying his undertaking, Himy praises Chateaubriand's translation but notes that the French author 'n'a pas cherché à capter la musique propre à Milton' (2004: 38). However, in his 2021 edition of Chateaubriand's translation, Christophe Tournu affirms that: 'Aucune des sept traductions postérieures à Chateaubriand n'égale celle du grand écrivain. […] Même la dernière, celle d'Armand Himy, plus ambitieuse, n'a pas réussi à supplanter la grande œuvre de Chateaubriand. C'est que l'on ne retrouve nulle part le souffle, la beauté, le génie de la traduction du célèbre maître de la littérature française. Celle-ci est absolument unique.' Such a statement shows the supremacy of Chateaubriand's translation over the others (2021: 111).

Chapter 4: William Blake, François-René de Chateaubriand and The Birth of a Romantic Fallen Angel

Comparing the works of William Blake and François-René de Chateaubriand may seem an odd choice. There is no proof that they knew each other's work; their opinions on politics and religion may appear as radically different; and one was writing in verse, the other in prose. In addition, one was born into the working class whilst the other was the offspring of a very old noble family, and one was English and the other one French. However, even if they do not share many similarities at first glance, these two authors have much in common: both place much emphasis on politics and religion in their writings; both appreciated and were influenced by John Milton and his *Paradise Lost* (1674); both of them were drawn to the figure of Satan; and, finally, both Blake and Chateaubriand's respective creative explorations of the figure of the fallen angel influenced a whole generation of Romantic poets.

Another common link is their ambiguous status when it comes to being defined as Romantic authors. Blake and Chateaubriand were born in 1757 and 1768. According to Pierre Brunel, British Romanticism starts with the 'publication des *Lyrical Ballads* de Coleridge et Wordsworth en 1798', whilst French Romanticism thrived during 'la période 1820-1848, ou même plus étroitement encore, 1830-1843' (2000: 17). Thus, when Blake and Chateaubriand start writing, Romanticism does not yet exist as an 'official' literary movement. Therefore, can they be labelled as Romantics?

David Simpson defines Romanticism as signalling 'an interest in such categories as genius, nature, childhood, and imagination, perhaps along with some assumed response to the French Revolution' (2006: 170). This definition applies to Blake, who gives great importance to the imagination in most of its text. In *Jerusalem* (1804), he asserts that 'All Thing[sic] Exist in the Human Imagination' (223), thus defining the imagination as a creative principle. In *Milton*, he also links this creative principle to divinity by writing that the imagination 'is the Divine Body of Lord Jesus' (1907: 47). Blake also discusses childhood in *The Songs of Innocence and Experience* (1789), the child representing the unfallen man. Finally, he can also be considered a Romantic, according to Simpson's definition, since he engaged with and responded to the French Revolution – in his poem *The French Revolution* (1791), for example. Chateaubriand also fits Simpson's Romantic criteria, since he is focusing on the notion of genius in texts such as *Le Génie du Christianisme* (1802), a text in which he also highlights the importance of the imagination by writing that 'L'imagination est riche, abondante et

merveilleuse' (1978: 714). However, he differs from Blake, since he separates the imagination from human existence, which he describes as 'pauvre, sèche et désenchantée' and concludes 'On habite avec un coeur plein un monde vide' (714). Therefore, Blake sees the imagination as universal whereas Chateaubriand uses the imagination in a more individualistic way. Finally, Chateaubriand, too, comments on the French Revolution in his *Essais sur les révolutions* (1797) and in his mémoires *Les Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (1849). According to Simpson's definition, then, both authors belong to this literary movement and can actually be seen as precursors. Jean-Marie Roulin and Simpson confirm this idea by writing that Chateaubriand is recognized as the 'grand Sachem', the 'big Chief of Romanticism' (2016: 54) and by stating that 'Blake has nonetheless mostly counted as one of the names that the mention of Romanticism has been supposed to invoke' (2006: 169).

Because Blake and Chateaubriand are Romantic precursors, it seems important to study their representations of the fallen angel. Although it is not as prominent a figure as in other Romantic texts, Lucifer/Satan holds great importance in the authors' works. Their representations are significantly influenced by John Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Blake mentions Milton in his works, such as *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1790), but also in marginalia since he uses an excerpt of Milton's *The Reason of Church-government Urg'd against Prelaty* (1641) to comment on Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Works* (1798) (1978: 1469). He also produces illustrations for *Paradise Lost* in 1808 and writes a poem dedicated to the blind poet, *Milton*, from 1804 to 1810. In a letter to John Flaxman, dated 12 September 1800, Blake writes that 'Milton lov'd [him] in childhood and shew'd [him] his face', thus alluding to the imaginary relationship that Blake had with the blind bard (2015). Chateaubriand discovers the English poet in exile. Even if Jean Gillet alludes to the fact that 'Chateaubriand a entendu parler du *Paradis perdu* bien avant son exil en Angleterre', there is no proof he actually did (1975: 557). However, in the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, Chateaubriand writes that he used to dine 'souvent dans quelque taverne solitaire à Chelsea […] en parlant de Milton', therefore proving that he had read Milton in 1793 (1997: 678). Chateaubriand shows his admiration for Milton by writing an epic inspired by *Paradise Lost*: *Les Martyrs* (1809), and by producing one of the most faithful French translations of the English epic poem in 1836.

The fascination that both writers share for Milton lies in their admiration for his flamboyant style, his mastering of verse, and for the topic he chose. But what inspires them most is Milton's representation of the fallen angel. They start writing in a time that sees 'the decline of belief in the existence of the Devil and the rise of syncretic or comparative mythology establish[ing] Satan as a mythic figure, freeing him for artistic and ideological purposes'

(Schock 1993: 442). Blake and Chateaubriand see in the Miltonic Satan a sublime figure, a symbol of freedom, and a political tool. However, both authors also see in the fallen angel a negative being. Blake sees first a powerful and positive figure in Satan in texts such as *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, for example. However, as time passes, Blake increasingly associates the fallen angel with an almost classical representation of the devil. Chateaubriand's relationship is even more ambiguous than Blake's. Because he is a Catholic, the French author seems to restrain his admiration for the fallen angel and even actively tries to diminish Satan's magnificence in his translation of *Paradise Lost*. However, he still uses Satan as a primary source of inspiration for his brooding characters such as René. This fundamental ambiguity regarding Lucifer is a recurring theme in this thesis. Later writers, in both countries, will also see in the fallen angel a positive and a negative figure, thus confirming the influence that Blake and Chateaubriand had on them.

To illuminate Blake's and Chateaubriand's approaches to the myth of the fallen angel, this chapter analyses a selection of written works and of drawings. In order to understand Blake's vision of the fallen angel as a positive being, a vision endorsed by the next generation of Romantic writers, three texts are analysed. The first text, *The French Revolution,* highlights the political aspect of the Satanic figure; the second text, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell,* associates the devil with creative energy; and the third text, *Milton,* returns Satan to his evil nature. As far as Chateaubriand is concerned, this chapter outlines the ambiguity of the French writer's position regarding Satan. Thus, a close reading of *Le Génie du Christianisme* allows us to understand the writer's views on religion and on Milton's Satan, whilst *René (*1802) features a brooding character influenced by the fallen angel. *Les Natchez* (1826) and *Les Martyrs* are the only texts in which Satan is used as a character. Finally, a close analysis of Chateaubriand's translation of *Paradise Lost* unravels the writer's attempt at diminishing the Miltonic Satan.

This chapter firstly analyses the political and religious positions of both writers, highlighting parallels and differences. In particular, the analysis focuses on their divergent opinions on the French Revolution (1789-1793) and on their depiction of God. This work helps to contextualize both literary representations of Satan and the idea of a national Romantic fallen angel. Secondly, this chapter focuses on Blake's and Chateaubriand's reception of Milton. The legends surrounding Blake and Milton, and his rewriting of *Paradise Lost* in *The French Revolution* (1791), as well as the study of *Les Martyrs* (1809), and the analysis of Chateaubriand's translation of *Paradise Lost* in 1836, tend to underline the fact that both writers see themselves as the true voice of the English author. This idea helps to understand the final

part of this chapter, dedicated to Blake's and Chateaubriand's first representations of a Romantic Satan, an ambiguous figure embodying their era.

4.1. Politics and Religion: The Importance of 'Contraries'

In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1793), Blake writes that 'Without Contraries [sic] is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence' (1980: 58). Chateaubriand and Blake keep contradicting themselves, or at least keep nuancing their opinion on politics and religion. Comparing Blake and Chateaubriand highlights the importance of these contradictions when it comes to the elaboration of a national myth of the fallen angel. Blake's radical political views and his vision of state religion as harmful opened the road for other poets – such as Lord Byron – and their darker Romanticism. On the other side of the Channel, Chateaubriand is perceived as a role model, a literary father, to many authors such as Alfred de Vigny and Victor Hugo. His political views and his efforts to bring back Catholicism as a state religion have an impact on this young generation of French Romantics which fears to go against the established religion. In these respective contexts, two readings of the Luciferian myth appear, both of them influenced by a poetry that is 'vraie que révoltée' (Chateaubriand 1957: 13).

The political context in which the English and the French authors write is complex. At the end of the eighteenth century, two major revolutions happen: the war of independence in America, and the events bringing the French monarchy to a close. This turmoil provokes tension between England and France and allows the birth of new political currents such as Radicalism in England.

4.1.1. The American Revolutionary War (1775-1783)

The American Revolution for independence opposed England to the colonies of America from 1775 to 1783. The settlers wanted to gain their independence and to form a new country whilst the king of England, George III, wanted to hold on to his power over the colonies. In order to help America gain its independence, the king of France, Louis XVI, helped the settlers by sending them money and men. The intervention of France in this conflict resulted in a war between the latter and England.

The American Revolution was used by Blake as the main topic of one of his prophetic texts. In *America, a prophecy* (1793), Blake represents the conflict between America and England as the opposition of two principles: Orc, a positive rebel linked to the settlers, and Urizen, a negative God of reason, linked to the King of England. Blake seems to perceive the American Revolution as a positive event since it is supposed to free the colonies from old constraints. Thus, he writes:

> Washington spoke: Friends of America look over the Atlantic sea;
> A bended bow is lifted in heaven, & a heavy iron chain
> Descends link by link from Albions cliffs acroſs the sea to bind
> Brothers & sons of America, till our faces pale and yellow;
> Heads deprest, voices weak, eyes downcast, hands work-bruis'd,
> Feet bleeding on the sultry sands, and the furrows of the whip
> Descend to generations that in future times forget.— (1980: 226)

The allusion to the 'iron chains', to the 'furrows of the whip' and the 'hands work-bruis'd' recall slavery. Blake perceives the colonies as oppressed and in need of help, but as an English citizen he also seems to convey the idea that people in England are oppressed too and in need of change. Therefore, the author places great hopes in this revolution. It is as if he was thinking that this kind of event would cleanse the 'doors of perception', mentioned in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, so that men could finally see the world 'as it is: Infinite' (1980: 172).

Chateaubriand does not mention clearly his opinions regarding the independence of America. However, he mentions the event briefly in *Les Mémoires d'outre-tombe*: 'Je rencontrai, à Fougères, le marquis de la Rouërie: je lui demandai une lettre pour le général Washington' (1951: 189). The fact that Chateaubriand was in contact with Armand Tuffin de La Rouërie, a colonel who held a major role in the independence of the United States and who was a friend of Washington, can mean that Chateaubriand was not against the American Revolution.[53] This is also supported by the fact that the French author was fond of America since he went there to see the country but also to escape the French Revolution. Moreover, René, Chateaubriand's most well-known character, also found refuge in America in the eponymous book. Therefore, for both authors, America holds an important place. On Blake's side, the struggle for independence of the country represents a struggle for freedom, and hope for people in general. On Chateaubriand's side, America represents a refuge for individuals who want to solve personal issues. The situation in America highlights the emergence of the

[53] The fact that Chateaubriand was faithful to Louis XVI who actively supported the American Revolution, also upholds this idea.

first contraries: Blake is on the universal side, hoping for a new unfallen world; Chateaubriand is on the individualistic side, hoping for personal relief.

4.1.2. The French Revolution (1789-1799)

The other major event of the end of the eighteenth century is the French Revolution. In 1789, weighed down by the 'déficit grandissant des finances royales' and, therefore, by the lack of food, the French people rebelled against the established order (Tulard 2017: 15). Gradually, centuries of absolute monarchy were dismantled. The monarchy, as it was known since its origins, ended with the death of Louis XVI in 1793. It is important to note two facts about the French Revolution: firstly, France, as a monarchy, was embracing the divine rights of kings; secondly, Revolutionaries decided to get rid of any official religion. These two parameters mean that by attacking Louis XVI, Revolutionaries were also attacking God himself which is further highlighted by their rejection of Catholicism as an official religion. The French Revolution thus reenacts the battle in heaven. Louis XVI is God and the Revolutionaries are Satan and his legions. Both Blake and Chateaubriand have seen this parallel.

Blake starts to praise the revolution, seeing it as an act of liberation, as an opportunity to build a world without tyranny. Thus, in the poem *The French Revolution* (1791), Blake highlights the idea of renewal through the use of a solar metaphor. He identifies the Commons with the 'spirits of fire in the beautiful / Porches of the Sun' (1980: 120, l. 54-55) and compares Louis XVI to 'the sun of old times quench'd in clouds' (122, l. 88). This metaphor transforms the revolution into a solar myth in which the old tyrannical sun gives his place to beautiful lively spirits, bringing with them the possibility of a new order. This rewriting of the solar myth is a common topos of Romantic literature. In *Les Ruines ou Méditations sur les révolutions des empires* (1791) and *L'Origine de tous les cultes* (1794), Volney and Charles Dupuis, respectively, explain that solar myths are central in the construction of religions.[54] Dupuis thus identifies Satan with the lack of sun (1847: 251-356). Blake has probably read Dupuis' essay after the publication of *The French Revolution* as Schock notes (1993: 445). Nevertheless, Blake, following on Milton's 'shorn of his beams' sun (1.596), seems to already embrace the analogy of Satan as a lightless sun. In *Paradise Lost*, the lightless sun was a metaphor underlining Satan's ambiguous status. Caught in between his angelic nature and his evilness, Satan was neither an archangel nor the devil: he was the 'Archangel ruined' (Milton 1.593).

[54] Dupuis argues that the story of Christ is originally a solar myth – the birth of Christ coinciding with the yule solstice and therefore, with the return of the sun (1847: 251-356).

Blake's use of the metaphor differs slightly from Milton's. Here Louis XVI is not depicted in a good way. The clouded sun symbolises the king's decay rather than a transitional state. Comparing Louis XVI to this lightless sun would then mean that Satan here is more the devil than an archangel. Blake's treatment of Satan is dual. He is sometimes a rebel angel opposing tyranny or, as Patrick Menneteau notes, the merciless God of the Old Testament (2006). Here, Louis XVI is the God of the Old Testament Satan. The fallen angel's evilness has gotten the upper hand over the archangel. This Blakean take on the solar myth will be used by Hugo in *La Fin de Satan* (1886). The French poet depicts Satan chasing the only sun remaining after his fall. The chase ends on these lines:

> Le soleil était là qui mourait dans l'abîme.
> L'astre, au fond du brouillard, sans air qui le ranime,
> Se refroidissait, morne et lentement détruit (1950: 772)

In the French epic poem, Satan achieves his transformation into a monster after he witnessed the death of the sun. Thus, Blake's metaphor is very important in the elaboration of the Romantic myth of the fallen angel.

If Chateaubriand describes the revolution as an 'étonnante tragédie' in the *Essai sur les révolutions* (1797), he also proves, by resigning after the advent of ultra-royalists to power in 1829, that he is not completely against the changes happening with the revolution (1978: 41). In his *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, Chateaubriand retells the meeting he had with Charles X's head of government, Jules de Polignac, an ultra-royalist minister. He writes:

> Je répondis […] que j'agissais dans la pleine conviction de ma raison; […] que la France entière était persuadée qu'il attaquerait les libertés publiques, et que moi, défenseur de ces libertés, il m'était impossible de m'embarquer avec ceux qui passaient pour en être les ennemis. (1951: 382)

Therefore, Chateaubriand is not against some key revolutionary principles such as freedom of speech and of thought. He is a royalist, but one who would have preferred a parliamentary monarchy, inspired by the English one. What truly disturbs Chateaubriand about the French Revolution is the violence and the cruelty that were displayed. In *Les Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, he expresses his disgust for the behaviour of the people attacking the Bastille, writing that 'c'est ce spectacle que des béats sans cœur trouvaient si beau' (1997: 323). The problem of violence is raised by many specialists of the French Revolution. Thus, Roulin notes that 'the Revolution [is] crucial, posing ontological, political, and metaphysical questions – how could that "river of blood" be crossed […]?' (2016: 53). This question is also raised by Blake during the Terror

(1793). Robert Ryan writes that 'As the French political experiment continued to degenerate into partisan violence and militarism, […] Blake grew more aware of the negative aspects of revolutionary and iconoclastic passion' (2006: 58). The English writer goes from a great enthusiasm for the French Revolution to a disappointment. This change of opinion foreshadows Blake's attitude towards his representation of Satan; and Chateaubriand's dismissal of the revolution, despite the fact that he does not reject every aspect of it, foreshadows his ambiguous attitude towards the fallen angel.

The American and the French Revolutions contribute to creation of a new political current in England: Radicalism. The rebellion of the American and French people and the advent of the working class in these countries push the English people to rebel and to demand changes. For instance, Thomas Paine, in the *Rights of Man* (1791-92), asks 'for universal adult male suffrage and a redistribution of wealth through taxation' (Lincoln 2014). Blake's Radicalism can be perceived in the preface of *Milton* (c. 1804):

> I will not cease from mental fight,
> Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
> Till we have built Jerusalem
> In England's green and pleasant land. (1999: 42)

The city of Jerusalem is seen as a positive place, an earthly paradise in Blake's mythology. The color green and the adjective 'pleasant' also recall Eden, the unfallen place that Blake is longing for. The mental fight might be an allusion to the weapon-like dimension of his texts and prophecies, but one can also note a physical implication in the awakened sword. Blake wants England to change, to come closer to the unfallen state, and in order for these changes to happen, he is ready to fight. Being a Radical gives shape to Blake's demands.

Furthermore, as Andrew Lincoln explains: 'Blake was employed as an engraver by the Unitarian bookseller Joseph Johnson, who was associated with a group of prominent radicals including Paine, Mary Wollstonecraft (author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 1792), and William Godwin (author of *Political Justice*, 1793)' (2014). Blake's affiliation with this circle informs his primary attitude towards the fallen angel as authors such as Godwin identifies the Radicals with the Miltonic Satan:

> It has no doubt resulted from a train of speculation similar to this, that poetical readers have commonly remarked Milton's devil to be a being of considerable virtue. It must be admitted that his energies centred too much in personal regards. But why did he rebel against his maker? It was, as he himself informs us, because he saw no sufficient reason, for that extreme inequality of rank and power, which the creator assumed. It was because

> prescription and precedent form no adequate ground for implicit faith. After his fall, why did he still cherish the spirit of opposition? From a persuasion that he was hardly and injuriously treated. He was not discouraged by the apparent inequality of the contest: because a sense of reason and justice was stronger in his mind, than a sense of brute force; because he had much of the feelings of an Epictetus or a Cato, and a little of those of a slave. He bore his torments with fortitude, because he disdained to be subdued by despotic power. He sought revenge, because he could not think with tameness of the expostulating authority that assumed to dispose of him. How beneficial and illustrious might the temper from which these qualities flowed, have been found, with a small diversity of situation! (1946: 322-2)

The political context in which both authors evolve is a key aspect of their representations of the fallen angel. The end of the eighteenth century favoured changes. It also created a need for rebel figures to identify with. Satan is one them. The religious context also reinforces this need of new heroes.

4.1.3. The Influence of Religion

Regarding religion, the English and the French authors mainly disagree, although, once again, it is possible to find some similarities in their way of conceiving God. Blake refuses organised religion. He believes that 'the Established Church [is] a tool, if not an embodiment, of Antichrist' (Ryan 2006: 153). Thus, in the section 'Proverbs of Hell' in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, he writes that 'Prisons are built with stones of Law, Brothels with bricks of Religion' thus highlighting the hypocrisy of religion (1980: 162). The poet's goal is to bring back the true meaning of the Bible, one deprived of the influence of men. In order to do so, he creates his own mythology in which God is constituted by four *Zoas*, four entities embodying key divine aspects, that he fully develops in *Vala, or the Four Zoas* (1797).[55] The first one is Urizen, associated with reason; the second one is Luvah or Orc, associated with love and feelings; the third one is Tharmas which represents the corporeal prison, the bodily senses; and finally the last entity is Urthana or Los, which symbolises the intuition, the imagination, poetic genius. As Menneteau explains, theses characters are not 'des entités spirituelles externes mais des éléments qu'il pense communs à tous les hommes. L'homme passe de la domination d'une certaine entité spirituelle à une autre' (2006). The critic then adds that 'Blake préfigure les découvertes pyschanalytiques' since Reason, Feelings, Senses, and Intuition, are the four faculties of the psyche, according to Carl Jung, and that it is necessary to listen to all of them

[55] *Zoa* is a Greek word meaning 'living thing'.

in order to discover one's true identity (Menneteau 2006). Therefore, Blake's mythology and vision of religion is a journey to the self. However, this journey can be impeded if one agrees to be led by only one entity. According to the writer, Urizen is the entity to fear. In *The Book of Urizen* he introduces the Zoa as such:

> Lo, a shadow of horror is risen
> In Eternity! Unknown, unprolific!
> Self-closd, all-repelling: what Demon
> Hath form'd this abominable void
> This soul-shudd'ring vacuum? – Some said
> "It is Urizen", Bur unknown, abstracted
> Brooding secret, the dark power hid. (1980: 256)

The idea of creation contained in the expression 'form'd this abominable void' recalls God's creation of the earth, which is further highlighted in the following verses of the poem, when Urizen presents the 'Book / of Eternal brass written in [his] solitude' and says 'One God, One King, One Law' which is a clear reference to the Ten Commandments and the Bible itself (1980: 262).These references to the Old Testament together with Blake's representations of Urizen as an old bearded man, the traditional representation of God, point out that[56] Urizen acts as Blake's Biblical God. However, instead of being a benevolent figure, Blake clearly establishes Urizen as a malevolent being provoking fear by using words such as 'horror', 'unknown' (twice), 'all-repelling', 'abominable', 'soul-shudd'ring', and 'dark'. However, the most striking word of this verse is 'Demon' which is a direct allusion to the fallen angel. This is supported by the fact that the 'abominable void' could be a depiction of hell instead of earth. Menneteau confirms this idea by saying that, according to Blake, the God worshipped in state religion is not 'celui de l'Eglise établie: c'est un ange déchu' (2006). The association of God with the fallen angel embodies Blake's attitude towards Satan. If Urizen-God is a demon and not Satan, then, as his counterpart, Satan becomes the true benevolent God and not the leader of hell. However, years later, Satan is brought back to his original status: he is again a fallen angel, a negative god-like figure, this time associated with Urizen. Nevertheless, in every instance, the Biblical God whether he is actually God or later, Satan, is not a positive figure. Blake, in his mythology, tries to look for a benevolent figure, first in Satan's character, and then in Christ's.

[56] Blake's representation of Urizen can be seen in Figure 10 and Michelangelo's representation of God in *The Creation of Adam* (c.1512), often perceived as the traditional representation of the Biblical God, in Figure 11.

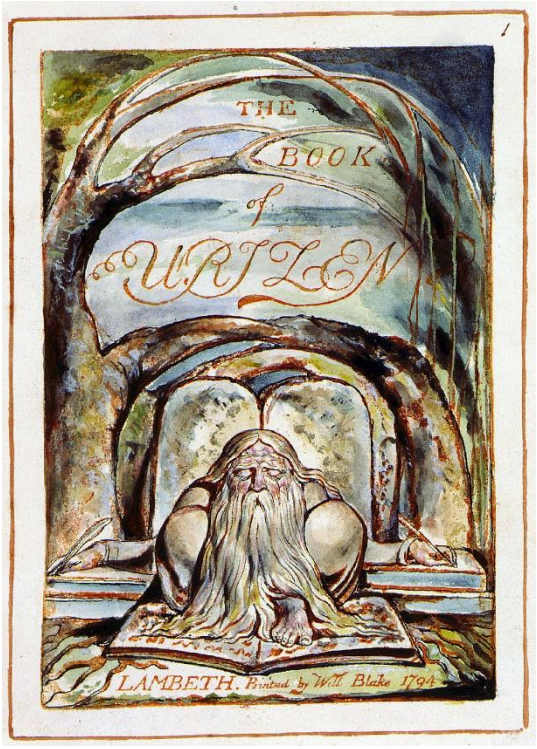

Figure 10: William Blake, Title page of *The Book of Urizen*, copy G (1818). Library of Congress.

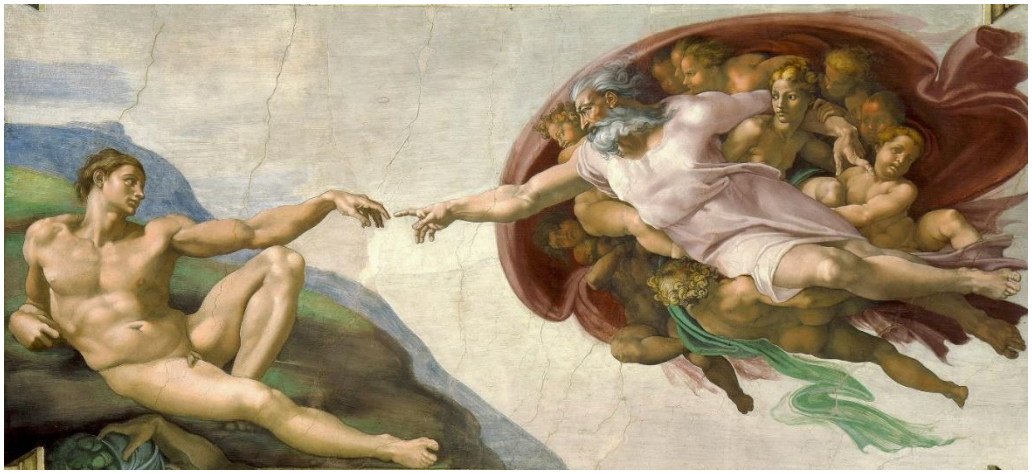

Figure 11: Michelangelo, *The Creation of Adam* (c. 1512), Sistine Chapel, Vatican City.

Chateaubriand was raised in Catholic faith but did not consider himself as a believer until his conversion, around 1799. In the *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe,* he explains that when he was in exile in England, he received a letter from his sister announcing the death of his mother. A few months later, the sister who wrote this letter also died. In his mémoires, Chateaubriand writes that, because of these events: 'Je suis devenu chrétien. Je n'ai point cédé, j'en conviens, à de grandes lumières surnaturelles; ma conviction est sortie du cœur; j'ai pleuré et j'ai cru' (1910: 566). The fact that Chateaubriand was a friend of Louis de Fontanes 'who later occupied important posts for the First Consul,' the fact that he dedicated the *Génie du Christianisme* to Napoléon himself, and the fact that the essay was published a few days after the advent of the Concordat (1802), tend to prove that Chateaubriand's conversion is political rather than sincere. In the preface of the 1828 edition of the *Génie,* the French author writes that he published his text 'pour rappeler dans ces temples les pompes du culte et les serviteurs des autels' (1966: 43). He then adds 'Buonaparte, qui désirait alors fonder sa puissance sur la première base de la société, et qui venait de faire des arrangements avec la cour de Rome, ne mit aucun obstacle à la publication d'un ouvrage utile à la popularité de ses desseins' (44). Critiques such as Victor Giraud (1914) and Emile Bouvier (1930) think that Chateaubriand's conversion is purely political. This is not the case for Berchet, who explains that Chateaubriand 'n'est absolument pas mystique' and that for him, religion is a social tool supposed to provide rules to society (2014). Whether it is purely political or very rationalised, Chateaubriand's vision of religion is completely opposed to Blake, who despises organised religion and thrives in mysticism. The fact that the French author may not have been a true Christian or was seeing religion as a moral compass rather than a true guidance, is essential to understand his attitude towards the figure of the fallen angel. Throughout his work, it seems that the author restricted himself, as if he could not break his image of a perfect believer, thus resembling Milton. In *René* (1802), a text originally published in the *Génie*¸ Chateaubriand often associates God with punishment. He writes: 'Ensuite elle découvrit son sein, et embrassa [les] restes glacés [du nourrisson], qui se fussent ranimés au feu du cœur maternel, si Dieu ne s'était réservé le souffle qui donne la vie' (1996: 158). This is followed by: 'Grand Dieu, qui vit en secret couler mes larmes dans ces retraites sacrées, tu sais combien de fois je me jetais à tes pieds, pour te supplier de me décharger du poids de l'existence, ou de changer en moi le vieil homme' (177); and finally: 'Dieu avait envoyé Amélie à la fois pour me sauver et pour me punir' (191). So God appears as an insensitive being, one that is not here to help human beings but rather to punish them, including innocent people such as a mother and her new born. It seems that Chateaubriand agrees unintentionally with the tyrannical vision of Blake's traditional God. Frye writes that 'The

tyrant [Urizen] in Blake is always an isolated, inscrutable brooder […] and because he is that he is truly representative of his victims. For in the state of "memory" or reflection we withdraw into ourselves and are locked up there with our own keys in a dark spiritual solitude' (1947: 57). In this way, Chateaubriand differs completely from Blake. According to the French author, one does exist only through the 'éternelle mélancolie de [la] pensée' (1996: 164). Moreover, in the *Génie*, he writes: 'la meilleure partie du génie se compose de souvenirs' (1966: 232). René is the essence of the 'isolated, inscrutable brooder'. And it is difficult not to see the Miltonic Satan, as represented in passages such as the soliloquy to the sun, in this description. This difference is again very important in the elaboration of the Romantic Luciferian myth. Authors such as Byron, Vigny, and Hugo, will follow Chateaubriand's influence on this matter rather than Blake's.

The political and religious conceptions of both Blake and Chateaubriand inform the elaboration of the Romantic myth of the fallen angel. This figure will have to face a tyrannical deity in order to achieve his quest of identity. The changes brought by the French Revolution and the way both authors responded to them will also be central to the understanding of the myth. But one key aspect of this influence of the English and French authors on the rest of the Romantic poet is their admiration for Milton. They see in the writer of *Paradise Lost* an inspiration in terms of style but they also appropriate themselves his guilty passion for the fallen angel.

4.2. John Milton's Influence

In 1804, Blake starts to write *Milton*, a text questioning the form and the importance of poetry, and the role of the poet. In the first book, he explains that Milton's shadow is undertaking a journey to atone for his mistakes. The author of *Paradise Lost*, through Blake's voice, realises that his representation of Satan is harmful:

> "I in my Selfhood am that Satan: I am the Evil One!
> He is my Spectre! in my obedience to loose him from my Hells,
> To claim the Hells, my Furnaces, I go to Eternal Death." (1999: 84)

Blake, as it is customary in epics, uses 'I' to hail his readers. At the end of the first book, he writes:

> Then I first saw him in the Zenith as a falling star

> Descending perpendicular; swift as the swallow or swift:
> And on my left foot falling on the tarsus, enter'd there:
> But from my left foot a black cloud redounding spread over Europe. (1999: 86)

The shadow of Milton therefore chooses Blake as a messenger, an interpreter, a poet who will correct his mistakes. The Blakean concept of Milton having to fall to become a better being fuels a positive representation of Satan. However, if Milton comes to earth, it is because his rendering of God is based on the harmful figure of the Old Testament:

> [Blake] was convinced that Milton's *Paradise Lost* contributed substantially to the religious ideology that dominated life in Britain by its reinforcement of belief in a distant, judgmental God who took pleasure in crushing rebellion against authority and who required the future death of his only Son before he could bring himself to pardon the sin of Adam and Eve. (Ryan 2006: 154)

Therefore, if Blake wants a better God, it is because Satan is too appealing. This Blakean paradox illustrates the evolution of his attitude towards the figure of the fallen angel. In his early texts, Blake is less critical towards Milton. However, the reproduction of *Paradise Lost's* infernal council, in *The French Revolution,* appears already as a rewriting of the Miltonic myth.

Chateaubriand's attitude towards Milton is also ambiguous. If, in the *Génie du Christianisme*, he praises him by writing that 'Outre ces beautés, qui appartiennent au fond du *Paradis perdu*, il y a une foule de beautés de détail', he is still holding back since Milton is a revolutionary figure (1978: 637). Furthermore, Chateaubriand's apparent Catholicism prevents him fully from supporting the Miltonic Satan. This ambiguity does not prevent him from copying Milton's style. Like Blake, he reproduces the scene of the infernal council in his own epic *Les Martyrs*. And like Blake, years later, he tries to correct Milton by making some subtle changes regarding Satan and his fellow demons. In his translation of the epic poem, the French author carries on with his undertaking, thus diminishing the archangel's appeal.

Both authors have an ambiguous relationship with Milton. They both admire him and want to correct him, and particularly his rendering of Satan. But what is the most striking aspect of their fascination with the English poet is the influence that it has on Romantic authors. By speaking of *Paradise Lost* and translating some parts of the poem in the *Génie du Christianisme*, and by giving a faithful and complete translation of the epic in 1836, Chateaubriand draws the French Romantics' attention to the epic and on his main character, Satan. Blake, by focusing on Milton, also draws the interest of English Romantic poets to *Paradise Lost*. However, it is Blake's sentence written in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, that has a considerable impact on the Romantics: 'The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of Angels & God, and at

liberty when of Devils & Hell, is because he was a true Poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it' (1980: 160). The fact that Blake does not provide any other explanations, is even more striking. The note belongs to 'The Voice of the Devil' which raises the question: is Blake writing this, or the devil? Nevertheless, the most influential part of the quotation lies in the association of the poet with Satan. The true poet is the fallen angel. The connection between poetry and a divinity who undertook a journey to hell, is quite classical since it recalls the story of Orpheus, the mythological representation of the poet. It is used by authors such as Gérard de Nerval, for instance. However, the identification with Satan is less common and appears as influential for poets such as Lord Byron, Charles Baudelaire, and Arthur Rimbaud.

4.2.1. The Rewriting of the Infernal Council

In the second book of *Paradise Lost*, Milton depicts the infernal council taking place after the fall of the angel. The first to talk is Satan asking

> […] and by what best way,
> Whether of open Warr or covert guile,
> We now debate; who can advise, may speak. (2.40-22)

To answer this question, four fallen angels give a speech. The first one is Moloch, described as 'the fiercest Spirit / That fought in Heav'n […]' (2.44-5), who advises another fight against the celestial armies; the second one is Belial, 'To vice industrious, but to Nobler deeds / Timorous and slothful: yet he pleas[es] the ear,' (2.116-7), who supports peace; the third one is Mammon, advocating acceptance of their new fate; and the last one is Beelzebub, who suggests finding another way to hurt God, and who is described by Milton in the following way:

> Which when Beelzebub perceiv'd, then whom,
> Satan except, none higher sat, with grave
> Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
> A Pillar of State; deep on his Front engraven
> Deliberation sat and public care;
> And Princely counsel in his face yet shon,
> Majestic though in ruin: sage he stood
> With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
> The weight of mightiest Monarchies; his look
> Drew audience and attention still as Night
> Or Summers Noon-tide air, while thus he spake. (2.299-309)

In *The French Revolution*, Blake adopts the same structure in the council assembled around the king of France whilst the 'Commons convene in the Hall of Nation' (1980: 120, line 54). The

council is also structured by five speeches. First, the king of France speaks, which means that Blake clearly associates this figure with Satan. The second peer to speak is the Duke of Burgundy who is identified by 'an odor of war' (124, line 83), and therefore resembles Moloch. The Archbishop of Paris is the third to speak. Blake describes him as such: '[he] arose / In the rushing of scales and hissing of flames and rolling of sulphurous smoke' (128, lines 126-7). The comparison to the serpent clearly alludes to Belial's slyness and to his ability to speak. However, the Archbishop does not recommend peace with the Commons, but rather proposes to imprison them without having an honourable war. The Duke of Aumont can be likened to Mammon since he is the one announcing that the Commons are already free to act as they want. This reaction is met by the anger of the assembly, as is the case in Milton's work. Finally, the Duke of Orléans speaks. His description resembles Beelzebub's one: he is 'generous as mountains' and he is respected by his peers: 'Then Orleans spoke; all was silent' (134, lines 175-8). In the epic, Beelzebub is depicted as Satan's right hand. Since the Duke of Orleans was Louis XVI's brother, he can be regarded as the monarch's right hand too.

Although, Blake uses Milton's representation of the infernal council, he also makes small changes. In 1791, Blake still sees Satan as a positive figure.[57] However, one can see the beginning of the evolution from positive to negative in these lines. The fact that Blake, still a French Revolution enthusiast in 1791, chooses to use the infernal council to represent the king's assembly and not the Commons' clearly identifies the Nobles with the fallen angel. Moreover, the king, supposed to be Satan, appears as weak, advising his council to hide until the situation is calmer. Blake's description of the king has nothing in common with Milton's description of Satan. The reader of *The French Revolution* is facing a powerless being, deprived of his beauty and his splendour, and who prefers cowardice rather than any kind of fight. The poet even distorts Milton's images. Thus, the '[…] browes / Of dauntless courage, and considerate Pride / Waiting revenge […]' (1.602-4) of the Miltonic Satan give way to 'brows folded heavy' and a 'forehead […] in affliction' (1980: 122, line 79). By identifying the king with Satan and by describing him as a helpless being, incapable of doing anything courageous, Blake diminishes Satan's magnificence. The fallen angel is back to his grotesque status.

Marie-Élisabeth Bougeard-Vetö writes that 'Chateaubriand a subi l'influence de [Milton] jusque dans son style même, en particulier dans ses dernières œuvres' (2005: 569). Chateaubriand is indeed influenced by Milton when it comes to expressions, vocabulary,

[57] He starts to represent Satan as a negative figure in *America* (1793), as Schock notes (1993: 463).

particularly in texts such as *Les Natchez* (1827) and *Les Martyrs* (1809). For instance, when Uriel answers to Satan in *Paradise Lost*, he says:

> Fair angel, thy desire which tends to know
> The works of God, thereby to glorify
> The great work-master, leads to no excess
> That reaches blame, (3. 694-7)

In *Les Natchez*, the Angel of America asks Uriel – not in a deceptive way in this case – what are the secrets of the creation of the sun. Uriel answers 'Esprit rempli de prudence, votre curiosité n'a rien d'indiscret, puisque vous n'avez pour but que de glorifier l'œuvre du Père' which is almost a literal translation of Milton's lines (1969: 217). However, Milton's style is not the only aspect of his work to strike Chateaubriand. The French author is also impressed by his imagination. Roulin writes that:

> […] the descriptions of assemblies are marked by the memories of the French Revolution, from the assemblies of Native Americans in *Les Natchez* […] to the gathering of demons led by Satan [in *Les Martyrs*], for which the descriptions of hell in *Gerusalemme liberate* and, crucially, Milton's *Pandemonium* provided powerful inspiration. (2016: 60)

Chateaubriand's infernal assembly in *Les Martyrs* has the same structure as Milton's. As in *Paradise Lost*, Satan convokes the demons to decide how they are going to make human beings stray away from Christianity. If Blake uses Milton's text as a basis to critique openly the aristocracy, Chateaubriand uses Milton's characters and settings to hide a critique of the revolutionaries. Jean Gillet writes that Chateaubriand 'décrit a son tout un Conseil infernal qui est une caricature d'une assemblée de la Révolution. Le discours de Satan y est aussi proche que possible de la phraséologie révolutionnaire' (1975: 99). Chateaubriand describes three main demons instead of four, leaving the last word to Satan and not Beelzebub, as if the French author wanted to reinforce Satan's power and Satan's responsibility in the fate of humankind. His three demons remind the reader of Milton's but also Blake's. The first one is the 'Démon de l'homicide' whom Chateaubriand describes as such: 'Des bras teints de sang, des gestes furieux, une voix effrayante, tout annonce en cet Esprit révolté les crimes qui le souillent et la violence des sentiments qui l'agitent' (1969: 239). The brutality attached to this creature reminds the reader of Moloch's description as the 'fiercest Spirit' and the Duke of Burgundy's 'odor of war'. Chateaubriand's third demon, the 'Démon de la volupté' is described as such:

> Le plus beau des Anges tombés après l'Archange rebelle, il a conservé une partie des grâces dont l'avait orné le Créateur; mais au fond de ses regards si doux, à travers le charme de sa voix et de son sourire, on découvre je ne sais quoi de perfide et d'empoisonné. Né pour l'amour, éternel habitant du séjour de la haine, il supporte impatiemment son malheur; trop délicat pour pousser des cris de rage, il pleure seulement, et prononce ces paroles avec de profonds soupirs:
>
> 'Dieux de l'Olympe, et vous que je connais moins, divinités du Brachmane et du Druide, je n'essaierai point de le cacher; oui, l'Enfer me pèse! Vous ne l'ignorez pas: je ne nourrissais contre l'Eternel aucun sujet de haine, et j'ai seulement suivi dans sa rébellion et dans sa chute un Ange que j'aimais. (1969: 242)

Because he needs to accept his fate although he did not wish for it, the 'Démon de la volupté' could be Milton's Mammon and Blake's Duke of Aumont, who both decide to accept their fate. However, Chateaubriand's creation is ready to help his fellow demons in their undertaking. Finally, Chateaubriand's most interesting demon is the 'Démon de la fausse sagesse,' the second to talk and whose 'feinte sévérité de [l]a voix, [and] calme apparent [des] esprits, trompent la multitude éblouie. Tel qu'une belle fleur portée sur une tige empoisonnée, il séduit les hommes, et leur donne la mort' (1969: 240). This description recalls the slothful Belial and the sly Archbishop of Paris. However, the pro monarchy Chateaubriand does not associate his demon with the clergy. On the contrary, he depicts the 'Démon de la fausse sagesse' as the father of Atheism. Thus, if Blake uses Milton for an attack against what he defines as 'state religion', Chateaubriand prefers to use the English poet to attack the lack of religion. Both authors are inspired by Milton, but they prefer to rewrite his text in order to make it closer to their own ideals. In both cases, the French and the English authors draw on the infernal council to depict something they despise and, therefore, to criticize Milton's Satan.

4.2.2. The Importance of Translation

Chateaubriand and Blake use their own works to rewrite Milton's message, establishing Satan as a negative character. Chateaubriand carries on this work with his translation of *Paradise Lost* into French in 1836. In the *Génie du Christianisme,* the translator had already attempted to translate the 'tower-like' description of Book I, and the soliloquy to the sun, in Book IV. Although it would be interesting to study and interpret the differences between the two translations, this thesis focuses on the literal translation of the epic. In Book I, Milton introduces Satan and the other fallen angels, and depicts hell. Chateaubriand introduces what seem to be minor changes. The first significant one can be found line 102, in Satan's speech:

> And to the fierce contentions brought along
> Innumerable force of Spirits armed,
> That durst **dislike his reign**, and, me preferring,
> His utmost power with adverse power opposed (1.100-3)

Chateaubriand renders it this way:

> Entrainant dans ce conflit furieux la force innombrable d'Esprits armés qui osèrent **mépriser sa domination**: ils me préfèrent à Lui, opposant à son pouvoir suprême un pouvoir contraire. (1995: 46)

The 'dislike his reign' becomes 'despised his domination'. At first glance, the slight difference seems insignificant. However, the two expressions do not convey the same ideas. Indeed, in Milton's text Satan is insisting on the fact that the angels did not agree with God, that they simply did not like how he uses his power, thus implying that God was an arbitrary king who did not allow freedom of thought and of speech. In Chateaubriand's version, the mere disagreement becomes almost an act of war. 'To despise' is a much stronger verb than 'To dislike', it implies aggressiveness and pride. Thus, instead of conveying Satan's initial message, that is to say, God is a tyrant who does not accept contradiction, Chateaubriand implies that the angels were belligerent and therefore that God's actions were justified.

In the famous tower-like description, the French author also changes a few things. Thus, the 'Archangel ruined' (1.593) becomes the 'Archange tombé' (1995: 59). Ernst Dick notes that Chateaubriand forgot the comparison to the tower and the link between the ruined tower and the ruined archangel, he writes that the translator's 'attributive adjective becomes unremarkable' (1910: 753). Indeed, what was a strong adjective: 'ruined' becomes a rather common one 'fallen'. As Ernst Dick notes Chateaubriand misses Milton's simile. However, it may be more conscious than the critic thinks. The 'Archangel ruined' conveys the idea that Satan is broken, that he is wrecked, thus recalling his former state, but also a form of remorse. The description in which this expression is included gives the vision of a diminished angel, of a creature inhabited by conflicting feelings such as care, revenge, courage, pride, remorse, and passion. All these feelings are implied in the image of the archangel ruined, and in the power lying beneath the adjective. Although 'fallen' could also convey the image of the broken angel, it is less powerful and quite common. By changing the adjective, Chateaubriand diminishes the conflicted nature of Satan, thus attempting to lower the empathy that the reader might have for this broken being.

In the same passage, the French author translates the sentence ‘and with fear of change / Perplexes monarchs’ (1.598-9) into ‘et par la frayeur des révolutions tourmente les rois’ (1995: 59). As Chateaubriand himself writes in the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* (1836), ‘Milton attacked the kings, I defended them’ (1852: 247). In his translation, the French writer’s royalist opinions seem to make him forget his desire of literality. Thus, when Chateaubriand changes ‘change’ for ‘revolutions’; ‘perplexes’ for ‘torments’; and ‘monarchs’ for ‘kings’, he is conveying his own message: the fallen angels are a metaphor for the regicides. This is further emphasised by the fact that Chateaubriand, in his remarks, specifies that he wants to be faithful to the musicality of the text. In French, the word ‘change’ can be translated as ‘changement’ and the word ‘monarchs’ as ‘monarques’. Thus, it would have been possible for Chateaubriand to be closer to the text. Here again, the French author accentuates the evil nature of Satan at the expense of the character’s propensity to redemption.

Finally, still in the same passage, the translator renders the expression ‘considerate pride’ (1.603) by ‘orgueil patient’ (1995: 59). All the mindfulness that was attached to the word ‘considerate’ disappears. The adjective ‘patient’ implies endurance, and calm, but not kindness (*OED*). Once again, the benevolent aspect of Satan’s personality is erased in order to emphasise the evil dimension of the character. All these little changes might be unconscious. However, the fact that Chateaubriand crowned himself the literary emissary of Christianity, that he often tries to justify Milton’s text, writing that ‘despite the confusion of principles, the poet remains biblical and Christian’ (1852: 170), and that he did not share Milton’s political opinions, tend to prove that the French author tried to inject his own ideas in his translation.

4.2.3. From Milton’s Satans to National Fallen Angels

Chateaubriand and Blake read Milton in the same way. They are both fascinated with *Paradise Lost* but are both trying to correct what appeared to them as a flawed rendering of religious and political ideas. In the previous chapter, two Miltonic Satans have been identified: the political Satan, leader of the fallen legions, ruler of hell; and the wounded archangel, who seems finally to show his true self on Mount Niphates. It is interesting to note that Blake seems to adopt the first version of Satan, the most official one, whilst Chateaubriand’s fascination for the soliloquy to the sun and desire for introspection, pushes him to support the melancholic fallen angel.

As Schock notes:

> Peter Thorslev identifies the following speech as the *locus classicus* of the Satanic stance in Romantic writing:

> The mind is in its own place, and in itself
> Can make a heaven of a hell, a hell of heaven.
> What matter where, if I still be the same,
> And what I should be, all but less than he
> Whom thunder hath made greater?

> Satan's defiant assertion of autonomy, delivered on the burning plain of hell, was so broadly influential, Thorslev notes, that it is possible to distinguish four kinds of thematic adaptations of this stance in Romantic writing: psychological, Stoic, epistemological, and proto-existentialist. All of these senses of Satanism have been extended to cover a range of Romantic attitudes or stances – typically individualism, rebellious or defiant self-assertion, and daemonic sublimity. (2003: 3-4)

It is therefore established that these words pronounced by Satan are illustrating the English Romantic interest for the myth of the fallen angel. However, Schock does not explain why this stance has been chosen as an emblem. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake inverts the traditional role of heaven and hell. Thus, as Schock writes about the poem, Blake 'identifi[es] hell with an inner world of spiritual energy, heaven with the sterile outward bound of reason' (1995: 456). This transformation is motivated by Milton's lines: 'The mind is in its own place, and in itself / Can make a heaven of a hell, a hell of heaven'. In his text, Blake purely applies what Satan says. This idea is reinforced by the fact that *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* is supposed to be a preamble to the Bible of hell. Moreover, as it has been said before, these words are uttered by a political Satan; Blake's famous sentence 'The reason Milton wrote in fetters when he wrote of angels and God, and at liberty when of devils and Hell, is because he was a true poet, and of the Devil's party without knowing it' is subtly political. The 'Devil's party' could be a reference to a political party, one that is rebelling against the established order. By applying what Satan says in Milton's epic, and by emphasizing the idea that Satan is a political leader, Blake draws the attention of the Romantics to this precise aspect of the Miltonic Satan. Byron too, will focus on the political fallen angel in his poem.

In France, Chateaubriand does not choose the same stance. In the *Génie du Christianisme*, he openly confesses his fascination for the soliloquy to the sun:

> Quelle que soit notre admiration pour Homère, nous sommes obligés de convenir qu'il n'a rien de comparable à ce passage de Milton. Lorsque, avec la grandeur du sujet, la beauté de la poésie, l'élévation naturelle des personnages, on montre une connaissance aussi profonde des passions, il ne faut rien demander de plus au génie. Satan se repentant à la vue de la lumière qu'il hait, parce qu'elle lui *rappelle combien il fut élevé au-dessus d'elle*, souhaitant ensuite d'avoir été créé dans un rang inférieur, puis s'endurcissant

> dans le crime par orgueil, par honte, par méfiance même de son caractère ambitieux; enfin, pour tout fruit de ses réflexions, et comme pour expier un moment de remords, se chargeant de l'empire du mal pendant toute une éternité: voilà, certes, si nous ne nous trompons, une des conceptions les plus sublimes et les plus pathétiques qui soient jamais sorties du cerveau d'un poète. (1966: 335)

In this celebration of Milton's poetry, Chateaubriand employs two key words for French Romanticism: sublime and pathetic. Here, pathetic is to be understood as 'Propre à susciter une vive émotion et à exciter les passions' (*ATILF*). Therefore, according to Chateaubriand, Milton's poetry as expressed in the soliloquy to the sun in sentences such as 'Me miserable! which way shall I flie Infinite wrauth, and infinite despaire?' is focusing on extraordinary feelings which makes it beautiful (4. 73-4). The French author is galvanized by the style of the poet but also by the range of sentiments experienced by Satan and particularly by his propensity to melancholy and misfortune. In texts such as *René* and *Atala* (1802), Chateaubriand depicts a brooding character, René, who dwells on his feelings. Thus he writes: 'Homme, tu n'es qu'un songe rapide, un rêve douloureux; tu n'existes que par le malheur; tu n'es quelque chose que par la tristesse de ton âme et l'éternelle mélancolie de ta pensée!' (1996: 163-4). It seems, therefore, that the following lines seem to define Chateaubriand's vision of the fallen angel:

> Which way I flie is Hell; myself am Hell;
> And in the lowest deep a lower deep
> Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
> To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven. (4.75-8)

When René says that he is a 'jeune homme […] qui trouve en lui-même ses tourments' or when he depicts himself as 'Tour à tour bruyant et joyeux, silencieux et triste, je rassemblais autour de moi mes jeunes compagnons; puis, les abandonnant tout à coup, j'allais m'asseoir à l'écart pour contempler la nue fugitive,' it seems that he just imitates Satan (1996: 169). The idea that French Romanticism focuses more on the brooding aspect of Satan than on the political is further emphasised by the fact that poets such as Vigny and Hugo will portray brooding fallen angels.

Milton is therefore a primary source of influence for both authors. Both Chateaubriand and Blake find in Milton's Satan a standard bearer for their national Romantic fallen angel. The English Romantic fallen angel is mostly political, whilst the French Romantic fallen angel is more individualistic. If this difference in their approach to the Miltonic fallen angel is clear, it is not the case when it comes to their relationship to Satan which remains ambiguous.

4.3. Blake's and Chateaubriand's Satan

Blake and Chateaubriand share a similarity when it comes to their relationship with the fallen angel figure: their position is ambiguous. As Ryan writes: 'Those who attempt to understand Blake's religious opinions must accustom themselves to the way different voices express conflicting theological views, so that his verses can be quoted convincingly on both sides of any important religious question' (2006: 165). Blake first sees in the fallen angel the standard bearer of revolutionary ideas. However, as he cuts himself off from the world and focuses on his own mythology, Blake gradually portrays Satan as a negative principle. Chateaubriand's position is less clear than Blake. There is no movement to be identified in his way of apprehending the figure. The French author always vacillates between his apparent Catholic beliefs and a fascination with Satan. In both cases, the authors foreshadow the attitude that Romantics have towards the fallen angel.

4.3.1. From Rebel to Devil: Blake's Satans

In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, the poet defines the religious principles of good and evil by writing that 'Good is the passive that obeys Reason. Evil is the active springing from Energy,' therefore identifying God with reason and obedience and Satan with energy and freedom of will (1980: 158). He then uses the 'Voice of the Devil' to write that 'Energy is the only life, and is from the Body; and Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy,' confirming that the traditional God is a limiting being who requires submission, and asserting that Satan is the representative of a worthy life (158). He writes that 'the Jehovah of the Bible [is] no other than he who dwells in flaming fire' (160). Since the father of evil is supposed to be in the traditional hell, it seems that Blake identifies God as the father of evil. Frye explains that:

> Blake says in the prophecies that Satan has the science of pity but not the science of wrath. The prophet may flail his enemies with a haughty and arrogant contempt; this is the *saeva indignatio* of Rintrah which begins *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*. But behind this is not only the prophet's infinite tenderness for the weak and foolish, but his own sense of exceptional responsibility and of the exceptional infamy of deserting his work. (1947: 70)

According to Blake, Satan is the true God and not the God of the Bible. He also identifies Satan's traditional followers, the devils, with the principle of self-development whilst he

associates God's traditional followers, the angels, with the principle of Selfhood (Frye 1947: 71). In Blake's mythology Selfhood is a negative principle with which he associates concepts such as egocentricity and selfishness. Until 1793, God is the embodiment of Selfhood, not Satan. Thus, in texts such as *The French Revolution* (1791) he identifies God with the absolute king. The poet's first conception of the myth of the fallen angel is therefore marked by the figure of the traditional God as a selfish tyrant whilst Satan is represented as a caring liberator.

However, in 1793, something changes. As Shock notes, 'Blake […] transform[s] the myth of Satan, shifting its function from idealizing to demonizing' (2003: 42). Since Blake accuses the French revolutionaries of reproducing the tyranny they rebelled against, it might be why his attitude towards a figure he was directly associating with the French Revolution shifted. Frye notes that 'Satan, Blake says, is a "Reactor"; he never acts; he never sees, he always has to be shown; and if our attitude to what we see is "reactionary", we are done for' (1947: 401). The changes also happen when he starts to be completely absorbed by the creation of his own mythology, his own branch of Christianity. Because he has been disappointed with humankind, he seems to need to come up with new figures that are better than traditional ones, such as God and Satan. Schock explains that:

> In *The Book of Urizen* (1794), *The Four Zoas* (1797-1805?), *Milton: A Poem* (ca. 1804), and *Jerusalem* (ca. 1820), Blake turns the figure [of Satan] into a personification of multiple forms of tyranny – not only the worldy powers of state religion and imperial war, but their psychosocial foundations: the Limit of Opacity and the Selfhood. In these works, Satan performs the traditional role of the adversary […]. (2003: 42)

Thus, in *Milton*, Satan is represented as deceptive: 'Mean while [sic] wept Satan before Los accusing Palamabron / Himself exculpating with mildest speech' (62). Palamabron, a Blakean divinity, describes Satan as such:

> "You know Satan's mildness and his self-imposition
> Seeming a brother, being a tyrant, even thinking himself a brother
> While he is murdering the just: prophetic I behold
> His future course thro' darkness and despair to eternal death." (60)

In these lines, the representation of Satan is reminiscent of the serpent's in Genesis. Satan is also associated with this principle and with the idea of limiting human beings, thus depriving them of their freedom. There is a complete reversal of positions. Ryan explains that 'Blake sometimes calls Satan "the God of this world." He is the God most Christians actually worship and persecute others for not worshipping' (2006: 160). It interesting to note that Blake first

turned Satan into a positive God to then maintain him as God but with the attributes he used to associate with the traditional God – called Urizen in his mythology. Christ, who sacrificed himself without any will of gaining something personal of it, becomes Blake's true god, Los. Blake shifts from a figure he judges individualistic – Satan – to a more universal figure – Christ.

It appears that Blake's conceptions of Satan are guided by his desire to reveal the true reality to human beings. Thereupon, Romantics such as Byron resemble him. In *Cain* (1821), Byron depicts an ambiguous Lucifer. Both a victim of God and a manipulator, he appears as a cynical being who shows Cain his perception of the world. Interestingly, Blake read *Cain* and decided to answer to Byron in a short play called *The Ghost of Abel*. In this text, it seems that Blake is trying to save Byron from the dark path he is entering (Sorensen 1999: 161). Thus the old Blake tries to correct a somewhat younger version of himself.

4.3.2. The Ambiguity of Chateaubriand's Satan

On the other side of the Channel, Chateaubriand was also being ambivalent regarding the Luciferian myth. The French author only represents Satan twice, in *Les Martyrs* and in *Les Natchez*.[58] However, René, his literary alter ego, seems, in many ways, to be another version of Satan.

In *Les Martyrs*, Satan makes an appearance in book 8. He wants to make humans stray from Christ's path. Chateaubriand is heavily inspired by Milton for his Satan; for instance, he compares him to 'une haute tour dont les flammes couronnent le sommet (1969: 238). Gillet confirms Milton as a primary source of inspiration, but he adds

> Mais la tonalité d'ensemble est différente. […] [Chateaubriand] cherche à être plus frappant que Milton […] sans grandir la figure de Satan. Sans doute pour se conformer aux prescriptions du *Génie*, il ne veut pas faire de lui le chef prestigieux du début du *Paradis perdu*. Il a supprimé tout ce qui concerne l'orgueil et le courage indomptable du démon, le front cicatrisé du guerrier, sa posture de chef. Subsiste cette impression d'une force mauvaise, rendue plus vive par l'ironie cruelle dont fait preuve Satan à l'égard des autres damnés. Chateaubriand ne veut rien voir d'héroïque chez le diable. (1975: 583)

[58] Gillet writes about Satan in *Les Natchez* that 'Chateaubriand a suivi sans enthousiasme un tradition qui l'intéresse peu' (1975: 582). Because Satan is not a developed character but merely an apparition in *Les Natchez*, this thesis focuses on *Les Martyrs*.

Gillet is right when he says that Chateaubriand tries to follow what he advocated in *Le Génie du Christianisme*. In this essay chanting the superiority of Christianity on any other cult, the French author writes that Milton imagined a 'Satan aussi détéstable', and he insists on the fact that Adam and Eve are the main characters of the epic and not Satan (1966: 336). Furthermore, Chateaubriand has indeed erased the heroic aspect of Satan when he does not mention the 'browes of dauntless courage' or the 'considerate pride' in the fallen angel's depiction. This could mean that Chateaubriand does not appreciate these aspects, especially as he modifies them in his translation, almost thirty years later. Finally, the author does portray a sadistic Satan when he writes:

> Du milieu de leurs supplices, une foule de malheureux criaient à Satan:
> 'Nous t'avons adoré, Jupiter, et c'est pour cela, maudit, que tu nous retiens dans les flammes!'
> Et l'Archange orgueilleux, souriant avec ironie, répondait:
> 'Tu m'as préféré au Christ, partage mes honneurs et mes joies!' (1969: 236)

However, saying that Chateaubriand does not want to see anything grand in his Satan seems erroneous. The author writes more words about Satan's remorse and pains, than on any other aspects of his malevolent personality:

> Il s'arrête, il frémit à ce premier soupir des éternelles douleurs. L'Enfer étonne encore son monarque. Un mouvement de pitié saisit le cœur de l'Archange rebelle.
> 'C'est donc moi, s'écrie-t-il, qui ai creusé ces prisons, et rassemblé tous ces maux! Sans moi le mal eût été inconnu dans l'œuvre du Tout-Puissant. Que m'avait fait l'homme, cette belle et noble créature?...'
> Satan allait prolonger les plaintes d'un repentir inutile, quand la bouche embrasée de l'Abîme venant à s'ouvrir le rappela tout à coup à d'autres pensées. (*Les Martyrs* 1969: 234)

He then adds: 'Une larme involontaire mouille les yeux de l'Esprit pervers, au moment où il s'enfonce dans les royaumes de la nuit' (1969: 234); 'Lié par cent nœuds de diamant sur un trône de bronze, le Démon du désespoir domine l'empire des chagrins. Satan, accoutumé aux clameurs infernales, distingue à chaque cri et la faute punie et la douleur éprouvée' (1969: 235); and 'Dissimulant tous les chagrins qui le dévorent, Satan parle ainsi à l'assemblée' (1969: 238), Chateaubriand insists on the wounded dimension of the fallen angel. If he had truly wanted to portray a cruel Satan, he could have avoided such passages that might provoke the reader's pity, or even compassion. Therefore, if Chateaubriand is really trying to conform to what he writes in the *Génie,* the author's fascination for the fallen angel can be seen in the movements of

remorse inhabiting Satan. Another noticeable element is that Chateaubriand focuses exclusively on the individual feelings of the archangel rather than on his political skills.

Chateaubriand seems to use this representation of Lucifer to create René. As explained before, Chateaubriand imitates Milton's character by using images such as the inner torments, the need to escape his fellow companions, etc. But other aspects are striking. When Chateaubriand writes: 'Il me manquait quelque chose pour remplir l'abîme de mon existence: je descendais dans la vallée, je m'élevais sur la montagne, appelant de toute la force de mes désirs l'idéal objet d'une flamme future,' it reminds the reader of Satan calling out the Sun to understand who he really is in *Paradise Lost* (1996: 179). Moreover, Chateaubriand specifies that René is the second son, despised by his father who prefers the first born; he writes that René is 'timide et contraint devant [s]on père' (169). This familial structure reminds the reader of God's preference for Christ which triggered the rebellion of the fallen angels. The fact that René is under duress when facing his father recalls the figure of the tyrannical God. This is supported by the association drawn by Chateaubriand between God and René's mother: 'nous tenions cela de Dieu ou de notre mère' (170). The positive God, the one in which Chateaubriand and René believe, is not the traditional father, but a feminine benevolent figure. Finally, the multiple allusions to the setting sun made by René remind the reader of the associations between the eclipsed sun and Satan as expressed by Milton in *Paradise Lost*, and of how authors, such as Hugo, are using this theme. All these considerations seem to prove that Chateaubriand is creating his own fallen angel in *René,* thus confirming his attraction towards this character.

The French author influences the authors of his time. In a letter, Vigny shows his admiration for Chateaubriand by waiting for his approval after the publication of *Eloa* (1989: 169). In Byron's eulogy, Victor Hugo opposes Chateaubriand to Byron, making the first one the chief of the school of 'résignation,' which sees everything from '[le] haut du ciel', and the latter the chief of the school of 'désespoir' which sees everything 'du fond des enfers' (1909: 302-3).[59] Both these authors will portray ambiguous fallen angels.

Blake and Chateaubriand's relationship is characterized by a dynamic of contraries. Blake's radical opinions, both in a political and religious way, inform his vision of the myth of the fallen angel. Firstly perceived as the standard bear of oppressed populations, Satan gradually becomes a negative being, embodying concepts such as egocentricity and selfishness.

[59] The fact that Chateaubriand is regarded as a celestial angel and Byron as a fallen one, combined with the jealousy that the French author feels towards the English one can be interpreted as Chateaubriand's failure to embrace his true self.

Chateaubriand's traditional religious and political views also inform his rendering of the myth. Obliged to submit to the religion he praises, Chateaubriand cannot embrace the figure of the fallen angel although he is fascinated by it. Satan haunts his writings in many aspects. The universalist Blake follows the path of Christ, whilst the individualistic Chateaubriand tries to suppress his will to follow Satan's. The admiration that both authors have for Milton has a direct impact on the generation of Romantics following them. Byron adopts, in certain ways, Blake's radical opinions, and translates them into his rendering of the figure of the fallen angel. Vigny and Hugo both adhere to Chateaubriand's style and religious opinions at first, but gradually become more attracted to Byron's darker vision. Hugo's and Vigny's Satan are both ambiguous characters, reflecting their quest for political and religious ideals. Although the fallen angel might not reside at the very centre of their respective oeuvres, Blake and Chateaubriand significantly shape future literary representations of this figure.

Chapter 5: Lord Byron's Lucifer

> Men of diseased hearts and depraved imaginations, who, forming a system of opinions to suit their own unhappy course of conduct, have rebelled against the holiest ordinances of human society, and hating that revealed religion which, with all their efforts and bravadoes, they are unable to entirely disbelieve, labour to make others as miserable as themselves, by infecting them with a moral virus that eats into the soul! The school which they have set up may properly be called the Satanic school; for though their production breathe the spirit of Belial in their lascivious parts, and the spirit of Moloch in those loathsome images of atrocities and horrors which they delight to represent, they are more especially characterized by a Satanic spirit of pride and audacious impiety, which still betrays the wretched feeling of hopelessness wherewith it is allied. (Southey 1821: xix-xxi)

Robert Southey's words, published in the preface to *A Vision of Judgement* (1821), are a response to Lord Byron's mocking of the Poet Laureate in *Don Juan* (1819–24), Canto III. It is, therefore, clear that Southey is attacking Byron here, but at the same time, there is much more at stake. As Emily Lorraine de Montluzin notes, Southey had already used the same words to criticize Thomas Moore, Byron's good friend, in an article published in 1806 (1972: 30). It is also evident that Percy Bysshe Shelley is included in this critique of the 'Satanic school', as he is the only author who, at the time, had officially proclaimed his atheism. Nevertheless, in then-contemporary readers' minds, Byron was the leader of this perverted school. His reputation preceded him. He was accused of homosexual relationships, and of incestuous relationships, with his half-sister, Allegra; he was seen as an atheist, an awful husband and father; and a mediocre aristocrat. In 1812, one of his lovers, Lady Caroline Lamb, famously describes him as 'mad, bad, and dangerous to know', and his own friend, John Polidori, states Byron lacked the ability to feel and sympathise with others and uses him as a primary source of inspiration for his short-story *The Vampyre* (1816) (Beres Rogers 2019). Finally, his physical appearance was considered the ultimate proof of his wicked nature: he had a club foot which evoked the devil's own hoofs. In the public imagination, Byron was not only a worshipper of the devil, but also, to some extent, his reincarnation.

Interestingly, before Southey's virulent critique, Byron had not really written on the devil. He had mentioned him in some texts, such as *Don Juan;* and some of his Byronic heroes, such as Manfred (1817), could be perceived as fallen angels. But there was no text dedicated to

the devil or in which the devil appeared as an important character. It was actually Southey's critique which prompted Byron to write on Lucifer, as Roderick Beaton notes:

> If the British public had been informed that he and Shelley were conspiring together to form a 'Satanic school' of poetry, then he, Byron, would come up with something to fit the bill. […] [H]e began to write a new drama that could truly, and literally, be called 'satanic', since the devil is one of the main characters. He called it *Cain*. (2013: 81)

Cain was published in 1821, along with two other plays: *The Two Foscari* – a play set in Venice during the fifteenth century – and *Sardanapalus* – a play about the end of the Assyrian monarchy. The three plays are not really linked by their themes or their styles. *Cain* is actually part of another collection of plays called 'the metaphysical dramas', comprising of *Manfred* (1817) – a play in which the tormented hero wants to end his life, and meets, on his way, supernatural beings – and *Heaven and Earth* (1821) – a play on the Flood and the angels' love of human women (Richardson 2004: 136). *Cain*, just like *Heaven and Earth*, is a Mystery. This French genre, popular during the Middle Age and based on folk and religious tales, features supernatural actions or beings. The Romantic interest in folk tales may be one of the reasons for the re-awakened attention to this genre during the nineteenth century. As Richardson notes, 'Byron seems not to have intended what he called his "metaphysical dramas" […] for production on any stage, present or future' (2004: 136). *Cain* is therefore a drama in verse intended for personal reading only.

Composed of three acts, unevenly divided into scenes, *Cain* traces the biblical myth of Abel and Cain from Cain's point of view. Byron draws on Genesis 4:1-17 by using characters such as Adam, Eve, and Henoch, present in the biblical urtext, and by borrowing some biblical sentences. However, he also creates characters such as Adah and Zillah, respectively Cain and Abel's wives and sisters, and makes Lucifer intervene in the matter.[60] The latter had no part in the fratricide in Genesis and his mere presence is an indicator of his importance in the text. Lucifer, just as Raphael did with Adam in the eighth book of Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1674), shows to Cain a supposed universal knowledge of humanity and time that deepens Cain's sense of injustice. Adah tries to rescue Cain from Lucifer's influence but fails to do so, and Cain, led by Lucifer's cynicism, kills his younger brother.

The other text representing a Byronic fallen angel is *The Vision of Judgement* (1822). This satirical poem is an even more direct response to Robert Southey's *A Vision of Judgement*

[60] Cain's wife is briefly mentioned in Genesis 4:17 but she is not named.

(1821) and his critical preface, as Byron notes in his own preface to the poem: 'If Mr. Southey had not rushed in where he had no business, and where he never was before, and never will be again, the following poem would not have been written' (2008: 939). In Southey's original version, King Georges III arrives in front of the gates of heaven. Satan tries to intervene but the king goes to heaven where he is greeted by illustrious figures. The Poet Laureate's poem was mocked upon its publication: 'Mr. Southey has indeed indulged in a Vision, but in the Judgment part of the matter he has been lamentably deficient; as the public judgment on his performance must inevitably and painfully convince him' (1996: 161). The disparagement surrounding the text grew larger when Byron published his parody. Critics of the time agreed on the fact that Byron's style surpassed Southey's – for instance, Byron preferred to write in *ottava rima* rather than in Southey's hexameters – and the parody became more famous than the original text, although some critics still saw the text as 'very poorly written' and 'contain[ing] nothing but abuse' (1970: 250). In *The Vision of Judgement* – of course, the change from an indefinite article to a definite one in the title shows what Byron's intentions were regarding the original text – Byron also makes George III arrive in front the of the gate of heaven but his judgment is less Manichean. Satan tries to convince Michael that the king belongs in hell. Michael's sympathy – he calls the apostate angel 'my good old friend' - towards Satan is a constitutive element of the accusation of blasphemy (2008: 957, 62.490). Southey also makes an appearance in the poem, and his verses are mocked by the celestial cohort. This representation of Satan differs substantially from *Cain*'s Lucifer, created a year before.

Finally, 'Sun of the Sleepless', a poem part of the *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) will be also studied in this chapter, as it can be perceived as an exploration of the myth of the fallen angel. The *Hebrew Melodies* were composed to accompany Isaac Nathan's music. Byron used the Old Testament as a primary source of inspiration.

Lucifer, in *Cain*, is therefore a rather ambiguous character: sometimes a seductive fallen angel, sometimes a grotesque tempter. Satan, in *The Vision of Judgement*, appears, at first glance, as less ambiguous, since, as Lansdown notes, he is 'every inch the grave and impressive Prince of Darkness', (2012: 126). Nevertheless, his devil like-attitude acts as a façade. It is also rather unclear whether there is an autobiographical dimension to Byron's fallen characters. The poet discards any direct association with Lucifer in various texts. In a letter to Thomas Moore, sent in March 1822, for example, he writes: 'With respect to "Religion", can I never convince you that *I* have no such opinions as the characters in that drama, which seems to have frightened every body? […] for I really thought "Cain" a speculative and hardy, but still a harmless

production' (Marchand 1974: ix, 118-19, 123). This letter only reinforces what Byron writes in the play's preface:

> With regard to the language of Lucifer, it was difficult for me to make him talk like a Clergyman upon the same subjects; but I have done what I could to restrain him within the bounds of spiritual politeness. If he disclaims having tempted Eve in the shape of the Serpent, it is only because the book of Genesis has not the most distant allusion to anything of the kind, but merely to the Serpent in his serpentine capacity. (2008: 882)

Byron also refuses the satanic label given to him by Southey and the British public in general. Thus, he writes in the preface of *The Vision of Judgement*: 'it has pleased the magnanimous Laureate to draw the picture of a supposed "Satanic School", the which he doth recommend to the notice of the legislature […] If there exists anywhere, except in his imagination, such a School, is he not sufficiently armed against it by his own vanity?' (2008: 939). However, even if Byron did not want to be associated with anything satanic, he 'was utterly disingenuous when he claimed that he never expected the uproar which greeted the publication of this play', as Peter A. Schock notes (1995: 201). Byron's attitude to his texts is paradoxical. On the one hand, as some of his contemporaries noted, the poet does not comment or take a position on Lucifer's ideas, thus making it possible to interpret his silence as an endorsement. However, even if Byron's ambivalence could mean that the poet agrees with his character, it does not assert it. Has Byron consciously rendered his text ambiguous and open to differing interpretations as a way to play with the audience's expectations and their will to demonise him? The force of his denial could be interpreted as a way to persuade himself that he was not what people expected him to be.

This chapter aims to understand Byron's use of the fallen angel in his literary texts, while also taking into account his denials of certain interpretative stances in his non-fictional writings, especially concerning the wider implications of the representations of his Satanic characters. The representations of Byron's fallen angels in *Cain, The Vision of Judgment,* and 'Sun of the Sleepless' are analysed through a close-reading of their physical depictions and an in-depth study of their characters. Then, this chapter upholds how Byron questions his own identity by exploring the myth of the fallen angel. Finally, this chapter considers the association of Byron himself with a fallen angel figure, particularly through the French Romantics' eyes.

5.1. Cain

Cain's reception by Byron's contemporaries was mixed. On the one hand, authors such as Thomas Moore, the Shelleys, Byron's good friends, and Walter Scott, praised the text. Thus, Moore writes that '*Cain* is wonderful – terrible – never to be forgotten. […] Talk of Aeschylus and his Prometheus! – here is the true spirit both of the Poet – and the Devil' (1970: 214). Scott affirms that Byron has 'certainly matched Milton on his own ground', before adding that 'Some part of the language is bold, and may shock one class of readers […] But then they must condemn the *Paradise Lost*, if they have a mind to be consistent' (214-5). Mary Shelley considers *Cain* to be Byron's 'finest production' that 'sound[s] like a revelation' (215); and her husband, Percy Bysshe Shelley, affirms that the play 'contains finer poetry than has appeared in England since the publication of *Paradise Regained*' (216). On the other hand, the majority of other critics tend to agree on the scandalous aspect of the text. Thus, John Cam Hobhouse writes in his diary that *Cain* 'has scarce one specimen of real poetry or even musical numbers in it' before calling it a 'complete failure' (214). Henry Crabb Robinson writes that the play is a 'mischievous work calculated to do nothing but harm' (216); whilst John Gibson Lockhart states that Byron's work is 'a wicked and blasphemous performance, destitute of any merit sufficient to overshadow essential defects of the most abominable nature' (217). Finally, Egerton Brydges also draws a comparison between Milton and Byron, albeit a less favourable one:

> [*Cain'*s] impiety is so frightful that it is impossible to praise it, while its genius and beauty of composition would demand all the notice which mere literary merit can claim. […] It must be obvious to every intelligent reader that the example of *Milton* does not apply to the manner in which Lord Byron has executed his poem of *Cain*. Milton puts rebellious and blasphemous speeches into the mouth of Satan; but Milton never leaves those speeches unanswered: on the contrary, he always brings forward a *good angel* to controvert triumphantly all the daring assertions and arguments of the EVIL SPIRIT. Lord Byron leaves all which he ascribes to *Cain* and *Lucifer* in their full force on the reader's mind, without even an attempt to repel them. (218)

The critics accusing Byron of blasphemy and of provocation are numerous, but Brydges' critique touches on an important point: it is not the fact that Lucifer is blasphemous that is scandalous, but rather the lack of perspective and judgement on Byron's side. This type of critique is all the more interesting since it was also addressed to Milton in the late seventeenth-

century. Byron would then be the new Milton? Regardless, *Cain* was not a text that was welcomed and appreciated by the majority of Byron's contemporaries.

5.1.1. Lucifer's Physical Depiction

In *Cain*¸ the depiction of Lucifer seems at first glance quite Miltonic, even classical. However, throughout these descriptive moments, Byron questions Lucifer's identity, through the eyes of Adah and Cain, and Lucifer's eyes himself. Cain's first encounter with Lucifer is described by Byron in the following terms:

> 'Cain: […] A shape like to the angels,
> Yet of a sterner and a sadder aspect
> Of spiritual essence: why do I quake?
> Why should I fear him more than other spirits,
> Whom I see daily wave their fiery swords
> […]
> If I shrink not from these, the fire-arm'd angels,
> Why should I quail from him who now approaches?
> Yet he seems mightier far than them, nor less
> Beauteous, and yet not all as beautiful
> As he hath been, and might be: sorrow seems
> Half of his immortality. And is it
> So? And can aught grieve save humanity?' (2008: 1.80-97, 886)

The structure of the lines, resting upon contradictions, recalls the 'Tower like' depiction of Satan in Book I of *Paradise Lost.* The reader – and Cain – are facing an 'Archangel ruined', a creature who retained his former beauty but whose actions had an impact on his physical traits. Thus, in appearance, Byron's Lucifer could be an imitation of Milton's character. However, when looking closely at the former's choice of words, one can see that Byron is depicting here his own distinctive Lucifer, and not Milton's Satan. The first interesting words appear in the second line: 'sterner' and 'sadder'. Milton always depicts Satan as a passionate being, very lively; he even writes that 'each passion dimm'd his face' (4.114). The idea of a 'stern' fallen angel is therefore not Miltonic. The austerity of the character is also paradoxical when associated with the word 'sadder'. The word sad, and the emotion that it describes, tends to pinpoint a certain fragility, a weakness. The fact that it comes after the adjective 'stern' can mean that Lucifer wants people to believe that he is an austere being but that he is really weakened by his emotions, and particularly by his sadness. This is all the more interesting as Milton does not describe Satan as a sad character. He is 'miserable', and 'despaired', but the words 'sad' and 'sorrow' – another word that Byron associates a lot with Lucifer – are

associated with Adam and Eve. It is a human emotion, not a celestial one. This confusion between human and celestial beings will also be made by Vigny, confirming a trait of the Romantic fallen angel. The allusion to this particular emotion is made six times in the play, by Cain, and by Adah, his wife and sister, two of them being made in the first lines depicting the character. Byron's Lucifer is therefore a sad character, but not only.

The second trait of his personality is expressed in the third line of Cain's description of Lucifer: the aura of inexplicable danger. Cain's reaction is instinctive. He knows the being he encounters is dangerous, since he 'quake[s]', and 'fear[s]' him, but he cannot explain why. He repeatedly asks himself why, but fails at providing a cognitive answer. Lucifer appears as a nonbenevolent being, but nothing proves he is one. The same gut-reaction strikes Adah when she encounters the character for the first time. Instead of internalising her feelings, as Cain did, Adah verbalises her fear. She calls the angel 'Fiend' (1. 392, 896) and says that he is 'no[t] God's' (1.415, 896) and 'not blessed' (1.419, 896). However, Adah also expresses a paradoxical reaction towards the fallen angel. She says about him that she 'cannot abhor him' (1.405, 896), that she 'look[s] upon him with a pleasing fear' (1.406), that 'There is a fastening attraction' about him (1.408), and finally, that 'he awes [her], and yet draws [her] near' (1.410). The evil paradox consists in the attraction and aversion that human beings feel simultaneously when they encounter it. This paradox could be explained by the fact that the embodiment of evil, Lucifer, is himself traditionally torn between self-love and self-loathing since *Paradise Lost.* Another explanation could be the apparent freedom associated with evil. Lucifer declares himself free throughout the play and presents himself as a solitary being who does not seem to answer to anyone. In any case, the paradox holds an important part in the original sin.

Incidentally, it is quite interesting to note that the person expressing this paradox, here, is also a woman. Cain is not repulsed by Lucifer: he fears him. And, instead of trusting his instinct, he decides to deny it and blindly to follow the fallen angel. There is no true seduction, but rather a total abandonment on Cain's part. It is as if Cain moves from Adah's domination towards Lucifer's. This situation seems to be a reversal of the dynamic in the story of original sin. Adam and Eve were under God's domination, they had totally dedicated themselves to him. In some ways, they had no real power or agenda over their lives. The moment Eve chose seduction and knowledge over blind faith, Adam departed from God and followed Eve's lead. He could have chosen to remain in Eden. Had he sacrificed himself, as he seemed to think, or was he simply unable to think independently? In Cain's case, it seems that he chooses Lucifer over Adah because he feels like he is denied the right to think freely by his family. Thus, he says to Lucifer:

> […] My father is
> Tamed down; my mother has forgot the mind
> Which made her thirst for knowledge at the risk
> Of an eternal curse; my brother is
> A watching shepherd boy, who offers up
> The firstlings of the flock to him who bids
> The earth yield nothing to us without sweat;
> My sister Zillah sings an earlier hymn
> Than the birds' matins; and my Adah, my
> Own and beloved, she too understands not
> The mind which overwhelms me: never till
> Now met I aught to sympathise with me.
> 'Tis well – I rather would consort with spirits. (889: I.2.179-91)

However, he is totally manipulated by Lucifer. This time, it appears as though the woman has learned from her mother's mistakes and does not yield to Lucifer's seduction. Instead, it is the man who does. The air of danger and seductiveness are quite conventional Luciferian features. Byron is here respecting classical conventions of representing the devil. The devil's seduction of women will be one of the main topics of Vigny's mystery, *Eloa ou la soeur des anges*, studied in a later chapter. Yet despite this seemingly rather classical representation of the devil, it appears that Byron's characters are unable to define clearly what or who Lucifer his. Lucifer himself appears as detached from his self.

The first line introducing Lucifer – by Cain – establishes this quest to determine his true identity: 'A shape like to the angels' (1.80, 886). The use of the word 'shape' indicates that Cain does not know how to define the creature he sees, and this is reinforced by the comparison to angels. Lucifer looks like an angel, but is not one. When Adah meets him for the first time, she says 'I see an angel' (1.340, 894). The use of the verb 'to see' is significant here. She does not say that Lucifer *is* an angel, or that she *knows* he is one. She only describes his appearance as she perceives it, what Lucifer shows to the world and not what he really is. Later in the text, she calls him an 'immortal thing', confirming that she does not know who he is. However, she seems more intuitive than her husband since she is the one to call him 'Fiend' and also understands that he is not a heavenly being. Cain, on the other hand, says that Lucifer 'is not like / The angels we have seen' (1.342-3, 894), and that 'He speaks like / A god' (1.350-1, 894), but he does not linger on the danger he felt at first, and soon seems no longer to fear Lucifer, since he says to his wife: 'What dreads my Adah? This is no ill spirit.' Cain has decided to repress his intuitive knowledge and to follow and trust Lucifer. Still, he cannot really define what he is. When the fallen angel asks him 'wouldst thou be as I am?', Cain answers 'I know

not what thou art: I see your power' (2.78-9, 903). Here again, the choice of verbs and their positions in the sentence are interesting. Byron seems to oppose 'to know' and 'to see', by using two independent segments only connected by a colon, which, here, could imply a logical connection: since Cain cannot define Lucifer's identity cognitively, he describes what is shown to him, relying on his sense of sight. Lucifer is again reduced back to his appearance, recalling Adah's first reaction: 'I see an angel'. Thus, Cain and Adah are not able to determine Lucifer's identity, but can Lucifer do this?

5.1.2. Lucifer's Inability to Define Himself

When Cain asks him who he is for the first time, the fallen angel answers that he is 'Master of Spirits' which is evasive since the word 'spirit' can describe either angels or fallen angels (1.99, 886). Later in the text, when Adah tries to determine whether Lucifer is a cherub or a seraph, Cain explains to his wife that there are other kinds of spirits, such as the archangels. Instead of confirming or refuting such a designation, Lucifer only says that there are spirits 'loftier than the archangels', without explaining what he means. Then, when Cain tells him that he does not know who Lucifer is, the archangel answers '*I* am angelic', confirming what Cain and Adah had seen (2.78, 903). However, the use of the adjective 'angelic' instead of the noun 'angel' is still evasive. It refers to Lucifer's origins, but not to his present nature. When Cain asks who or what Lucifer is directly another time, Lucifer answers in the following way:

> Lucifer: One who aspired to be what made thee, and
> Would not have made thee what thou art.
> Cain: Ah!
> Thou look'st almost a god; and ---
> Lucifer: I am none:
> And having fail'd to be one, would be nought
> Save what I am. He conquer'd; let him reign! (1.126-130, 887)

For the first time, Lucifer defines himself as God's opponent. However, since he defines God as an 'Omnipotent tyrant' (1. 138, 888), and as a 'Destroyer', who 'makes but to destroy' (1. 263-64, 888), Lucifer seems to refuse the label 'evil'. Moreover, he denies his identification with the tempting serpent: 'The snake was the snake - / No more' (1.223-24, 890). In this instance, Byron explains his understanding of the biblical urtext:

> The reader will recollect that the book of Genesis does not state that Eve was tempted by a demon, but by "thy Serpent"; and that only because he was "the most subtil of all the beasts of the field". Whatever interpretations

> the Rabbins and the Fathers may have put upon this, I take the words as I find them, and reply, […] "Behold the Book!" (2008: 881)

It is unclear whether Byron is taking Lucifer's side on the serpent allegations, or if he merely tries to educate the sanctimonious masses who associate him with the figure of the devil. Regardless, his desire to discard the popular association of the devil with the serpent is slightly contradicted later in the play. When Cain asks Lucifer if he tempted Eve, the apostate angel answers:

> […] I tempt none,
> Save with the truth: was not the tree the tree
> Of knowledge? and was not the tree of life
> Still fruitful? Did *I* bid her pluck them not?
> Did *I* plant things prohibited within
> The reach of beings innocent, and curious
> By their own innocence? I would have made ye
> Gods; (1. 197-202, 889)

The structure of this stanza demonstrates the defensive position of Lucifer. The use of the caesura in the first line: 'I tempt none' showcases Lucifer's instinctive answer: he is not an evil mastermind. However, the rejet in the second line together with the series of rhetorical questions emphasise Lucifer's need – or desire – to be relieved of the responsibility of the original sin. The angel appears as involved in the action but not as guilty. The reader – and Cain – could have been persuaded by the devil's plea until the last unit of the stanza: 'I would have made ye / Gods'. This brazen lie – he does not have the powers necessary for such an accomplishment – is reinforced by the structure of the unit. The word 'Gods' is textually highlighted by the enjambment. Lucifer tries to prove that he is not a tempter by appealing to Cain's darkest desires. The angel's mastering of rhetorical techniques does not inspire trust.

This speech is elaborated in Satan's discourse in Eden, in the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*:

> One fatal Tree there stands of Knowledge called,
> Forbidden them to taste: knowledge forbidd'n?
> Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
> Envy them that? Can it be sin to know,
> Can it be death? And do they only stand
> By ignorance, is that their happy state,
> The proof of their obedience and their faith?
> O fair foundation laid whereon to build
> Their ruine! (2003: 4. 514-22, 87)

The main difference between Byron's text and Milton's is that in *Paradise Lost*, Satan is speaking to himself which 'give[s] us a sense that we can believe some of what he is saying' (Lansdown 2012: 122). He genuinely thinks that God has been cruel. This is not the case in *Cain*, where Lucifer's words are part of an intricate web designed to undermine Cain's faith. Does he really think what he says, or is he just engaging in a clever act of manipulation, driving away one of God's believers, as the classical devil would do? Lucifer's continual contradictions motivate such questions. Thus, he first says that 'as [he] knows not death, / [He] cannot answer' (1.289-90, 892) before affirming, just a few lines later, that those 'who know all things, fear nothing' (1.297, 892). He also asks Cain to 'worship [him], [his] Lord' (1.304, 892) if he wants to see his knowledge, and tells him that 'He who bows not to him has bow'd to me' (1. 317, 893). Later in the text, Byron makes Lucifer say: '*I* will not say, / Believe in *me*, as a conditional creed / To save thee;' (2.2. 20-22, 901). Finally, Lucifer affirms to Cain that he 'do[es] divide/ *His* [realms], and possess a kingdom which is not / *His*' (1. 552-54, 900), before telling him that God and he 'reign/ Together; but [their] dwellings are asunder' (2.1.375-76, 915), and then insisting on the fact that they '*both* reign' (2. 2. 392, 919).

Which affirmations are true, and, more importantly, does Lucifer believe in any of them? This is a crucial question when it comes to Lucifer's own definition of his identity. As Alan Richardson notes: 'Lucifer is obsessed with division, and relentlessly presses Cain toward a divided vision of the world and a split experience of the self' (2004: 145). There is a possibility that Lucifer does that because his own self is split. As mentioned before, Lucifer refused the association with the serpent and pointed out that the true tempter was God, thus denying his propensity to evil. In the last moments of his encounter with Cain, the son of Adam tells him that he has a 'superior' (2. 2. 426, 920). Lucifer violently rejects this affirmation and explains:

> I have a Victor – true; but no superior.
> Homage he has from all – but none from me:
> […]
> And what can quench our immortality,
> Our mutual and irrevocable hate?
> He as a conqueror will call the conquer'd
> *Evil*; but what will be the *good* he gives?
> Were I the victor, *his* works would be deem'd
> The only evil ones. (2.2. 429-46, 920)

This burst of passion contrasts with the cynical Lucifer encountered throughout the play. Austerity gives way to anger. Does this mean that the reader is finally meeting the true Lucifer?

It could be the case, but in his very last lines, the fallen angel goes back to planting seeds of doubt in Cain's mind:

> *One good* gift has the fatal apple given –
> Your *reason*: - let it not be over-sway'd
> By tyrannous threats to force you into faith
> 'Gainst all external sense and inward feeling:
> Think and endure, - and form an inner world
> In your own bosom – where the outward fails;
> So shall you nearer be the spiritual
> Nature, and war triumphant with your own. (2.2. 459-66, 921)

These lines could be regarded as Lucifer's credo. At first glance, the word 'reason' automatically recalls the Enlightenment. Romanticism is at variance with Enlightenment. The supremacy of reason faces the necessity of feeling. The literal emphasis – Byron uses italics and hyphens, and pairs 'reason' with 'good' – on this very eighteenth-century notion could be an indication of the orientation of Lucifer's speech. Lucifer would not be a Romantic creature but rather resemble Blake's Urizen, the bad principle of his mythology.[61] However, Lucifer's conception of reason is not purely defined as rational thinking. In the fourth line of his stanza, Lucifer divides reason into two components: 'external sense', which is rational thinking, but also 'inward feeling', alluding to Romantic notions such as sentiments, instinct, etc. The importance of this second component is emphasised by the expressed necessity to create 'an inner world' in one's 'own bosom'. The words 'inward' and 'inner' are synonyms connoting something intimate, private, thus alluding to sentiments. This is reinforced by the location of the inner world, near the heart. Here, sentiments are really detached from rational thinking which is traditionally linked with the brain. However, these terms also appeal to something deep and even hidden.

This second level of interpretation can be linked to sentiments too, but also to the idea of protection. Cain needs to create a protection against external agents, which are defined by Lucifer as 'tyrannous threats' who could 'force [him] into faith'. The most logical interpretation, if one takes into consideration Lucifer's discourse until then, would be to say that the fallen angel is speaking of God here. However, this interpretation does not match Byron's religious thoughts. Jerome McGann explains that, for Byron, 'man's evil is not theological but ethical' before adding that 'moral equations must be made in terms of man and man, or man and himself, but not between man and God' (1968: 248-49). The external threats

[61] It is interesting to note that Blake has read Byron's *Cain* since *The Ghost of Abel* (1822) is Blake's response to the play.

could then come from his wife Adah, his other siblings Abel and Zillah, his parents, or Lucifer himself. But there could be another interpretation. Lucifer states clearly that faith constitutes the threat and McGann explains that, according to Byron, man defines his ethics in relation to the connection he has with other people but also with himself. Lucifer could advise Cain to fight an illusion and to always seek the truth. 'Think and endure', says the fallen angel. 'Think' appeals to reason and to the idea of truth, and 'endure' to the idea of resisting the external pressures exerted by his family. However, it seems strange to advise Cain to do something very Romantic, which is to turn to his feelings since the subjectivity of sentiments is in contradiction with the quest for truth. So, could the tyrannous threats be found within Cain's himself? Indeed, this stanza could be an illustration of a internal fight involving Cain's education, his normative conscience, embodied by the norms taught by Adam and Eve; and his deeper haunting desires that could lie in the 'inner world'.

Lucifer would then advise Cain to fight the moral part that he considers imposed on the human being, and that Cain's himself try to fight from the beginning of the play. To be able to fight his education, Cain would need to turn to his raw passions. However, as Parker notes, this stanza 'do[es] not sound like an instigation to evil' (2006: 13). I agree with him. In my opinion, Lucifer's advice is, here, motivated by his own internal fights rather than by the will to destroy. Thus, what is truly interesting here is what this piece of advice tells us of Lucifer's knowledge of himself. There is undeniably the influence of Romanticism, since Lucifer seems to define reason through the prism of feelings. The apostate angel is a true Romantic character when he declares these lines. But a lack of self-knowledge also transpires in this extract, and by advocating imbalance as a solution to an identity quest, Lucifer explains his own instability. If Lucifer, like Cain, rejects the moral codes given by his creator, God, then Lucifer rejects the angelic part of him. But if he is not an angel, who is he? And can the answer be found in this inner world, within the chaos of his conflicting feelings, such as pride but also remorse? In *Paradise Lost*, Milton's Satan is afraid of what lies within him:

> Which way I fly is Hell, myself am Hell;
> And, in the lowest deep, a lower deep
> Still threatening to devour me opens wide (IV, 75-77)

On the contrary, it seems that the Byronic Lucifer is totally unaware of the danger that the unleashing of his id can represent. Thus, could his evilness be justified by self-ignorance?

The repetitive allusions to Lucifer's sorrow contribute to the questioning of his evil nature:

Cain: And what art thou, who dwellest
So haughtily in spirit, and canst range
Nature and immortality – and yet
Seem'st sorrowful?
Lucifer: I seem that which I am; (2.1. 85-88, 903)

Lucifer embraces his sadness. Nevertheless, as mentioned earlier, 'sadness' and 'sorrow' are feelings attributed to Adam and Eve in *Paradise Lost*, which appear after the original sin, once they are fallen. Lucifer is also a fallen being, could this be why he feels this way? Would sorrow be the punishment of anyone who has transgressed? By losing their original state, the fallen beings are ripped from a part of them. Their punishment could be, thus, to long for this part of them combined to the nostalgia of their previous lives. Sorrow would act as a perpetual reminder of what they lost.

Cain, after the murder of his brother Abel, is unable to express his sorrow: 'I who have shed blood cannot shed tears! / But the four rivers would not cleanse my soul' (3. 521-22, 937). Cain is tormented, disgusted by what he has done, but he is not described as sad. McGann writes that Cain's act is 'an awakening for him. He now sees what violence means,' and he regrets it instantly (1968: 260). One of the main differences between the fallen angel and the son of Adam is that Cain did not fall, he was born as a fallen being, it is his primary nature, and not the result of a voluntary action. This means that Lucifer's identity, according to Byron, is firstly defined by what he used to be: an angel. This is further enhanced by his name. In this text, the poet has not chosen to call him by his devil name, Satan, like Milton did and like Byron himself will do in *The Vision of Judgment*, but Lucifer, his angelic name. His appearance, according to Adah and Cain, also confirms this idea: he looks like an angel. But as Adah and Cain have understood, he is not one. However, it is interesting to note that Byron has not described Lucifer physically. This lack of a physical depiction forces the readers themselves to reflect on Lucifer's identity and to remain more objective. It also creates an aura of mystery. The identity of Byron's Lucifer remains unclear, and so does his propensity to evil. This inability to self-define pushes the character himself to ask Cain 'What am I?' (2.2. 309, 916).

5.1.3. The Doubles

Ricardo J. Quinones identifies Lucifer as Cain's double: 'Cain experiences something dreadful in the encounter [with Lucifer], because he is meeting the objectification of his own desires. Lucifer might not be a physical double, but he does represent a quasi-spiritual double' (1991: 43). He then adds that 'Byron's Lucifer is a double but a damaging one; as a tutor he is far from

beneficial' (49). In this identification, Quinones is in accordance with Parker: Lucifer is not the 'whole intelligence of the play' but rather a tool to understand the eponymous character Cain. But the reverse could also be true: Cain could be a tool to understand Lucifer.

Harold Fisch notes that Byron's choice to make Cain 'the fundamental hero of the Fall and its aftermath' can be explained by the fact that:

> Byron wanted a more virile and less passive transgressor than Adam, one who had had a tougher upbringing and, when challenged, would not sheepishly hide himself among the trees of the Garden, but would demand, in Byron's words, "What / Wouldst thou with me?" (3. 1. 497-98). It is this that shocked the middle-class Bible-reading public and was calculated to shock them, this and the tilting of sympathies in favor of the murderous Cain and against the Christ-like Abel.' (1991: 29-30)

The association of Abel with Christ tends also to highlight that Lucifer could have chosen Cain as a victim, because he saw in him a double. The potential cathartic dimension could have lured Lucifer to tempt Cain. They do share many similarities: they both have complicated relationships with their father-figures, whom they hold responsible for their misery; they both have brothers who are loved more than them; and they both feel lonely and misunderstood. But, before they meet, Cain has something that Lucifer lacks: peace of mind. Lucifer changes that. Because he cannot be happy, Cain ought not to be happy either. Lucifer turns Cain into a doomed being, and tries to compensate his own sorrow and pain, which act as an intellectual torment, with Cain's. Fisch remarks:

> Cain is *throughout* truly a marked man, marked out from his fellows. The actual mark set on his brow in act 3 merely makes the ambiguity of his status dramatically manifest. He is specially distinguished *throughout* both for ignominy and honour. He has sought to expand the boundaries of knowledge but he is also laden with guilt. The mark signifies both the iniquity and superiority. (1991: 35)

Cain's mark, and its ambiguity, recalls Lucifer's own mark, as depicted by Milton: 'but his face / Deep scars of Thunder had intrencht' (1. 600-1) Lucifer's scars are a mark of both his rebellion and of his superior status compared to other fallen angels. They clearly design Lucifer as the apostate angel, the leader of the angelic legions. Lucifer's marks, like Cain's 'signifies both the iniquity and the superiority.' After killing his brother, Cain becomes an outcast, doomed to live eternally with his suffering. Lucifer is not alone anymore. However, unlike Lucifer, Cain embraces his new identity:

Oh! thou dead
And everlasting witness! whose unsinking
Blood darkens Earth and Heaven! what thou now art
I know not! but if thou seest what I am (3. 528-31, 937)

If Lucifer tried to find himself in Cain, or to make him doubt his identity, he failed to do so. Despite all his efforts, Lucifer is still not sure who he is. The most perceptive answer to this quest would be in Adah's words:

but thou seem'st
Like an ethereal night, where long white clouds
Streak the deep purple, and unnumber'd stars
Spangle the wonderful mysterious vault
With things that look as if they would be suns;
So beautiful, unnumber'd , and endearing,
Not dazzling, and yet drawing us to them,
They fill my eyes with tears, and so dost thou.
Thou seem'st unhappy; do not make us so;
And I will weep for thee. (1. 510-19, 899)

Lucifer embodies Milton's paradox: he is 'darkness visible'. He is an unseizable illusion, a pretender. It seems like Byron is aiming precisely at creating such a being. His character is not a Romantic rebel fighting the tyranny of religion, nor a grotesque devil who takes pleasure in cynical argumentations. As Truman G. Steffan notes:

> Byron created a complex individuality for his social and theological critic. This master rebel was a compound of several devilish paradoxes. Here was a sorrowful and defeated power, who was still splendid and confident of his ability to continue the battle forever; an idealist, staunchly confident of the capacities of mind, proffering an arcane and coveted enlightenment, but evasive and either unwilling or unable to vouchsafe the ultimate truth; a plausible altruist, apparently responsive to the human plight, but really indifferent to it and utterly selfish, consumed by hatred and given to malice, incapable of love and cynical about its brevity and its carnality; a disarming diplomat, adroit in winning compliance and ruthless in manipulating emotion; a sly sadist, using his favors to augment his victim's depression and scoffing at his weakness; a spirit of wit and wisdom who made some serious errors; and finally an arrogant champion of liberty, an abusive opponent of autocracy, and a keen analyst of its destructiveness, who was himself a paragon of negation. (1968: 60)

Byron's Lucifer is all of that, but all of his actions are not necessarily calculated. His inability to define his identity makes him the embodiment of self-doubt. In this way, he can be perceived as a Romantic anti-hero. His complexity and his quest for identity through the figure of Cain show that Lucifer is torn between what he was, what is said about him, and what he really is. This identity struggle is still present in *The Vision of Judgment*, although it is not as significant as it is in *Cain*.

5.2. *The Vision of Judgement* and 'Sun of the Sleepless'

5.2.1. Satan in The Vision of Judgment: A Political Pawn

In Byron's response to Southey's attacks, the fallen angel is no longer called Lucifer, but Satan. This change can mean two things. First, Byron wanted his character to be named 'Satan' as he had been designated as the leader of a 'Satanic school', and was thus answering to Southey. The second possibility is that, in this poem, the fallen angel embraces his evil nature. Since *The Vision of Judgment* was published one year after *Cain*, it could be the same character intervening in both texts, at different developmental stages. Lucifer having triggered the first murder on earth and the apparition of death, through Cain's fratricide, has become truly evil, and is subsequently named Satan.

The description of Satan in the poem is rather Miltonic and does not really raise many questions, unlike Lucifer's description:

> A Spirit of a different aspect waved
> His wings, like thunder-clouds above some coast
> Whose barren beach with frequent wrecks is paved;
> His brow was like the deep when tempest-tost;
> Fierce and unfathomable thoughts engraved
> Eternal wrath on his immortal face,
> And *where* he gazed a gloom pervaded space. (24.186-92, 948)

He appears as a threatening character, and he is designated as a 'general' (67. 532, 958) and 'the Devil' (72. 569, 960), two very common designations when it comes to the fallen angel. However, Byron plays with the expectations of his readers by introducing a very friendly Michael in his text. Michael is generally regarded as a stern figure, leader of the heavenly armies, and he is traditionally seen as Satan's defeater. Other archangels like Raphael or Gabriel

are supposed to be more friendly than Michael. It is, thus, in this relationship, that one can see Byron's twist on the fallen angel. Right from the beginning, the poet places the interaction of the two celestial beings under the light of regret:

> He and the somber silent Spirit met –
> They knew each other both for good and ill;
> Such was their power, that neither could forget
> His former friend and future foe; but still
> There was a high, immortal, proud regret
> In either's eye, as if 'twere less their will
> Than destiny to make the eternal years
> Their date of war, and their 'Champ Clos' the spheres. (32. 249-56, 950)

Byron humanises his characters by reminding the reader that before being enemies, Michael and Satan were actually friends. This process allows Byron to demystify the aura of evil surrounding Satan. This is proved by the fact that Michael is the one insisting on their friendship:

> Then he [Michael] address'd himself to Satan: 'Why –
> My good old friend, for such I deem you, though
> Our different parties make us fight so shy,
> I ne'er mistake you for a *personal* foe;
> Our difference is *political,* and I
> Trust that, whatever may occur below,
> You know my great respect for you; and this
> Makes me regret whate'er you do amiss – (62. 489-96, 957)

If Byron had made Satan say Michael's lines, then he could have been perceived as the usual seducer, tempter. But by making Michael say these words, Byron makes a benevolent being, and more than that, God's most faithful servant, say that Satan is not at heart an evil nature, but merely a political pawn. This discourse recalls Satan's place in the Old Testament, and particularly in the Book of Job, in which Satan is used by God to test a loyal servant. Michael refuses the evil name of his friend, and still calls him by his angelic name. Thus, Satan, in Michael's eyes, is neither the devil or an archangel, but rather a being in-between both worlds who serves, just like him, a political end. Satan's rebellion helped God to assert his power over the angels. Indeed, by defeating the most powerful being, after him, in heaven, God truly showed his potency. He could have prevented Satan's rebellion, since he is Almighty, but he preferred to use it and turn it in his advantage. In *The Vision of Judgment,* both Michael and Satan seem to know that they are part of a political game; however, it remains rather unclear whether they know if God used them or not. Once again Byron questions Satan's identity and

his propensity to evil, this time, through Michael's eyes. The reader faces the devil, but not the classical one. Satan is not personally evil, but instead embraces his destiny of political opponent.

5.2.2. Satan as the 'Sun of the Sleepless'

Another Byronic text touches on the myth of the fallen angel without explicitly mentioning it. 'Sun of the Sleepless' is the twenty-fourth of thirty poems, collected in the *Hebrew Melodies* (1815). It is a short poem – eight lines – composed in rhymed verses. I aim to show that this poem can be read as an interpretation of the myth of the fallen angel.

> Sun of the Sleepless! melancholy star!
> Whose tearful beam glows tremulously far,
> That show'st the darkness thou canst not dispel,
> How like art thou to Joy remembered well!
> So gleams the past, the light of other days,
> Which shines but warms not with its powerless rays:
> A night-beam Sorrow watcheth to behold,
> Distinct, but distant – clear – but, oh, how cold! (1981: 305)

The 'Sun of the Sleepless' alludes to the moon, the star of the night. The comparison between Satan and the moon has already been drawn by Milton in *Paradise Lost*. In his simile involving Galileo, the English bard implies that Satan is like the night star: perfect at first glance, but flawed when someone goes past the light mask and looks closely at the satellite. Byron is a reader of Milton, and it is doubtful that he did not remember this famous simile. Moreover, the poet borrows another element from *Paradise Lost*, since the light 'that show'st the darkness thou canst not dispel' recalls Milton's 'darkness visible', and thus, hell. The association with sorrow recalls the sorrowful Lucifer from Cain. But the most important part of the poem lies in the constant allusion to the powerless light. The moon only reflects the light of the sun. The beams that come from her do not carry any warmth or ability to produce life. Lucifer, once the most powerful archangel, can only reflect the light that used to be his before his fall. Together with this idea, the insistence on the past, with 'the light of other days', 'the past', the 'Joy remembered well', recalls the duality within which Lucifer is imprisoned: he used to be an angel, still looks like an angel, but is not one anymore.

The fourth verse: 'How like art thou to Joy' is noteworthy, too, since it reproduces Cain's and Adah's attitude towards Lucifer: the apostate angel looks like something they know without truly being it. Finally, the structure of the last line of the poem sums up the

contradictions associated with the moon. These contradictions could be associated with Lucifer, too, and recall the rhetoric used in both *Cain* and *The Vision of Judgement*. Lucifer is always defined by what he used to be and what he is not anymore, never by what he is at the present time. 'Sun of the Sleepless' can thus be read as another representation of the fallen angel. The association of a dimmed sun with the Luciferian figure is an ongoing theme in Romanticism. As explained previously, Bake used such an analogy in *The French* Revolution and Hugo will use it in *La Fin de Satan.*

5.3. Byron: A Fallen Angel?

The myth of the fallen angel is of course also associated with Byron himself. Harold Bloom writes that 'George Gordon, Lord Byron, was and is the Fallen Angel proper' (2007: 13). The biographical association between Byron and the fallen angel is not new. In 1820, Esaias Tegnér, a Swedish author, was already writing to one of his fellow countrywomen, Martina von Schwerin: 'Byron is a fallen angel in a ruined world inhabited by the spirits of the doomed' (Elam 2004: 382). Alphonse de Lamartine, in a poem dedicated to Byron, compares the British poet to Satan:

> Ton oeil, comme Satan, a mesuré l'abîme,
> Et ton âme, y plongeant loin du jour et de Dieu,
> A dit à l'espérance un éternel adieu!
> Comme lui, maintenant, régnant dans les ténèbres,
> Ton génie invincible éclate en chants funèbres;
> Il triomphe, et ta voix, sur un mode infernal,
> Chante l'hymne de gloire au sombre dieu du mal. (2006: 78, 24-30)

Lamartine identifies Byron as Satanic. The British poet reigns in the abyss, he is said to have parted with God and hope, and he is praising Satan. Lamartine clearly describes Satan as the god of evil, and by doing so, seems to follow Southey. Byron is a hopeless Satan, and even, an evil one.

In his eulogy to Byron, Victor Hugo not only designates Byron as a fallen angel, but he also identifies him as the father of Dark Romanticism in France:

> Deux écoles se sont formées dans son sein, qui représentent la double situation où nos malheurs politiques ont respectivement laissé les esprits: la résignation et le désespoir. […] L'une voit tout du haut du ciel; l'autre,

> du fond de l'enfer. La première place au berceau de l'homme un ange qu'il retrouve encore assis au chevet de son lit de mort; l'autre environne ses pas de démons, de fantômes et d'apparitions sinistres. La première lui dit de se confier, parce qu'il n'est jamais seul; la seconde l'effraie en l'isolant sans cesse. […] L'une enfin ressemble à Emmanuel, doux et fort, parcourant son royaume sur un char de foudre et de lumière; l'autre est ce superbe Satan, qui entraîna tant d'étoiles dans sa chute lorsqu'il fut précipité du ciel. Ces deux écoles jumelles, fondées sur la même base, et nées, pour ainsi dire, au même berceau, nous paraissent spécialement représentées dans la littérature européenne par deux illustres génies […]: Châteaubriand et Byron. (1824: 302-04)

Again, Byron is placed in hell, and is described as hopeless. Hugo clearly names Satan, but qualifies his name with the adjective 'superb'. The only thing that differs from Lamartine's assessment is the fact that though Hugo differentiates the two Romantic schools, he still insists on the fact that they are equal. The association of Byron with Satan is therefore quite common in Europe. However, the European authors do not mention Satan as the devil, but rather as a fallen being. Thus, Lamartine, in his comparison, retells briefly the fall of the archangel; and Hugo, in his eulogy, specifies that the use of the word Satan 'ne saurait justifier le titre d'Ecole satanique sous lequel un homme de talent a désigné l'école de lord Byron', thus alluding more to the fallen angel in his association of Byron with Satan, rather than with the devil (1824: 303). This identification with the dark anti-hero, recalling Odysseus in some ways, is motivated by the similarities that both figures share. Lucifer held a major place in heaven and fell because of his pride and his rebellion. Byron was an aristocrat, member of the House of Lords, and his scandalous life forced him to abandon his position and leave Britain, and even to exile himself and die abroad, thus falling socially, morally, and financially. Lucifer is described as a beautiful but scared and dangerous character; Byron is depicted as a man of a rare beauty but also as 'mad, bad, and dangerous to know', who also had a physical impediment: a club foot. Byron, like Lucifer, is prideful. Indeed, Chateaubriand mentions in the *Essai sur la littérature anglaise* (1836) that 'Lorsque *Atala* parut, je reçus une lettre de Cambridge signée G. Gordon, Lord Byron. Lord Byron âgé de quinze ans était un astre non levé' (2012: 577). According to Meta-Helena Miller, 'Chateaubriand at this moment found himself swamped with correspondence, much of which had to remain unanswered. He thinks he has answered the letter, but if he has not, we have a possible explanation of Byron's later absolute silence' (1925: 168). Indeed, Byron seems to have been influenced by Chateaubriand since his *Manfred* resembles *René.* Nevertheless, Byron has never mentioned Chateaubriand as a source of inspiration. This lack of recognition followed the episode of the unanswered letters. *However,* the most significant similarity is Byron's own identity crisis.

This identity crisis can be perceived through Byron's heroes, since it seems that there is an autobiographical dimension in each one.[62] Jerome McGann even identifies 'Byron's lyric style [as] Romanticism's dark angel' (2004: 223), thus declaring Byron's poetry itself a fallen angel of its own. However, what seems really important when it comes to the identification with the fallen angel is Byron's attitude regarding religion. Robert Ryan highlights the fact that 'two impulses, to doubt and to believe, […] alternated in Byron's religious consciousness' (1990: 42). He further explains that 'the doubting impulse apparently never took him as far as atheism', which is something that Byron states in the aforementioned letter to Thomas Moore (142). The poet identified himself as a Catholic. However, as Ryan notes, 'the poet lived in a continual state of metaphysical anxiety' which led him to 'deliberately occup[y] a strategic position between the two alternatives' (142). Satan is not an atheist. First of all because his status of archangel allows him to know, instead of believing in, God's existence. However, his character, already in *Paradise Lost*, and particularly in Romantic poetry, is always hesitating between believing in God's benevolence and denying it. Questioning Byron's faith is pointless. Byron did believe in God, and was affirming it. However, it seems that he questioned God's nature and his motivations, just like Lucifer does in almost every Romantic poem, as this thesis shows.

Finally, Byron's pain is used by the French poets, as an explanation for what Southey wrongly calls Byron's 'satanic' side, and what Hugo calls 'despair'. In his eulogy to Byron, the French poet discusses the comparison often made between Voltaire and Byron. Both authors are seen as cynical and cruel. Hugo discards this comparison by writing that there is 'une étrange différence entre le rire de Byron et le rire de Voltaire: Voltaire n'avait pas souffert' (1824: 307). Hugo unveils an important element regarding Byron: his cynicism is an appearance supposed to hide his pains. This idea is also advanced by Lamartine, in his poem on the British poet:

> Jette un cri vers le ciel, ô chantre des enfers!
> Le ciel même aux damnés enviera tes concerts!
> Peut-être qu'à ta voix, de la vivante flamme
> Un rayon descendra dans l'ombre de ton âme?
> Peut-être que ton cœur, ému de saints transports,
> S'apaisera soi-même à tes propres accords,
> Et qu'un éclair d'en haut perçant ta nuit profonde,
> Tu verseras sur nous la clarté qui t'inonde? (2006: 86, 257-264)

[62] Many studies have been made on the Byronic hero, Peter Thorslev's monograph, *The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes* (1962), is a reference on the matter.

The same year, in an article commenting on Byron's works, Vigny writes that 'Toutes [l]es fautes [de Byron] viennent peut-être de l'excès de ses malheurs. Son âme profondément blessée a versé son fiel sur toute la nature' (1993: 1276). The poets depict Byron as wounded, somber, lost in the dark, tormented. They allude to his heart and to his soul, not to his mind. Byron is suffering in a very Romantic way, according to these authors. The insistence on Byron's suffering excuses his actions and explains the ambiguity surrounding his representations of the fallen angel. Byron, just like Lucifer, hides behind his scandalous life. His public escapades seem to act as a protection, sheltering his true self. In this way, the poet is a fallen angel.

Byron's depictions and uses of the fallen angel differ in each text, and critics do not agree on what messages the British poet is trying to convey. Thus, according to Richard Lansdown, Lucifer, as depicted by Byron in *Cain*, is a rather ridiculous character, 'a model of cynicism', allowing Byron to play with the audience's expectations (2012: 122). He is 'a satanic tempter who promises a knowledge of the world he can never deliver – a sham', and his arguments, according to Lansdown, are 'a web of sophistries' (122-24). Lucifer appears therefore as a rather traditional grotesque devil, and not as a Romantic fallen angel, a brilliant figure of rebellion. Fred Parker establishes a link between Lucifer and Goethe's Mephistopheles as depicted in *Faust* (1808): 'where Byron can be compared with Goethe is in the ambiguous status they give to their nihilistic Devils, and to the negativity which they express' (2006: 8). However, if this comparison underlines the negativity of Lucifer, Parker states that even if 'it would be possible to extrapolate from this that *Cain* is fundamentally a demystifying work, a work of rationalist critique that undoes the Devil altogether […] this is a mistake: or, more precisely, it is true only in so far as Lucifer can be identified with the whole intelligence of the play' (11). Alan Richardson sees in Lucifer a beguiling character, 'a seductively glib devil' (2004: 146). He emphasises that if Byron gave 'Lucifer a number of good lines, [it is] calculated to further provoke contemporary readers and reviewers already eager to enlist Byron in a "Satanic" school of rebellious and irreverent poets' (145).

The fallen angel in *Cain* is a rather ambiguous character and this ambiguity originates in his own inability to define himself. The 'undoing' of the devil is actually an exploration of the self, and Cain's journey through time mirrors Lucifer's identity quest. The fallen angel's apparent cynicism and lack of empathy act as a shield against emotions he cannot handle. In this way, *Cain*'s Lucifer appears as the most striking and complex devil of the Byronic mythology.

Indeed, in *The Vision of Judgment*, Satan does not appear as torn. He rather seems to embody the second step of Byron's exploration of the myth of the fallen angel. Passive, almost silent, this incarnation of the archangel ruined is mostly seen from Michael's point of view and acts as a political pawn rather than a true enemy of God.

The necessity of an external point of view, in both these texts, whether it is negative with characters such as Adah, or positive with characters such as Cain and Michael, is striking. It is as if Lucifer and Satan were not able to seem themselves, to acknowledge their individuality and their very existence. This deprivation of the self seems to have occurred with the fall. Authors such as Vigny and Hugo will draw on this Byronic interest to create their own Satans. They will also be influenced by the solar/lunar myth that Byron evokes in 'Sun of the Sleepless'. The French Romantic fallen angel will also be a star looking for its lost light.

Chapter 6: Alfred de Vigny's Cautionary Tale

> Je viens de faire des vers damnés, et je vous écris sur leur poitrine. Je voudrais qu'on ne fît pas un autre pape, tant ils me font craindre l'excommunication par la suite. Vous devinez que c'est de *Satan* qu'il s'agit, il est presque achevé. Je vais noircir un peu la fin pour me sauver. (Vigny 1989: 116)

Alfred de Vigny wrote *Eloa ou la soeur des anges* between 1823 and 1824. This mystery, as he calls it, is inscribed in a series of three poems dealing with Christian mythology. The other two poems are *Moïse* and *Le Déluge*, both published in 1826. According to what he wrote to Emile Deschamps in 1823, Vigny knew that the theme of his poem and the way he had approached it were daring. This reader of Byron, who started his literary career by writing an essay on his poetry, also seemed to imitate Byron's propensity to scandal (Jarry 1990). *Eloa*, after some rewritings, was finally published in 1824. The readers were torn. Victor Hugo, Vigny's friend, was dithyrambic:

> Nous rangeons *Eloa* parmi le petit nombre de ces beaux poèmes qui emportent un nom avec eux, de ces ouvrages qui sont conçus avec autant d'élévation que de profondeur, et dont les sujets ont été, en quelque sorte, pris avec une grande main; *prensa manu magnâ*. (1824: 257)

In a letter, the Countess Baraguey d'Hilliers told Vigny that he was called 'Milton attendri' by his peers (1989: 154). Other authors were less enthused. Thus, Henri Bayle, also known as Stendhal, writes about *Eloa*:

> Que le divin le plus adroit serait bien embarassé de deviner quel est le sujet de ce poème… Une partie de ses vers sont bien faits et polis avec un soin qui rend visible le grand art qu'il y fallut. Au demeurant, un incroyable mélange de profanation et d'absurdité qu'admire pourtant le Faubourg Saint-Germain. (1956: 82)

This reaction seems to echo many others since Vigny writes in a letter in 1827: 'Dites à M. E[dmond] Géraud que je m'applaudis de voir que ma prose m'ait obtenu son absolution pour mes vers; je le prie d'oublier tous mes vieux péchés comme fera le public peut-être' (1989: 265). Thus, *Eloa* was received with mixed feelings.

The subject seems to be the most contentious point. The poem explains how a tear shed by Christ was transformed by God's gaze into Eloa, the female angel of pity. Eloa learns the

story of Lucifer through the other female angels created by God. From this moment, she feels a deep pity for the apostate angel and decides to leave heaven – and a God that will never be actively present after her creation – to find and save him. However, she fails in her mission since she is seduced by Satan and follows him willingly into the abyss. The text is subdivided in three 'chants', three movements: 'Naissance', 'Séduction', and 'Chute'. These subdivisions highlight Eloa's journey. Vigny adopts *Paradise Lost*'s geography of heaven and hell since Eloa crosses 'l'Ether' to then meet Satan in the in-between region of 'chaos' before being taken to hell by the apostate angel (1973: 29, 227). The text thus adopts the classical structure of the epic poem, which is reinforced by the use of alexandrines. The form is classical, but the topic is not. The choice of Christian mythology is a Romantic one. Indeed, François-René de Chateaubriand, in his *Génie du Christianisme*, had rekindled the interest in Christian epics. He had even written one himself, *Les Martyrs*, in 1813. Lord Byron's fame in Europe and the translation into French of poems such as *Heaven and Earth* (1821) and *Cain* (1821) have also contributed to the popularity of this theme. It seems therefore quite normal for Vigny to decide to offer his take on such a topos. In order to do so, Vigny decided to focus on the fallen angel and created a new character: Eloa, the first female angel of French literature. Up until then, Satan was interacting with human beings, in line with his role of Tempter of humankind. By inventing a celestial character as Satan's victim, Vigny already went further in his exploration of the myth.

This chapter analyses Vigny's 'vers damnés' and the characters that inhabit them. Vigny's text is yet another contribution to a line of poems that, together, elaborate a common narrative centering on the fallen angel. It is therefore important to explore the influences that shape *Eloa*. Two authors in particular have a clear impact on Vigny's creation: François-René de Chateaubriand and Lord Byron. Chateaubriand was a passionate Catholic who even tries to 'correct' Milton in his 1836 translation of *Paradise Lost*, as highlighted earlier in this thesis. Byron was a scandalous author, who, although not an atheist, did not follow Christian precepts. In his eulogy of Byron, Victor Hugo defines these two authors as the standard bearers of two French Romantic schools: on one side, the School of Resignation, touched by light, and led by Chateaubriand; and on the other side, the School of Despair, touched by darkness, and led by Byron. This chapter explores how Vigny perceived these two schools and their leaders, and how he drew upon Chateaubriand's and Byron's work to produce his own fallen angel myth.

It also focuses on Eloa. The first female angel in literature, and the first celestial victim of Satan, Eloa plays an important role in Vigny's elaboration of the myth. Although she is regarded as defenseless when facing Satan, Eloa actually helps him in finding his identity.

Manipulated by both heaven and hell, the female angel of pity embraces her role of 'Consoler' when she meets the fallen archangel. It is her power and her embodiment of heaven that make Satan willing to redeem himself. Vigny seems to see in Eloa a reflection of Satan and he uses her throughout the text to highlight features in his damned angel.

Finally, this chapter focuses on Satan himself. Through a careful analysis of his physical representation and a comparison to his predecessors, it is possible to understand Satan's difficulties in defining himself. Indeed, although he appears as a beautiful angel, Satan still shows traces of his fall when compared to the representation of the apostate angel by John Milton, Byron, and Matthew Lewis. However, his fall is mostly perceived in his behaviour. In the second part of the poem, Satan embraces his traditional role of seducer even if this role seems to be rather an act than something in which he truly believes. Nevertheless, it is through seducing Eloa and abducting her that Satan finally finds out who he is.

6.1. Influences

John Milton, Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, Matthew Lewis, and other writers were all important influences on Vigny. However, there are two authors that truly inspired him: François-René de Chateaubriand and Lord Byron.

6.1.1. The School of Light: Chateaubriand and Le Génie du Christianisme

Most of the time, critics tend to focus on Lord Byron's influence on the French poet. The impact that the British writer and his *Cain* had on Vigny is very important and helps us to understand the progression of Vigny's ideas. However, the influence that François-René de Chateaubriand had on both the poet and the text he composed is often overlooked. As explored in previous chapters, Chateaubriand is the father of French Romanticism. He is the nineteenth-century writer who allowed Milton and his epic, *Paradise Lost*, to gain back popularity in France. He is also the author of *Le Génie du Christianisme* (1802) and *Les Martyrs* (1813), two works that have brought the Christian epic back into the spotlight in France. As previously stated, Victor Hugo, in *La Muse Française*, divides French Romanticism into two schools: one bathed in light and led by Chateaubriand; and one swirling in despair and led by Byron. As will be explored in the following chapter, Hugo positions himself in neither of these two schools. It is actually Vigny, with his *Eloa*, who is the embodiment of these two branches combined, drawing on both

light and despair, mixing them together to create something new. But what is he taking from Chateaubriand?

As Marc Citoleux notes 'les passages de Milton imités par Vigny ont été presque tous cités par Chateaubriand [dans *Le Génie du Christianisme*]'. (1914: 33) Thus, the first thing he borrows from the father of French Romanticism is actually his knowledge of Milton's epic, *Paradise Lost*. Moreover, he also encountered Klopstock's *Der Messias* (1748) and the male angel Eloa in the second part of *Le Génie du Christianisme*. Indeed, in the chapter discussing les 'machines poétiques', Chateaubriand quotes *Der Messias*, and more particularly the first appearance of Eloa, the 'chosen one', first angel created by God (1966: 337). Therefore, with the *Génie du Christianisme*, Chateaubriand gives Vigny two ideas, the first one consisting in writing an epic poem inspired by Christian mythology and the second one being the very name of one of his main protagonists. But most importantly, Chateaubriand gifts the fallen angel himself to Vigny.

As Max Milner remarks, in the first instance Vigny wrote an epic in which Satan is influenced by Milton's and Chateaubriand's versions of the fallen angel. (2007: 303) This epic, adds Milner, was used for another poem in the end, *Le Déluge* (1826), and only some excerpts of this original text ended up being used in *Eloa*. (304) Nevertheless, the first Satan Vigny sketches is more Miltonic and *Chateaubrianesque* than Byronic. This is important since Chateaubriand's religious approach is different from Byron's. As explored in chapter four, Chateaubriand, since his conversion around 1799, was a devout Catholic, to the point of altering Milton's epic when translating it, in order to make it more 'faithful'. Byron, on the other hand, kept questioning the role and the validity of God, although he does not cast doubt on his existence. By firstly relying on Chateaubriand's version of the fallen angel, Vigny clearly adopts a traditional Christian point of view. Whether it is out of faith or out of fear remains a key question since Vigny's attitude towards religion remains ambivalent, as will be seen later in this chapter. Nevertheless, Vigny had to deal with Christian – and more than that, Catholic - ideas and mythology since he was raised in this faith. If the French Revolution had allowed him to question the validity of religion, nineteenth-century France remained very Catholic. This influence of traditional religion can be seen in the published version of *Eloa* as Satan sometimes borrows traits of the traditional devil. He is, indeed, the Tempter, who, in appearance, seems to take pleasure in making other people – and in this case Eloa – suffer:

> Sous l'éclair d'un regard sa force fut brisée;
> Et dès qu'il vit ployer son aile maîtrisée,

L'ennemi séducteur continua tout bas: (1973: 35, 424-25)

Chateaubriand's Satan in *Les Martyrs* also appears as a traditional devil, enjoying the torture of damned souls in hell:

> Du milieu de leurs supplices, une foule de malheureux criaient à Satan:
> 'Nous t'avons adoré, Jupiter, et c'est pour cela, maudit, que tu nous retiens dans les flammes!'
> Et l'Archange orgueilleux, souriant avec ironie, répondait:
> 'Tu m'as préféré au Christ, partage mes honneurs et mes joies!' (1969: 236)

However, Chateaubriand does instil remorse in his Satan, as explained earlier in this thesis. Thus, the French author writes: 'Un mouvement de pitié saisit le cœur de l'Archange rebelle'(234). This simple sentence opens the door to another interpretation of the myth of the fallen angel, one in which Satan is not only a traditional devil, father of all evil on earth. Vigny dives into this opening. His Satan also faces a movement of remorse, since he exclaims: 'Maudit soit le moment où j'ai mesuré Dieu!' (1973: 43, 669). However, if Chateaubriand's influence is seen in this movement, there is a slight difference between both Satans. Chateaubriand's one is seized by pity, Vigny's one is seized by pain. The last stanza of *Eloa* could be a rewriting of Satan's appearance in *Les Martyrs*. Indeed, in Vigny's poem, the fallen angel also answers to Eloa's bewilderment when she understands that she has been fooled:

> N'est-ce pas Éloa qui soulève ta chaîne?
> J'ai cru t'avoir sauvé. — Non, c'est moi qui t'entraîne.
> — Si nous sommes unis, peu m'importe en quel lieu!
> Nomme-moi donc encore ou ta sœur ou ton Dieu!
> — J'enlève mon esclave et je tiens ma victime.
> — Tu paraissais si bon! Oh! qu'ai-je fait? — Un crime. (1973: 46)

Vigny's Satan does not possess the talent for sarcasm of Chateaubriand's fallen angel, as he is just about to embrace his identity of evil being, as explained later in this chapter. Nevertheless, their words are marked by the same feelings: evil, and what could be describe as lassitude. Chateaubriand's fallen angel had showed the ability to feel pity earlier, and his sarcasm can be explained by his conflicted feelings: he laughs about the situation, but he does not enjoy it. Vigny's Satan has also expressed conflicting feelings – pain and remorse, mainly – earlier in the text. Yet, in this particular part of the poem, he also expresses another sentiment: sadness. Indeed, when Eloa asks Satan if his crime makes him happy, the latter answers that he is 'plus triste que jamais' (46). Here, just like Chateaubriand's Satan, Vigny's fallen angel accomplishes

his mission of evil-doer, but does not enjoy it. In this way, we can clearly see the influence of Chateaubriand on Vigny. The main difference between the two authors lies in their characters' values. In *Les Martyrs,* Satan's movement of remorse is influenced by what others can feel, since he is seized by pity. In *Eloa ou la soeur des anges*, Satan's movement of remorse is self-centered as it is triggered by his own pain and sadness. Nevertheless, it seems that Vigny does not want to depart totally from Chateaubriand's values since he creates Eloa to embody pity and selflessness. Since she acts as a reflection of Satan, as will be studied later in this chapter, it can be argued that Vigny did follow Chateaubriand on this point, too.

Vigny owed much to Chateaubriand: his discovery of Milton and Klopstock, his interest in Christian myths, and even part of his own vision of Satan. The influence of the father of French Romanticism was such that Vigny was afraid that *Eloa* would not please him. In a letter sent to Victor Hugo in July 1824, he wrote: '[M. de Chateaubriand] a-t-il parlé d'*Eloa,* que je lui donnai? Est-il aussi contre moi?' (1989: 169)[63] However, as André Jarry remarks, Vigny will draw away from Chateaubriand: '[…] (en 1836), parlant de ce "charlatan" qu'est, à ses yeux, Chateaubriand, [Vigny] observe que cet homme "qui n'a jamais rien inventé ose […] dire […] que lord [sic] Byron l'a imité".' (1990: 339) Vigny's main reproach, then, was that Chateaubriand was attacking Byron. Chateaubriand and Byron had been deemed as complementary by Hugo in his 1824 analysis of French Romanticism. The fact that Vigny turned this complementarity into an opposition is quite interesting since Byron is his other most important source of inspiration.

6.1.2. The School of Darkness: Byron and Cain

The influence of Byron and his texts such as *Heaven and Earth* (1821) and *Cain* (1821) on Vigny has been discussed many times. The Vigny specialist André Jarry wrote a comprehensive article which analyses Vigny's attitude towards Byron and his work.[64] Therefore, this part will concentrate on discussing the exact nature of Byron's influence on Vigny rather than establishing that there was one.

One of the most debated points regarding Byron's influence on Vigny is not literary but rather religious. Byron's attitude towards religion remained highly ambiguous. Paul Bénichou

[63] To this date, it has not been possible to find any trace of Chateaubriand's opinion on *Eloa.* Madeleine Ambrière in her notes of the edition of Vigny's letters writes 'On se souvient que Vigny est allé chez Chateaubriand le 6 juin. […] Nous n'avons pas retrouvé l'exemplaire d'*Eloa* probablement dédicacé à Chateaubriand.', thus confirming that there is no known reaction on Chateaubriand's side. (1989: 171)

[64] André Jarry (1990), 'Quand Vigny parle de Byron' in *Revue de littérature comparée*. Paris, 64:2, 337-346.

sums up the British poet's religious influence in these terms: 'Byron a enseigné ou encouragé en France ce qu'on pourrait appeler une spiritualité sans la foi' (2004: 313). However, according to certain critics, it seems that Vigny's attitude towards religion was more radical than Byron's. Thus Jarry affirms that the poet embraced an 'athéisme pratique'(1990: 344). Jeffrey Burton Russell explains that the main difference between Byron and Vigny lies in the fact that Byron's use of a Christian mythology helped him to question religion, whilst Vigny only used it for aesthetic reasons. He then adds that for Byron, 'the Christian Deity must be either perverted or powerless, and Vigny prefer[s] to think that he did not exist at all' (2005: 172). However, Bénichou disagrees with such assertions:

> Dira-t-on que c'est une façon de nier le dieu que de le supposer inhumain? Mais cette négation, Vigny ne l'a jamais proférée, et non pas seulement par convenance, mais parce que son univers n'est pas un univers sans Dieu; sa doctrine implicite pourrait être dite un spiritualisme de séparation, si étrange que l'expression puisse paraitre. Entre le Dieu qui l'obsède, et les valeurs morales réputées propres à ce Dieu, un vide s'interpose; puissance et bonté ne sont pas en même lieu; mais ce que Vigny ne trouve pas en Dieu, il l'adore en l'homme, et sur ce plan voue à l'Esprit un culte que l'athéisme lui semblerait exclure. (2004: 348)

Gabrielle Chamarat-Maladain summarises Bénichou's hypothesis in the following way: 'Le problème posé n'est en effet pas celui de l'existence de Dieu "en soi", mais de son absence au monde des hommes et à leur intelligence' (1998: 421). Therefore, Vigny would not have been an atheist but would have rather questioned the absence of God in an everchanging era. This approach of religion can be perceived in *Eloa*. Indeed, God only makes one appearance in the text, for Eloa's creation, and he is not called by his name. Hence, he is designated as 'L'Eternel' and then as 'une voix' (1973: 24, 40;49). The reader also knows that he is present just after Eloa's birth as she walks towards him (24, 52). After this event, which is quite anecdotal compared to the rest of the poem, God is never present. His wishes could be transmitted through the voices of the angels. Thus, when Eloa tries to escape Satan, she can hear a choir of angels who seems to advise her to stay: 'les Cieux semblaient parler' (45, 753-759). However, whenever Satan or the angel of pity are appealing to God, he never responds to them. Thus, when Satan expresses remorse and addresses God directly in such words:

> Je tremble devant toi, mais pourtant je t'adore;
> Je suis moins criminel puisque je t'aime encore;
> Mais dans mon sein flétri tu ne reviendras pas! (43, 671-673)

He is facing silence from a God who does not seize the opportunity to redeem Satan and end evil on earth. Similarly, when Eloa still hesitates in following Satan, after hearing the choir of angels, she turns herself to God:

> Deux fois encor levant sa paupière infidèle,
> Promenant des regards encore irrésolus,
> Elle chercha ses Cieux qu'elle ne voyait plus. (45, 760-62)

Eloa faces the absence of heavens. She cannot see them anymore; they do not exist for her anymore. She is left alone, and this loneliness is materialised in the poem since this stanza is separated from the main text by line breaks.

The fact that Vigny mentions God at the beginning of the poem shows that he does not question his existence. However, his absence during such crucial moments – Satan's mea culpa and Eloa's damnation – underlines a certain lack of interest for the world he has created.
Such religious views will be adopted by other Romantic authors, like Gérard de Nerval, for example, who makes his Christ say:

> '[…] Abîme! abîme! abîme!
> Le dieu manque à l'autel où je suis la victime…
> Dieu n'est pas! Dieu n'est plus!' […] (2005: 35, 12-4)

This difference of religious opinion between Byron and Vigny is significant. Lucifer's questioning of the decisions and actions of God allows him to plant the seed of doubt in Cain, in order to control him. However, it is the absence of God and thus, what could be perceived as an utter lack of interest for what is happening in the lower regions of his realm, that allows Satan to seduce Eloa.

Thus, Byron's religious influence seems limited. Actually, Jarry even asserts that the impact that the British poet had on Vigny is not that important: 'Quant à l'influence de Byron […] elle semble moins importante qu'on ne l'a dit parfois' (1998: 114). The critic justifies his opinion by comparing Byron's Lucifer to Vigny's Satan. He affirms that Lucifer would be a more mature and achieved version of the fallen angel than Vigny's. Although understandable, this assertion must be revaluated. Lucifer, in *Cain*, is a cynical character. The fact that he still bears his angel's name tends to underline his inability to accept his new identity. Byron's apostate archangel is a being in denial whereas Vigny's creature gradually processes what has happened to him and to accept his new identity. The seduction of Eloa is more a rite of passage and a resigned acceptance of his fate, than the action of a foolish and petty devil. Thus, even on

this point, Vigny seems to depart from the influence of his predecessor. One could assert that he even transcends it.

André Jarry established that Vigny's original subtitle, 'Mystère', is a quotation of Byron's own subtitle 'Mystery': 'Vigny avait repris cette indication de "Mystère" de Byron.' (1989: 183). However, what has not been discussed is Vigny's subsequent change of the title of his epic poem, and how this could have been an imitation of Byron. Indeed, a few weeks prior to its publication, Vigny transformed his *Satan* into *Eloa ou la soeur des anges.* Eloa is the supporting character of the poem, and not the main one, just like Cain is the supporting character of the poem bearing its name and not the main protagonist. The main character, in both these works, is the fallen angel. Using *Cain* or *Eloa* as a title could have been a way of escaping censorship. But there might be another reason, less pragmatic, of an aesthetic or a religious nature. In a letter addressed to a friend, Vigny writes: 'Dans quelques moments que me laissait le monde, j'ai achevé le Satan qui s'est décidé à porter le nom de sa victime.' (1989: 157) The structure of this sentence highlights two things: the first one is that Eloa is depicted as Satan's victim. The second one is that it is Satan himself who has let Eloa into the spotlight, rather than himself. This anthropomorphizing of the poem is not new, Vigny was already speaking of it as a human-like thing when he was mentioning its chest.[65] It is as if Satan needs Eloa to protect him from something. She is acting as a shield, as a means for Satan to exist. Through the very existence of Eloa, Satan finds purpose. The same thing could be said regarding *Cain*. Indeed, without Cain, there would be no need for Lucifer to appear and to exist. The devil, tempter, opponent, only exists if there is something to lure into evil, to tempt, or to be opposed to, and since God is either absent or malevolent in Vigny's text, he cannot fulfil this role. Therefore, Byron and Vigny create secondary characters that will help their apostate angels to express themselves and to exist.

Moreover, these characters act as reflections of the main protagonists. Cain's actions, the refusal of God and the killing of his brother, dismiss him from his role of loving son and faithful servant. Firstly going through denial, he is forced to acknowledge that he does not deserve the celestial light anymore, and thus needs to find a new identity.

The same idea can be applied to Eloa. Although she has been warned against a possible fall, Eloa willingly ventures outside of heaven in quest of something more, of an identity of her own. She rebels against her siblings' warnings and against an imposed role. In these regions of sorrows where she is more powerful than anyone else, she finally finds her purpose in Satan's

[65] 'Je viens de faire des vers damnés, et je vous écris sur leur poitrine' (1989: 116).

need of her. Eloa willingly accepts her fate and new cursed identity, thus achieving her transformation into an ambivalent being made both of light and darkness, just like her seducer. In this way, Vigny was influenced by Byron since he borrowed his secondary character and its purpose. What Cain and Eloa have truly in common is acting as a mirror for their apostate angels.

The influence of both Chateaubriand and Byron underlines a progression in the elaboration of the myth of the fallen angel. Chateaubriand depicted a traditional devil who can, sometimes, express some mercy and Byron painted a cynical angel who cannot accept his dismissal and who seems to be in denial. These representations pushed Vigny to go further in the elaboration of his fallen angel. This depth of character is achieved through the very presence of Eloa. Indeed, her feminine nature, her ambivalence and her role as a reflection of Satan allow the poet to sketch an evolved version of the 'Archangel ruined'.

6.2. The Other Fallen Angel: Eloa

6.2.1. A Female Angel

As Jarry notes: 'Eloa fut, un moment, *un* ange, avant de devenir *une* ange' (1998: 117). Since she is a female angel, one expects something revolutionary from Vigny's eponymous character. However, Vigny depicts her in a very classical way. His female angel is yet another woman submitted to a masculine entity – since she seems to live to help Satan. This is not surprising, since it was written in 1823. Hence, Vigny makes a secondary character of her, before linking her to the ultimate sinner, Eve. However, he also creates a powerful being which has the ability to grant Satan redemption, and, in doing so, to exceed God's power.

Even in his letters, Vigny presents Eloa as submissive to Satan, since, as quoted earlier, he calls her Satan's 'victim' and gives her name to the poem in order to protect the apostate angel (1989: 157). In the poem, Vigny writes that she is 'Déjà presque soumise au joug de l'Esprit sombre', thus clearly establishing Satan's dominance over the female angel (1973: 38, 527). Furthermore, the speaking time given to the main characters underlines this power dynamic. Indeed, since Eloa is the eponymous character, one could expect that she would be the one to talk the most. However, Eloa is only given 22 lines of dialogue, whereas Satan is given 199 lines. This textual submission is further emphasised when Vigny writes :

> Eloa, sans parler, disait : 'Je suis à toi' ;
> Et l'Ange ténébreux dit tout bas : 'Sois à moi !' (1973: 39, 544-5)

From these lines, it is clear that Eloa's voice does not matter, and that she is mainly represented through her physical appearance and her feelings.

Why has Vigny created such an innovative character and then not given her the place she deserves? It is important to note that love stories between angels and human women were quite fashionable at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Following the rediscovery of the Book of Enoch, texts such as Thomas Moore's *The Loves of the Angels* and Byron's *Heaven and Earth* were well-received. Vigny made use of this theme in his other 'Mystery', *Le Déluge*, and after him, Romantic authors such as Théophile Gautier (*Une Larme du diable*, 1839) and Alphonse de Lamartine (*La Chute d'un Ange*, 1838) were also writing similar stories. The simplest explanation for Vigny's choice to include a female angel would therefore be that Eloa was, at first, a variation of what could be described as an angel romance. In the poem, it is also clearly stated that the female angels are created for the male angels: '[…] ces soeurs que Dieu créa pour eux' (1973: 25, l. 73), and that they are supposed to seduce them, thus creating the possibility for other angelic romances:[66]

> Et pourquoi son regard ne cherchait pas enfin
> Les regards d'un Archange ou ceux d'un séraphin. (28, l. 85-6)

However, the character of Eloa evolves and seems to depart from the other female angels, allowing Vigny to give her another purpose in the end.

Paul Bénichou explains that French Romanticism gave a prominent place to women in literature since they were perceived as the key to redemption. Indeed, women frequently represented sensitivity and compassion, two important human qualities (2002: 1155). By inventing a female angel, Vigny is, then, creating the possibility for Satan to achieve redemption through her. Moreover, Lucretia S. Gruber also explains that 'Since it was an earthly woman, Eve, who caused the Fall, perhaps by simple symmetry it should be a celestial woman who repairs the fault' (1976: 77). Eloa's epigraph is a quote from Genesis 3: 'It was the serpent, she said, I listened to him and he deceived me.' By opening his poem with this biblical reference, Vigny associates Eloa with Eve. This association is further emphasised by the depiction of Eloa. Thus, the angel is compared to a 'beau lys'. She has a 'teint frais', a 'rougeur virginale', some

[66] The fact that Vigny used parts of his original work to write *Le Déluge* can also justify such a theory.

‘doux regards’, a ‘pied blanc’, and her wavy hair is golden (1973: 25, 53-64). This could be the depiction of Eve and it also could be one of the women drawn by Blake in his illustrations of the Book of Enoch. However, throughout the poem, Eloa is called the ‘Vierge’, thus alluding to her divine status and therefore to her superiority to Eve, even if this status does not prevent her from falling as Eve fell before her. This ambiguous status is maybe the most important aspect in Vigny’s character. She is a human celestial being. Yet, she is also a powerful and unique angel. Thus, her wings are ‘d’argent’ (25, 63) while the other angels have ‘[des] ailes d’or’ (25, 82), which is important since the only other angel who does not have golden wings is Satan himself. She also craves freedom when the other angels are praising God through songs, thus proving how different she is:

> Éloa, s’écartant de ce divin spectacle,
> Loin de leur foule et loin du brillant Tabernacle,
> Cherchait quelque nuage où dans l’obscurité
> Elle pourrait du moins rêver en liberté. (28, 163-6)

Finally, her power seems to be without equal:

> Elle ne se troubla qu’en voyant sa puissance,
> Et les bienfaits nouveaux causés par sa présence.
> Quelques mondes punis semblaient se consoler ;
> Les globes s’arrêtaient pour l’entendre voler.
> S’il arrivait aussi qu’en ces routes nouvelles
> Elle touchât l’un d’eux des plumes de ses ailes,
> Alors tous les chagrins s’y taisaient un moment,
> Les rivaux s’embrassaient avec étonnement ;
> Tous les poignards tombaient oubliés par la haine ;
> Le captif souriant marchait seul et sans chaîne ;
> Le criminel rentrait au temple de la loi ;
> Le proscrit s’asseyait au palais de son Roi ;
> L’inquiète insomnie abandonnait sa proie ;
> Les pleurs cessaient partout, hors les pleurs de la joie ;
> Et, surpris d’un bonheur rare chez les mortels,
> Les amants séparés s’unissaient aux autels. (31, 275-90)

The word ‘puissance’ introduces the depiction of Eloa’s skills which implies an idea of dominance over the world she crosses. It seems that her talent consists in bringing people together (‘les rivaux s’embrassaient’, ‘le proscrit s’asseyait au palais de son roi’, ‘les amants séparés s’unissaient’) and in erasing all kind of negative feelings and deeds (‘les chagrins s’y taisaient’, ‘le criminel rentrait au temple de la loi’ ‘les pleurs cessaient’, etc.). Interestingly, the verb ‘consoler’ is used once in this description but in a reflective way (‘se consoler’). This

means that if Eloa initiates the process of consolation, she is not the one consoling the punished worlds, they are doing it themselves. The same thing could be said for Satan as Eloa's seduction and submission initiates Satan's redemption in Vigny's mythology. In any case, Eloa's uniqueness is unquestionable and making her the first female angel of French literature highlights this uniqueness. She is something that has never been seen before. However, Gruber writes that 'Eloa is also essentially feminine because she lacks complete self-realisation until she finds her masculine counterpart' (1976: 78). This is true. Eloa does complete self-realisation when she finds Satan. Yet, the reverse is also true: without Eloa, Satan would not be complete.

6.2.2. The Consoler

Eloa is often called by critics 'the Angel of Pity' (Jarry 1989). She did bear this name in the first drafts of the poem, but not in the published version. In the published text, the female angel is actually called 'l'esprit consolateur' (26, 94) and 'celle qui console' (28, 188). So not only does Eloa feels empathy towards those who suffer, she also takes their pain away, and even, within her. She is the one who releases the long-suffering people from their burden, thus becoming the one who carries it for them. This image of a martyr angel is supported by the fact that the verb 'consoler' is also used at the beginning of the text, to describe Christ:

> Jésus avait quitté les murs de Béthanie ;
> À travers la campagne il fuyait d'un pas lent,
> Quelquefois s'arrêtait, priant et consolant, (23, 4-6)

Through this association, Eloa becomes a Christ like figure. She brings comfort to those who need it, washing away their pain. This is her mission, and the one who reminds her of it as soon as he meets her, is Satan himself:

> Tes soins ne sont-ils pas de surveiller les âmes
> Et de parler, le soir, au cœur des jeunes femmes ;
> De venir comme un rêve en leurs bras te poser,
> Et de leur apporter un fils dans un baiser ?
> Tels sont tes doux emplois, si du moins j'en veux croire
> Ta beauté merveilleuse et tes rayons de gloire. (34, 391-6)

However, the etymology of the verb 'consoler' also informs us of this word's first meaning: 'du latin consolari, de cum, et solus, dont le sens propre est entier. Consolari est proprement rendre entier et, par extension, satisfaire' (Littré). So Eloa's mission would not only be to bring comfort to those in need, but also to help them to 'become whole' and to 'satisfy'

them. The expression ‘become whole’ could imply either a loss of identity or a preexisting gap that has not been filled yet. The verb ‘to satisfy’ means to please someone, to give them what they want – and not necessarily what they need. Hence ‘making whole’ and ‘satisfying’ someone, is not the same thing at all. It is not because someone gains back – or for the first time – their full identity that it pleases them. Furthermore, Eloa’s role, the Consoler, implies that she can save people by making them feel better. Throughout the text, the verb ‘sauver’ is linked directly to Eloa. Satan even tells her that she is the only ‘Dieu qui peut sauver un Ange,’ and here, the angel is him (45, 736).

In the end, Eloa thinks she has failed her mission. She tells Satan that she thought she had saved him: ‘J’ai cru t’avoir sauvé’, thus affirming the contrary (46, 772). Max Milner questions Eloa’s intentions and her commitment to her mission:

> Aussi [Vigny] fait […] intervenir, chez son Ange de la pitié, dont il a décrit avec grâce l’intrépidité, un mouvement de recul assez étrange […]. Curieuse manière de comprendre sa mission de consolatrice ! Intrépide devant l’Ange du Mal tant qu’il lui parlait de la volupté des soirs et des biens du mystère, Eloa recule effrayée devant lui aussitôt qu’il esquisse un mouvement de repentir. (2007: 317)

According to him, this inconsistency in Eloa’s behaviour would be a way for Vigny to put the blame on heaven, and by extension, God. However, if Eloa’s qualifying noun is to be understood in its most primitive meaning, Eloa has not failed in part of her mission. She did make the archangel whole again as she helped him through his metamorphosis into Satan, the adversary, as will be explained later in this chapter. She has also satisfied Satan since his intention was to seduce her, and she did follow him in the end. However, Eloa failed in bringing Satan comfort.

Vigny sketched a sequel to his poem in which Satan would be saved by his love for Eloa. Thus, Satan needed to become whole, to take a step into his quest for identity, to be able to be saved. Jarry writes that ‘Eloa n’a pas pu, n’a pas su, sauver Satan’ (1998 : 147). According to the aforementioned analysis, Eloa could not save Satan, but she knew how to do so and she used this knowledge to start the redemption process. Satan will be redeemed thanks to another female angel in *La Fin de Satan*. Nevertheless, such an end would not have been possible without Eloa and her actions. Jarry adds that if Eloa has not saved Satan, ‘Satan, peut-être, a sauvé Eloa’ (147). In the poem, Satan, too, defines himself as a ‘Consolateur’ (38, 502). It is the first time that this noun is capitalised in the poem, thus meaning that Satan is the ultimate consoler. When the reader meets her, Eloa is not thriving in heaven. Hence, expressions such

as ‘tristesse’ (27, 131), ‘seule’ (28, 191), ‘s’écartant […] Loin de la foule’ (164), are used. Her need to leave her home to explore other regions can be perceived as a rite of passage. As in a Bildungsroman or a fairytale, Eloa goes through unknown regions, in order to find herself, to self-realise.[67] As mentioned earlier, Gruber notes that Eloa finds self-realisation when she finds Satan. If Satan is a consoler too, as he claims to be, then, his mission is to make Eloa whole, to help her find her identity. It could be argued that Satan, in a very perverted way, helps Eloa to find herself when he allows her to explore a darker facet of her personality, as she helps him to find his identity through her lightness.[68]

In their roles, Satan and Eloa act as the mirror of one another. Vigny has also created Eloa for this purpose. She is the one helping Satan in his quest for identity and in order to do so, she tends to act as Satan’s reflection throughout the text.

6.2.3. Satan’s Reflection

Throughout the text, Eloa acts as Satan’s double. However, instead of being his identical double, she embodies the light part of which he was deprived after his fall. Eloa also seems to reenact Satan’s path towards hell. However, if Satan’s loss of his angelic state was imposed on him, Eloa chooses willingly to descend from heaven into the in-between regions of Chaos. Finally, just as Satan can be perceived as another God, or at least, his darker counterpart, Eloa is compared, throughout the text, to God himself. Her very name tends to identify her with her lord.

Regarding Eloa’s description, Gruber writes that Vigny has ‘endow[ed] her with an almost sensual voluptuousness’ (1976: 78). Milner, in his analysis of Satan’s description, writes that the archangel has ‘une langueur voluptueuse’ (2007: 314). It is interesting that both these critics have used the same word to describe different characters. This may be because Satan’s depiction completely mirrors Eloa’s[69]:

[67] The in-between region of Chaos could thus be likened to the fairy-tale forest.
[68] This need to escape a Manichean vision of the world will be discussed further in this chapter.
[69] The words or expressions in bold highlight the similarities of the descriptions; the words and expressions underlined highlights their differences.

Eloa's description:

Toute parée, aux yeux du Ciel qui la contemple,
Elle marche vers Dieu comme une épouse au Temple ;
Son beau front est serein et pur comme un beau lys,
Et d'un voile d'azur il soulève les plis ;
Ses cheveux, partagés comme des gerbes blondes,
Dans les **vapeurs** de l'air perdent leurs molles ondes,
Comme on voit la comète errante dans les cieux
Fondre au sein de la nuit ses rayons gracieux ;
Une rose aux lueurs de l'aube matinale
N'a pas de son teint frais la rougeur virginale ;
Et la lune, des bois éclairant l'épaisseur,
D'un de ses doux regards n'atteint pas la douceur.
Ses ailes sont d'argent ; sous une pâle robe,
Son pied blanc tour à tour se montre et se dérobe,
Et son sein **agité**, mais à peine aperçu,
Soulève les contours du céleste tissu.
C'est une femme aussi, c'est une Ange charmante ;
Car ce peuple d'Esprits, cette famille aimante,
Qui, pour nous, près de nous, prie et veille toujours,
Unit sa pure essence en de saintes amours:
L'Archange Raphaël, lorsqu'il vint sur la Terre,
Sous le berceau d'Éden conta ce doux mystère.
Mais nulle de ces sœurs que Dieu créa pour eux
N'apporta plus de joie au ciel des Bienheureux. (24-5, 51-74)

Satan's description:

Comme un cygne endormi qui seul, loin de la rive,
Livre son aile blanche à l'onde fugitive,
Le jeune homme inconnu mollement s'appuyait
Sur ce lit de **vapeurs** qui sous ses bras fuyait.
Sa robe était de pourpre, et, flamboyante ou pâle,
Enchantait les regards des teintes de l'opale.
Ses cheveux étaient noirs, mais pressés d'un bandeau ;
C'était une couronne ou peut-être un fardeau:
L'or en était vivant comme ces feux mystiques
Qui, tournoyants, brûlaient sur les trépieds antiques.
Son aile était ployée, et sa faible couleur
De la brume des soirs imitait la pâleur.
Des diamants nombreux rayonnent avec grâce
Sur ses pieds délicats qu'un cercle d'or embrasse ;
Mollement entourés d'anneaux mystérieux,
Ses bras et tous ses doigts éblouissent les yeux.
Il agite sa main d'un sceptre d'or armée,
Comme un roi qui d'un mont voit passer son Armée,
Et, craignant que ses vœux ne s'accomplissent pas,
D'un geste **impatient** accuse tous ses pas:
Son front est inquiet ; mais son regard s'abaisse,
Soit que, sachant des yeux la force enchanteresse,
Il veuille ne montrer d'abord que par degrés
Leurs rayons caressants encor mal assurés,
Soit qu'il redoute aussi l'involontaire flamme
Qui dans un seul regard révèle l'âme à l'âme. (33-4, 351-76)

These descriptions follow the same structure. Vigny describes the characters' hair, feet, wings, and the way they are dressed. There are three other important common points in these excerpts: they are surrounded by 'haze', both their feet are 'white' or 'delicate', and they are 'restless' or 'impatient'. The mention of the delicate and white feet is important as it is the only physical common feature they share – aside from their astounding beauty. In Milton's description of Satan, the 'Archangel ruined' is limping, he needs his spear to support him as his feet were hurt during his fall. In Vigny's poem, Satan's feet are delicate, matching Eloa's feet's whiteness. Indeed, both terms convey the idea of purity. If Satan's feet are as pure as Eloa's, it means that for the French poet, Satan's transformation into the devil, a fallen angel, is not yet completed. There are still some celestial features in Vigny's character. On the other hand, the haze surrounding both the characters tends to suggest the contrary regarding Eloa. Indeed, haze is often associated with doubt or mystery. It is Eloa, here, who resembles Satan, and not the contrary. She bears her own hell within herself without knowing it. Eloa, then, is not completely celestial either. Finally, both of the characters are depicted as impatient, relentless, as if something was devouring them from the inside. Eloa was just created and she already feels agitated, as if she was expecting her fate. Satan is impatient, as if he was already waiting for her. Vigny intersperses his poem with foreshadowings. These foreshadowings allow him to create tension and to signal to his readers that Eloa and Satan are not that different in the end. However, the author does insist on some differences in his descriptions.

Eloa walks towards God as if she was a bride walking towards her groom. She is known by the angels surrounding her. Her name actually precedes her description. She is called and born at the same time. Satan is depicted as a young unknown man. From the beginning, there is an uncertainty regarding the fallen angel's identity. Furthermore, the way they are presented highlights their opposite natures. Eloa is a virginal woman, her hair is golden, her wings are silver, her dress is pale, her attitude is humble, and she seems serene and loved. Satan is presented as a king – his hair is dark, his wings seem to be made of shadows, his dress is purple, the colour of the kings, he is covered in diamonds and gold, and he is worried. The mention of the loving family is met with Satan's worry, when comparing each line of the description, as if the fallen angel's dark feelings were caused by the absence of love.

As Jarry points out, 'Satan a tous les traits d'une divinité nocturne' (1998: 132). Arguably, Satan's fallen state makes him the divinity that rules hell. However, in this text, it seems that even if Satan knows his role, he still does not completely embrace it. He has to wait for Eloa to do so. Indeed, the Virgin angel appears as a godlike being, and even more as an alternative to God himself. Her very name corroborates this theory. In a letter, Vigny explains

its origin: 'Cela veut dire 'Dieu' et peut soit être écrit Elohim ou Eloa' (1986: 949). Furthermore, Vigny intersperses the poem with references to her godlike status. Thus, he writes: 'Naîtra-t-il d'autres cieux afin qu'elle y commande?' highlighting the fact that she could hold God's position as ruler of heaven (1973: 26, 13). Another line emphasises this idea: 'Elle chercha ses Cieux qu'elle ne voyait plus' (45, 762). The possessive adjective 'ses' points out that God's realm is also her property. Further in the text, she asks Satan: 'Et comment m'aimez-vous, si vous n'aimez pas Dieu?' (41, 626). This sentence could simply allude to the fact that she has been partly created by God but it could also mean that she is herself a godlike being. She also tells him: 'Nomme-moi donc encore ou ta sœur ou ton Dieu!', thus clearly identifying herself as a god (46, 774). Satan gives her this status twice in the poem. Firstly, he explains that he was waiting for her 'Comme un prêtre qui sent que son Dieu va parler' (40, 594); and, later in the text, he says 'Et toi seule es le Dieu qui peut sauver un ange' asserting that Eloa is an alternative to God (45, 736). Jarry even goes further by asserting that 'Eloa substitue son vouloir au vouloir de Dieu', thus overthrowing God in a way (1998: 128). Furthermore, when she arrives in the dark regions of Chaos, Satan asks:

> Mais plutôt n'es-tu pas un ennemi naissant
> Qu'instruit à me haïr mon rival trop puissant?
> Ah! peut-être est-ce toi qui, m'offensant moi-même,
> Conduiras mes Païens sous les eaux du baptême;
> Car toujours l'ennemi m'oppose triomphant
> Le regard d'une vierge ou la voix d'un enfant. (34, 397-402)

With the words 'ennemi' used to define Eloa and God at the same time, Satan blurs the limits of their individualities. Sent by God, according to the fallen angel, she becomes God himself. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that 'rival' is a synonym for 'adversaire', the translation of the Hebrew word, 'satan'. Eloa, by being a God, a bearer of light in a world full of darkness and shadows, and an adversary, becomes a reflection of both Satan's angelic and divine sides. Because she becomes this reflection, Eloa pushes Satan to look at himself and to take into account what he no longer is, and what he could become. Jarry notes that, in the end, Satan 'asborbera, en quelque sorte, sa proie: les deux, en dernière heure ne feront plus qu'un' (1998: 129). If the idea of assimilation seems pertinent, it can also be argued that Eloa and Satan are two facets of the same entity and that they absorb one another in order to survive and thrive. In any case, according to this analysis, Eloa's purpose is to confront Satan with who he really is. She has to console him, to make him whole, so that he can find, at last, his identity.

6.3. ‘Le jeune homme inconnu’: Redemption and Metamorphosis

Satan’s physical depiction, the place where we meet him, his seducing skills and his desire to be redeemed are important parameters of what will constitute a change of identity.

6.3.1. A Devil in Disguise?

In *Paradise Lost*, Satan is described as a beautiful yet ‘ruined’ being. The scars and marks on his face reflect his pain and concern his body, though still impressive, is hurt resulting in Satan limping. The creature the reader is facing is definitely a fallen one. Byron imitates Milton in this way. His angel is ‘beauteous, and yet, not all as beautiful / as he hath been’ (2008: 886, 98-9). Once again, his fallen state is engraved in his physical appearance. Vigny’s description banishes this idea. As explained earlier, his angel is of a rare beauty, embodying youth and voluptuousness. Burton Russell describes him as ‘the archetype of the languishing beauty that the Romantics idealized’ (2005: 173) and Milner even brands him ‘vapid’ (2007: 314).

At first glance, this lack of fallen traits can signify two things: either Vigny tries to make his Satan more loveable and seductive thus anticipating his character’s actions, or he is describing him in this way because his character has not yet accepted his fallen state. The absence of scars represents Satan’s denial regarding the loss of his celestial nature. However, Milner makes a very interesting point when he remarks that ‘la description de Satan, […] reprend, pour beaucoup de ses traits, celle que Lewis donnait de lui dans *Le Moine*’ (2007: 314). Matthew Lewis describes Lucifer in *The Monk* (1796) in the following way:

> Ambrosio started, and expected the Daemon with terror. What was his surprize, when the Thunder ceasing to roll, a full strain of melodious Music sounded in the air. At the same time the cloud dispersed, and He beheld a Figure more beautiful than Fancy's pencil ever drew. It was a Youth seemingly scarce eighteen, the perfection of whose form and face was unrivalled. He was perfectly naked: A bright Star sparkled upon his forehead; Two crimson wings extended themselves from his shoulders; and his silken locks were confined by a band of many-coloured fires, which played round his head, formed themselves into a variety of figures, and shone with a brilliance far surpassing that of precious Stones. Circlets of Diamonds were fastened round his arms and ankles, and in his right hand He bore a silver branch, imitating Myrtle. His form shone with dazzling glory: He was surrounded by clouds of rose-coloured light, and at the moment that He appeared, a refreshing air breathed perfumes

> through the Cavern. Enchanted at a vision so contrary to his expectations, Ambrosio gazed upon the Spirit with delight and wonder: Yet however beautiful the Figure, He could not but remark a wildness in the Daemon's eyes, and a mysterious melancholy impressed upon his features, betraying the Fallen Angel, and inspiring the Spectators with secret awe. (1998: 237)

The way he stands, the gemstones and precious metal mentioned and how they are placed on Lucifer's body, the clouds surrounding him in the second part of the description, his incredible beauty, are all features that both characters share. They present to the reader an impressive archangel, rather than a fallen and diminished being. However, there are some differences in the descriptions as Milner observes: Vigny's Satan is more voluptuous and paler; he appears in a purple outfit, whilst Lewis's character is stark naked; and, finally, Vigny's Satan's wings are pale when Lewis's Satan's are crimson (2007: 314). Lewis's description recalls Blake's pictural representations of Satan, and thus more of a devil-like representation than an angelic one.[70] Furthermore, there is one important difference missing: the clouds only appear in the second part of the description in Lewis's text. In order for Lucifer to appear, they need, at first, to disappear. This is not the case for Vigny as his Satan appears surrounded by haze. These clouds could represent the uncertainty surrounding the identity of the creature appearing. Indeed, in *The Monk*, Ambrosio and Matilda 'expect the Daemon', whilst, in *Eloa*, a 'jeune homme inconnu' appears. Finally, the other important thing to note regarding both the descriptions, is that sadness and pain show through both characters' eyes:

> He could not but remark a wildness in the Daemon's eyes, and a mysterious melancholy impressed upon his features, betraying the Fallen Angel, and inspiring the Spectators with secret awe. (Lewis 1998: 237)

> Son front est inquiet; mais son regard s'abaisse,
> Soit que, sachant des yeux la force enchanteresse,
> Il veuille ne montrer d'abord que par degrés
> Leurs rayons caressants encor mal assurés,
> Soit qu'il redoute aussi l'involontaire flamme
> Qui dans un seul regard révèle l'âme à l'âme. (Vigny, 1973: 34, 371-6)

In both these excerpts, the idea of betrayal and disclosure is present. In Lewis's, this idea is linked to the fallen nature of Lucifer: he looks like an angel, but he is not one.

[70] *Satan Smiting Job with Sore Boils*, Tate Britain, c. 1826, for example (Fig. 12).

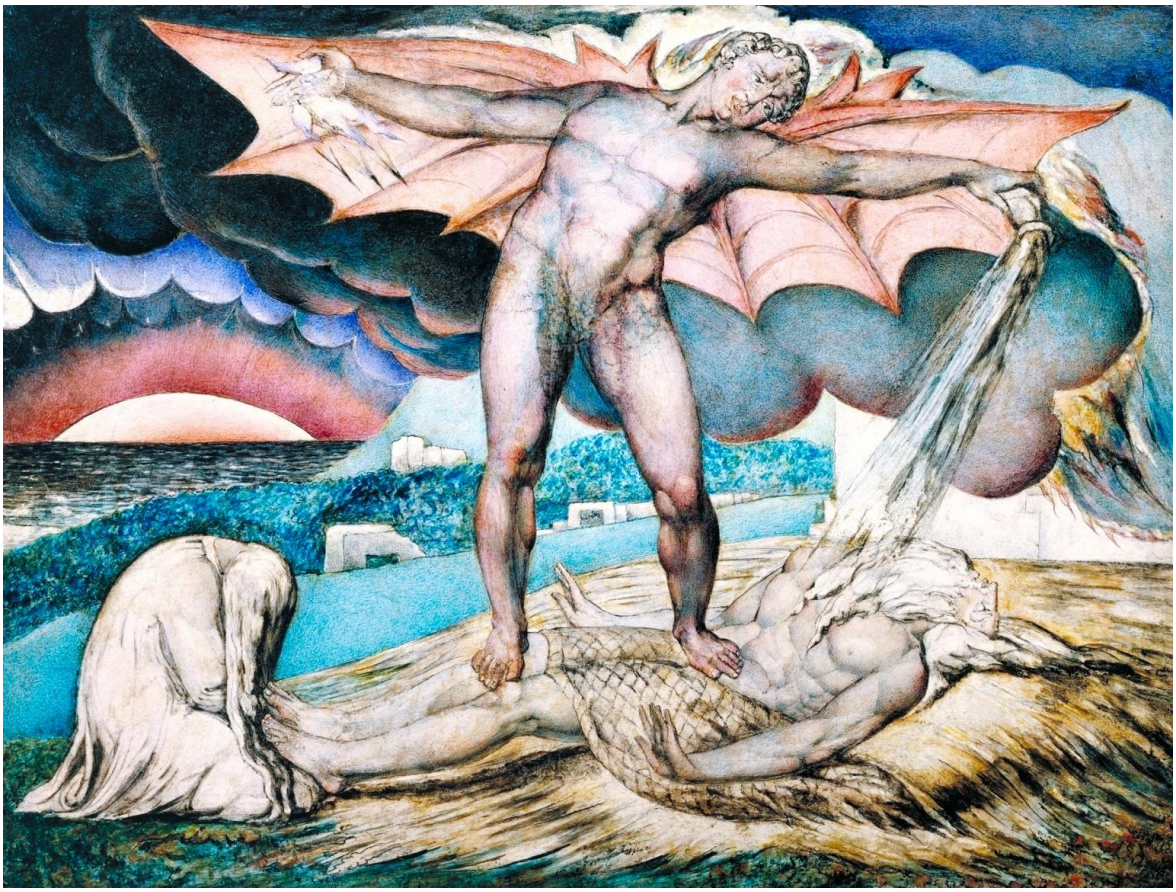

Figure 12: William Blake, *Satan Smiting Job with Sore Boils*, 1826, Tate Gallery, London.

In Vigny's, the reason of fearing such a disclosure is not completely clear. The reader can see that this character lacks the experience that *The Monk*'s devil seems to have. Indeed, Vigny actually uses the words 'redoute' (dreads), 'involontaire' (unvoluntary) and 'mal assurés' (lacking confidence, hesitant) to describe his fallen angel, thus imparting the idea that the latter does not really know what he is doing. Finally, in Lewis's description, Lucifer is passive since it is Ambrosio who notices such a melancholy and wildness in the angel's eyes. In *Eloa*, Satan is active. He chooses to lower his gaze, and carefully shows what he wants to show. Lucifer's traits are part of who he is, part of his experience; Satan's traits are chosen carefully by himself, as if he was composing a character entering the stage for the first time.

It is therefore clear that the reader is facing two different entities here. However, one question remains: why would Vigny associate his creature with such an awful character? Indeed, in *The Monk*, Lucifer is cruel and despicable. He embodies all the moral traits of the classical devil: he is cunning, vile, devoid of any kind of empathy or remorse, he makes deals and lusts for souls, and finally, he even kills the main character in a way that is, even if Ambrosio was himself a despicable character, incredibly evil. Throughout Lucifer's description, it is asserted that Ambrosio was not expecting such a creature: 'What was his surprize, when the Thunder ceasing to roll, a full strain of melodious Music sounded in the air.'; 'Enchanted at a vision so contrary to his expectations'. It is as if Lewis wants to highlight Lucifer's deceit. In a way, he foreshadows his characters' deceitful actions which take place at the end of the novel. This description acts as a cautionary tale: if Lucifer does not look as he should, then maybe, his appearance has nothing to do with his personality. The same could be applied to Vigny's character. In Vigny's description, Satan looks like a seductive being, but maybe this appearance does not match his personality and his intentions?

Lucifer and Satan are two different characters. Their differences lie in their appearances and in how they appear but also in who they appear to. Indeed, if Ambrosio is expecting Lucifer since he has summoned him, Eloa is not expecting him, although one could argue that her exploration and her mere presence in such dark regions can act as a summoning. In any case, the fact that Eloa is not waiting for anyone officially allows Satan's identity to remain secret. Thus, in his description, Satan is presented as 'le jeune homme inconnu' (33, 353) and he then introduces himself as 'celui qu'on aime et qu'on ne connaît pas' (35, 426). Vigny's character is 'inconnu' (unknown) and 'celui qu'on ne connaît pas' (the one that no one knows). A certain

lack of knowledge surrounds the character's appearance. Nevertheless, there are clues hidden here and there in the text. The first one is in the text itself: Satan looks like an angel, since he looks like Eloa's brothers: 'De cet ange si doux, à ses frères pareil' (35, 414). The second one lies in the title of the second movement of the poem since it is called 'Séduction' and directly precedes Satan's description. Thus, the reader is warned, they will face a seducer; and if they recall the epigraph of the poem, they know they will face the Seducer.

6.3.2. 'Je suis celui qu'on aime': An Act of Seduction or a Quest for Love?

In a letter addressed to a friend, Bruguière de Sorsum, and written in September 1823, Vigny writes: 'je profite du bonheur d'être malade pour achever Satan; il a mis fin à son œuvre, l'ange est tombée, et l'enfer a ri en hurlant', alluding to Satan's role as a tempter, a seducer (1989: 119). Vigny also calls Eloa a 'victime' (1989: 157), and explains that she is 'trop timide […] pour paraître devant une assemblée', before telling his friend: 'Si vous êtes encore tenté de faire connaissance avec elle lorsque cela lui arrivera, je vous avertirai, et nous irons ensemble dans le lieu de ses débuts', thus presenting Eloa as a young debutant who is not ready yet to go out into society and, therefore, to get married (1989: 152). According to these letters, Satan is a predator and Eloa is a naive young girl unprepared for such a being. However, according to the text, Eloa is not that naive, and Satan is not only a predator.

Throughout the text, Vigny uses foreshadowings, alluding to what is going to happen in the text. One example can be found in Satan's description when he fears to reveal his soul through his eyes and the effects it could have. This fear does become real when Satan expresses his pain, his regrets and his desire for redemption. Eloa sees it, and she tries to escape:

> Mais, sitôt qu'elle vit sur sa tête pensive
> De l'Enfer décelé la douleur convulsive,
> Étonnée et tremblante, elle éleva ses yeux;
> Plus forte, elle parut se souvenir des Cieux,
> Et souleva deux fois ses ailes argentées, (1973: 44, 695-9)

Yet, there are two other examples that are essential to a good understanding of the text. The first one takes place at the beginning of the poem, when the other angels tell Eloa the story of an angel who fell from heaven:

> 'Éloa, disaient-ils, oh! veillez bien sur vous:
> Un Ange peut tomber; le plus beau de nous tous
> N'est plus ici: pourtant dans sa vertu première
> On le nommait *celui qui porte la lumière*;

Car il portait l'amour et la vie en tout lieu,
Aux astres il portait tous les ordres de Dieu;
La terre consacrait sa beauté sans égale,
Appelant *Lucifer* l'étoile matinale,
Diamant radieux, que sur son front vermeil,
Parmi ses cheveux d'or a posé le Soleil.
Mais on dit qu'à présent il est sans diadème,
Qu'il gémit, qu'il est seul, que personne ne l'aime,
Que la noirceur d'un crime appesantit ses yeux,
Qu'il ne sait plus parler le langage des Cieux;
La mort est dans les mots que prononce sa bouche;
Il brûle ce qu'il voit, il flétrit ce qu'il touche;
Il ne peut plus sentir le mal ni les bienfaits;
Il est même sans joie aux malheurs qu'il a faits.
Le Ciel qu'il habita se trouble à sa mémoire,
Nul Ange n'oserait vous conter son histoire,
Aucun Saint n'oserait dire une fois son nom.'
Et l'on crut qu'Éloa le maudirait; mais non,
L'effroi n'altéra point son paisible visage,
Et ce fut pour le Ciel un alarmant présage. (26, 105-28)

This excerpt features two warning expressions: 'veillez bien sur vous' and 'alarmant présage'; the first one warns Eloa, the second one, the reader. Moreover, this story clearly depicts a dangerous angel even if, admittedly, the physical depiction does not resemble the spirit she encounters in the regions of Chaos. Nevertheless, Eloa understands that there is someone, in the lower regions, who is ill-intentioned. This does not prevent her from looking actively for him:

Sa douleur inquiète en était plus profonde;
Et toujours dans la nuit un rêve lui montrait
Un Ange malheureux qui de loin l'implorait.
Les Vierges quelquefois, pour connaître sa peine,
Formant une prière inentendue et vaine,
L'entouraient, et, prenant ces soins qui font souffrir,
Demandaient quels trésors il lui fallait offrir,
Et de quel prix serait son éternelle vie,
Si le bonheur du Ciel flattait peu son envie;
Et pourquoi son regard ne cherchait pas enfin
Les regards d'un Archange ou ceux d'un séraphin.
Éloa répondait une seule parole:
'Aucun d'eux n'a besoin de celle qui console.
On dit qu'il en est un...' Mais détournant leurs pas,
Les vierges s'enfuyaient et ne le nommaient pas. (28, 176-90)

Eloa knows who she will meet in Chaos, she chooses to discard heaven's warnings preferring to follow her intuition: this evil angel needs her help. What is interesting to note is that the hosts

of heaven are deliberately telling her Satan's story before saying that 'Nul Ange n'oserait vous conter son histoire'. This inconsistency is to be found yet again in the text, in the other foreshadowing scene involving Eloa. Indeed, in the last part of the poem, while she is asking herself whether she should follow the apostate angel or not, Eloa can hear angels sing:

> "Gloire dans l'univers, dans le temps, à celui
> Qui s'immole à jamais pour le salut d'autrui! » (45, 757-8)

This omen clearly predicts Eloa's fate: she will sacrifice herself in order to save Satan. However, it also encourages her to do so. Indeed, immolating herself will bring her celestial glory. Hence, when Eloa meets Satan and when she decides to follow him, she knows what kind of being she is going to meet, and what will be her end. What is more, she seems to have been manipulated by heaven in doing all of this. André Jarry offers an analysis of the aforementioned lines. He notes that the narrator adds: 'Les cieux semblaient parler' and comments '[…] les puissances célestes "semblent", au dernier moment, encourager la transgression. Le ciel se fait complice d'une "immolation" qui n'a, d'effet, que tragique; et, de valeur, qu'absurde' (1998: 125). Condemning Satan for Eloa's fall would be just like condemning only Pontius Pilate for Jesus Christ's death: it would not be accurate and would cancel an important part of the whole narrative. Moreover, if Eloa is manipulated by heaven and clearly a victim of both God and Satan in this text, Satan is also manipulated by heaven and thus appears, in a way, as a victim too.

Throughout the text, Satan is called 'Le Tentateur' (1973: 43, 686), and 'l'ennemi séducteur' (35, 425). Furthermore, the words 'séduction' and 'tenté' are used once each: the first one as a title for the second movement of the poem, and the second one when Satan regrets his temptation of Jesus Christ in the desert. 'Tenté' is the most important one because Satan himself is using it, which means that he is defining himself as a tempter and he is right in doing so. There is definitely agency in Satan's action: he wants to make Eloa fall with him. Jarry notes that there is, in Satan, 'une volonté de faire le mal' (1998: 125). This is undeniable. The apostate angel seeks revenge and he uses Eloa, the last angel created by God, to strike heaven. In order to do so, he flatters Eloa, mentioning her 'beauté merveilleuse et [ses] rayons de gloire' (1973: 34, 396); and he appeals to her righteousness and highlights their resemblance by describing himself as someone who cares about others and who consoles and saves them:

> 'La voilà sous tes yeux l'œuvre du Malfaiteur;
> Ce méchant qu'on accuse est un Consolateur

Qui pleure sur l'esclave et le dérobe au maître,
Le sauve par l'amour des chagrins de son être,
Et, dans le mal commun lui-même enseveli,
Lui donne un peu de charme et quelquefois l'oubli.' (38, 501-6)

Finally, he appeals to what is probably Eloa's greatest weakness: her desire to belong somewhere and to be loved for who she is:

'Sois à moi, sois ma sœur, je t'appartiens moi-même;
Je t'ai bien méritée, et dès longtemps je t'aime,
Car je t'ai vue un jour. […]
Toi seule m'apparus comme une jeune étoile
Qui de la vaste nuit perce à l'écart le voile;
Toi seule me parus ce qu'on cherche toujours,
Ce que l'homme poursuit dans l'ombre de ses jours,
Le dieu qui du bonheur connaît seul le mystère,
Et la Reine qu'attend mon trône solitaire.
Enfin, par ta présence, habile à me charmer,
Il me fut révélé que je pouvais aimer.
[…]
Je te cherchais partout: dans un souffle des airs,
Dans un rayon tombé du disque de la lune,
[…]
Mais tu n'entendis rien, mais tu ne me vis pas.
[…]
Mais seul je retournai sous ma belle demeure,
J'y pleurai comme ici, j'y gémis, jusqu'à l'heure
Où le son de ton vol m'émut, me fit trembler,
Comme un prêtre qui sent que son Dieu va parler.' (39, 547-94)

The repetition of expressions involving a sense of belonging ('sois à moi', 'je t'appartiens'), the superlatives used to define Eloa ('jeune étoile', 'God' - twice - 'Reine'), the emphasis on her uniqueness ('toi seule'- twice - 'je te cherchais partout'), the expressions used in order to make her feel guilty ('mais tu n'entendis rien, mais tu ne me vis pas'), and the use of the verb 'to love' ('je t'aime', 'je pouvais aimer') are classical means used to seduce someone. In these lines, Satan is tricking Eloa into loving him, into needing him. It lacks so much subtlety and elegance for someone who is supposed to be the inventor of seduction, that it almost resonates as a cry for help. Gruber writes that 'Dramatic tension is provided in the poem because Satan is in fact, attracted by Eloa's shining innocence. He vacillates between the temptation to love her and despair at his own distance from such purity' (1976: 79). When introducing himself, Satan says 'Je suis celui qu'on aime et qu'on ne connaît pas' which contrasts drastically with what is said about him in heaven: 'Mais on dit qu'à présent il est sans diadème, /

Qu'il gémit, qu'il est seul, que personne ne l'aime,' (1973: 26, 115-6). Satan affirms that he is loved, heaven asserts the contrary.

This opposition highlights three important ideas: to be loved matters to these beings, whether they are in heaven or in hell; the lack of love is linked to the lack of a significant other; and, finally, that loving someone does not involve knowing them. Together, these parameters produce a very odd definition of love that implies that there is no such thing as self-love and that knowing someone is not necessary. Satan's access of remorse shows his inability to love himself:

> Il tremble; sur son cœur où l'enfer recommence,
> Comme un sombre manteau jette son aile immense,
> Et veut fuir. […]
> 'Je tremble devant toi, mais pourtant je t'adore;
> Je suis moins criminel puisque je t'aime encore;
> Mais dans mon sein flétri tu ne reviendras pas!
> […]
> Je souriais, j'étais... J'aurais peut-être aimé!' (1973: 42-3, 643-85)

In these lines, Vigny imitates Milton's 'Myself am hell' and implies that the absence of God in Satan's life materializes the absence of love in his life. Satan's wish to flee ('et veut fuir') can also be found. Finally, Satan's inability to finish his sentence 'je souriais, j'étais…' underlines his inability to know who he was and, thus, who he is. Gruber explains that 'perhaps this crime [seduction] is not the work of the traditional Satan, but the only way a being so penetrated by evil can express love' (1976: 79). Hence, seduction would be here a way for this Romantic Satan to express his feelings. However, if Satan can be perceived as evil, he can also act as a tempter out of loneliness and self-ignorance. Seducing Eloa can be the fallen angel's way to define his identity and to become whole again.

6.3.3. Metamorphosis

André Jarry writes that Satan's 'être intime est le lieu d'une dissociation' (1998: 142). According to the Oxford English Dictionary, 'dissociation' implies 'the disintegration of personality or consciousness', 'severance', 'division', and 'disunion' (OED 2021). Satan's identity is shattered, a part of him has been taken away from him. His physical appearance and his attempt at seducing Eloa tend to show this disunion in his personality. Moreover, the place in which he appears reinforces this idea.

Indeed, the main action does not take place in hell but in Chaos:

Arriva seule au fond des Cieux inférieurs.
L'Éther a ses degrés, d'une grandeur immense,
Jusqu'à l'ombre éternelle où le chaos commence.
[…]
L'espace est désert, triste, obscur, et sillonné
Par un noir tourbillon lentement entraîné.
Un jour douteux et pâle éclaire en vain la nue,
Sous elle est le Chaos et la nuit inconnue;
[…]
Et jamais ne s'égare aucun beau Séraphin
Sur ces degrés confus dont l'Enfer est la fin. (1973: 29-30, 226-45)

Here, Vigny seems to use Milton's cartography of the celestial and demonic regions that Satan crosses when he goes to Eden.[71] In *Paradise Lost*, through Satan's journey, the reader goes from hell to heaven. There is an ascending movement. In *Cain*, Lucifer appears on earth and then takes Cain on a journey through time. The poem is both static and in motion at the same time, but there is no idea of ascending or descending somewhere. In *Eloa*, the movement goes downward, escorting both Eloa and Satan in their falls. It is also interesting to note that in *Paradise Lost*, Satan appears in hell, thus embracing his fallen state. In *Cain*, Lucifer appears on earth, as if earth helped him to reject his evil nature: the location favours his denial. In *Eloa*, the angel appears in Chaos, an in-between region that represents his in-between personality.

[71] Milton's world is represented by Walter Clyde Curry in 1957 (Fig.12).

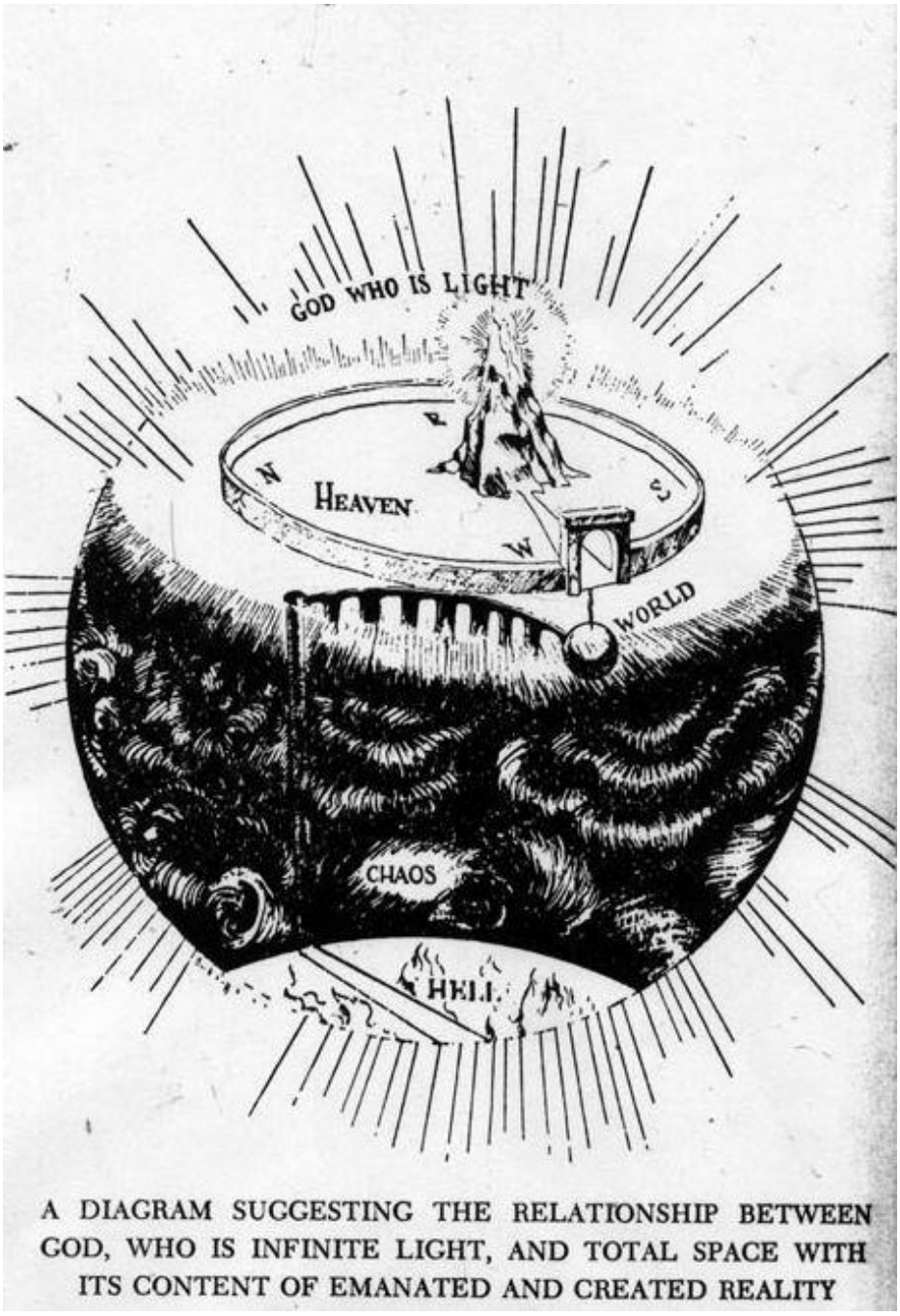

Figure 13: Walter Clyde Curry, *The Universe of Paradise Lost*, 1957, in *Milton's Ontology, Cosmogony, and Physics*, Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky.

However, the last part of the poem implies that Eloa and he are leaving Chaos for another region. Indeed, Eloa asks 'Où me conduisez-vous, bel Ange?' (1973: 46, 769). Since the apostate angel's transformation is not completed until the very last line of the poem, Eloa's question is met with no answer. Could this be this hell that is only mentioned as a place within Satan himself: 'sur son cœur où l'enfer recommence', 'elle vit sur sa tête pensive / De l'Enfer décelé la douleur convulsive' (44, 695-6)?

The other important parameter of this transformation is, of course, the angel's name and the physical description attached to it. Indeed, in their warnings and retelling of the apostate angel's fall, the angels of heaven name him: 'Appelant *Lucifer* l'étoile matinale' (26, 112). This Lucifer does not totally resemble the 'jeune homme inconnu'. Indeed, his hair is golden and not dark. The angels also note that he has lost his tiara, but it does not seem to be the case: Ses cheveux étaient noirs, mais pressés d'un bandeau; / C'était une couronne ou peut-être un fardeau:' (33, 358-9). There is still a crown, however this crown has become a burden instead of a symbol of his power. Thus, one can notice that the physical metamorphosis has already happened, as Jarry notes:'[Satan] a réussi, parallèlement, à se draper dans les ténèbres qui, depuis qu'il n'est plus "Lucifer", servent à le désigner' (1998: 131). Yet the apostate angel is still nameless: the dissociation takes shape.

In *Paradise Lost*, Milton's creature is named Satan, thus implying that the reader is facing the fallen angel and ruler of hell. In *Cain*, Byron names his angel Lucifer which tends to highlight the fact that his creature is not totally fallen yet, and that he is still the morning star. In *Eloa*, Vigny starts by telling the story of Lucifer, a celestial being, before staging a nameless young man, and finally, in the last line of the poem, the reader learns the name of this young man as he is abducting an angel: Satan, the adversary. Vigny's tour de force lies in the last lines of his poem:

> 'Où me conduisez-vous, bel Ange? — Viens toujours.
> — Que votre voix est triste, et quel sombre discours!
> N'est-ce pas Éloa qui soulève ta chaîne?
> J'ai cru t'avoir sauvé. — Non, c'est moi qui t'entraîne.
> — Si nous sommes unis, peu m'importe en quel lieu!
> Nomme-moi donc encore ou ta sœur ou ton Dieu!
> — J'enlève mon esclave et je tiens ma victime.
> — Tu paraissais si bon! Oh! qu'ai-je fait? — Un crime.
> — Seras-tu plus heureux? du moins es-tu content?
> — Plus triste que jamais. — Qui donc es-tu? — Satan.' (1973: 46, 769-78)

In the last stanza of the poem, the roles are reversed: Eloa does not know who she is anymore as Satan redefines her identity when she tries to express it. She was supposed to be his queen and goddess, she becomes a slave and a victim. By disowning her from both her freedom and her identity, the archangel gains a name, Satan, that he is the only one to pronounce. Eloa's name had been pronounced by God as an act of creation; Satan's act of creation comes only from himself. As quoted before, Jarry writes that Satan 'absorbera, en quelque sorte, sa proie: les deux, en dernière heure, ne font plus qu'un' (1998: 129). Satan is under the impression that he gains his identity by truly embracing the seducer role that has been assigned to him. However, what he does not see is Eloa's power in this situation: she follows him willingly. Indeed, even when she realises that she has been fooled by this creature, she still focuses on accomplishing her mission since she asks him: 'seras-tu plus heureux?'. Thus, by abandoning her identity and status Eloa lets Satan absorbs her so she can properly console him, make him whole again and so the metamorphosis is completed. However, this metamorphosis is not triumphant since the angle is 'plus triste que jamais'. Satan does not seem to take any pleasure in seducing God's angel.

> Je viens de faire des vers damnés, et je vous écris sur leur poitrine. Je voudrais qu'on ne fît pas un autre pape, tant ils me font craindre l'excommunication par la suite. Vous devinez que c'est de *Satan* qu'il s'agit, il est presque achevé. Je vais noircir un peu la fin pour me sauver. (Vigny 1989: 116)

In this confession, Vigny clearly tells that the end was not how he intended it. His Satan was supposed to be saved, as it will be the case in the sketches of the poem's sequel: *Satan Sauvé*. Indeed, in the draft of the poem, Satan gains redemption through his love for Eloa:

> Un jour que ses [Eloa's] larmes coulaient ainsi, l'ange maudit la regarde; il n'a plus de bonheur à faire le mal. Elle le voit, lui parle: il pleure. […]
> Une voix ineffable prononça ces mots:
> Tu as été puni pendant ce temps; tu as assez souffert, puisque tu fus l'ange du mal. Tu as aimé une fois: entre dans mon éternité. Le mal n'existe plus. (Vigny 1867: 277)

This excerpt highlights the fact that Satan really fell in love with Eloa, and that she succeeded in completely consoling him since he gained back his celestial status through her. Moreover, it also indicates what Vigny would have done if he had not feared excommunication. This sequel seems more faithful to Vigny's thoughts than the published poem.

Eloa ou la soeur des anges displays Romantic characters who are neither good or evil. By using Chateaubriand's suggestions and by drawing on Byron's and Milton's character, Vigny elaborates a myth of his own. Burton Russell writes about his Satan that 'Vigny achieved a more empathetic and psychologically convincing portrait of Satan than had anyone else since Milton himself' (2005: 1973). Vigny's Satan is lost, cunning, beautiful, sad, pugnacious, desperate for love, remorseful, manipulative, etc. So many conflicting feelings that fuel an identity crisis. To mirror this crisis and help him to achieve his metamorphosis, Eloa stands out as a complex character. She bears in her both the purest form of love and a dangerous attraction to darkness. These fallen angels complete themselves and help one another to express their deepest feelings and desires.

If Vigny's Satan appears as a magnificent character, he still fails to achieve redemption and thus, to complete the cycle that has started with his fall. Paul Bénichou notes that '*La Légende des siècles* est l'accomplissement, par un génie plus fécond et plus puissant que celui de Vigny, de ce qu'il avait ébauché le premier' (2004 : 334). Thus, one has to wait for Victor Hugo's *La Fin de Satan*, to finally bring Satan the redemption he deserves.

Chapter 7: Victor Hugo's *La Fin de Satan* or the End of a Cycle

The writing of *La Fin de Satan* is an epic in itself. Victor Hugo started to write the poem in 1854 as he in was in exile on the Channel Islands. Fleeing Napoleon III's power after he tried to oppose him, Hugo settled in the islands for nineteen years. As Bénichou says: 'On sait qu[e Hugo] a écrit *La Fin de Satan* en deux étapes, d'abord entre janvier et mai 1854, puis en 1859-1860, et que l'œuvre ne fut publiée, inachevée, qu'en 1886, un peu après la mort de son auteur' (2004: 1389). The critic also explains that Hugo started to write *La Fin de Satan* as he was experimenting with spiritism. Hugo was an adept of table-turning and communicated with deceased authors, spirits who knew his late daughter, Léopoldine, and celestial entities (1442-3). The fact that he wrote an epic on Satan during this period of occultism is quite telling. This is all the more striking that if some authors such as Byron and Vigny have been labelled as belonging to 'Romantic Satanism', it is definitely not the case of Hugo. The poet did believe in God as a benevolent entity: 'Les récriminations de Vigny peuvent sembler une façon figurée de nier Dieu. Le défi de Hugo incline en sens contraire: c'est un acte de foi dans l'accord possible du désir humain et de la divinité' (Bénichou 2004: 1351).

La Fin de Satan is actually a fragment of what Hugo intended to be a bigger work. It is the first part of a trilogy focusing on good and evil. This trilogy is composed of *La Fin de Satan*, *La Légende des siècles* (1859, 1877, 1883), and *Dieu* (1891). In the preface to *La Légende des siècles,* Hugo introduces his trilogy as such:

> une sorte de poëme d'une certaine étendue où se réverbère le problème unique, l'Être, sous sa triple face: l'Humanité, le Mal, l'Infini; le progressif, le relatif, l'absolu; en ce qu'on pourrait appeler trois chants, *la Légende des Siècles, la Fin de Satan, Dieu.* (1950: 6)

Therefore, *La Fin de Satan* is a poem about evil. It is a long and complex text that retells the advent of evil on earth and both the fall and the redemption of Satan. The poem was not finished when it was published. It was to be composed of three main parts: 'Le Glaive', 'Le Gibet' and 'La Prison', each of which embodies the three items used by Cain to kill his brother Abel[72]: a nail, a woodstick, and a stone.[73] These parts constitute stories in themselves. However, the most important part of the poem tells the story of Satan. It is composed of four poems called 'Hors

[72] Hugo, like many Christians, regarded the fratricide as the origin of evil on earth.
[73] Only 'La Prison' is not part of the published version.

de la Terre' (subdivided in three parts) and 'L'Ange Liberté'. These poems are scattered throughout the epic. They first start with the fall of Satan and his chase after the last sun; they then tell how Satan's last feather is transformed by God into the female angel Liberté; then, the reader encounters Satan in hell who oscillates between his evil nature and his need for forgiveness; finally, Liberté, mandated by God, obtains Satan's permission to end evil on earth, after killing its representation, Isis-Lilith, Satan's other daughter. Hugo intended to write a last part in which a redeemed Satan became Lucifer again, regaining heaven. Some fragments of this text have been found and they will be studied in this chapter. Since this thesis focuses on Satan and his Romantic representation, this chapter does not study the parts 'Le Glaive' and 'Le Gibet'. It does not deal with other representations of Satan that can be found in Hugo's other works either.

La Fin de Satan is a complex poem that offers an innovative take on the myth of the fallen angel. It can be regarded as the final point of a common myth that has been woven on both sides of the Channel, and that started more than fifty years before its writing. In this text, Hugo depicts a devil-like being who constantly begs for mercy and for love. This conflicted angel, physically represented as a fiend, is fighting for light to remain in his world. Always oscillating between his propensity to evil and his celestial nature, he often contradicts himself in his speeches. Hugo does not see in Satan the embodiment of evil but rather its victim and strives to relieve him from his devilish functions. In order to do so, the poet transforms the fall into a rite of passage and embodies the principles of evil and good into two beings, daughters of Satan: Isis-Lilith and Liberté. This exteriorisation allows Satan to not be held accountable for the existence of evil. This, in turn, helps Hugo to finally grant redemption to the fallen angel. Drawing from the Romantic authors studied in this thesis, Hugo portrays the angel who suffers the most of all. It is because Satan is finally facing his devilish part, that Hugo can redeem him. However, this redemption also comes through a different representation of God. Indeed, the French poet, unlike some of his predecessors, portrays God as a benevolent divinity willing and able to save Satan.

7.1. A Conflicted Satan

Victor Hugo's perception of evil is based on the 'logique de l'antithèse' as Paul Zumthor explains (1942: 186). This omnipresence of opposites in Hugo's poem also applies to his main

character, Satan. In *La Fin de Satan*, the fallen angel appears as a conflicted being always oscillating between positive and negative emotions, pride and suffering, light and darkness, etc. This conflict can also be perceived in his appearance as his physical description does not seem to reflect what he truly feels. This antithetical approach allows Hugo to portray a more complex and human-like being.

7.1.1. The Fiend

> Tout à coup il se vit pousser d'horribles ailes;
> Il se vit devenir monstre, et que l'ange en lui
> Mourait, et le rebelle en sentit quelque ennui.
> Il laissa son épaule, autrefois lumineuse,
> Frémir au froid hideux de l'aile membraneuse,
> Et croisant ses deux bras, et relevant son front,
> Ce bandit, comme s'il grandissait sous l'affront,
> Seul dans ces profondeurs que la ruine encombre,
> Regarda fixement la caverne de l'ombre. (1950: 768)

Satan's transformation into a beast, a monster, a creature of chaos and darkness, is the first true metamorphosis encountered in the corpus of this thesis. Max Milner writes that 'il est extrêmement frappant [que Hugo] n'ait pas voulu accorder à l'archange déchu cette beauté que lui octroyaient si généreusement la plupart des romantiques, ni même cette splendeur obscurcie que Milton lui avait laissée' (2007: 791). Indeed, Milton's Satan and Byron's Lucifer were depicted as less beautiful than they used to be when they were angels. They were surrounded by an aura of darkness, and, at least for Milton's angel, had scars and injuries, but there were no true physical metamorphoses. Satan's and Lucifer's appearances were impacted but not really changed. In *Eloa ou la soeur des anges*, Vigny introduced a fallen angel that is astonishingly beautiful, only his hair is darker. Blake's representation of the fallen angel is the one closer to Hugo's monster as the English poet sometimes draws Satan as a monster, a red dragon (Fig.14) However, he also represents him as a beautiful archangel (Fig. 8), thus showing that his fallen angel's appearance is not fixed.

The Romantic perception of the myth of the fallen angel favours the idea of a beautiful being. Indeed, depriving Satan of his hooves and horns allows the Romantics to set aside the medieval image of the devil in order to focus on the apostate archangel. In other words, by remaining beautiful, Satan is not a mere evil beast, but rather a lost angel with whom the reader can sympathise.

Figure 14: William Blake, *The Great Red Dragon and the Woman Clothed in the Sun*, ca. 1803-1805, Brooklyn Museum, New-York.

Satan's desire to be redeemed is expressed in *Paradise Lost* (1674), *Les Martyrs* (1813), *Cain* (1821), and *Eloa ou la soeur des anges* (1824). In each text, the archangel either shows remorse or directly expresses his desire to be forgiven and to be part of the celestial cohorts again. However, none of these Satans or Lucifers are granted their wishes. They all remain fallen. Hugo's Satan is the first one to be redeemed, to become a proper angel again. He is also the first one to be forced to face his evil and his actions. Indeed, by turning into a monster ('monstre'), Satan feels the angel dying in him ('l'ange en lui mour[ir]') (1950: 768). Unlike the other Romantic fallen angels, Hugo's Satan is not supposed to be composed of two creatures, one made of light and one made of darkness, inside of him. This Satan needs to see his celestial part die in order to be able to be reborn. He needs to truly embrace his darkness in order to be allowed to see the light again. It seems that Hugo's character knows that and accepts this idea. Indeed, the use of the reflexive verb 'se voir', twice: 'il se vit pousser d'horribles ailes' and 'il se vit devenir monstre', highlights a passive agency (768). This verb implies that the character acknowledges what is happening to him and neither opposes nor resists the transformation. This idea is reinforced by the use of the verb 'laisser' which implies resignation. Hugo's Satan is a character who often fights against what is imposed upon him. However, he does not fight against his transformation, he 'sees himself' – at least a former self – die, and he accepts it as part of his punishment. The expressions 'relevant son front' and 'comme s'il grandissait sous l'affront' even show that this metamorphosis emboldens Satan (768).

However, this acceptance and pride do not align with the subsequent descriptions of the fallen angel. Indeed, as the text goes on, Satan is depicted in an awful way. He has horrible talons, he is compared to a bat or to a spectre (771), and all these physical descriptions testify to his suffering:

> Satan, comme un nageur fait un effort suprême,
> Tendit son aile onglée et chauve, et, spectre blême,
> Haletant, brisé, las et de sueur fumant,
> Il s'abattit au bord de l'âpre escarpement. (771)

The fallen angel is broken ('brisé'), alluding to Milton's 'Archangel ruined', but he also seems ill since he pants ('haletant') and is pallid ('blême'). There is no pride or acceptance in these lines. Satan is subjected to his body. Hugo even depicts Satan's body as a prison :

> Puis, quoiqu'il eût horreur des ailes de la bête,
> Quoique ce fût pour lui l'habit de la prison,

[…]
Hideux, il prit son vol de montagne en montagne, (769-70)

The whole body is represented by the wings. The use of the synecdoche emphasises the importance of the wings as these members represent Satan's angelic nature. The transformation from angel wings to beast wings thus symbolises the death of the angelic part of Satan, as expressed earlier in the text. However, the loss of the feathers might also be considered as the loss of skin, leaving the apostate angel exposed, defenceless. It might also mean that Satan is losing the ability to hide his true nature. All the other Satans studied in this thesis were trying to conceal who they were; all of them were, at some point, wearing a mask, whether it was an actual one, for instance, in *Paradise Lost*, or a figurative one in texts such as *Cain* or *Eloa*. Hugo's Satan does not have a choice: the exposure of his wings stands for his inability to wear a mask. He has to face who he is and the reader has to acknowledge Satan's propensity to evil but also his suffering. There is no longer the idea of acceptance: Satan hates his new appearance. However, the use of the conjunction 'quoique' twice shows that even if does not like it, he is forced to use it in order to fight for what is essential to him: light. Maximilien Rudwin writes that 'Malgré son admiration pour Milton, Victor Hugo, semble-t-il, n'a pas essayé de l'imiter dans son œuvre, surtout dans sa description de Satan, ce qui pourtant ne lui aurait pas nui' (1926: 12). The fact that Hugo is depicting a monster, a beast deprived of any beauty or celestial features, is not detrimental to his character. In fact, thanks to Satan's awful appearance, Hugo can explore his qualities and propensity to goodness since the moral balance between good and evil remains. When the other Satans have to pretend to accept their darkness in order to balance their angelic beauty, Hugo's Satan can let his damned body fight for light.

7.1.2. The Death of Light and its Bearer

Hugo is the first author studied in this thesis to depict the actual fall of Satan. In *Paradise Lost*, Satan was waking up in hell after his fall. Some flashbacks telling how he fell can be found in Milton's epic but there is no retelling of the fall in itself. Satan is already fallen for what seems a long time since his story is told as a cautionary tale in both *Eloa* and *Cain*. In *Les Martyrs* and *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Satan is already embracing his role as the devil. However, as Rudwin notes : 'Victor Hugo avait pourtant lu un poème dont nous pensons qu'il s'est souvenu en écrivant *Et nox facta est*. C'est *La Chute de Satan* qu'Edouard Turquety avait placée, en 1836, en tête de son volume de *Poésie catholique*.' (1926: 796). Thus, the retelling of the fall is not an original idea. However, the fact that the fall creates darkness is quite new.

Hugo's title for the first part of 'Hors de la Terre', *Et nox facta est*, is a clear reference to the first lines of Genesis:

> In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.
> And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.
> And God said, Let there be light: and there was light.
> And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness. (Gen.1: 1-4)

As God, in the Bible, says 'Let there be light', here in *La Fin de Satan*, he commands the existence of darkness by saying 'Et nox facta est'. This command is directly linked to Satan's fall. *La Fin de Satan* here takes the shape of an alternative Bible, one in which the death of light allows the birth of darkness. To emphasise this idea, Hugo departs from Genesis where God's sentence is enough to create light. In *La Fin de Satan*, the birth of darkness is a progressive process that implies the gradual fall of Satan. The suns, symbols of light, are not dying in an instant, they are slowly burning out thus foreshadowing the light-bearer's end.

The death of the suns is presented by God as Satan's punishment: 'Tombe / Les soleils s'éteindront autour de toi, maudit!' (1950: 767). At first, the fallen angel does not take God's damnation seriously. This moment coincides with Satan's passive acceptance and pride regarding his physical transformation. Thus, when he sees that there are only three suns remaining in the heavens, he says:

> —Eh bien, cria Satan, soit ! Je puis encor voir !
> Il aura le ciel bleu, moi j'aurai le ciel noir.
> Croit-il pas que j'irai sangloter à sa porte ?
> Je le hais. Trois soleils suffisent. Que m'importe! (769)

Drawing on the Romantic idea that Satan and God share the world, Hugo depicts a provocative and prideful character. But this attitude does not last. Indeed, two lines later, Satan realises that God's punishment was not a threat and that the primitive light will not be dimmed, it will just cease to exist for him: 'Soudain il tressaillit; il n'en restait plus qu'un' (769). This line is the starting point for Satan's race for light, for his endless efforts to keep the last sun alive. The angel's role is not to bear the light anymore, it is to beg for it to exist: Lucifer is gone. The death of the last sun is probably the most beautiful part of the poem. Hugo alternates intense and quick-paced verses in which the fallen angel fights against darkness and flies towards the sun in a desperate attempt to keep it alive, with single lines depicting the stages of the sun's extinction. This structure gives a very dramatic tone to the poem but it also underlines the

similarities between the death of the sun and that of Lucifer. The last image of the sun focuses on its death. Here, the sun's decay resembles Satan's physical transformation:

> Le soleil était là qui mourait dans l'abîme.
>
> L'astre, au fond du brouillard, sans air qui le ranime,
> Se refroidissait, morne et lentement détruit.
> On voyait sa rondeur sinistre dans la nuit ;
> Et l'on voyait décroître, en ce silence sombre,
> Ses ulcères de feu sous une lèpre d'ombre.
> Charbon d'un monde éteint ! Flambeau soufflé par Dieu !
> Ses crevasses montraient encore un peu de feu,
> Comme si par les trous du crâne on eût vu l'âme.
> Au centre palpitait et rampait une flamme
> Qui par instants léchait les bords extérieurs,
> Et de chaque cratère, il sortait des lueurs
> […]
> L'astre était presque noir. L'archange était si las
> Qu'il n'avait plus de voix et plus de souffle, hélas !
> Et l'astre agonisait sous ses regards farouches.
> Il mourait, il luttait. […]
>
> Comme si ce géant de vie et de lumière,
> Englouti par la brume où tout s'évanouit,
> N'eût pas voulu mourir sans insulter la nuit
> Et sans cracher sa lave à la face de l'ombre.
> […]
> Soudain, du cœur de l'astre, un âpre jet de soufre,
> Pareil à la clameur du mourant éperdu,
> Sortit, brusque, éclatant, splendide, inattendu,
> Et, découpant au loin mille formes funèbres,
> Enorme, illumina, jusqu'au fond des ténèbres,
> Les porches monstrueux de l'infini profond.
> Les angles que la nuit et l'immensité font
> Apparurent. Satan, égaré, sans haleine,
> La prunelle éblouie et de cet éclat pleine,
> Battit de l'aile, ouvrit les mains, puis tressaillit
> Et cria : — Désespoir ! Le voilà qui pâlit ! —
>
> Et l'archange comprit, pareil au mât qui sombre,
> Qu'il était le noyé du déluge de l'ombre ;
> Il reploya ses ailes aux ongles de granit
> Et se tordit les bras. Et l'astre s'éteignit. (772-3)

The use of words such as 'se refroidissait', 'morne', 'agonisait', 'mourait', 'luttait' recalls the description of Satan. Moreover, the personification of the sun ('Ses crevasses montraient encore un peu de feu, / Comme si par les trous du crâne on eût vu l'âme') together with the parallels

drawn between the archangel and the dying star (‘L’astre était presque noir. L’archange était si las’; ‘Il reploya ses ailes aux ongles de granit / Et se tordit les bras. Et l’astre s’éteignit.’) clearly brings them together.

Milner goes further by asserting that ‘la disparition des soleils ne rappelle pas seulement sa faute à Satan. D’une certaine manière, elle *est* cette faute même […]’ (2007: 798). Satan’s fault is not to have been too prideful but rather to have caused the death of his own light, of his own celestial part. Thus, Satan would not be responsible for the appearance of evil but rather for the extinction of the means to fight darkness. Moreover, even when Satan tries to keep the sun alive, he dooms himself even more as Paolo Tortonese notes : ‘l’effort de l’ange damné pour remonter vers le dernier soleil se renverse mystérieusement en nouvelle chute, jusqu’à l’image du soleil devenu “point rougeâtre au fond du gouffre obscur.”’ (2006: 177).

The physical appearance and Satan’s desperate attempt to keep the light are quite opposed. Hugo reverses the Romantic portrayal of the fallen angel: an evil agenda hidden by an angelic appearance. In *La Fin de Satan*, the monster conceals an angel in need of his luminous part. This opposition allows Hugo to really punish Satan before redeeming him. Indeed, if his angel appears as a contrite devil instead of a seductive archangel, and as a being in quest of forgiveness rather than justice, then it is morally accepted to grant him redemption. Nevertheless, Satan’s dual nature is also approached by Hugo as a Romantic topos, since it allows the poet to depict a suffering, melancholic and lonely creature. This conflicted nature is expressed in Satan’s direct speech, as the angel often contradicts himself.

7.1.3. The Doublespeak

Satan’s conflicted nature also takes shape in the way he expresses himself. Throughout the text, the angel alternates between discourses of hate and violence fueled by evil and jealousy, with declarations of love and requests for forgiveness.[74] The best example of this doublespeak can be found in the fifth and sixth stanzas of ‘Hors de la Terre III’.

In the fifth stanza, Satan expresses his desire for revenge : ‘Mais je me vengerai’; ‘Je défigurerai la face universelle.’ (1950: 901). This expression of brutality and hate appears after Satan’s realisation that every being is entitled to God’s forgiveness except for him. Of course, this realisation is not a general truth, but rather Satan’s reaction in the face of God’s lack of

[74] This structure can be found in Milton’s *Paradise Lost* and particularly in the apostrophe to the sun, in Book 4, as studied previously. It is interesting to note the progression between the two Satans: the first one is telling the sun how much he hates it, whilst the second one desperately tries to keep it alive. This difference can be seen as an evolution since Milton’s Satan is definitely more prideful than Hugo’s.

response to his pleas. Satan is jealous of humankind and of how God is generous to them. The fifth stanza of 'Hors de la Terre III' thus appears as Satan's profession of evil. Since he cannot be redeemed, then he will become God's adversary and humankind's worst enemy. As Zumthor explains, Satan, here, is 'le Maudit, celui dont Dieu détourne le regard et qui se venge, dans son impuissance, en sabotant la création' (2016: 176). Hugo's Satan threatens God ('Tremble, ô Dieu') but he also compares himself to him (1950: 901). By using parallels, Satan tries to prove that he is more powerful than God:

> Dieu passe dans le cœur des hommes, j'y séjourne.
> Sa roue avec un bruit sidéral roule et tourne,
> Mais c'est mon grain lugubre et sanglant qu'elle moud;
> Jéhovah reculant sent aujourd'hui partout
> Une création de Satan sous la sienne;
> Son feu ne peut briller sans que mon souffle vienne.
> Il est le char; je suis l'ornière. Nous croisons
> Nos forces; […]
> C'est Dieu qui fait le front, moi qui creuse la ride;
> Il est dans le prophète et moi dans les devins.
> […]
> Dieu bénit le meilleur, je sacre le plus fort;
> Dieu fait les radieux, je fais les sanguinaires. (902-3)

These lines assert the necessity of Satan's existence. God cannot exist if Satan does not allow it or contribute to the way of the world. Satan even goes further by saying that God takes a step back ('recul[e]') when facing him. Finally, he describes himself as an alternate God who favours material deeds over moral qualities: the best ('le meilleur') is the strongest ('le plus fort') and the blood-thirsty ('les sanguinaires') is better than the stunning ('les radieux').
Then, Satan crosses all the limits of hate by declaring that, through humankind's temptation and luring into evil, the apostate angel wants to kill God:

> Je veux dans ce qu'il fait tuer ce créateur,
> Je veux le torturer dans son œuvre,[…]
> Je veux qu'il se débatte, esprit, sous la matière;
> Qu'il saigne dans le juste assassiné; je veux
> Qu'il se torde, couvert de prêtres monstrueux,
> Qu'il pleure, bâillonné par les idolâtries; […]
> Son propre sang divin sur lui coule et l'inonde.
> Voyez, regardez, Cieux! L'échafaud, c'est le monde,
> Je suis le bourreau sombre, et j'exécute Dieu.
> Dieu mourra.[…] (903)

Until then, the Romantic Satans and Lucifers studied had expressed their hate, lack of understanding, contempt, and jealousy regarding God's action, his behaviour and what he embodies. Here, the reader encounters a blood-thirsty Satan of a rare violence. The use of words such as 'torturer', 'se débatte', 'se torde', 'pleure', 'bailloné' together with the image of a God drowning in his own blood, symbolises the evil of Satan. In these lines, the angel is gone and the devil has taken shape. Lucifer has turned into a dark executioner ('bourreau sombre'). This profession of evil ends on this sentence: 'Je suis le mal; je suis la nuit; je suis l'effroi', thus leaving no doubt regarding the nature of Hugo's Satan (903). The anaphora 'je suis' together with the ternary structure of the alexandrine underline that the evil-doer is clearly defining his identity. However, the following stanza tends to prove that this claimed identity is just a posture.

The opening line of the sixth stanza of 'Hors de la Terre III' is: 'Grâce! Pardonne-moi! Rappelle-moi! Prends-moi!' (903). This sentence addressed to God directly follows the profession of evil 'Je suis le mal; je suis la nuit; je suis l'effroi.' These lines are totally opposed since one expresses an inescapable evil, and the other one expresses a vital need of belonging and forgiveness. However, if these two lines are opposed, they do not contradict each other. It is because Satan feels this darkness inside him, 'threatening to devour [him]', to quote Milton's Satan, that he is urged to ask for help. Satan's propensity to evil is counterbalanced by his fear of it. He even tells God that evil needs to cease to exist: 'Ne sens-tu pas qu'il faut que toute chaîne / Se rompe, et que le mal finisse' (904). Bénichou remarks that the Satan of this stanza is 'un Diable priant Dieu […], et lui demandant pour grâce de ne plus exister en tant que Diable, mieux, lui démontrant que la majesté divine exclut qu'il y ait un Diable, immortel, comme Diable' (2004: 1395). Indeed, the apostate angel refuses to share the world with God as evil should not exist:

> Le monde gouverné par un double invisible!
> Y songez-vous, Seigneur; un partage entre nous!
> Non, vous êtes la face, et je suis les genoux.
> […]
> Toi seul vis. Devant toi tout doit avoir un âge.
> Et c'est pour ta splendeur un importun nuage
> Qu'on voie un spectre assis au fond de ton ciel bleu,
> Et l'éternel Satan devant l'éternel Dieu! (1950: 904)

In these lines, Satan does not define himself as an inevitable evil, as a force essential to the balance of the world, but rather as a shadow, an intruder, an obstacle to what truly matters: the domination of God and goodness.

Satan's conflicted nature stands out in these opposed speeches that follow one another. Hugo's character is fighting ('je lutte') against his nature and what the balance of the world requires him to be (904). This difference of discourse is an illustration of Hugo's theory of 'l'harmonie des contraires' as expressed in the preface of *Cromwell* (1827) (1972: 60). Good and evil act as 'deux principes opposés qui sont toujours en présence dans la vie' (60). In *La Fin de Satan*, the poet seems to illustrate this antithetical approach in the elaboration of his character. However, the contrary forces that inhabit Satan are not living in harmony. Satan thus becomes an example of what humankind should do to achieve the perfect balance. Indeed, as Milner explains, 'le mal, dans l'univers de Hugo, aime le bien, parce que le bien est ce qui lui manque pour accéder à la plénitude de l'être' (2007: 789). *La Fin de Satan*, therefore, aims at achieving this 'plénitude de l'être' through the redemption of the evil-doer. However, Hugo remains Romantic in trying to strip Satan of his responsibility in the existence of evil. If the conflicted nature of his character helps him in doing so, the materialisation of the principles of good and evil, together with the treatment of Satan's fall, allow him to go further.

7.2. Relieving Satan of His Responsibility

Although Satan is depicted as a devilish character, it seems that it does not define his true nature. In *La Fin de Satan*, Hugo uses Satan to illustrate his theory of contraries, but he does not blame the angel for the perpetration of evil. Relieving Satan of his responsibility regarding the existence of evil is enabled by Hugo's treatment of the fall as a rite of passage, and by how he materialises, and therefore exteriorises, Satan's evil and good sides.

7.2.1. The Fall and Blindness: A Rite of Passage

As Auguste Viatte notes 'le mal [in Hugo's epic] est transitoire […] au travers des souffrances et des tyrannies, l'humanité s'achemine vers [le] bien' (1942: 240-2). As stated previously, darkness is created through Satan's fall. The act of falling is an act of creation. However, if going through evil leads humankind to a better world, going through the fall is also a way for Satan to progress. Therefore, the fall is not only a punishment it is also an opportunity to grow.

The creation of darkness involves the loss of Satan's ability to see. The motif of the eye is predominant in Hugo's works, specifically the ones dealing with biblical myths. The ability

to see is linked to two main topics: the otherworldly vision granted to the poet and God. Hugo opens *La Légende des Siècles* with a poem called 'La Vision d'où est sorti ce livre' in which the poet, immersed in darkness, gradually opens his eyes to a world of inspiration. The third poem, 'La conscience', retells how Cain is trying to flee from God and his own conscience appearing in the guise of an eye: 'Il vit un oeil, tout grand ouvert dans les ténèbres, / Et qui le regardait dans l'ombre fixement' (1950: 25). The association of the eye and of the vision, with darkness can be found throughout *La Fin de Satan*. Thus, the suns are compared to 'trois prunelles', God is depicted as 'l'oeil prodigieux', the angel Liberty has 'Le regard de la foudre avec l'oeil de l'aurore', etc (768; 809). The eye is clearly associated with celestial beings or stars. To see is to be a part of the realm of light. Satan himself says that he used to be: 'la prunelle de feu de l'azur rayonnant' (890). But since his fall, Satan can no longer see. This blindness ('cécité'), as Hugo calls it, starts with Satan closing his lids when the suns are still alive (890; 768). Then, Satan loses his sight: 'Je ne vois rien, étant maudit'; 'Oh! Je crie éperdu vers ces choses divines / Que je ne vois plus' (889; 906).[75] However, if he cannot see anymore, he can look:

> […] Ma peine
> C'est d'être là, toujours debout; d'être une haine
> Eternelle, guettant dans l'ombre affreusement;
> Et c'est de regarder sans cesse fixement
> Les escarpements noirs du mystère insondable. (907)

This fixed look is the embodiment of Satan's helplessness. It is another struggle that he has to face. In *Littérature et philosophie mêlées*, Hugo writes:

> Pour que la muse se révèle [au poète], il faut qu'il ait en quelque sorte dépouillé toute son existence matérielle dans le calme, dans le silence et dans le recueillement. Il faut qu'il se soit isolé de la vie extérieure pour jouir avec plénitude de cette vie intérieure qui développe en lui comme un être nouveau, et ce n'est que lorsque le monde physique a tout à fait disparu à ses yeux, que le monde idéal peut lui être manifesté. (1985: 163)

In these lines Hugo is talking about the poet, but the same idea could be applied to Satan. God's punishment, the fall, may actually be a way for Satan to finally deserve his celestial status. In the traditional myth, Lucifer falls because he thinks that he can take God's place. By blinding him and forcing him to go through darkness, and so, introspection, God may be helping Satan

[75] Eloa, in Vigny's poem, was also not able to see God's realm once fallen. The cecity as a celestial punishment can thus be defined as a Romantic topos.

to be reborn as a true celestial being, one that is capable of seeing. As, Tortonese writes, 'le mouvement de cette ouverture se produit toujours par un enfoncement, l'apparition d'une cavité, l'élargissement d'un puits' (2006: 172). Here, the idea of subsiding is embodied by the fall, and the cavity is the abyss. Satan's fall and privation of sight thus act as a rite of passage. This means that Satan is not really responsible for evil but rather that going through evil is necessary for him to be reborn. And so, Satan is not the evil-doer anymore.

7.2.2. The Materialisation of Satan's Propensity to Evil and Good: Isis-Lilith and the Angel Liberté.

a. Isis-Lilith: The Evil-Doer

> Lilith en hébreu, signifie *la nuit.* […] Victor Hugo ne conserve de cette tradition que la filiation diabolique (qu'il précise en se souvenant sans doute de l'épisode de la Mort et du Péché au second chant du *Paradis perdu*), le mariage avec Adam, et la soif de sang de la '*goule*'. (Milner 2007: 802-3)

Isis-Lilith[76] appears in the last published part of *La Fin de Satan*: 'L'Ange Liberté'. She is not really described at first. The word 'goule' is used, but her first impression is made through her words (1950: 919). She calls Satan her father and tells him all the evil she has been doing on earth (919). She even presents herself as Satan's executioner : '"Toi, souffle la fureur aux hommes malheureux, / Et moi je secouerai le suaire sur eux"' (919-20). She is later described as a spectre, a ghost, horrendous ('épouvantable'), and pale, words that have been previously used to describe Satan (922). The resemblance of the father and the daughter underlines the fact that she is not a mere creation of the fallen angel, but rather a part of him. Rudwin writes that Satan :

> reste inactif et s'en remet aux services de sa fille Lilith-Isis. C'est elle qui le remplace à l'œuvre de vengeance dirigée contre la création de son vainqueur. C'est elle qui séduit les hommes et les excite aux crimes; c'est elle encore qui prépare le triomphe du mal sur terre. Satan lui-même ne fait que souffrir et gémir. (1926: 105)

[76] As Bénichou explains, the addition of the name 'Isis' to Lilith is a reference to the fact that Isis is the 'déesse du mystère et de l'interdiction de connaître' (2004: 1391). According to Victor Hugo, 'le mal c'est l'ignorance' (Zumthor 2016: 172). Thus, Isis becomes an embodiment of evil. The association of this name, belonging to another mythology, associated to evil, can also be regarded as a criticism of paganism and syncretism, which was used by some Romantics, such as Gérard de Nerval, for example.

Isis-Lilith thus appears as Satan's evil part. Whilst the archangel remains in hell suffering and desperate for redemption, Lilith roams the earth and spreads evil whenever and wherever she can. She represents the 'Mal actif' as Bénichou explains (2004: 1391). By creating such a character, Hugo removes the evilness from Satan, thus releasing him from his responsibility of evil-doer. Evil takes the shape of Isis-Lilith and this materialisation opens the door to redemption to Satan.

b. The Angel Liberté: The Mediator

When Satan falls, a feather of his former angelic wings remains on the edge of the gulf. An angel[77] asks God what to do with the feather and God answers 'Ne jetez pas ce qui n'est pas tombé' (1950: 773). The feather is then transformed by God into Liberté, a female angel. This narrative recalls the birth of Vigny's Eloa. However, Eloa is not the angel of freedom but rather the consoler. Eloa's purpose is to make Satan whole again, as seen in the previous chapter, Liberté's purpose is to destroy the embodiment of oppression, the Bastille, and thus, to free her father from his self-made prison.

She is described as fallen brightness ('de la clarté tombée') when she is still a feather (808). Then, she is described as the sister of hell and heaven ('soeur de l'enfer et du paradis)', 'si fière et si pure à la fois', and with 'le regard de la foudre avec l'œil de l'aurore' (809). Liberté therefore appears as an ambivalent being who bears within her the arrogance of her father, Satan, and the mightiness of her creator, God. As Charles Baudoin notes 'On sait que les symboles religieux de la rédemption comportent un personnage important qui est celui du *médiateur*' (2008: 235). Liberté, just like Eloa before her, acts as a mediator. However, two things distinguish her from Vigny's angel. The first one is that, unlike Eloa, Liberté 's'avance dans l'enfer investie d'une mission divine' (Milner 2007: 281). She is not trespassing in hell, she is not going against heaven's wishes, she was granted the authorisation to speak to Satan: 'Dieu permet que je parle à celui qui fut grand', she says (1950: 913). The other thing that sets her aside from the consoler, is the fact that God himself sees her as the bridge that will allow him to be reunited with Satan. Indeed, in what Hugo intended to be the last part of the poem, God says to Satan: 'un ange est entre nous […] / Viens, l'ange Liberté c'est ta fille et la mienne.

[77] This angel is described as: 'l'ange au front de qui l'aube éblouissante naît' (1950: 773) and thus could be Uriel since Milton uses this archangel in *Paradise Lost* and describes him as 'Regent of the Sun' (3.690). This theory is enhanced by the fact there is an 'archange du soleil' asking God what will be the female angel's name (1950: 809).

Cette paternité sublime nous unit' (940). Thus, Victor Hugo gives Liberté the power to redeem Satan. He even makes her the materialisation of Satan's propensity to goodness.

As, Bénichou remarks, Liberté 'établit une filiation directe, et pour ainsi dire essentielle, entre le Péché et le Rachat' (2004: 1395). Liberté is the one who destroys Isis-Lilith, her sister and doppelganger, in hell. She is also the one whose mere presence soothes Satan and allows him to sleep. Finally, she is the one who obtains Satan's permission to destroy the Bastille and thus evil on earth. All of these actions pave the way for Satan's redemption. By being, literally, a part of Satan, Liberté underlines the fact that, in a way, Satan is responsible for his redemption and for the end of evil on earth. Victor Hugo does not only create a mediator, he creates a way for Satan to discard his responsibility in the existence of evil. The analogy between the end of evil and the French Revolution also helps Hugo to lighten Satan's role as the evil-doer.

7.2.3. 'La Prise de la Bastille' and the End of Evil: A Political Choice?

The Angel Liberté is not sent to hell to redeem Satan. She is sent to hell to obtain Satan's permission to end evil on earth. This evil is materialised by a French prison: the Bastille. The Bastille was a fort firstly built to protect Paris and its citizens during the fourteenth century. Although it had already been used as a prison on a few occasions, it only became a state prison under the reign of Louis XIII and his minister the cardinal of Richelieu, in the seventeenth century. From this moment on, the Bastille became the symbol of the monarchy's arbitrary power.[78] The storming of the Bastille, on 14 July 1789, is regarded as the starting point of the French Revolution (Quétel 2006). According to Hugo's mythology, the Bastille was built with the stone used by Cain to kill his brother Abel. Its storming and destruction were supposed to be the object of *La Fin de Satan*'s penultimate chapter, 'La Prison', and the trigger for Satan's redemption.

Victor Hugo was born in 1802 which means that he did not actually live under the French Revolution (1789-1799). However, the impact of the French Revolution upon the French society remained strongly present throughout the nineteenth century, as different governments came one after another. It is, therefore, not surprising that Hugo chose such an important event to symbolise the end of evil. Moreover, Hugo was a poet but also a politician. He went throug many phases in his political engagement. Thus, in a letter to Alphonse Karr, he writes in 1869: 'En 1848, je n'étais que libéral; c'est en 1849 que je suis devenu républicain'

[78] Although it was not the case anymore during Louis XVI's reign. The fortress was supposed to be destroyed since it was not cost efficient enough. When the Bastille was destroyed, in 1789, there were only seven people imprisoned in it.

(*Actes et paroles* 2014). Hugo starts writing *La Fin de Satan* in 1854. He is a republican, a true child of the French Revolution. The storming of the Bastille ended monarchy but it also acted as the rebirth of liberty in France. Indeed, the prison is the embodiment of the privation of freedom and its destruction announces its return. It is clear from Hugo's angel's name, Liberté, that freedom is essential for the poet. Hence, it is important to remember that Hugo fled France and was forced to live on an island when he wrote *La Fin de Satan*. His exile was triggered by Napoleon III's coup in 1851. Indeed, Napoelon III, who was the French republican president at the time, seized the parliament with the help of the army and ended the republic to establish a new empire, as his uncle did fifty years before that (Berstein and Milza 1996: 360-64). Thus, the emphasis put on the French Revolution and the storming of the Bastille could be Hugo's way of pushing the people to reenact such an event. Nevertheless, Satan's place in this political scheme remains unclear.

As has been stated, the storming of the Bastille is a major symbol and linking it to the end of evil makes sense in nineteenth-century France. Moreover, Satan had already been used as a political pawn. Indeed, in *The Vision of Judgment*, Michael explained to the fallen angel that his destitution served a political agenda: God needed an opposer and a father of evil. It is not possible to affirm that Byron was speaking through Michael's lips. Nevertheless, it may be argued that Southey forced the role of Satanic author, and thus, evil being, on Byron because it served his own political agenda. Therefore, Byron would have identified with his Satan. In this way, Hugo could use Satan to project his own political wishes. Thus, Satan, resembling Blake's old king in *The French Revolution*, finally comes back to reason and allows a part of him – his angel daughter Liberté – to enable the advent of freedom in France and on earth. Hugo would not identify with his Satan. On the contrary, his Satan would be the embodiment of all the arbitrary rulers of France, including Napoleon III. However, unlike all these rulers, Satan would have finally awakened from an enlightening sleep to come back to reason and end himself evil on earth. Indeed, until then, these arbitrary rulers had suffered the loss of their power. The decision to enable the rebirth of freedom was not coming from them but from the people. In Satan's case, the fallen angel consciously grants his daughter permission to end evil on earth. He is the co-creator of freedom, since Liberté was born from one of his fathers, and he actually takes part in the advent of good in the universe. This can mean that, unlike the arbitrary rules, Satan is capable of doing good deeds, and thus, that he is not totally evil. As a result, he can finally achieve redemption.

7.3. Victor Hugo's Satan: The Redeemed One

7.3.1. A Romantic Character

Victor Hugo's *La Fin de Satan* is the last major French epic dealing with the myth of the fallen angel. Hugo's Satan is, therefore, a creature that is influenced by the other Lucifers and Satans preceding him. Throughout this chapter, parallels have often been drawn between Hugo's angel and the other angels studied in this thesis. This part intends to summarise this intertextuality.

As quoted earlier, Rudwin explains that 'Malgré son admiration pour Milton, Victor Hugo, semble-t-il, n'a pas essayé de l'imiter dans son œuvre' (1926: 12). I slightly disagree with this idea. Hugo's Satan may not be as magnificent as Milton's angel, but the French poet does use the epic's Satan as a starting point. Thus, the emphasis on Satan's gigantic stature ('son front démesuré', 'son ombre emplissait l'infini', 'je suis grand', 'le colosse') recalls the tower simile used in Milton. This importance given to the size of Satan is not really used by other Romantic authors and, therefore, is quite Miltonic. Moreover, the English poet's 'Archangel ruined' opens the door to Satan's metamorphosis in *La Fin de Satan*. Until then, the Romantics had emphasised the fallen angel's beauty. Their creatures sometimes bore the marks of the fall, like Byron's Lucifer, but none had truly elaborated on the crippled, scared being that Milton described.

There is no clear evidence of William Blake's influence on Victor Hugo's work. However, there are some uncanny similarities between both authors. The first intertextual element can be found in Blake's and Hugo's interest in opposites. In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake had written 'Without Contraries [sic] is no progression. Attraction and Repulsion, Reason and Energy, Love and Hate, are necessary to Human existence' (1980: 58). Years later, Hugo praises 'l'harmonie des contraires' in the preface of *Cromwell* (1972: 60). The French poet explores it through his use of antitheses. This dynamic of opposites defines his Satan who always oscillates between his attraction to evil and his celestial nature. The second similarity intertwining Blake's and Hugo's worlds can be found in Blake's 'Proverbs of Hell'. Indeed, the British poet writes: 'Prisons are built with stones of Law' (1980: 162). In *La Fin de Satan,* Hugo transforms the stone that Cain used to murder his brother Abel into the French prison La Bastille, symbol of the arbitrary laws established by the monarchy. Once again, the resemblance between both authors is uncanny. Finally, although less evident, another topos bounds the British and French poets: their mythologies surrounding Satan. Blake's mythology

is based on four entities: Urizen, embodying reason; Los, embodying imagination and poetic genius; Luvah or Orc, embodying love; and Tharmas, embodying the corporeal prison. These four characters and what they embody are to be found in Hugo's own mythology. Thus, Satan, in his evil form, resembles Urizen; God can be likened to Los; Liberty and her humanitarian values looks like Luvah; and Tharmas appears in the guise of Isis-Lilith. Hugo kept a list of authors he esteemed and Blake is not to be found in it. However, the aforementioned similarities tend to demonstrate that there was, at least, an indirect influence of the British poet on Hugo.[79]

Regarding Chateaubriand's Satan in *Les Martyrs*, he is the only Romantic character I have studied who is presented as the devil and who carries out his evil responsibilities. Therefore, Hugo may have borrowed this idea to the author he was regarding as a mentor and as the father of Romanticism, as he explained in *La Muse française* in 1824. Moreover, Hugo had a copy of *Les Martyrs* in his library at Hauteville-House (Cassier 2014). This means that he had read it and had easy access to it whilst he was writing *La Fin de Satan*.

Rudwin explains that 'Victor Hugo doit un peu à Byron dans ses drames. Sa *Fin de Satan* se rattache aux épopées surnaturelles dont la mode a été importée en France par Milton et Byron' (1926: 23). If Rudwin forgot to mention Chateaubriand's determining importance in the renewal of the 'surnatural' epic in France, he does make an important point: Byron was a source of inspiration for Hugo. As mentioned earlier, the French poet has paid a tribute to the British author in his eulogy published in *La Muse française* (1824) and has appointed him as the father of dark Romanticism in France. This influence can be seen in Hugo's Satan. Just like Lucifer, Satan is revolted and is inscribed in the history of evil. Indeed, Byron's character, as the witness and defender of the first crime, does play a part in the existence of evil. It is also interesting to note that Hugo makes his Satan the father of Cain, since Cain is supposed to be born from Satan's cry: 'Mort!' (1950: 767). If Byron's Lucifer is not directly presented as Cain's father, he is his mentor. Hence, Hugo draws on Byron's first idea to push it further.

Finally, the influence of Vigny and of his Satan can also be seen in *La Fin de Satan*. As stated previously, Vigny and Hugo were good friends and Hugo witnessed the creation of *Eloa ou la soeur des anges*. The most obvious factor is, of course, the female angel Liberté who contributes to Satan's redemption. She resembles Eloa in many ways, from her creation to the role she is supposed to fulfil. However, Hugo pushes Vigny's idea further by making his angel successful. In *Eloa ou la soeur des anges*, the impulse for redemption that Eloa was embodying is totally exterior to Satan, since the angel originates from a tear shed by Christ; in *La Fin de*

[79] It is also interesting to note that both Blake and Hugo were writers and visual artists.

Satan, Liberté originates from Satan himself. Thus, the movement of redemption motivated by Liberté is exterior and interior at the same time. Nevertheless, Hugo may have not been able to redeem Satan if Vigny had not paved the way for it before him.

Hugo therefore draws on Milton's character and all the Romantic ones in order to create his fallen angel and to bring him further. In many ways, Hugo's Satan can be seen as the achievement of the Romantic interest for the myth of the fallen angel. He marks the end of a cycle. But in order for this to be possible, Hugo had to depart from the Luciferian Romantic predecessors. The major change between his Satan and the others is his relationship with God.

7.3.2. Hugo's God: The Key to Redemption

The main difference between God in *La Fin de Satan* and God in texts such as *Cain* or *Eloa ou la soeur des anges* is that God is actually present in the text and that he acts for Satan's redemption. The first encounter with God is in the first lines, when God dooms Satan. This appearance resembles how God appeared in *Paradise Lost*: as a distant divinity. However, the Almighty quickly changes. Thus, when the angel asks God what he should do with the feather, God answers, which is, in itself, a major difference in comparison to the other texts studied, and he agrees to save the remaining part of Lucifer, knowing that it will be Satan's release. He also lets Liberté go to hell in order to save both humankind and the fallen angel. These actions contribute to creating an image of God as a benevolent being.

Nevertheless, when Satan speaks directly to God, he is met with absence and silence. This could be linked to the fact that Hugo's attitude towards God is quite ambivalent:

> Qu'est-ce que donc que Dieu? Le poète hésite à le définir.
> Il croit en lui, et il le croit bon. Toute son œuvre postule cette bonté. Elle n'aurait aucun sens s'il admettait un instant, comme Vigny, la possibilité d'un Créateur impitoyable. Son angoisse tient seulement à ses efforts pour concilier la bonté divine avec l'existence du Mal. (Viatte 1942: 226)

Victor Hugo's main issue with the Christian deity is what led the Church Fathers to create Satan: the existence of evil. However, Hugo does not follow the Church Fathers since he does not make Satan responsible for the existence of evil, as seen previously. He explains in his *Préface philosophique* that 'Le mal, n'étant qu'incompréhensible, ne prouve rien contre Dieu […]. Si je pouvais expliquer le mal, je pourrais expliquer Dieu; si je pouvais expliquer Dieu, je serais Dieu' (2020: 204). Evil is a divine creation necessary to the balance of the world and to the elevation of human beings: the famous 'harmonie des contraires'. The absence of answers

to Satan's declaration of love and to his pleas can thus be interpreted as God's way of helping Satan. By letting him dwell in darkness, he pushes him to fight and to open himself to a new kind of vision. The method is slightly brutal. As Bénichou writes: 'Ce Dieu enseigne, avec sa propre immensité, l'amour, la vanité des préjugés et des traditions étroites; leçons certaines, mais mystère au-delà, et angoisse autant que foi, ténèbres autant que signification' (2004: 1280). In this case, it could then be argued that God is Satan's necessary evil since he makes him gaze into his own abyss. In *Dieu*, the third part of the epic saga, Hugo calls God 'l'horreur sacrée' and writes 'Ce qu'on nomme le mal est peut-être le bien', thus supporting this theory (1950: 1000; 1011).

The relationship that both celestial divinities share is confusing. In other texts, God was often perceived as Satan's father. The rebellion against God acted as an emancipation from the power of an omnipresent parent. Thus, in *Paradise Lost,* Satan rebels against his father, because he does not accept being demoted from his functions by God and his favourite son, Christ. In this narrative, Satan appears as a scorned son. Byron draws on this idea in his text, *Cain*. Hence, Cain does what Lucifer could not do: he kills the favourite brother. In this way, Lucifer's siding with Cain can be perceived as an act of rebellion against his own father, God. In *Eloa ou la soeur des anges*, Eloa is clearly God's daughter, since the reader witnesses her creation. Vigny's female angel identifies as Satan's sister. In this way, Satan's temptation of his own sister is an act of rebellion against their father, God. Eloa's actions can also be perceived as an act of emancipation from an omnipresent parent.[80]

Hugo's Satan also identifies as God's son. Thus, throughout the text, he defines the deity as a 'père lumineux' and as a 'pasteur, roi, père, maître et juge' (1950: 891, 910). These identifications inform the reader that Satan's representation of God conforms to the classical patriarchal image of the Christian divinity. It also shows that when Satan speaks of God as his father, he does not identify him with the 'savage God', to quote Patrick McGee, he rebelled against (2016: 107). On the contrary, God, as a father figure, is luminous, and so, essentially good. Nevertheless, this father figure remains absent, as he was too in Byron's and Vigny's poems. Indeed, in *La Fin de Satan*, the fallen angel claims that he is 'le fils sans père' (1950: 938). This absence can be perceived as a rite of passage, as explained in the following paragraph. However, it can also be explained by the fact that God does not identify as Satan's father. In what should have been the end of *La Fin de Satan,* God talks to the fallen angel and tells him that the angel Liberté is Satan's daughter – since she is born from one of his feathers

[80] Vigny also depicts Eloa as God's bride; however, this image is not extended to Satan. The fallen angel can only be perceived as God's son in the poem.

- but also his own daughter – since the deity transformed the feather into an angel: 'Viens, l'ange Liberté c'est ta fille et la mienne' (940). He then adds: 'Cette paternité sublime nous unit' (940). Thus, according to God, Satan is not his son, but his mate. This co-parenting is a key element to Satan's redemption. Indeed, according to God, Satan owes his deliverance to the angel Liberté: 'Un ange est entre nous, ce qu'elle a fait te compte' (940). Thus, by changing his status from son to co-parent, Satan has raised himself to God's height. Both divinities have merged their powers to create the embodiment of freedom. Hugo has moved the dynamic of power from a vertical point of view, to a horizontal one. In the end, there is no hierarchy but unity. However, this new dynamic of power is achieved in the very last lines of the poem. Up until then, Satan was facing an ambivalent God.

God's ambivalence lies in the fact that he is mostly absent in the text. He does provide exterior help to Satan but refuses to talk with him and thus to soothe his pains. He acts as Satan's own devil, exposing him to his own propensity to evil. Satan has to go through his torments alone, in order to grow. The fallen angel even identifies hell with his loneliness: 'L'enfer, c'est l'absence éternelle' (1950: 890).[81] God's absence thus acts as a rite of passage. However, in what was intended to be the end of the text, God finally speaks to Satan. Thus, when the apostate angel says 'L'amour me hait', God answers 'Non, je ne te hais pas' (940). God's first words to Satan are not a declaration of love, but at least a denial of any kind of hate towards Satan. Once again, God is ambivalent. The last words he pronounces enable Satan's redemption:

> L'archange ressuscite et le démon finit,
> Et j'efface la nuit infâme, et rien n'en reste;
> Satan est mort, renais, ô Lucifer céleste,
> Remonte hors de l'ombre avec l'aurore au front! (940)

Thus, God ends evil. This means that he had the power to do so from the beginning but that he was waiting for Satan to act in a good way. Indeed, in the text Satan uses words to declare his love to God but his actions are spreading evil. As Bénichou explains: 'Celui qui crie inlassablement qu'il aime Dieu n'est-il pas déjà racheté? Apparemment non; il faut en outre un acte de sa volonté' (2004: 1395). Satan's 'Va!' addressed to Liberté triggers his redemption and allows him to hear God's Verb again.

The last lines of the poem were supposed to be: 'Quoi! rien n'est à l'abri de ta clémence! rien! / Pas même moi!' (1950: 1280). The word 'clémence' is used to define God in *La Fin de*

[81] The theme of absence is recurring in Victor Hugo's works. Thus, Fiona Cox analyses how Hugo explores his own inevitable absence from the world in the poem 'Le Rouet d'Omphale' (2007: 526-36).

Satan, *La Légende des siècles*, and *Dieu*. It is defined as a 'Vertu qui, chez une personne puissante, consiste à pardonner les offenses, et à adoucir les châtiments' (Littré). It thus implies both power and mercy, two qualities attached to Hugo's representation of the Christian divinity. The fact that Hugo's God is a God of mercy is clearly at odds with the God depicted by the Romantics studied. He is not absent or malevolent. Hugo's God is what Eloa failed to be, a being of pity and kindness. It is thanks to this God that pushes Satan to explore his darkness, that the fallen angel, after a cycle that lasted more than fifty years, is finally redeemed.

Hugo's Satan is a Romantic fallen angel in many ways: he is conflicted, human-like, magnificent, eerie, suffering. Maximilien Rudwin sees him as a lesser version of Milton's Satan (1926: 12); Max Milner thinks that 'Victor Hugo, dans la représentation matérielle de Satan, surpasse ses prédécesseurs' (2007: 822). These opinions are quite personal but the fact that they diverge proves something: Victor Hugo's Satan is one of his kind. Mostly, because he is the only one to achieve redemption, but also because he is the only apparent monster. When monstrosity was suggested and denied at the same time by authors such as Byron and Vigny, Hugo first embraces it and then discards it as something not important, not relevant. Satan's monstrosity does not define him, it only comes as the visual representation of the darkness that inhabits him. What is important for Hugo is that his Satan fights for light, compared to the other ones. Lucifer and Satan in *Cain* and *Eloa* deny or, at least, reject the hell within themselves, to quote Milton. This attitude made possible by the fact that they still look like angels. Their darkness does not take shape, and so, they avoid to face it, which, according to Hugo, is the way to achieve redemption.

It is because of his daring physical representation of Satan that Hugo can question the notion of evil and, in a way, link it to God himself. The poet's representation of God is tainted with horror, fear, mercy, and benevolence. The complexity of the creator of all things, allows Satan to explore his own complexity and to develop his other-worldly vision. The fact that the angel Liberté, Satan's daughter and God's mediator, is a part of Satan and not an exterior celestial being, as Eloa was, also acts as an opportunity for Satan to redeem himself.

In conclusion, Victor Hugo's fallen angel has to lose his angelic nature in order to regain it when the other Romantic Satans were attached to it. This loss of his celestial nature allows Satan to be redeemed and Hugo to finally put an end to a common myth that has been woven during the first part of the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

'Et l'Olympe, un instant, chancela vers l'abîme' (2005: 38). This line by Gérard de Nerval, from 'Le Christ aux Oliviers' (1854), a poem retelling Christ's last night before crucifixion, aptly characterises the Romantic Satan. Lucifer's fall and subsequent quest for a new identity constitute this instant of 'teetering' (*chancellement*) – the very moment when the angel forgets his nature and succumbs to the call of the abyss. However, this hesitation is rendered possible by the lack of any kind of response from God. Indeed, throughout the texts studied, God's absence becomes an unbearable weight for Satan. The fallen angel seems only to need his father to extend a hand in order to escape the abyss. Vigny captures this filial need and its impact on his character. When Satan expresses remorse and pain, he is met by a scared Eloa who does not seize this opportunity to help him:

> Si la céleste main qu'elle eût osé lui tendre
> L'eût saisi repentant, docile à remonter…
> Qui sait? le mal peut-être eût cessé d'exister. (1973: 44, 692-4)

Instead of responding to the fallen angel's words, Eloa tries to leave, and this action incites Satan to resume his seduction. The palpable absence becomes a new reason for Satan further to explore the hell within himself and the role of evil-doer that has been imposed on him. Nevertheless, if God's absence can be perceived as a punishment in the first texts, constituting what seems to be a complex intertextual Romantic narrative, it becomes necessary in the light of the last text studied. Hugo brings back God, and with him, a reason for his absence: Satan had to be alone in order really to find his identity, but also truly to understand the nature and impact of his actions. Redemption comes at a price and finding one's identity, exploring one's darkest emotions, is a journey. But were all the Romantic writers studied in the previous chapters aware of such lessons?

Throughout this thesis, I explored the fallen angel's appeal to the Romantics. The first authors studied, Blake and Chateaubriand, witnessed the end of a century and the political upheaval that characterised it, namely, the American War of Independence and the French Revolution. Both these revolutions were driven by a desire for freedom, change, and the end of absolute monarchy. In this context, a creature that rebelled against the established order and the

very epitome of the absolute patriarchal ruler, God, seemed to be an apt tool for exploring the prevailing tensions of the era. Nevertheless, Chateaubriand's Catholic faith limited him in his exploration of the myth of the fallen angel. His Satan foreshadows Vigny's and Hugo's characters when 'Un mouvement de pitié saisit [son] cœur' (1969: 234). Yet Chateaubriand's fallen angel remains 'une force mauvaise, rendue plus vive par l'ironie cruelle dont fait preuve Satan à l'égard des autres damnés' – in other words, a rather conventional devil (Gillet 1975: 583). Blake was less traditional than Chateaubriand in his approach to religion. Although Christian, the British author departed from religious conventions to create his own private mythology. At first, Satan incarnates the positive principle of self-development whilst the traditional God is associated with the negative principle of selfhood. However, Blake gradually comes to prefer the figure of Christ to Satan. In his last texts, Satan becomes an evil being, associated with the serpent. Just like Chateaubriand, Blake fails to depart from the traditional representation of the devil. The authors' cultures, social backgrounds, and own faiths, then, shaped their respective portrayals of rather Manichean fallen angels.

Byron's Lucifer follows another trajectory. Frequently described by his contemporaries as Satanic and scandalous, and, later, as the father of a darker Romanticism, Byron uses his play to grapple with the many attacks on his reputation. His exploration of the fallen angel departs from the political context to engage with a more private sphere. Lucifer presents himself to Cain as the solver of an identity crisis which resonates with Byron's own. Although fallen, Byron's character is named Lucifer. This choice reveals Lucifer's dividedness. He is an angel but fallen and his mission in the text is to act as God's adversary. The Hebrew word for adversary is 'satan', yet Byron's angel is not referred to as such. Lucifer's actions – tempting Cain to murder his brother - and his desire to remain celestial are irreconcilable. Similarly, Cain's actions – the murder of his brother, Abel – are irreconcilable with his unwillingness to submit to death. This split of the self results in Lucifer asking Cain: 'What am I?' (2.2. 309, 916). Yet, Cain seems to overcome his own split self as he embraces a path of redemption at the end of the play. Lucifer was probably not expecting that: the student has exceeded his master. The fallen angel remains alone and lost. His propensity to evil is dimmed by his own struggles to understand what he has become. In this way, Byron's character, although devil-like in his actions, appears as a non-Manichean character.

Vigny, in what could be perceived, at first glance, as an imitation of Byron, also chooses to explore the myth of the fallen angel in a manner that suggests a search for catharsis. However, if Byron was suggesting to his audience that he was not, in fact, an avatar of the devil, Vigny feared the reactions of his audience after the publication of Eloa: 'Je viens de faire des

vers damnés, et je vous écris sur leur poitrine. […] ils me font craindre l'excommunication […]. Je vais noircir un peu la fin pour me sauver' (1989: 116). Vigny's apprehension is rooted in his Catholicism. The absence of God is perhaps most palpable in his text, echoing Vigny's own questions regarding the almighty's existence. *Eloa* could be perceived as a traditional devil story since it revolves around temptation. Nevertheless, the poem appears as the central pivot of the common Romantic narrative. While Byron's fallen angel was named Lucifer, Vigny's remains nameless until the very end of the poem. It is only through his temptation of Eloa that he acquires his identity and the name Satan. Thus, the French poet does not write a traditional temptation story but rather describes the torments and dilemmas of a being in need of help. Vigny's Satan is flawed and fails to achieve redemption, yet he also appears as approachable and endearing.

Finally, Hugo continues where Vigny stopped and takes his character further on his path towards redemption. Satan becomes a monstrous being, the embodiment of evil and despair. However, this transformation is necessary since Hugo's fallen angel finally puts an end to the explorations of the self by achieving redemption. Hugo's rendering of the fallen angel is less individualistic than Vigny's and Byron's. He links Satan's redemption to the beginning of the French Revolution and thus returns to what triggered Blake's and Chateaubriand's interest in the myth. However, if the French Revolution constituted a starting point for the aforementioned authors, it becomes a point of completion in Hugo's mythology. In his text, the French Revolution is made possible because Satan has decided to let it happen since the angel Liberté needed his approval to launch the storming of the Bastille. Satan's fateful 'Va!' thus acts as the starting point of the French Revolution (1950: 932). Moreover, freedom is not the consequence of the revolution but rather a pre-existing condition created by the fallen angel himself as Liberté is his daughter. The ambivalent nature of Satan crystallises Hugo's refusal of Manichean beings by nature. Other characters such as Jean Valjean in *Les Misérables* (1862) or the narrator of *Le Dernier jour d'un condamné* (1829) also support such a vision. Good and evil are the results of choice rather than being predetermined by nature. Satan's redemption happens because Liberté asks Satan to let her start the French Revolution and he chooses to say yes.

Many common points can be found in the Romantics' representations of Satan. The fallen angel is proud, never actually showing how he suffers for his actions and how he regrets them to his counterpart. He is complex, never just entirely good or evil; charismatic, whether he is described as a beautiful archangel or as a beast; and seductive – for whether it be men, women, or his own daughters, Satan exerts power over them. He is in pain, whether he shows

it by being sarcastic, cynical, by crying, or through the transformation of his body. He is on a quest for a new post-lapsarian identity, which is externalised in his changing name. Finally, he has an ambivalent and difficult relationship with God, his creator. These are some of the core parameters that define the Romantic fallen angel.

Nevertheless, differences remain. Representations of Satan's physical appearance vary; he does not always respond to pain in the same way; and he bears two different names, and sometimes none. Furthermore, his attempts at seduction are not always successful. He does not dwell in the same places as he is represented on earth, in heaven, hell, and in chaos. Finally, he only achieves redemption in one of the texts. In addition, the fallen angel became such a potent and ubiquitous Romantic figure because his literary story contains archetypal elements. The story of his fall does not just chart the (albeit failed) attempt of a son seeking to usurp the place of the father, but can also be read as a cautionary tale that illustrates the dangers, and also the awards, of individuation, pride, hubris, and rebellion against the existing order of things.

British Romanticism waned in the 1830s as the coronation of Queen Victoria (1837) acted as the starting point of a new era. The narrative of social and scientific progress that blossomed in the wake of the Industrial Revolution, the rise of scientific specialisation, and the growing faith in scientific methods and approaches as the pillars of the only legitimate worldview shifted not just social but also literary dynamics. After fifty years of introspection, many writers went back to analysing and representing society, its evolution, and its downfalls. Literary movements such as Realism and Naturalism depicted the everyday life of factory workers and the emergence of the working class (Regard 2009: 97-9). Authors such as Charles Dickens and William Thackeray in England and Honoré de Balzac and Emile Zola in France broke with the myths and symbols that populated Romantic poetry in order to analyse social questions and the consequences of scientific progress. In France, Romanticism had started later, circa 1800, and ended in the 1850s, with the advent of the Second Empire (1851-1870). The defeat against Prussia in 1871 and the subsequent end of the Second Empire challenged French national identity as the country experienced its eighth political regime of the century (Berstein and Milza 1996). The fin-de-siècle decades saw the advent of Symbolism and Decadence. Such movements reacted against a utilitarian century and started to advocate for an 'art for art' philosophy.

Charles Baudelaire drew on Théophile Gautier's theories to establish art, and more specifically, poetry, as self-sufficient: 'La poésie ne peut pas, sous peine de mort ou de défaillance, s'assimiler à la science ou à la morale; elle n'a pas la Vérité pour objet, elle n'a

qu'Elle-même' (1875: XX). By getting rid of science and morality, poetry becomes a medium of exploration of the divided self. With the publication of *Les Fleurs du Mal* in 1857, Baudelaire became 'l'inventeur de l'inconscient' (Marchal 2007: 414). Through this invention, the poet explores the notion of evil and what he calls, in the penultimate poem of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, 'la conscience dans le Mal' (1996: 113). The Romantic fallen angel experienced liminality. He was neither totally good nor totally evil. Baudelaire needed to depart from such a representation in order to explore the recesses of evil. The Satan of 'Les Litanies de Satan' is not a fallen angel but the devil.

Isidore Ducasse also known as the Count of Lautréamont drew on Baudelaire's poetical experimentations to write *Les Chants de Maldoror.* Published in 1869, this poem 'jou[e] de la transgression des codes moraux autant que littéraire' (Marchal 2007: 420). The form of the poem is unique. Jean-Luc Steinmetz depicts it as the evolution of Christian epic (2016). Ducasse quotes Byron as a source of inspiration and Steinmetz asserts that the poet was inspired by 'la mentalité "caïnite" de plusieurs' (2016: 81). *Les Chants de Maldoror* portrays a fallen angel. The cynicism of Byron's Lucifer can be discerned in Ducasse's character. However, if Byron's Lucifer is neither good nor evil, Maldoror delights in transgression and in making other people suffer. As Marchal notes: 'Maldoror est un avatar sadien du Satan romantique' (2007: 420). Ducasse's poem tends to underline that the time for a liminal being has come to an end with the collapse of religious power. The monstrosity attached to each human being does not need to be repressed anymore.

Nonetheless, poetry was not only used as the voice of evil. Poets such as Stéphane Mallarmé and Arthur Rimbaud used poetry as a way to communicate with other worlds. For these authors, the fallen angel was not necessary anymore as the poet became a fallen seer capable of communicating with both earth and the heavens through poetical symbols. Gradually, fin-de-siècle authors depicted the impact of society on the self (Marchal et al. 2007: 419-31). Thus, authors such as Oscar Wilde and Robert L. Stevenson, in Ireland and Britain, brought back monsters to the front scene. Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890) and Robert L. Stevenson's *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886) explored the darkest recesses of human nature, and its inherent complexity. The fictions featuring these characters revolved around the motif of the double and explores the notion of otherness.

However, there is a key difference between the two characters. Stevenson's Dr Jekyll creates willingly his doppelganger, Mr Hyde, 'as the product and consequence of his […] moral monstrosity' (Six and Thompson, 2016: 351). By contrast, Dorian's portrait in *The Picture of Dorian Gray* is created by the painter Basil Hallward. Moreover, as Abigail Lee Six and Hannah

Thompson notes, Dorian is also influenced by his mentor, Lord Henry Wotton (351). Lord Henry triggers Dorian's anxiety regarding the loss of his beauty when he asserts that Dorian's beauty is his 'genius' (2008: 64). Until this moment, Dorian had never contemplated the idea of losing his beauty and had never regarded his appearance as his only asset. Lord Henry, tarnishes Dorian's relationship with himself to escape his own struggles – his loss of youth and 'the terror of society, which is the basis of morals, [and] the terror of God, which is the basis of religion' (61). In doing so, he contributes to Dorian's split-identity. Therefore, Dorian's monstrosity is partially the result of society's – in the person of Lord Henry – impact upon him. It can be argued that Lord Henry resembles Byron's Lucifer and Vigny's Satan who tempt Cain and Eloa in order to escape their own sufferings. Older than Dorian, Lord Henry bears in him the dated values of Romanticism which were corrupted by his bitterness and by the pragmatic and scientific evolution of society.

Although Stevenson uses science fiction and Wilde the supernatural to 'give a visible form' to 'moral monstrosity', both their characters remain human beings (Six and Thompson, 2016: 352). Unlike the fallen angel, Stevenson's and Wilde's characters belong to their society. They do not symbolise it; they are a part of it and a result of it. In this way, they are representing the neuroses and destructive impulses of their age. Nonetheless, it can be argued that Wilde and Stevenson draw on the myth of the fallen angel by materialising the evilness of their characters into physical entities, whether they are actual beings, or uncanny portraits. However, the concerns of their era demanded a more relatable figure for the reader. Charles Darwin's theory of evolution published in his study, *On the Origin of Species*, in 1859 revolutionised the approach to humanity. Humankind was not the creation of an upper abstract entity anymore, but the result of a thousand years old scientific process. Human beings had been animals before and, therefore, bear within themselves a part of bestiality that they learnt to repress overtime. The advent of human-like monsters such as Hyde and Dorian unleashed this bestiality and explored its consequences. Before such considerations, the fallen angel was no longer relevant as he belonged to an outdated world. The appearance of real monsters such as Jack the Ripper, in 1888, confirmed that human beings did not need biblical concepts to unleash their monstrosity.[82] Therefore, the interest in and influence of religion waned with the progress of science (Berstein and Milza 1996). Hand in hand with an ever more pervasive secularisation came a different approach to exploring evil, shadows, darkness, vices, and the monstrous, as

[82] The influence of Jack the Ripper on figures such as Dorian Gray has been widely studied. See, for example: Seymour Shuster's 'Jack the Ripper and Doctor Identification' (1975) and Christopher Nassaar's 'Wilde's The Picture of Dorian Gray and Salomé' (1995).

religious imagery and narratives that grapple with these questions lost their purchase. Darwin's evolution theory also raised a question: what would be the next step in evolution? These posthumanist considerations together with the aforementioned parameters allowed for the emergence of another mythical creature: the vampire.

As Butler explains, the advent of the literary vampire is usually associated with the publication of John Polidori's story *The Vampyre*, published in 1819, although the existence of this figure can be traced back to the fifteenth century. Polidori's creature was inspired by his participation in the infamous ghost stories 'competition' that took place in the Villa Diodati, during the summer of 1816 (86). Launched by Byron, who found refuge in this villa after self-exiling from England, this competition proved to be fruitful as it resulted in Mary Shelley writing *Frankenstein* and Polidori writing *The Vampyre*. Less famous nowadays, Polidori's tale was read all over the world at the time. This fame rested upon the fact that Lord Ruthven – the tale's vampire figure – was supposed to be modelled on Byron himself (88). This identification of Byron with the vampire recalls his other identification, with the fallen angel. However, Polidori's vampire is an evil creature through and through. He is manipulative, possessive, and murderous. The most famous of all vampires, Bram Stoker's Dracula, embodies such traits but he is also more morally complex. The relationship he maintains with Mina Harker recalls the relationship that Vigny's Satan has with Eloa. Mina, just like Eloa, feels pity for the vampire. Stoker's novel relating the scheming of a blood-thirsty foreigner on English soil was published in 1897. The vampire embodies many of the key concerns of his era. The comparison between Dracula and immigrants coming to Britain has often been drawn, and there is also a strong link between vampirism and homosexuality, and vampirism and female sexuality.[83] The fact that the vampire was often represented as an aristocrat who drained people of their vital forces can also be read as alluding to the class struggles first theorised by Karl Marx in 1848. Finally, as Maria Marino-Faza notes: 'Th[is] supernatural creature w[as] originally portrayed as the dangerous Other and given animal-like characteristics that fit into the humanist discourse of the superiority of man over all other species' (2017: 127). Like the fallen angel, the vampire is a potent projection plane for many cultural concerns relating to 'others' of all kinds – racial, sexual, and in class and gender terms. However, unlike the fallen angel, the vampire is originally human. Although suspended between death and life, he does not belong to other unearthly spheres. The fallen angel had perhaps become too abstract a figure at the end of a century where idling had become a luxury. The vampire thus imposed himself as a more potent

[83] See, for example, Howard LeRoy Malchow's study on *Gothic Images of Race in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (1996).

symbol for new struggles relating to sexual identity, capitalism, and immigration. Stoker's influential creature popularised core parameters that would still be used years later.[84] However, many twentieth-century authors begin to depart from Stoker's models and we see the emergence of a fallen angel-like vampire figure.

In *Interview with the Vampire* (1976), for example, Anne Rice tells the story of Louis, a two-hundred years old vampire who tries to escape his father-creator-figure, Lestat, and his vampiric nature by retelling his life to a young journalist. In a narrative that is essentially a long confession, the brooding Louis recounts his fight against a nature that he chose without realising the consequences. Condemned to live a life he finally abhors, Louis tries to achieve a kind of redemption and to escape the hell within himself. Throughout the text, vampires are often compared to angels, Lestat even calls them 'dark angels', but are they angelic beings? (2008: 49). Lestat resembles the fin-de-siècle creatures such as Dracula and Maldoror. He is cruel, self-absorbed, and thrives in doing evil. Louis, on the other hand, resembles the Romantic fallen angel. His attitude towards his nature is never straightforward. Throughout the text, he struggles with the hell within himself and with his desire to escape his condition. His attitude towards God and Lestat is ambivalent as he both rejects them and admires them at the same time. Finally, Louis' beauty is unsettling:

> And the boy, staring up at the vampire, could not repress a gasp. His fingers danced backwards on the table to grasp the edge. "Dear God!" he whispered, and then he gazed, speechless, at the vampire. The vampire was utterly white and smooth, as if he were sculpted from bleached bone, and his face was as seemingly inanimate as a statue, except for two brilliant green eyes that looked down at the boy intently like flames in a skull. (1993: 3)

Louis' eerie appearance reflects both his past beauty and the danger inherent to his nature. In this way he resembles fallen angels such as Byron's Lucifer and Vigny's Satan. The film adaptation of Anne Rice's novel, *Interview with the Vampire* (1994), faithfully reproduced Louis' Romantic brooding nature and Lestat's cruelty. The film was a critical and popular success which confirmed the vampire mania of the 1990's.

The end of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century see the advent of the 'nice vampire'. And here we can see the complex afterlife of the Romantic fallen angel even more clearly. In TV shows such as *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (1997-2004) or books

[84] Robert S. Carlisle created a very informative website gathering and thematising all the defining parameters of the vampire: https://www.csub.edu/~rcarlisle/Vampire_Motif/Vampire_Motif_Start.shtml.

that were adapted, such as *Twilight* (2005-2020) and *The Vampire Diaries* (1991-2014), a new archetype appears: the vampire trying to redeem himself by, notably, controlling his or her cannibalistic impulses. Thus, Stefan (*The Vampire Diaries*) and Edward (*Twilight*) only drink animal blood whilst Angel (*Buffy*) uses the blood bank as a supermarket. The name of the last character mentioned is, of course, very revealing. In the TV series, it is explained that the human name of the character was Liam and that he chose to change it to 'Angelus' when he became the most cruel and violent vampire in Europe. After gaining back his soul – through a curse cast by Romanian bohemians – and moving to the United States, Angelus shortens his name and becomes Angel. The name used as a mockery turns into an unreachable identity as Angel's soul comes with a price: he can never be truly happy. This liminal state is forced upon him just like it was forced upon the Romantic fallen angel. Angel is an ambivalent being whose monstruous nature required him to kill but this nature is always opposed to his human soul. In this way, he resembles the fallen angel who struggles to reconcile his fallen state and his celestial nature.

Moreover, Buffy's role in Angel's excruciating fight for a new identity can also be linked to the fallen-angelisation of the vampire. Buffy is the vampire slayer: her role implies killing Angel. However, she sees the light and good in him and disobeys the orders of her Watcher, a fatherlike figure, as Butler notes, when she falls in love with the vampire (2010: 183). Their relationship – and sexual intercourse - results in Angel becoming evil again. This story echoes Vigny's play in various respects. Just like Eloa, Buffy was created to bring peace and comfort to the world. Her role involves more action and fighting, but in essence, it is similar. Just like Eloa, Buffy finally disobeys the order of her Watcher – a name clearly recalling the Book of Enoch story – and of the other members of her group to save Angel. Just like Eloa, Buffy hopes that her love for him will be enough to redeem Angel. Again, like Eloa, this love results in Angel becoming evil again. Angel, then, appears more as a fallen angel figure than a Dracula-like vampire.

The main difference between Eloa and Buffy is that Buffy finally embraces her role of slayer again and kills Angel. This action asserts that the twentieth-century fallen angel can only exist as a creature aspiring to good. This vision of the myth is reproduced in young adult literature which gradually features actual fallen angel as leading characters.[85] Furthermore, series like *Buffy* were created for teenagers, and, more specifically, for teenage girls. *Buffy* thus showcases a young woman struggling with the responsibilities bestowed upon her and the

[85] Amongst the most popular series, there are Lauren Kate's *Fallen* (2009-2015), Becca Fitzpatrick's *Hush, Hush* (2009-2012), Nalini Singh's *Guild Hunter* (2009-2021), Susan Ee's *Penryn and the End of Days* (2011-2015) and Alexandra Adornetto's *Halo* (2010-2012).

events interspersing the life of a regular teenager. She has a difficult relationship with her father, she loses her mother and becomes responsible for her little sister, she has to face the meanness of other girls, she has to face her first heartbreaks, sexual relationships, and is confused about her plans for the future. The Bildungsroman dimension of the myth of the fallen angel, then, shifts from the vampire-angel-like creature to what used to be the secondary character. The otherworldly creature serves the formerly secondary character's self-realisation, rather than the other way around.

This phenomenon becomes a topos in subsequent vampire-angel stories appearing in the early twenty-first century. For example, *Twilight* focuses on Bella and on how she gradually becomes a woman by falling in love with her vampire-angel figure, Edward; *The Vampire Diaries* retells Elena's story and how she suddenly needs to grow up when she meets the Salvatore vampire brothers; *The Southern Vampire Mysteries,* also known as *True Blood,* (2001-2013) centres on Sookie's life and her encounters with the vampiric world. All of these young women have either no father or a conflicted relationship with them, and they all discover on their journey through adolescence that they are unique: Bella is the only one to resist Edward telepathy's skills; Elena is the double of a powerful vampire; and Sookie is a fae, the most powerful creature existing on earth. These discoveries are, as Agata Lukzsa explains, empowering and help them gradually to understand their identities (2015). Otherness which had been associated with danger and the end of humanity has turned into an amazing concept. To be the Other does not mean to be different anymore but rather to be unique, special. This evolution of the concept is inscribed in posthumanist trends: the next step for human beings is not to turn into monsters but to accept their part of bestiality in order to elevate to a non-repressed unique being.

The Romantic myth of the fallen angel, then, has first morphed into an evil vampire ghost story, then evolved into a brooding identity-seeker tale, before finally becoming a cautionary tale and Bildungsroman story for teenagers, helping young women to face their core rites of passage. This final evolution reflects key social changes regarding the role of women in society. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, women depart ever more strongly from the traditional role of the damsel in distress, eventually becoming the heroines, protector- and saviour-figures themselves.

This evolution of the myth becomes even more evident when authors gradually blend actual fallen angel narratives into their 'bit-lit' novels. In Melissa de la Cruz's *Blue Bloods* series (2006-2012), for example, the main characters are fallen angels condemned to reincarnate for the rest of their existence as vampires. The story is told by Schuyler Van Alen, a human

girl, who finds out that while her absent father is human, her mother is one of the most powerful archangels, making Schuyler the first hybrid ever. Once again, the protagonist of this Bildungsroman finds out how unique she is, enabling her to self-realise. The same pattern can be observed in Sophie Jomain's *Felicity Atock* series (2011-2017), as Felicity has to choose between two love interests: an actual angel and a fallen creature that she calls 'vampire' but who is actually a fallen angel. She finally discovers that she is a fae, a very unique and special creature; and her father is also absent. Interestingly, all these novels have been written by women.

The myth of the fallen angel has captured the interest of the Romantics in the nineteenth century as it allowed them to explore not just many of the pressing political, cultural, and social developments of their times, but also the very notion of the individuated self in all its complexity. After the eighteenth century, with its focus on the common good, the importance of universality, the virtues, and religious values, the Romantics explored rebellious selves struggling with their inner dividedness, with complex emotions and conflicting desires. This exploration also challenged the representation of authority as the fallen angel figure also served as a projection plane for the poets themselves. Rejecting the expectations of their era and peers, the Romantics used the fallen angel to elevate themselves to the rank of visionary artists who announced the dilemmas of a century.

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