

MILTON AND MATERIAL CULTURE

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ABSTRACT:

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In contradistinction to critical trends which have rendered Milton's thought disembodied, this thesis studies how seventeenth-century material culture informed Milton's poetry and prose at the epistemic level and by suggesting a palette of forms for literary play.

The first chapter explores the early modern culture of fruit. At the epistemic level, practices of fruit cultivation and consumption inform Milton's imagination and his vocabulary, thereby connecting their historic-material lives with their symbolic ones. Milton further turns commonplace gestures of fruit consumption into narrative devices that frame discussions of agency, aspiration, sinful and right practice.

The second chapter examines two floral catalogues to discover how they find shape through the epistemologies of flowers, ceremony, and decorative arts. Here material culture shapes literary convention, as one catalogue is found to secret ceremonial consolation in its natural ingenuousness, while the other's delight in human physicality upsets the distinctions between inner virtue and outer ornament, faith and rite.

In the third chapter, urban epistemologies of light, darkness, movement, and space are examined through urban phenomena: skyline, suburbs, highways, theft, and waterways. By interpellating contemporary debates, these categories anatomise fallen character, intent, action, and their consequences. Milton's instinctive distaste for urban nuisances is interesting in this Republican figure and is subversive of some ideologies of the text.

Discursive and material aspects meet again in the fourth chapter in a discussion of his graphic presentations of geography on the page. Usually prone to analyses of textual knowledge, they are also informed by the embodiment of knowledge as material object. Milton's search for a fitting cartographic aesthetic for the Biblical narrative and for the rhetoric of his characters leads him to an increasing consciousness of the ideologies energising these material forms.

The fifth chapter explores Milton's engagement with forms of armour and weapons. Military preferences for speed and mobility over armour help Milton explore the difference between unfallen and fallen being. Milton also uses his inescapably proleptic knowledge of arms and armour as a field of imaginative play for representations that are both anachronistic and typological. These lead to a discussion of imitation in the mythic imagination.

In each of these studies, we witness Milton's consciousness of his temporal and proleptic location, and his attempts to marry the temporal and the pan- or atemporal. In the conclusion I suggest that Milton's simultaneous courting of the atemporal while he is drawn to or draws on temporal material culture imply an incarnational aesthetic.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CPW	<i>Complete Prose Works</i>
ELH	<i>English Literary History</i>
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MLN	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
MLQ	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
PL	<i>Paradise Lost</i>
PMLA	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
PR	<i>Paradise Regained</i>
SA	<i>Samson Agonistes</i>

INTRODUCTION: INTIMATIONS OF MATERIAL CULTURE

Milton's early poem on the subject of time, dated to the 1630s, has caused little remark. Though dealing in a fairly conventional set of sentiments, the poem is formed from habits of thought that would persist in his writing down the decades. Purporting to address personified Time, the poem carefully negotiates the material and immaterial. Weighted down by the 'leaden-stepping hours', motivated by the movement of the 'heavy plummet's pace', the abstraction, time, cannot escape its material circumstances even though the poem looks towards transcendence in the 'long eternity' that eventually overcomes death, chance, and time (ll.2-3, 11, 22).¹ However, the seeming accidentals of its title compromise the purity of the sentiment. Later entitled *On Time*, its original manuscript heading was 'To be set on a clock case'.² The poem's revulsion at 'mortal dross' and 'earthy grosnes' (ll.6, 20) is strangely contradicted by this fetishization of a clock. The titular substitution reveals the bondedness of Milton's abstractions to their earthly material conditions. The moral of this fable seems to be that beneath the most transcendent and immaterial notions lie contours of specific objects. My thesis springs from this idea. It is not a study of materialism in poetry though that could be one corollary from my fable.³ It is rather a study of material culture, the visible and invisible (or *presently* invisible) references to objects and their practices in the seventeenth-century world that surface or lie cancelled in the palimpsest of Milton's texts.

¹ Cited in Roy Flannagan, ed., *The Riverside Milton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998). All quotations are from this edition hereafter. Book and line numbers will follow.

² John Milton, *John Milton: Poems Reproduced in Facsimile from the Manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge* (Menston Ilkley: Scolar Press, 1970), 8.

³ Such as Jonathan Goldberg, *The Seeds of Things: Theorizing Sexuality and Materiality in Renaissance Representations* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2009); Stephen M. Fallon, *Milton among the Philosophers: Poetry and Materialism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991).

No wonder that despite Milton's deftly expressed desire for transcendence, he found himself drawn to the object. That the early modern period yielded to the lure of proliferating 'stuffe' has been the theme of a number of recent studies. Histories by Lisa Jardine, Linda Levy Peck, Jerry Brotton, and Timothy Brook teem with objects from east and west and record the conspicuous consumption of the early modern household. England was not insulated from these shifts: as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries proceeded, her eye fastened on the curiosities of the material world. While science investigated the material universe and explored the possibilities of invention, markets responded to an increased consumption of material goods. Material superfluity and material sophistication developed within England and in Europe at large.⁴ Though Renaissance scholarship has minutely examined the material ethos of Renaissance drama and lyric,⁵ little of this material superfluity permeates Milton scholarship which has instead chiefly focused on his religious beliefs, politics, theology, literary traditions, and gender representations, and limited the referentiality of his writings to the ideational and rhetorical world. Milton's material culture has occasionally surfaced as a tangential part

⁴ For a concise survey of proliferating 'stuffe' in England, see Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: Gender and Property in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 3-7. Recent histories include Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, ed., *Everyday Objects: Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture and Its Meanings* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010); Timothy Brook, *Vermeer's Hat* (London: Profile, 2008); Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendour: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Jerry Brotton, *The Renaissance Bazaar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Lisa Jardine and Jerry Brotton, *Global Interests: Renaissance Art between East and West* (London: Reaktion, 2000); Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods* (London: Macmillan, 1996); Mark Blackwell, *The Secret Life of Things: Animals, Objects, and It-Narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2007). An old but seminal essay is F. J. Fisher, "The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 30 (1948). For how even the godly were not immune to proliferating household decoration, see also Tara Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household: Religious Art in Post-Reformation Britain* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010).

⁵ Book-length studies are Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda, ed., *Staged Properties in Early Modern English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones, ed., *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). These have also formed discussions in Kari Boyd McBride, *Domestic Arrangements in Early Modern England* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2002); Ivo Kamps, ed., *Materialist Shakespeare* (London; New York: Verso, 1995).

of discussions of housewives, the country house, and the natural world.⁶ In many of these discussions, however, Milton's oeuvre is not the centre but part of the evidence for a larger sweep of cultural history. The world of material artefacts within which he was situated has been for the most part ignored.

Biographical testimony shows Milton could not have preserved distance from this materially profuse world. His first home was a five-storey building on Bread Street bearing the sign of the Spread Eagle.⁷ Not far away was Cheapside, inhabited by rich merchants many of whom were in the cloth trade. Within it were some of London's most well-known buildings, Goldsmith's Row. Described as 'the most beautifull Frame of faire houses and shops, that be within the Wals of *London*, or else where in *England*', its ten dwellings and fourteen shops were 'uniformely builded foure stories high, beautified towards the streete with the Goldsmiths Armes, and the likenesse of Wood-men ... riding on monstrous Beasts; all which is cast in Lead, richly painted over, and gilt'.⁸ Stow's description is marked by nostalgia for its faded glory. At the end of the sixteenth century, Thomas Platter recorded his awe at the 'inexpressibly great treasures and vast amounts of money' on display. But by the first quarter of the next century, the noble edifice looked

⁶ An exception to the rule has been Karen Edwards's discussions of Milton's natural world: Karen Edwards, "Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary," *Milton Quarterly* 39:3; 39:4; 40:2; 40:4; 41:2; 41:4; 42:2; 42:4; 43:2; 43:4 (2005-2009); ———, "Eden Raised: Waste in Milton's Garden," in *Renaissance Ecology: Imagining Eden in Milton's England*, ed. Ken Hiltner (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2008); ———, "Days of the Locust: Natural History, Politics, and the English Bible," in *The Word and the World: Biblical Exegesis and Early Modern Science*, ed. Kevin Killeen and Peter J. Forshaw, (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Karen L. Edwards, "Raphael, Diodati," in *Of Paradise and Light: Essays on Henry Vaughan and John Milton in Honor of Alan Rudrum*, ed. Donald R. Dickson and Holly Faith Nelson (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004); Karen Edwards, *Milton and the Natural World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Book-length discussions locating Milton in the material world of science and publishing are Angelica Duran, *The Age of Milton and the Scientific Revolution* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007); Stephen B. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Shorter studies or studies that incorporate Milton's work include Stephen B. Dobranski, "Clustering and Curling Locks: The Matter of Hair in *Paradise Lost*," *PMLA* 125, no. 2 (2010); Kari Boyd McBride, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001); Laura Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton's Eve* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Rebecca Bushnell, *Green Desire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

⁷ A floor-plan is reprinted in Anna Beer, *Milton: Poet, Pamphleteer and Patriot* (London, Bloomsbury, 2008), 5.

⁸ John Stow, *The Survey of London* (London: 1633), 391.

decayed and tatty, and booksellers, haberdashers, and other traders had infiltrated these once-glorious spaces.⁹ Goldsmith's Row became an urban symbol of the pleasurable excess of materiality as well as its corrosion by time.

Growing up in this fairground of material culture, Milton himself was of a contrarily bookish turn and his studious disposition has usually been contrasted with acquiring material wealth. This construct solidified in the mythography that ensued after his death. Biographers and critics often quote his routine of 'hard Study, and spare Diet' and his only occasional participation in the revelry of Gay's Inn.¹⁰ These tales oppose intellectual life with heedless pleasure. More significantly, early biographers oppose his intellectual pursuits to those of material wealth. John Phillips writes, 'Hee had by this time laid in a large stock of knowledge, which as design'd not for the purchase of Wealth, so neither intended hee it, as a Misers hoard'.¹¹ Jonathan Richardson weaves the two oppositions together:

Temperance was with Him a Favourite Vertue ... Milton was not Nice, but took what was Set before him. All kinds of Strong Liquors he Hated ... His Muse needed them not ... He set out in Life with a Disregard to Riches, or Advancement in the World. The Enriching and Adorning of his Mind; the Acquiring, Accumulating and Storing Up Great, Lovely, and Usefull Ideas, and that not for Himself Only, but for the Publick Good ...¹²

The language of avid acquisition is at work but it is in the service of immaterial knowledge instead of pleasure and material objects. In Phillips's prose, oppositional terms set up a metaphor to accentuate dissimilitude by similitude. The contrast between

⁹ Clare Williams, ed., *Thomas Platter's Travels in England, 1599* (London: J. Cape, 1937), 170. This trajectory is traced in Paul Griffiths, "Politics Made Visible: Order, Residence and Uniformity in Cheapside, 1600-45," in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Mark S. R. Jenner and Paul Griffiths (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ Edward Phillips, "The Life of Mr. John Milton," in *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. Helen Darbishire (London: Constable, 1932), 62. Gordon Campbell identifies subtle disapproval in Phillips's account of the scene in Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 134.

¹¹ John Phillips, "The Life of Mr. John Milton," in *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. Helen Darbishire (London: Constable, 1932), 21.

¹² "John Richardson, "Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's *Paradise Lost*," in *The Early Lives of Milton*, ed. Helen Darbishire (London: Constable, 1932), 207.

accumulating objects and knowledge leads to the metaphorical description of Milton's mind as a house decorated with beautiful ideas.¹³ However, in most biographical commentary, the causal relationship between the two is overlooked. Serene intellectual pursuit needed a particular organisation of space.

The peculiar relation between Milton and his household objects governs his choices of house. Despite his caution about material pleasures, study and the material accoutrements of living led to an accumulation of 'household stuffe'. Edward Phillips tells us he moved from St. Bride's Churchyard to Aldersgate Street because of the 'necessity of having a place to dispose his Books in, and other Goods fit for the furnishing of a good handsome House, hastning him to take one'. The verb 'hasten' gives us some sense of the imperative need Phillips perceived the Milton household to have felt at the time. When he chose a house, it once again secured the material conditions necessary for him to write. It was 'a pretty Garden-House he took in *Aldersgate-Street*, at the end of an Entry, and therefore the fitter for his turn, by the reason of the Privacy, besides that there are few Streets in *London* more free from Noise then that'.¹⁴ John Phillips tells us he chose a house to 'bee at full ease and quiet, & gotten his books about him, hee sett himself upon his Compositions'.¹⁵ However intellectual Milton's occupations, the proper disposal of things in space enabled his intellectual discipline.

More crucially, there are times when contested practices of material culture may have been key to the shifts in Milton's intellectual trajectory. Gordon Campbell notices such a moment when he considers how public criticism of Sara Milton's upside down

¹³ A similar pun dwells in Rochester's asking Jane Eyre if her mind has 'other furniture of the same kind within'.

¹⁴ Phillips, "The Life of Mr. John Milton," 32-33, 62.

¹⁵ ———, "The Life of Mr. John Milton," 21.

grave might have clinched Milton's prejudice against Laudianism.¹⁶ Something as contingent as the materiality of a grave stone may have organised Milton's thought in those critical years. Finally, his last years tell of how his practices of material culture bore witness to affective relationships. In his nuncupative will, Milton left the portion from his former wife's father, Mr. Powell, to the 'unkind children I had by her' with the intention that they 'shall have no other benefit of my estate than the said portion'. 'All the rest of my estate I leave to disposal of Elizabeth my loving wife', he wrote.¹⁷ Milton may not have been especially desirous of material possessions beyond the need to feed a voracious mind or live comfortably, but he certainly felt the need for an appropriate symmetry between material gifts and affective relationships.

Did Milton's engagement in this materially profuse world not impinge on his writing? Clearly material culture is not his overt preoccupation but his writings emerge from an episteme in which material culture is significant. This has to have resulted in an exchange between material and discursive practices. That the imagination of his prose metaphors is vivified by such exchange has long been noted.¹⁸ Remarking on Milton's 'sensuous and concrete' images, Lana Cable gleefully notes his startling metaphor of God vomiting in the kitchen over cooling stew-pots.¹⁹ Images such as that of Satan as a city-dweller moving away from the vast urban stink into the fragrant countryside (*PL*9.445-48) shows that even his mythological poetry was not sterilized from the material culture of his world. If this was really the case, why has a systematic study of Milton's material

¹⁶ Corns, *John Milton*, 96.

¹⁷ J. Milton French, *The Life Records of John Milton*, 6 vols., vol. 5 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1949-1958), 735-44. Also see Lena Cowen Orlin, "Empty Vessels," in *Everyday Objects*, ed. Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

¹⁸ Stanley Fish, *Self-Consuming Artifacts: The Experience of Seventeenth-Century Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 238; K. G. Hamilton, "The Structure of Milton's Prose," in *Language and Style in Milton*, ed. Ronald David Emma and John T. Shawcross (New York: F. Ungar, 1967), 329; J. Milton French, "Milton as Satirist," *PMLA* 51 (1936).

¹⁹ Lana Cable, *Carnal Rhetoric: Milton's Iconoclasm and the Poetics of Desire* (London: Duke University Press, 1995), 57, 73.

culture not been seized on before? Unfortunately, as Bill Brown points out in his chapter on ‘Thing Theory’, critical thinking is often dogged by the reflex that categorizes ‘thinking and thingness [as] utterly distinct’.²⁰ It is perhaps because our view of Milton has always been swamped by the preponderance of his intellectual learning that his material culture has not drawn our gaze.

A look at the sampling of Milton criticism in James Thorpe’s volume reveals a history fraught with opinions that notice the literariness or the aural quality of his verse at the expense of other material effects. John Dryden, we infer, sees his wordsmith’s skill as an implicit weakness and accuses him of bookish staleness. Samuel Johnson however quotes Dryden’s image of Milton seeing Nature ‘through the spectacles of books’ with approbation.²¹ Marvel at the music of his words led to double-edged pronouncements such as Coleridge’s – ‘Milton is not a picturesque, but a musical, poet’.²² Criticism has stooped under an accumulation of appreciation for the ‘organ music’ of Milton’s verse at the expense of its material feel.²³ T.S. Eliot picks up many of these refrains when he decides that Milton’s ‘sensuousness, such as it was, had been withered by book-learning’, and when he writes Milton off as someone whose ‘gifts were naturally aural’, who writes with the ‘auditory imagination at the expense of the visual and tactile’. ‘The result with Milton’, he categorically states, ‘is, in one sense of the word, rhetoric’.²⁴ Perhaps Eliot imagines the blind poet dealing purely in the rhythms of spoken discourse. The fact is that Milton almost immediately stimulated the visual imagination. The first illustrated edition

²⁰ Bill Brown, “Thing Theory,” in *Things*, ed. Bill Brown (Chicago; London: Chicago University Press, 2004), 4-5, 16.

²¹ James Thorpe, ed., *Milton Criticism: Selections from Four Centuries* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1951, 1956), 77.

²² *Ibid.*, 96.

²³ I quote the term ‘organ music’ from C.S. Lewis, *A Preface to Paradise Lost* (London: Oxford University Press, 1942), 39, 89.

²⁴ T. S. Eliot, *Milton: Two Studies* (London: Faber, 1968), 11, 18, 16.

of *Paradise Lost* was published just fourteen years after his death and his poetry continued to spawn artistic responses throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth century.²⁵

There has however simultaneously existed a thin thread of appreciation for Milton's visual sense as well as his technique in foregrounding objects. In the eighteenth century, Hugh Blair marvels over *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* for their objects, which the poet does not 'employ a great many words to describe ... which always makes the impression faint and languid; but placing it in one strong point of view, full and clear before the reader, he there leaves it'.²⁶ Coleridge mitigates his 'musical rather than picturesque' verdict by conceding that Milton's foregrounded objects are 'enriched but not encumbered by the opulence of descriptive details furnished by an exhaustless imagination'.²⁷

William Hazlitt is chagrined by the 'common perversity of criticism, that his ideas were musical rather than picturesque'. Milton, he observes, 'refines on his descriptions of beauty; loading sweets on sweets, till the sense aches at them'. He turns the accusation of bookish staleness on its head by claiming that Milton 'describes objects, of which he could only have read in books, with the vividness of actual observation ... He makes words tell us pictures'. And these steeped visual descriptions are not just a result of nostalgic blindness for the same 'palpableness and truth' are in his early poems. If the ear predominates over the eye it is because it is more immediately affected, he argues, but the 'individual object is given by Milton with equal force and beauty'.²⁸ Despite the language

²⁵ Marcia Pointon, *Milton and English Art* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970), 1, xxi. For interpretations of Milton in art, music, theatre, opera, dance, see Albert C. Labriola, *Milton's Legacy in the Arts* (University Park; London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988).

²⁶ Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Dublin: 1783), 35. For a discussion of Blair's views, see Cynthia Wall, *The Prose of Things: Transformations of Description in the Eighteenth Century* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 30-35.

²⁷ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. William Shedd, 7 vols., vol. 4 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853), 304-05.

²⁸ Thorpe, ed., *Milton Criticism*, 100-02.

of viewership, their comments suggest that Milton is not solely a poet who displays to the eye, but a poet of objects visual and palpable.

Sadly, the artistry of these objects has been largely ignored as it is the T.S. Eliot dye that has coloured the sweeping history of criticism. The present critical balance closes us off to rich readings of the poet and indeed some of the joy that Milton has given us as readers. Milton's visual style has not been without studies in the twentieth century,²⁹ but *object* studies have not been pursued consistently. In the following chapters I want to renew an appreciation for Milton's material world. I want to notice, as Hazlitt did, that Milton has not just a picturesque sense but a palpable one. That palpable sense, as I will proceed to discuss, is not merely available to us in his curatorship of objects summoned in comparisons. It is more fundamentally available to us in his evocation, conscious and unconscious, of material practices.

In the rest of the introduction, I will explore reasons for this critical imbalance and suggest how a fuller understanding of Milton might take shape. I will first do this within our conceptions of being and mind and examine how our understanding of Milton has been subject to the same prejudicial dichotomies between mind and body, thought and perception, that philosophers have been trying to shake off. I will then look at how embodiment is met within language. There, I explain how the programme of metonymic reading that studying material culture in literature entails often leads to the assumption that only text governed by a metonymic poetic should be so read. I suggest that if we take the philosophical lesson of the embodied mind to heart, we need a programme that makes every metonymic reading begin from a metaphoric poetic. We need to be sensitive to gentle intimations of material culture.

²⁹ Studies of how art informed Milton include Roland Mushat Frye, *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978); Murray Roston, *Milton and the Baroque* (London: Macmillan, 1980). Also see n.24.

Being in the World

Philosophers of being and perception have striven against the conceptual separation of thought from the sense-perceptions of the physical world. A good starting point is Georg Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit* (1807) where he suggests that humanity and materiality are inseparable.³⁰ The former is formed in and through the mirror of the latter. In fact, at a philosophical level it is not subjects or objects that are prior but the process of objectification that leads to the consolidation of apparently autonomous subjects and objects. Much subsequent thought has developed and interrogated these ideas. Since exploring the breadth of this engagement is impossible here, I will embark on a whistle-stop tour of key ideas in the thought of Martin Heidegger, Edmund Husserl, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty to lay some philosophical ground. While Heidegger and Husserl are foundational to the field of phenomenology, Merleau-Ponty is useful for his focused thought on the mind-body dichotomy and sense-perceptions.

Seeking to understand ontology, Martin Heidegger proposes a pre-ontological, pre-reflective being called *Dasein* (literally, being there) whose existence is characterised by Being-in-the-world.³¹ To be human, he suggests, is to be embedded in the physical everyday world. Within this existential mode of being, subject and object are not distinguished. Rather, *Dasein*'s mode of existence in the world is 'present-at-hand'. It is only within a categorical mode of being that objects are distinguished from subjects. This happens as *Dasein* interacts with the world through care and circumspection and discovers the world in its equipmentality, its 'readiness-to-hand' for use. 'Things' emerge. Heidegger refers back to the Greek word for things, 'pragmata', encountered in 'praxis' to capture this. Praxis takes place in space. But *Dasein* is not in space nor is space

³⁰ Georg Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, trans. A.V. Miller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 58-79.

³¹ Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time*, trans. John Macquarrie & Edward Robinson (London: SCM Press, 1962), 78-90.

in it. Rather, its circumspective Being-in-the-world is spatial.³² As we proceed later to look at historical, sociological and anthropological studies of material culture, we will find that *space* and *praxis* become recurrent themes in the study of embodied being.

This concept of worldiness influenced the work of Heidegger's colleague, Edmund Husserl, who initiated the philosophical project of phenomenology which sought to describe the world as it is given, or as Edmund Husserl puts it, 'whatever appears as such'.³³ Husserl sought to understand the engagement of consciousness in the perception of the physical world. His studies aimed to take apart the distinction between subject and object that informed traditional epistemology. He brought philosophical attention to the point that consciousness is the condition of experience and cognition, yet in a manner that renders its role invisible. He engaged in constitutive phenomenology or the description of the environment, *umwelt*, and the life-world defined not by physics but by everyday life, *lebenswelt*. Philosophy is made possible by phenomenology, he argues, and defines phenomenology as the 'science of every kind of object' encountered in consciousness.³⁴

Husserl was aware that his ontology of mind and body was based in phenomenology and developed an account for it. For Husserl, the mental and the physical, Consciousness and Nature, are aspects of a single event. Things in Nature exist in 'spacetime' whereas the essence of Consciousness is time. He calls material things transcendent because they occur outside the flow of consciousness. So, the ontic essences of Nature and Consciousness are understood through their epistemic essences, Transcendence and Immanence. They are inter-dependent parts of the same event. Within this dual frame, a material thing is known through perception unlike experiences intuited

³² Ibid., 67, 135-48.

³³ Edmund Husserl, *The Crisis of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology: An Introduction to Phenomenological Philosophy*, trans. David Carr (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970).

³⁴ Peter McCormick and Frederick A. Elliston, ed., *Husserl: Shorter Works* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1981), 10-11.

through phenomenological reflection. He makes a similar point when he writes that essence or *eidōs* and facts, the concrete and the ideal, are analytically separable but inextricably linked.³⁵

Accordingly the self can be described on a spectrum within these categorical frames. It can be: the material I instantiating material Nature; the animate I instantiating animal Nature; the psychological I instantiating a psychophysical animal; the spirit or human I, an embodied, personal, social being who lives in *lebenswelt*, the everyday from which all philosophical reflection begins; the pure I of intentional acts of consciousness. However all of these are aspects of the self. Unlike Descartes who distinguishes the I or *res cogitans* from the body or *res extensa*, Husserl recognizes the individual is both spatial and thinking, embodied, ensouled, and enculturated.³⁶

Husserl's ideas proved the basis for thinking about the materiality of being and for refuting the view of the self or mind as disembodied. Though Martin Heidegger would react to what he perceived to be an emphasis on immaterialism,³⁷ Husserl's insights into the integration of mind and body were crucially formational to Heidegger, and both their ideas were foundational to the work of later thinkers like Maurice Merleau-Ponty, who conspicuously championed the embodied mind.³⁸

While Husserl sought to illumine the modes of consciousness in the world and in acts of perception, Merleau-Ponty sought to illumine the epistemic role of perception in

³⁵ Edmund Husserl, *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy I*, trans. F. Kersten (The Hague; Boston; London: Martinus Nijhoff, 1982), 7-11.

³⁶ ———, *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy II*, trans. Richard Rojcewicz and André Schuwer (Dordrecht; Boston; London: Kluwer, 1989), section 1.

³⁷ Husserl distinguished himself from Immanuel Kant despite adopting the phrase 'transcendental idealism'.

³⁸ For a summary view of Heidegger's engagement with Husserl see Dermot Moran, *Introduction to Phenomenology* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 223-33.

thought.³⁹ He saw the emergence of space in psychology and geometry as predicated on a disembodied intellect, and sought to replace it by a richer Heideggerian understanding of space related to the body and to ‘our situation as beings thrown into the world’. He says it is important to conceive of a human being not as a ‘mind *and* a body ... [but] a mind *with* a body, a being who can only get to the truth of things because its body is there, as it were, embedded in those things’.⁴⁰ The rhetorical move from *things* as object of thought to *things* as embodied things is telling for the point he makes.

If Husserl wrote of the primacy of consciousness in the act of perception, Merleau-Ponty countered with the exteriorising consciousness. He writes, ‘Consciousness does not begin to exist until it sets limits to an object, and even the phantoms of “internal experience” are possible only as things borrowed from external experience. Therefore consciousness has no private life’.⁴¹ And yet he is aware that the mind is always constitutive in acts of perception. To understand the object, we must not ‘see it anticipated in unreflective experience, we must regard [reflection] as a creative operation which itself participates in the facticity of that experience’. The obsession with being makes humans ‘forgetful of the perspectivism of ... experience’. A forgetfulness of the body pervades thought as it turns the body into another object of the objective world instead of recognising that it is the point of view itself.⁴²

These philosophical ideas are foundational to the eclectic forms of material culture studies. The *worldliness* of being, the emphasis on understanding being through

³⁹ This is his argument in Maurice Merleau-Ponty, “The Primacy of Perception and Its Philosophical Consequences,” trans. James M. Edie, in *The Primacy of Perception and Other Essays on Phenomenological Psychology, the Philosophy of Art, History, and Politics*, ed. James M. Edie (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964).

⁴⁰ ———, *The World of Perception*, trans. Oliver Davis (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), 56.

⁴¹ ———, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 2002), 32.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 71, 81-83. Also see Michael Schoenfeldt’s study of the Galenic conception of the body that gave inwardness a physical language ‘whose vehicles were also tenors’ and whose implicit psychology of material determinism had to be negotiated by recourse to an inner immaterial self. See Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1-39.

the existential everyday, the formational role of perception to thought: these themes return repeatedly as we now survey some seminal material culture analyses. Though analysis may not engage at the pre-ontological level of *Dasein*, it is this understanding of the mutual inhering of subjects and objects and their everydayness that shapes the contours of the following survey, and that informs this project of re-embodiment of Milton's mind.

The temptation to render Milton disembodied is particularly potent given the weight of his intellectual learning. Even biographies that should be interested in the *whole* man describe the *world* only when the *mind* is not yet interesting enough. The material extravagances of Cheapside and St. Paul draw vivid description during the narration of Milton's childhood.⁴³ Once there are intellectual products to be discussed, the descriptive eye turns away from the world in which he lived. These lives use material culture to picture Milton's life outside his writing as parenthetically related to the story of his authorship. Sometimes the attempt to relate his life (still disembodied) to his work achieves the slightly monstrous result of an encyclopaedic 'critical biography'.⁴⁴ The tome is learned and insightful but also perpetuates a single-minded view of intellectual life. Gordon Campbell's biography more perspicaciously notes how events of material culture might trigger shifts in intellectual thought but, being a biography, does not examine how they shape writing. So either the biography of person and object intersect, or the biography of person and text intersect. An attempt to join person, text, and object has been attempted with Shakespeare. Stephen Greenblatt's biography follows the footsteps of the poet 'in the world' so as to trace how his experiences shaped his work.⁴⁵ The word *world* here takes on the Heideggerian colour of embodiment. For Milton,

⁴³ For an early and late example, see the rich descriptions in A. N. Wilson, *The Life of John Milton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983); Beer, *Milton*.

⁴⁴ Barbara Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000).

⁴⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare* (London: Pimlico, 2005).

however, the biography of object and text have remained largely distinct. Yet as Karen Edwards writes, exploring the *worldliness* of Milton's writing, the manifold worlds that fold over each other is essential to an enriched understanding of his oeuvre.⁴⁶

Before proceeding, we need to address a legitimate question: amid all this talk of embodiment and perception, how is such a study affected by the fact of Milton's blindness? While his blindness must be taken into account to determine a reasonable range of references, his blindness certainly does not invalidate a study of material culture. All it means is that we should not link developments in material culture that are solely visually accessible in his later years to his writing. We need not shun material experiences or expect 'our sense of sight [to] be blurred'.⁴⁷ The visual memory of his sighted years would have provided a treasury of visual coinage. In addition, physical structures such as those of urban infrastructure are available through communal apprehension and report. On the other hand, his blindness may explain why *Samson Agonistes*, his last work of poetry, is rather more discursive than engaged with forms of materiality. Yet *Paradise Lost*, written after his blindness, is profuse with material culture and contains some of its most nuanced articulations.

Further, material culture is apprehended in more than one dimension. Historical study is prone to recovering the visual. Georg Simmel attributes this to the fact that one can possess the visible whereas the audible provides no property.⁴⁸ A similar argument can be made for olfaction. However, the apprehension of the material environment takes

⁴⁶ Edwards writes, 'To think of the world of the poem ... is to limit oneself to a single plane, that of the story, or fiction. Other planes cut through the plane of the fiction; we may call them other worlds'. See Karen Edwards, "The 'World' of *Paradise Lost*," in *The Oxford Handbook of Milton*, ed. Nicholas McDowell and Nigel Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁴⁷ Eliot, *Milton: Two Studies*, 41.

⁴⁸ Unless the audible is encoded in visual or palpable form as in a musical score or a recording. Simmel discusses the former. Georg Simmel, "Sociology of the Senses," trans. Mark Ritter and David Frisby, in *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings in Simmel on Culture*, ed. David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1997).

place equally through other senses – auditory, olfactory, tactile, mobile. In fact, sensory historians have shown that despite the hegemony of sight, early modern society is particularly sensitive to smell as a measure of the character of the environment, as indicators of holiness, urban decay, disease and health.⁴⁹ Sound too can assail the body. In the city, the noises of industry must have been obtrusive.⁵⁰ We can look for these sensory and material indices of subjectivity in Milton's writing.

Whence and Whither Material Culture?

The study of subjects through objects and their mutual constitution is practiced variously in material culture studies. The term 'material culture' is foundational to and closely linked with the discipline of anthropology where the study of artefacts produces clues to the culture of a society or group of people.⁵¹ This method befits the study of a time that shares its object-oriented and anthropological character. Examining the physical world and other cultures through its objects is a peculiarly seventeenth-century habit that found its most lavish manifestation in the *wunderkammer*.⁵² Conversely, historians have shown that Cartesian influence makes the seventeenth century witness to the gradual dissociation of subject and object. Yet the philosophical reasoning above would tell us that such conceptions may mask or reveal, but not change, the inevitably interlocked

⁴⁹ Constance Classen, David Howes and Anthony Synnott, *Aroma: The Cultural History of Smell* (London: Routledge, 1994), 51-77; Constance Classen, *Worlds of Sense: Exploring the Senses in History and across Cultures* (London: Routledge, 1993). The place of the senses in late-medieval thought and after the Reformation in philosophy, theology, and practice of worship is discussed in Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2011).

⁵⁰ Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 54-55.

⁵¹ Victor Buchli, "Introduction," in *The Material Culture Reader*, ed. Victor Buchli (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 2. For ways of reading material culture, see Christopher Tilley, ed., *Reading Material Culture: Structuralism, Hermeneutics and Post-Structuralism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

⁵² Adam Geczy, *Art: Histories, Theories and Exceptions* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), 147.

symmetry between object practices, a society or culture, and its methods of study, at a point in time.⁵³

The term ‘material culture’ has proved notoriously difficult to pin down. If it refers to the study of objects, then we need to define what an object is. If we think of it as the study of the culture of the material, we need to define those two terms. As Daniel Miller asks, where do the boundaries of the thing lie? Is an image projected from a film reel a thing? Is a kiss a thing?⁵⁴ Heidegger was beguiled into a book-length discussion on the question ‘what is a thing?’⁵⁵ A thing is notoriously difficult to delimit.

Culture presents equal difficulties. The term was originally seen by sociologists and anthropologists as what carved off the human mode from the natural mode. Unlike other beings in nature, humans engage with their world through symbolic representations. Culture is then the ‘way of life’ of a group of people. Alternatively, culture might be seen as the exclusive realm of intellectual and artistic practice.⁵⁶ Raymond Williams defines culture as developing two class valences: the ‘ordinary processes of human societies and human minds’ and ‘the special processes of discovery and creative effort’ that have come to be perceived as elite.⁵⁷ These lengthy interrogations and formulations compromise an easy definition of ‘material culture’ too. If it is nigh impossible to pin down an ontology of material culture, of things, or culture, it is possible (as Chris Jenks observes of the term ‘culture’)⁵⁸ and more appropriate to study it as a historical construct.

⁵³ See an analysis of this in Bruno Latour, *We Have Never Been Modern*, trans. Catherine Porter (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991), 29, 13.

⁵⁴ Daniel Miller, *Materiality* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-5.

⁵⁵ Martin Heidegger, *What Is a Thing?*, trans. W.B. Barton and V. Deutsch (South Bend, Indiana: Gateway, 1979).

⁵⁶ Chris Jenks’s discussion surveys a range of conceptualisations of the term and the problems with its precise designation. Chris Jenks, "General Introduction," in *Culture: Critical Concepts*, ed. Chris Jenks (London: Routledge, 2003). See also ———, *Culture* (London: Routledge, 1993).

⁵⁷ Raymond Williams, "Culture Is Ordinary (1958)," in *Cultural Theory: An Anthology*, ed. Imre Szeman and Timothy Kaposy (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 54.

⁵⁸ See n.55.

Material culture studies has historically had a Hegelian and Marxist foundation. Marx embedded Hegelian dialectics in material praxis. Humanity, he says, transforms the material world through the process of production in the mirror of which humanity creates itself. He dwelt on technological production or natural production, but subsequently others have written about the processes of cultural production.⁵⁹ Michel Foucault analyses the relation of cultural to material production when he wrote about the body and space.⁶⁰ Some of the key ideas emerge in his brief work on the technologies of the self. He proposes four major categories of technology. The technology of production permits us to produce, transform, or manipulate substances. The technology of sign systems permits us to use signs, meanings, and significations. The technologies of power determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or dominations. Finally, the technology of the self permits individuals to transform themselves in order to attain greater happiness or wisdom or perfection.⁶¹ These technologies are rarely distinct but they remind us that though objectification may start with humanity making objects, it is often the case that humanity makes itself through its objects. In other words, the last technology is aided by the first two and usually involves the third. These material practices are given birth to by epistemic conditions and consciously devise or cultivate certain aspects of bodily and mental behaviour. To summarize via Bill Brown, we find in

⁵⁹ Robert C. Tucker, ed., *The Marx-Engels Reader*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1978), 172-73. See Miller's discussion of the relation between Marx and Hegel in Miller, *Materiality*, 1-4, 7-10. I am not going to delineate the whole field but rather follow an itinerary of theorists whose ideas have informed this thesis.

⁶⁰ Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (London: Tavistock Publications, 1967); ———, *Discipline and Punish*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London: Penguin, 1977); ———, *The History of Sexuality*, trans. Robert Hurley, vol. 3 (New York: Pantheon, 1978-1986).

⁶¹ Michel Foucault, "Technologies of the Self," in *Technologies of the Self*, ed. Huck Gutman Luther H. Martin, and Patrick H. Hutton (London: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 18.

objects 'the congealed facts and fantasies of a culture ... that disclose [its] logic or illogic'.⁶²

An implication that emerges is that objects do not exist statically in space but must be studied as located in the practices within which they circulate or which they engender. This has been the basis of material culture studies in anthropology proper.⁶³ There we examine what Arjun Appadurai famously called the 'social life' of things.⁶⁴ This insight is seminally embodied by Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* (indebted to Husserl's *lebenswelt*) to which the material world and its practices give expression. A term borrowed from architecture, *habitus* is a set of dispositions which governs objects to which is entrusted in 'mnemonic form the fundamental principles of the arbitrary content of the culture'. It is not cognitively understood but its internal ideologies are acquired by moving through the spaces of the physical structures it generates.⁶⁵ In effect, objects are enlisted to construct subjectivities. Encapsulating this idea, Christopher Tilley writes of material culture as a 'framing and communicative medium involved in social practice ... used for transforming, storing, or preserving social information'.⁶⁶ Miller points out that this explains why even belief systems that defy materialism such as Hinduism nevertheless invest a great deal in material rituals.⁶⁷

⁶² Bill Brown, *A Sense of Things: The Object Matter of American Literature* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 4.

⁶³ For introductions to material culture in anthropology, besides n.50, see Christopher Tilley, "Interpreting Material Culture," in *The Meanings of Things*, ed. Ian Hodder (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), Miller, *Materiality*.

⁶⁴ Arjun Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁶⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 91.

⁶⁶ Tilley, "Interpreting Material Culture," 189. Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi finds objects used to signify the self's power, continuity, and its relationships in Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, "Why We Need Things," in *History from Things*, ed. Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution, 1993).

⁶⁷ Miller, *Materiality*, 7.

The study of an object's dispositions must be finessed by the awareness that they do not speak with a single voice. Objects are not objective, Pierre Bourdieu writes. Independent of tastes and interest they do not impose a universal meaning. Rather 'most products only derive their social value from the social use that is made of them'.⁶⁸ The same object may therefore speak with varying valences depending on the practices within which it circulates or acquires attention. Sensitivity to factors of social groups based on class, religion, politics, or other factors is therefore important in the analysis.

Interrogating the materiality of a text then uncovers a store of dispositions that regulates objects, the text, and that socializes members of a society in behaviours that are differentiated by memberships to various groups. As Bourdieu argues, reproducing them can be an act of empowerment by gaining a form of recognition or a point of relation to the text. In evoking contemporary materialities Milton evokes the dispositions they encode and inculcate in the subjects that move through their spaces. Representations are therefore enabled by the logic of these materialities but, in addition, their encoded dispositions might conflict with those Milton desires to cultivate. Part of the programme of this thesis will therefore be to seek how the dispositions interpellated by Milton's materialities support or internally contradict his avowed positions.

The analysis so far has presumed on a simplistically dialectical process between object and subject but this can sometimes lead to an objectionable reductionism. Take Arjun Appadurai. He summarizes his position thus: 'from a *theoretical* point of view human actors encode things with significance, [yet] from a *methodological* point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their human and social context'.⁶⁹ His

⁶⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction* (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 1984), 94-95, 13.

⁶⁹ Appadurai, *Social Life*, 5.

methodological point is fair but his formulation seems to posit a strict relationship of antecedence and succession.⁷⁰ In his sequence, human actors are prior to objects.

Bruno Latour objected to this trajectory from the tyranny of the object in materialism to the tyranny of the subject in sociology. To illustrate, he discusses the instance of a gun. The materialist would say the gun kills people; the sociologist would say the gun is a neutral carrier of human will. The materialist account says the gun adds *everything* to the action; the sociological account says the gun adds *nothing*. Their mistake, Latour writes, 'is to start with essences, those of subjects or those of objects'.⁷¹ Critical of too simple a dialectics, he makes the point that objects and subjects and their significations are formed in a web of mutual attributions of meaning. He sums up his position with this poetic statement of intent: he seeks to 'follow how Daedalus folds, weaves, plots, contrives, finds solutions where none are visible, using any expedient at hand, in the cracks and gaps of ordinary routines, swapping properties among inert, animal, symbolic, concrete, and human materials'.⁷²

While it is important to retain Latour's point and look for this web of production of objects, subjects, and their sign systems, it is quite fruitful to fall back to studying how objects-in-motion reveal their human context. As Daniel Miller remarks, 'sociology and anthropology have usually been strongest and most effective when the emphasis has been on what makes people'.⁷³ Besides, this is an author-centric study of literature that depicts people, so it would be unnatural to *not* orient material culture around human subjectivities. It is this that distinguishes materiality from material culture of

⁷⁰ Bill Brown writes of the origin of the object in the mind of the creator or of God in Brown, *Sense of Things*, 1-2.

⁷¹ Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 180.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 190.

⁷³ Miller, *Materiality*, 38.

anthropological practice. The latter requires the presence of human agency with an exigency the former does not. Though I might use the word ‘materiality’ to refer to material forms, this study examines material *culture*. It will however operate in the shades between Bourdieu and Latour, that is, with due consideration for the web-like exchange between object, subject, and signification, to produce fruitful investigations of Milton and his material world.

In their different ways, Foucault, Bourdieu, and Latour all emphasize the importance of examining the object in motion, in *practice* in the *everyday*. Recognizing that probing the subject of material culture eventually leads to everyday practice leads to the work of two other theorists, Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau.⁷⁴ Their work on the everyday and practice has implications for the study of material culture for it is practice that mediates and administers our experience of material culture. Lefebvre is useful for his analysis of the everyday and spatial production. De Certeau analyses how subjects do not just participate in practices, silently imbibing their ideologies, but they continuously re-invent and subvert practices and change the destinies foretold in their materialities. Lefebvre and De Certeau draw out two Heideggerian emphases: the spatiality of being, and that being encounters the world through use or through circumspection.

Lefebvre is well-known for his critique of the everyday which he saw as the triumph of the repetitive over uniqueness and the product of modernity from pre-modern daily life.⁷⁵ The everyday is the ‘residue’ left within daily life after specialized

⁷⁴ A route-map to cultural theory of the everyday is Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002). He traces the history of its theory and ideas in the twentieth century through Georg Simmel, the movements of Surrealism and Mass Observation, Walter Benjamin, Henri Lefebvre, and Michel de Certeau. See also ———, *The Everyday Life Reader* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁷⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *A Critique of Everyday Life*, trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 1991), 86-87. He extended the study of the everyday to an analysis of rhythms of the body and the world, perceptible through

occupations were sifted out, potentially leading to the distinction between mental and manual labour. But as Lefebvre emphasized, creativity inheres within manual labour just as mental labour is materially implicated. Eighteenth-century rationalism, he explains, could not have developed without the everyday practice of the commonplace book. Similarly, this thesis examines everyday material culture in the creative, as well as the creative in the material everyday insofar as such creativity affords Milton literary opportunity.

As Lefebvre thought through the production of the everyday, he was drawn to the production of space as an object itself. Attention shifts from ‘*things in space*’ to the actual *production of space*.⁷⁶ The concept of a ‘real space’, he argues, is produced by materialist or idealist thought, whereas in fact ‘social space’ is produced by the social relations of a given society or group. It is birthed through a triadic relationship between spatial practice (relations between objects and subjects), representations of space (such as plans or textual descriptions which conceive of them conceptually and ideologically), and representational space (space converging from the first two). He classifies these categories as the perceived, the conceived, and the lived.⁷⁷ Clearly, Milton’s writing is informed by all three categories just as his texts participate in their practices. These relations will be examined as space gets foregrounded in Milton’s imagination of the city and in his representations of cities. Though I would not necessarily hold with all of Lefebvre’s positions (such as his categorizations of spatial productions through history),

the senses. Things and people are effects of these rhythms. He wrote, ‘*Things* matter little; the *thing* is only a metaphor, divulged by discourse, divulging representations that conceal the production of repetitive time and space. The *thing* has no more existence than *pure* identity (which the *thing* symbolises materially)’. Though the concept is intriguing, it has not found very many uses in subsequent study. ———, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time, and Everyday Life*, trans. Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (London: Continuum, 2004), 7. For a discussion of Lefebvre and culture, see Matt Davies, “Works, Products, and the Division of Labour: Notes for a Cultural and Political Economic Critique,” in *Cultural Political Economy*, ed. Jacqueline Best and Matthew Paterson (Abingdon; New York: Routledge, 2010).

⁷⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 37.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 37-40.

the general principle that social relations produce space and that these change from one group to another and within a group when those relations change does guide my thinking.

Unlike Foucault and Bourdieu who assume subjects passively *subject* to the ideologies of the materialities they encountered, De Certeau studies what the user ‘makes’ or ‘does’ with the products of everyday practice. He calls it ‘a production, a *poiēsis*’ [ibid] and later clarifies the concept as a ‘secondary production hidden in the process of utilization’.⁷⁸ This making results in compromises of various kinds that deflect the power of the authority that created those practices. Using the example of Spanish colonization, he writes, the Indians ‘*made* of the rituals, representations, and laws imposed on them something quite different from what their conquerors had in mind; they subverted them not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice but to accept’. Similarly, users re-appropriate spaces organized by techniques of socio-cultural production to make them undergo ‘innumerable ... transformations within the dominant cultural economy in order to adapt it to their own interests and their own rules’.⁷⁹ So a discursive event may not merely reconfigure a discursive field but may be an enunciation that uses the same language to re-appropriate it.

These ideas lead me to ask how Milton’s representations of material culture might not be characterized as mere reproduction or reinforcement but as a literary *poesis* that is partly another tactical intervention, and is partly of a tertiary nature based on tactical interventions in the everyday social space that produces it. Literary *poesis* takes these objects and their practices and re-produces, engages with, counters, foregrounds, supports, the social relations they connote and the meanings that attach to them from the

⁷⁸ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), xii-xiii.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, xii-xiv.

spaces they dwell in. *Poesis* is bound to the forms of object practices and yet may tactically engage, to use De Certeau's words, to support their rhetoric or reclaim them for other meanings. Taking this logic further shows us why everyday practices are key to unearthing the complexities of Milton's thought. In them we find the *hidden*. Practice has a tendency to divulge the reality of conflicting allegiances that avowed doctrine inevitably shuns. In thinking through or by material practices, Milton often subverts them by occupying or altering them, or reveals unexpected allegiances. If belief is one of the agents organising common practice, as De Certeau would have it,⁸⁰ then we can trace Milton's negotiation of competing beliefs within material practices and trace implicit beliefs that have gone unremarked.

Part of this endeavour then involves articulating the knowledge embedded in objects and their practices that remains undiscursive. Practice knows, De Certeau observes. Practice contains knowledge that is unextracted and systematized, a sort of social unconscious.⁸¹ When the fabric of prose or poetry threads materiality through polemic or literary expression, the practices of material culture become a textual unconscious, like the back of a tapestry, whose connotations are absorbed but remain non-discursive. When we lose those practices, that knowledge is silent. This project aims to rekindle signs that have sputtered out or been re-appropriated and thereby transform our understanding of the composition and reception of Milton's work. In doing so, we catch sight of the text's 'unconscious, in so far as it possesses one'. We peek into 'the play of history beyond its edges, encroaching on those edges'.⁸²

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 177-78.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁸² Pierre Macherey, *A Theory of Literary Production*, trans. Geoffrey Wall (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978), 94.

That the world of sense-perceptions implicated by material culture can yield the unconscious is supported by the observations of sociology and neuroscience. Georg Simmel, a veteran sociologist of material culture, argues that the perception of objects is governed by a functional dichotomy. Their sensory presence accentuates 'subjective emotional value': 'we experience the scent of the rose, the loveliness of a sound, the attraction of the branches swaying in the wind as a joy occurring in our spirit'. However, to 'recognize' the flower or tree we are 'often deliberately turning away from the former'.⁸³ The point that sensory perception and cognition utilize different modes of apprehension and permit incoherence between aesthetic response and intellection leads us to think about how the sensory associations of material culture practices might subvert or overcome their discourse. This function might be emblemized by smell, of which Simmel writes: smells remain 'captive in the human subject, which is symbolized in the fact that there exist no independent, objectively characterizing expressions for fine distinctions'. Their frequent intransigence to naming except in terms of the other senses (sour, sweet, woody, citrus), suggests a resistance to abstraction and therefore 'that much less resistance from thinking and volition to the instinctive antipathies and sympathies that are attached to the olfactory sphere surrounding people'.⁸⁴ A study of material culture might unearth those undelineable antipathies and sympathies that contravene overt discourse.

The present conclusions of neuroscience yield a similar perspective. The memory of sensation and practices often conjures instinctive emotional responses unavailable to the consciously reflective mind.⁸⁵ Different kinds of memory are associated with different

⁸³ Simmel, "Sociology of the Senses," trans. Mark Ritter and David Frisby, in 111. He argues that this is not the case with our perception of subjects, but that is a point I cannot fully agree with.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁸⁵ Joseph E. Ledoux, "Emotion and the Amygdala," in *The Amygdala: Neurobiological Aspects of Emotion, Memory, and Mental Dysfunction*, ed. John P. Aggleton (New York; Chichester: Wiley-Liss, 1992); Arthur

parts of the brain. Declarative and episodic memory is stored initially in the pre-frontal lobe, procedural memory (the memory of practice) is recorded in the hippocampus and its systems. Sensory perception is routed through the amygdala. Through its connection with the hippocampus, sensory perception and emotional responses connect to forge stimulus-reward relations in responses of fear, anxiety, and pleasure.⁸⁶ Instinctive behaviours are formed. Studies have shown that emotional memories consolidated in the amygdala are nearly impervious to forgetting processes. Its close connection to olfactory functions suggests why olfaction seems to provoke strong responses of memory and affect. The deep embedding of sensory memory and its connection to affective responses suggest that an engagement with material culture might reveal instinctive affinities or disaffections that are not thought through in logical discourse.

To return to De Certeau, examining unconscious attitudes and responses leads to examining unconscious acceptances that sustain and naturalize dominant ideologies. De Certeau has been described as fundamentally attempting to analyse what makes people believe in the stability of the symbolic order through an 'anthropology of credibility'.⁸⁷ This was prompted by the crisis events of the May 1968 riots in France. Situated within the crises of the seventeenth century, Milton may have been led too through the momentum of his own representations to consider how the symbolic orders of religion and politics are sustained. This reading is especially amenable to texts of the seventeenth century when the material, religious, and political frames are not disconnected but

S. Kling and Leslie A. Brothers, "The Amygdala and Social Behaviour," in *The Amygdala: Neurobiological Aspects of Emotion, Memory, and Mental Dysfunction*, ed. John P. Aggleton (New York; Chichester: Wiley-Liss, 1992). It encodes affect information within data-based, working or episodic memory systems and not within knowledge-based memory systems. See Raymond P. Kesner, "Learning and Memory in Rats with an Emphasis on the Role of the Amygdala," in *The Amygdala: Neurobiological Aspects of Emotion, Memory, and Mental Dysfunction*, ed. John P. Aggleton (New York; Chichester: Wiley-Liss, 1992), 395.

⁸⁶ Elizabeth A. Phelps, "Human Emotion and Memory: Interactions of the Amygdala and Hippocampal Complex," *Current Opinion in Neurobiology* 14, no. 14 (2004). Somatic and spatial responses are however encoded by the hippocampus.

⁸⁷ Graham Ward, ed., *Michel De Certeau: The Certeau Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 6.

material practices are interpreted through religious paradigms and as I argue, religious and political ideologies are interpreted through material models available.⁸⁸

So we have an interpretative circularity between founding religious myths and material practices on one hand. On the other, ideological investments in the practices of matter could conflict with religious or political positions. Recognising that literature is informed by practices enables the writer and reader to think about how users, to use De Certeau's word, *cooperate*, fail to, or dissent to these ideological attempts to solicit participation.⁸⁹ Much early modern practice can be read as an attempt to elicit cooperation in a biblical worldview by embedding its assumptions and responses within practices of the everyday. In relating the stories of the Bible, or in examining afresh how printing or political or ecclesial practices measured against Biblical recommendations, Milton must have been asking the same questions – why do people cooperate in certain practices? What makes them binding? and should practices have any value for their formational power over people? The answer to the last question, in a manner of speaking, was one of the fuelling energies of the Reformation and godly culture. If practice is unnecessary because it is 'dead and congealed skin' and restrains living will, it is also somehow to be feared because it enculturates stealthily. Milton's writing often lives this conflict of the implicit appreciation of the formational power of everyday practice and a fear of its restrictions.

⁸⁸ This circularity is noted in William Poole, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 9-14. Fredric Jameson wrote that in a pre-secular and pre-scientific world, religion 'is the master-code in which issues are conceived and debated' in Fredric Jameson, "Religion and Ideology: A Political Reading of *Paradise Lost*," in *Literature, Politics and Theory*, ed. Peter Hulme, Francis Barker, Margaret Iversen, and Diana Loxley (London: Routledge, 2003), 37. For the link between early modern politics and theories and practice of matter see John Rogers, *The Matter of Revolution: Science, Poetry and Politics in the Age of Milton* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1996); Mark S.R. Jenner, "Early Modern Conceptions of Cleanliness and Dirt as Reflected in the Environmental Regulation of London, C.1530-C.1700" (Oxford University, 2002); ———, "The Politics of London Air: John Evelyn's Fumifugium and the Restoration," *The Historical Journal* 38, no. 3 (September 1995).

⁸⁹ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xi.

Such questions have informed the historicist materialist studies that flourished in the second half of the twentieth century and it is on this corpus of work that my own methodology has been built. I situate Milton's writing in a mesh of non-literary sources that resurrect the material culture and everyday of the seventeenth century.⁹⁰ Methodologically, my work draws heavily on work such as the analyses of Karen Edwards, Natasha Korda, and Wendy Wall. Another formative influence is Ann Rosalind's and Peter Stallybrass's work on the materialisation of a culture's fears and desires in an object.⁹¹ There are however significant differences to my approach which I discuss in the next section.

With its anthropological inheritance, my study borrows some of the anthropological method. Confronted by the physicality of the objects under study, the anthropologist is supposed to move away from the discursive towards the non-discursive evidences of a culture.⁹² However, the textuality of my evidence does not make my focus the recovery of lived seventeenth-century material practices. Rather, my quest is to cultivate a knowledge of the textual life of materiality too, its social, political and theological configurations, and its manipulation in the act of representation. Therein lies the paradox at the heart of a study of material culture in literature that often draws on textual evidence. For our experience of objects and texts is produced by and is productive of discursive formations. In this Foucauldian conception, it is less the things themselves than the 'materiality effects' of the early modern period that I will be studying. I examine

⁹⁰ See one articulation of this focus on the everyday in Patricia Fumerton, "Introduction: A New New Historicism," in *Renaissance Culture and the Everyday*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Simon Hunt (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 6.

⁹¹ For instance they analyse the busk as embodying the 'ambivalence of the Renaissance fetish: mocked, trivialized, feared, desired' in Ann Rosalind and Stallybrass Jones, Peter, "Of Busks and Bodies," in *The Forms of Renaissance Thought*, ed. Leonard Barkan, Bradin Cormack and Sean Keilen (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009). Their book-length discussion of clothes is Jones, ed., *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*.

⁹² A helpful analysis of how the term culture has changed is mapped in Claire Colebrook, *New Literary Histories: New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 66-89.

the material culture of Milton's texts through contemporary discursive formations, and ask how Milton's texts, as discursive events, redistribute these formations.⁹³ Clearly this project draws on anthropology's rich encounters with semiotics, structuralism, and post-structuralism.⁹⁴ A point that will be proved persistently is that the material is inescapable in a study of discourse and that discourse is inescapable in a study of the material.

In fact, material culture often leaves metonymic traces in vocabulary. Annabel Patterson began the project of 'seeing what Milton's words look like when we acknowledge their freight of personal and political history'.⁹⁵ Her study is based on Raymond Williams's discussion of vocabulary as possessing acknowledged meanings and implicit connotations that inform our understanding of experience. Williams sought to analyse 'the issues and problems that were inside the vocabulary, whether in single words or in habitual groupings'.⁹⁶ Spying keywords of material culture practices will be one of the key reading principles. Recognizing which contemporary debates or material evaluations are being indicated depends on recognizing the keywords that signpost them. It is important therefore to be continuously attentive to the words in which material culture lodges, to think about how we meet material culture in language.

One question to consider is where material culture practices are evident or formational for language and thought. A second question to consider is how Milton modulates his words to flower or limit their material culture contexts. Both questions ponder how language conveys things (and material things) and how writers ply those aptitudes. I will answer these questions first at the level of figure and then at the level of

⁹³ Michel Foucault, "History of Systems of Thought," in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard, trans. Donald F. Bouchard and Sherry Simon (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1977), 199-200, Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 199, 201.

⁹⁴ Tilley, ed., *Reading Material Culture*, Ian Hodder, ed., *The Meanings of Things* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

⁹⁵ Annabel Patterson, *Milton's Words* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 9.

⁹⁶ Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (London: Fontana, 1976), 13.

semantics. Ever leaping out from the even flow of language to capture our attention, figures of comparison most openly reveal embodied thought. Stepping into a figure lets us see how an idea is shaped by material practices which are themselves imbued by the indwelling idea. Semantic theory then permits us to look at the same themes within the miniature world of each word. These perspectives direct how we interrogate displays and traces of material culture in Milton's language.

Intimations of Materiality

Traditionally, figures of comparison have been the sites at which practices of material culture gleam. There, the everyday solicits our attention. The iconic instance is Homer's verse where epic similes are the literary occasion to evoke the everyday world. Scholars suggest that the poet used these spatial interludes to open a window onto the contemporary everyday. The epic poet's motivation is relevance – relating an old narrative to the contemporary lived world, or the martial world to the 'humble hearth'.⁹⁷ A similar motivation and aesthetic pervades the similes and metaphors of Milton's poetry. In his prose too, sharp imagery from the city streets or the household kitchen can savour pungently against his ideas, drawing them back to the material spaces in which they dwell.⁹⁸ Within the world of his poetry, Milton often plays with the slippage between metaphor and embodiment.⁹⁹ Metaphors illumine the conscious effort of thought through things.

Cognitive accounts of metaphor would in fact suggest that the poetic figure is symptomatic of the character of our thought. Metaphor often unconsciously structures the categories within which we think and the ways we express ourselves. M. J. Reddy

⁹⁷ G. P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 212; William C. Scott, *The Oral Nature of the Homeric Simile* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 4.

⁹⁸ Edwards discusses the intersections of fictive and figural worlds in Edwards, "The 'World' of Paradise Lost."

⁹⁹ For such an analysis see ———, "Raphael, Diodati," 125.

changed our understanding of thought with his analysis of conduit metaphors which inhere in the meta-linguistic apparatus of language and in the structure of thought.¹⁰⁰ A wave of investigations followed into the metaphoricity of thought in cognitive and linguistic studies. The field is exemplified by the pair, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson. For them, metaphor is the engine by which thought is embodied. They approach this thesis from both ends – the end of metaphor and the end of philosophy – to argue against the Cartesian duality of mind and body which disembodies rationality.¹⁰¹ In their argument, Kant becomes a stepping stone in the journey because he sees the imagination as a mediator between concepts and sense impressions, but he is still inadequate. His thought has not broken through the mind-body distinction and his idealizing vision makes reason able to transcend the body.¹⁰² Instead, Lakoff and Johnson argue, thought occurs through metaphors of embodied experiences. Bodily movement, manipulation of objects, and perceptual interactions organise experience into ‘discernible order’. Without them ‘experience would be chaotic and incomprehensible’. Meaning rises from ‘patterns of embodied experience and [the] pre-conceptual structure of our sensibility’.¹⁰³ Their account shows how metaphor structures thought itself and is the condition that makes philosophy possible through embodiment. The metaphorical nature of thinking then renders pertinent the discussions of meaning, interpretation, and truth that rise from the locus of poetic metaphor. It is to these that we will first turn our attention, for they present us with some of the issues at the heart of metaphoric thinking in their most

¹⁰⁰ Michael J. Reddy, "The Conduit Metaphor: A Case of Frame Conflict in Our Language," in *Metaphor and Thought*, ed. Andrew Ortony (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).

¹⁰¹ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought* (New York: Basic Books, 1999); ———, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Mark Johnson, *The Body in the Mind: The Bodily Basis of Meaning, Imagination, and Reason* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

¹⁰² This is expounded in summary version in Johnson, *The Body in the Mind*, xxviii.

¹⁰³ Johnson calls these image-schemata. *Ibid.*, xx.

piquant form, before we turn to a more general discussion of embodied thought in language.

Accounts of metaphor have usually pigeonholed them as discursive phenomena. Aristotle's analysis of metaphor (and simile as leading metaphor's concealed engine of resemblance into discursive light) takes place within the field of language.¹⁰⁴ His is a substitution account which construes the figure as a form of indirection in presenting one term by way of another. The comparison view, which might include substitution, suggests that two objects are compared on the basis of relevant similarities. Objections to the perceived naïveté of these accounts have resulted in alternatives, chief among which is the interaction theory. Propounded by Max Black, it suggests that we use a system of common associations from one domain to organize our conception of another.¹⁰⁵ These accounts describe metaphor as setting up correlations between two domains. When, as is often the case, the second domain is part of the experiential world, our attention is drawn to perceptual and bodily experiences. But these discussions of metaphor nevertheless keep their eyes on the linguistic horizon and rarely attempt an explanation of the non-linguistic component to the metaphoric effect.

¹⁰⁴ It is joined to the analysis of lexis in *Aristotle: The Art of Rhetoric*, trans. H.C. Lawson-Tancred (London: Penguin, 1991), 218-25; *Aristotle: Poetics*, trans. Kenneth McLeish (London: Nick Heron, 1998), 30-31. See also *Aristotle: On Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, ed. George A Kennedy (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). Other seminal accounts of metaphor are I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936); Paul Henle, "Metaphor," in *Language, Thought & Culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958); Monroe C. Beardsley, "The Metaphorical Twist," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research* 22, no. 3 (1962); Nelson Goodman, "Metaphor as Moonlighting," *Critical Inquiry* 6, no. 1 (Autumn, 1979); ———, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969); John Searle, *Expression and Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Paul Ricoeur, *The Rule of Metaphor* (London: Routledge, 2003). Extracts of these and other theorists are available in Mark Johnson, *Philosophical Perspectives on Metaphor* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981).

¹⁰⁵ Max Black, *Models and Metaphors* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1962).

One reification of this trend is Donald Davidson's position.¹⁰⁶ Contrary to the common run of accounts that lodge metaphoric meaning and metaphoric truth within the words themselves, Davidson suggests they are effects posthumous to the words. Metaphors operate linguistically, not semantically. They have no hidden meaning. In fact, the words do not *mean*; they *do*. They make us notice certain perspectives on a subject but because they do not precisely delineate those, there is no limit to what they make us notice. This, he argues, accounts for the intuitive feeling that a metaphor paraphrased does not do justice to metaphoric meaning or metaphoric truth. He quotes Heraclitus on the Delphi oracle as paradigmatic of the metaphoric function, 'It does not say and it does not hide, it intimates'.¹⁰⁷ His theory scourges the analysis of the non-linguistic. Yet it could be developed to suggest that there is a non-linguistic component to the metaphoric effect since the metaphor returns readers to their own experiences instead of imprisoning them within the text.

The idea that metaphors do not refer within the page but reach outside it too would appeal to another theorist, Samuel Guttenplan. His position is so diametrically different from Davidson's that they achieve a strange complementarity. Guttenplan seeks the non-linguistic component in metaphor to overcome the blindness to the embodied domain in common accounts.¹⁰⁸ He contends that linguistic theorists concede to non-linguistic objects a purely referential function and permit only linguistic objects the ability to function predicationally. Contrary to this, Guttenplan argues that metaphor operates through non-linguistic predication that involves two components: semantic descent and qualification. Semantic descent journeys from language about the world to the 'sub-linguistic' object or event or state of affairs, the 'proto-predicate' hybrid

¹⁰⁶ Donald Davidson, "What Metaphors Mean," *Critical Inquiry* 5, no. 1, Special Issue on Metaphor (Autumn, 1978).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*: 33, 46.

¹⁰⁸ Samuel D. Guttenplan, *Objects of Metaphor* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

composed of words and objects that can then qualify the subject of the metaphor. Guttenplan's account draws us to the experiential foundation of the construction and construal of metaphor. When we read it, we are presented not just with an idea but are drawn towards a non-linguistic experience. Whether or not one agrees with the notion of a 'sub-linguistic' object, Guttenplan's account vitally supplies a deficiency in other theories of metaphor – the need to take into account perceptual and bodily experience in metaphoric effect.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, as Bruno Latour would have us notice, metaphorized material culture shows us that material culture is itself often available to us through metaphors. Some studies of material culture in the early modern world have already noted this circularity. Thinking through metaphors of leather in Shakespeare, Anston Bosman writes of its value 'as both artefact and discourse, and between those values lay an intimate and changeable relation'.¹¹⁰

Clues left to us about the norms of writing and reading suggest that metaphors were followed to their experiential worlds by early modern readers. Henry Peacham writes of metaphor's spatial domains: 'The places from whence translations may be taken, are infinite ... as the most plentiful fields, yeelding such profitable and pleasant flowers'.¹¹¹ This space could be rhetorical as Anne Ferry suggests by connecting metaphoric spaces to the *loci communes* or 'common places or heads of Inuention' of common place books.¹¹² Similarly, Richard Sherry categorizes various kinds of translations in metaphor. He lists embodied principles of translations from the 'body to

¹⁰⁹ For anthropological accounts of materiality and metaphor see Christopher Tilley, *Metaphor and Material Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

¹¹⁰ Anston Bosman, "Shakespeare in Leather," in *The Forms of Renaissance Thought*, ed. Leonard Barkan, Bradin Cormack and Sean Keilen (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 236. He develops Greenblatt's argument that Shakespeare's experience as a tanner informed his metaphors: 'leather was not only a means of providing vivid detail but also the stuff of metaphor; it evidently came readily to mind when he was putting together his world' in Greenblatt, *Will in the World*, 55-56.

¹¹¹ Metaphor was commonly conceived in terms of translation. Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: 1577), 2.

¹¹² John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius* (London: 1612), 182-83.

the mynd', from the 'liuinge to the not liuyng', from the 'not lyuyng to the livuyng'.¹¹³ It is also therefore the case that rhetoricians appear conscious that physical spaces can be associated with a stock cluster of ideas.

Early modern reading practices then involved an ethic of *amplificatio* from these material or other domains. Cynthia Wall speculates that readers were able to 'fill out, expand on, 'rehydrate' the signs of a 'shared culture' from their shared 'memory storehouse'. She goes on to argue that much early modern description 'turns out to be a matter of "diverse words or tropes shut up in one" and requiring an intimate readerly *amplificatio* – a well-acquainted reader'.¹¹⁴ There is evidence for such reading practices among the rhetorical manuals of the seventeenth century. Obadiah Walker theorized material similitudes thus in 1659: '*Metaphors* (used chiefly in *Descriptions*) which are *similitudes* contracted to a word ... are borrowed, and translated to our matter from things amongst which our life is much conversant; as from *Buildings; Plants; Seasons* of the year; *Navigation; Astronomy*; All sorts and all qualities of *Bodies* ... which so soon as named, the well-acquainted Auditor with ease, as it were prognosticates the rest of the discourse, and applies them further than the speaker'.¹¹⁵ Henry Peacham writes of metaphors thus, 'From the *earth* are borrowed these and such like translations' (my

¹¹³ His unembodied principles consist of from the 'reasonable to the unreasonable' and from the 'unreasonable to the reasonable'. See Richard Sherry, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes* (London: 1551), Ciiii-r-Cv-v.

¹¹⁴ Wall, *The Prose of Things*, 9, 22. She draws on Philippe Hamon's concept of the 'memory storehouse' from Phillippe Hamon and Patricia Baudoin, "Rhetorical Status of the Descriptive," *Yale French Studies*, no. 61 (1981).

¹¹⁵ Obadiah Walker, *Some Instructions Concerning the Art of Oratory* (London: 1659), 54-55. Other key accounts of metaphor are contained in Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*; George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: 1589); Sherry, *A Treatise of Schemes and Tropes*; Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorike* (London: 1567). For studies of metaphor in early modern culture and literature see Maria Franziska Fahey, *Metaphor and Shakespearean Drama* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Judith H. Anderson, "Metaphor and Culture in Renaissance England," in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010); Ralph Berry, *The Shakespearean Metaphor: Studies in Language and Form* (Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978). See also these studies of Renaissance language which include discussions of metaphor: Judith Anderson, *Words That Matter: Linguistic Perception in Renaissance English* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996); Anne Ferry, *The Art of Naming* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

italics).¹¹⁶ Their source comes from some place outside language in the external world, he suggests. The reader is not expected to stop short at the words of the text but to be responsive to the conventional associations and spaces hailed by them. Contemporary reading norms suggest that a complicit imagination in metonymic reading was expected and cultivated.

It is not just that the reader wilfully amplifies a poetic image from his own perceptual experiences, but that the poetic image inevitably resounds there. Gaston Bachelard, the phenomenologist of the poetic image, describes its affective impact as extending infinitely into the reader's past. He writes of reverberation, the 'opposite of causality', in which the poetic image has 'sonority of being'. He takes the term from Eugène Minkowski's choice of *retentire* in *Vers une Cosmologie* (1936). Bachelard distinguishes between resonances that are 'dispersed on the different planes of our life in the world' and repercussions which 'invite us to give greater depth to our own existence'. After the initial reverberation, we experience 'resonances, sentimental repercussions, reminders of our past'.¹¹⁷ If we link this reference back to the idea of the deep connection of perceptual experience to affect, then the metaphorical reference to embodied experiences surrenders the text to the structures of affect and belief that are associated with them.

Lana Cable reaches the same conclusion in her elaboration of metaphoric meaning which is based on the idea that perceptual reference and affective response are not separable from intellectual meaning nor are they discursively reducible.¹¹⁸ But while Cable discusses the sensory and affective dimensions of Milton's metaphors, she does not

¹¹⁶ Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*, 11-12.

¹¹⁷ Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston, Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1994), xvi-xvii, xxii-xxiii.

¹¹⁸ Cable, *Carnal Rhetoric*, 13, 15, 33.

in fact explore how images can be hostage to and shaped by the contemporary experiences from which they rise. This analysis also goes further in discerning the metaphoric principle at work in passages other than those set apart by poetic figures.

Clearly, the *matter* of metaphor and other figures of resemblance and comparison make visible the deep processes of resemblance and comparison that structure and enable thought itself. If metaphors turn us towards embodied perceptual experiences and suggest a metaphoric mode of thought at work, then they suggest the importance of thinking about how authorial thought rises from and through embodied perceptual experiences. For studying Milton, this means that matter matters not just in the metaphorical sections of verse or prose but in the structure of the narrative and the argument itself. Examining practices of material culture is important for understanding how thought rises from and is embodied in perceptual experiences. To return to Guttenplan's terms, we need to consider the non-linguistic predicates of Milton's sentences, at the very least where there is evidence of metaphoric thought, even without the evidence of the metaphoric figure. Further, turning to the non-linguistic predicate in metaphor highlights a degree of instability in every metaphoric thought that at once suggests a conceptual elaboration and surrenders something to the experiential descent that each reader sustains. That experiential descent might then secret the affective or the non-abstract which the abstract system of the text cannot adequately express.¹¹⁹ Metaphor, it would appear, works through the same logic as De Certeau's practice. It knows.

If metaphoric meaning is not limited to the words themselves, or not lodged therein at all, what is the role of metaphoric paraphrase and is it to be engaged in at all? Discussions of paraphrase are significant because this thesis rests on the idea of a

¹¹⁹ For an elaboration of the role of metaphor in philosophical discourse, see Michèle Le Doeuff, *The Philosophical Imaginary* (London: Continuum, 2002).

metaphoric process underlying discourse and is in effect an extended paraphrase of Milton's metaphoric thinking that examines practices of material culture dwelling in the discursive.

There has been much disaffection with the idea of a paraphrase because it is rarely felt to capture metaphoric truth. To use Black as an exemplum once more: paraphrase 'will not have the same power to inform and enlighten as the original ... the loss in such cases is a loss in cognitive content'.¹²⁰ So on one hand, paraphrase could make us lose the complexity of metaphoric meaning. On the other, Davidson argues that the sort of paraphrase that elucidates the historical context of a metaphor is not needed for the creative work to have impact. He uses the New Critic William Empson's analysis of a literal statement made by John Donne that is presently read metaphorically because of the ignorance of early modern physiology. Empson concludes, 'It is curious how the change in the word [that is, in what we think it means] leaves the poetry unaffected'.¹²¹ Though that is one conclusion to come to, the ends of this study are quite different. Material culture contexts are important for the dual ends of studying the imaginative expression of an author and for understanding the history of (embodied) engagement with ideas. Despite suggesting that metaphors do not mean in themselves and should not be paraphrased, Davidson did concede this grudging admission:

The legitimate function of so-called paraphrase is to make the lazy or ignorant reader have a vision like that of the skilled critic ... The critic tries to make his own art easier or more transparent in some respects than the original, but at the same time he tries to reproduce in others some of the effects the original had on him. In doing this the critic ... calls attention to the beauty or aptness, the hidden power, of the metaphor itself.¹²²

¹²⁰ Black, *Models and Metaphors*, 46.

¹²¹ William Empson, *Some Versions of Pastoral* (London: 1935), 133. Quoted in Davidson, "What Metaphors Mean," 37.

¹²² Davidson, "What Metaphors Mean," 47.

Though this exercise at paraphrase will inevitably attempt to reproduce personal impact, it is also one that conjecturally, with the best evidence available, attempts to rectify ignorance and in so doing, calls attention to the beauty and aptness at work within metaphoric thought and figures at work in the text.

So having studied the metaphoric bent of mind, we conclude that it intimates non-linguistic experiences and that paraphrase is a worthwhile endeavour if it enables the recovery of a range of resonances that colour in a fuller picture of the authorial process of constructing a metaphor and the engagement with ideas and material culture through each other at a point in time. If paraphrase is problematic in the poetic figure, it is also problematic here for it cannot definitively fix the bends and curves in a map of meaning. It can however suggest the range of resonances in which a metaphorical expression might sound.

Further, cognitive accounts of metaphor, like Lakoff and Johnson's described earlier, lead us to place these insights within the regular stream of language too. As Lakoff and Johnson explained it, material non-linguistic experiences govern linguistic domains within which we think. For instance, the pair 'up-down' is usually associated with the idea of less and more because of material practices such as filling up a glass of water. Seeing metaphor as systemic to thought rather than merely available within poetic figures expands the range of references we could examine. Instead of limiting ourselves to the obvious metaphors, we can consider how the mutual invocation of the ideational and material, the existence of each through each, is present even when poetic figures do not draw our attention. When 'X' does not mark the spot, we can still dig for buried treasure. Or perhaps 'X' does not necessarily look like a metaphoric figure.

Prioritizing the metaphoric process in thought also means that investigating material culture need not await the excuse of a sparkling metonymy that pleads attention. For it has conventionally been the case that objects draw attention when they function metonymically, not metaphorically. Understanding the metaphoric process at work in Milton's text gives us reason to explore material culture when the dominant mode is metaphor rather than just when the metonymy of things leads us to pick up the scent.

This is the methodological blind spot of much thingly criticism. Cynthia Wall, for instance, charts the transformation of the thing from emblem to object in proto-novelistic works and the novel.¹²³ Amongst several studies of literature and history, she examines John Bunyan's writing as an instance of the 'Puritan habit of emblemization becom[ing] absorbed into fictional techniques'. Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) delivers objects which 'give out their pleasures because they *are* reality' as the "by-products" of Puritan allegorical writing'. It instances a representational shift in which 'things were standing in a light of their own and, on their own, in texts'.¹²⁴ This analysis is predicated on writing of emblematic things as those which do not recall the spaces they inhabit. It is only when emblematic objects signify in excess of their allegory, as they do in Bunyan or Defoe, that they seem to merit attention.

It is this principle that guides most systematic material culture studies. Bill Brown's impressive work on the material culture of nineteenth-century America stems from a time when objects had lost the primacy of their allegorical content.¹²⁵ Similarly Kari McBride can write of Margaret Cavendish's 'biskett' because by choosing a word that disowns an especially poetic inheritance, the word refers metonymically from the

¹²³ Wall, *The Prose of Things*.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 108, 12.

¹²⁵ Brown, *Sense of Things*; Bill Brown, *The Material Unconscious: American Amusement, Stephen Crane & the Economies of Play* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1996).

domain of material culture from which it derives.¹²⁶ Material culture studies has especially flourished in work on the stage precisely because theatrical objects are things twice over – they are things in themselves and they gleam with greater thingly lustre for having their thingliness staged.¹²⁷ For this reason, material culture studies in literature has chiefly thrived in the studies of Renaissance drama and lyric, and the eighteenth-, nineteenth- and early twentieth-century novel.¹²⁸ Though I draw on the work of these material culturists, there is an immediate difference between their work and my own. In their case the modes of writing under study are governed by a metonymic aesthetic in being broadly within a ‘realist’ framework and their object studies are drawn to materialities that function as metonymies for ways of living.¹²⁹ As Roland Barthes explained it, the assembly of objects within the realist frame has been thought ‘a narrative luxury, lavish to the point of offering many futile details’ to achieve a ‘reality effect’ that posits a direct correspondence between the sign and the real, masking the signified, in order to signify the category of the real. Descriptive passages foreground the paradigmatic axis in a text that otherwise tends to foreground the syntagmatic, forcing the reader beyond the text to tease out the significances of ‘insignificant notation’.¹³⁰ By their enigmatic character, they baffle interpretation and spur critics to chase them down to their

¹²⁶ McBride shows how practices of material culture prevent the success of Cavendish’s metaphor in McBride, *Country House Discourse in Early Modern England*; Katharine Capshaw Smith, "'Bisket of Love, Which Crumbles All Away": The Failure of Domestic Metaphor in Margaret Cavendish's Poetic Fancies," in *Domestic Arrangements in Early Modern England*, ed. Kari Boyd McBride (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press: 2002). Another lyric study is Lisa H. Cooper, *Lydgate Matters: Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

¹²⁷ An excellent example of this sort of study is Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies*. Jonathan Gil Harris’s is also a study of theatrical objects with attention to time: Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

¹²⁸ Some other instances are Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Thomas Otten, *A Superficial Reading of Henry James: Preoccupations with the Material World* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006).

¹²⁹ Seminal accounts of metaphor and metonymy in language and literature are Roman Jakobson, *Fundamentals of Language*, 2nd revised ed. (The Hague: Mouton, 1956), 55-82; David Lodge, *The Modes of Modern Writing: Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Literature* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977), 88-103.

¹³⁰ Roland Barthes, "The Reality Effect," in *The Rustle of Language* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), 141-42.

material frames as possible sources from which recalcitrant meaning might be elicited. This double metonymy leads more ingenuously to an object pursuit in the text.

With Milton, such questions are staved off by a premature interpretative satiety. If, as Bill Brown conjectures, we are confronted by the thingness of objects when they malfunction, we are confronted by thingness in literature when they exhibit an apparent failure of function,¹³¹ and Milton's physical world has rarely done so. His objects rarely seem to be narrative superfluities. A good proportion of Milton's work is in that metaphoric mode, poetry, and at first reading, material culture is most often evoked through similes and metaphors. His objects therefore do not appear baffling at all. Their paradigmatic foregrounding does hint at an available study of material comparisons but because their relevance to the burden of the text appears immediately accessible, they appear to yield up their meaning too readily for interpretations to stray outside the limitations of the religious, classical, or political frame within which they are construed. This hermeneutic complacency is likely to be reinforced by a naïve belief in the atemporal stability of materiality itself. Faith in the sufficiency of these frames, symbolic and material, means that the critic does not chase objects down to originary material frames persistently enough.¹³²

Milton's prose frames material culture references by their reference to contemporary practices of the kitchen or the city. But Milton's poetry is particularly subject to metaphoric reading. This might explain why poets like Milton have not been thought about within the subject of material culture, whereas the subject might more easily occur to students of Guillaume du Bartas. The difference between their material references is like the difference between their gardens. Here is the garden in which Du

¹³¹ Brown, "Thing Theory," 4.

¹³² For the use of the word 'frame', I rely here on the analysis of frames that developed from Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975).

Bartas's Eve walks: 'Not simply hedged with a single border / Of *Rosemary*, cut-out with curious order, / In *Satyrs*, *Centaurs*, *Whales*, and *half-men-horses*, / And thousand other counterfeited corses'.¹³³ Full of 'curious order' and resplendent with the Tudor customs of topiary, his garden contrasts with Milton's which is guiltless of artifice: 'not nice Art / In Beds and curious Knots, but Nature boon / Powrd forth profuse' (*PLA.241-243*). Du Bartas's contemporary allusions suggest a metonymic reading; Milton's generic description suggests a metaphoric one. In fact Milton's description seems to operate through a rhetorical cancellation of its reference to material culture within the palimpsested text. Yet as with *On Time*, what lies beneath the sounding of the most immaterial theme was the ticking of a real object. One wonders how often Milton denies the forms of material culture that gave shape to his own imagination.

As critics, we must be craftier than our writers. For Du Bartas, the object lies on the surface of the text, visible as an ornament. The weightier sonority of language that Milton sought does not permit easy metonymic references. It is likely he avoided them just as he did the jingle of a facetious rhyme. But it is precisely for this reason that we need to examine the material culture of his work. Meditations on high themes did not preclude his mind from clinging to the material object. With Milton, materialities are either metaphorical or beneath the horizon of visibility and so only a changed title, a rhetorical cancellation, draws our attention to the indwelling materiality. This in fact suggests that we investigate how material culture informs these texts not just in the case of the sign-posted simile or metaphor but that we metonymically pursue the object world of his texts even when their interpretative depth seems to have been sounded.

¹³³ Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas, *Du Bartas His Devine Weekes and Workes Translated*, trans. Iosuah Syluester (London: 1605), 86.

If metonymies lead to material culture studies ingenuously, they also function for a reader as something of a crutch, propping up our inability to see thought embodied. To investigate a metonymy is to investigate the thought behind the object or the object abstracted. To investigate metaphor is to investigate the object behind the thought. It is counter-intuitive but it is really the same principle at work. Presuming on the metaphoric relationship can then lead us to reverse the direction of inquiry. Instead of starting with the object and following its trail into culture, we additionally look at how those objects might take us back to ideas or representations in the text. Despite our claim to break through the distinction between thought and things, unless we bring material culture to bear on our metaphors and to bear metaphorically, we have not really overcome that dualism.

Delivering Us to Things

If we are to have a metaphoric principle lead us to words outside poetic figures that do not necessarily call attention by their ‘reality effects’, we need to consider how language conveys things: how words deliver us to objects and deliver objects to us. Merleau-Ponty describes a secret veneration for an ideal language which ‘in the last analysis would deliver us from language by delivering us to things’.¹³⁴ This idea derives from a spiritual model premised on divine creation sustained by language so that language corresponds to things. It is then the ‘double of being’. Within this paradigm it is inconceivable that anything exists which cannot be put into words for everything ‘that now exists or will exist prepares itself for being put into words’, making every object ever capable of linguistic definition. Words can deliver us to things with apparent ease. In the ideal system, thought conveys unequivocally to another mind which can read the message because it attaches the same signification to the same sign, whether by habit, by human

¹³⁴ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The Prose of the World*, ed. Claude Lefort, trans. John O'Neill (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1973), 4.

conventions, or by divine institution. This is the sort of naïve understanding of language that science or psychology presumes on.

In fact, writes Merleau-Ponty, we need a constant awareness of ‘radical subjectivity’.¹³⁵ Words are continuously compromised by the locations of space and time and person. For a study of material culture in Milton, two questions beg answers. The first is how we understand the function of context in the mechanism of reference and meaning. The second is what this might mean for referring to things of which we have no acquaintance.¹³⁶ To think about these we need to examine how philosophers of language have codified different referential functions.

Words that function referentially are usually classified as proper names, indexicals and demonstratives (for instance, I, he, this, or that), natural kind terms (generic species like pencil or tree), and descriptions.¹³⁷ There are several theories that explain how these terms refer. Proper names represent the most direct delivery of objects and as such have provoked much debate.¹³⁸ J.S. Mill’s theory that proper names are simply bearers of the things they refer to was first refuted by the descriptive theories of Gottlob Frege and Bertrand Russell who argued that names referred because they satisfied the descriptive content associated with their names. Presently, versions of causal

¹³⁵ Ibid., 7.

¹³⁶ The answers are at the heart of discussions in the philosophy of language. They tell us about the relationships of language to ‘reality’ and have implications for the study of metaphysics and epistemology.

¹³⁷ For a summary of some of these theories, see Ernest LePore and Barry C. Smith, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Language* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 291-552.

¹³⁸ The chief positions relevant to my discussion are these: J. S. Mill, *A System of Logic* (London: Longman, 1867); A. Meinong, "The Theory of Objects," in *Untersuchungen Zur Gegenstandstheorie Und Psychologie*, ed. A. Meinong (Barth: Leipzig, 1904); G. Frege, "On Sense and Reference (1893)," in *Translations from the Philosophical Writings of Gottlob Frege*, ed. P. Geach and M. Black (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952); Bertrand Russell, "On Denoting," *Mind* 14 (1905); K. Donnellan, "Reference and Definite Descriptions," *Philosophical Review* 75 (1966); ———, "Proper Names and Identifying Descriptions," in *The Semantics of Natural Language*, ed. D. Davidson and G. Harman (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1972); G. Evans, "The Causal Theory of Names," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society Supplementary Volume 47* (1973); ———, *The Varieties of Reference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982); S. Kripke, "Speaker's Reference and Semantic Reference," *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* 2 (1977); ———, *Naming and Necessity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980); P.F. Strawson, "On Referring," *Mind* 59 (1950).

theories have found more favour. Samuel Kripke's, one of the most influential, suggests that names refer by reference-fixing (or dubbing) and reference-borrowing (the circulation of those terms). An extension of this theory explains the referential action of natural kind terms. Users of these terms often do not always have a comprehensive understanding of their contents but are able to use them to refer to objects that have been so dubbed. Discussions of the objects to which natural kind terms refer are especially pertinent to the cross-referencing of textual traditions and empirical discoveries in the early modern period.¹³⁹

The result of any causal theory of reference is some form of semantic externalism. This is the idea that reference and meaning are not entirely determined by internal states or ideas but correspond in some degree to the social and physical environment. Hilary Putnam is usually credited with the first theorization of this idea and put it most emphatically when he exclaimed, ‘‘meanings’ just ain’t in the head’.¹⁴⁰ Rather, the intension of a term is matched by an extension in the world which plays a role in constituting meaning. Developing this idea from the natural context to the social context, Tyler Burge argues that social institutions have a role to play in determining the contents of beliefs and thoughts.¹⁴¹ Many positions mediate between some form of internalism and externalism and distinguish between the role of context in meaning and in use, between semantics and pragmatics.

One such account is Kent Bach's who helpfully referees between these distinctions and between the terminological ambiguities in the literature of referential functions. Bach proposes the condition that all references involve entertaining a singular

¹³⁹ See Karen Edwards's discussion of Thomas Browne's distinction between the English locust or grasshopper and the cicada in Edwards, "Days of the Locust: Natural History, Politics, and the English Bible."

¹⁴⁰ Hilary Putnam, *Mind, Language, and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 227.

¹⁴¹ Tyler Burge, "Individualism and the Mental," *Midwest Studies in Philosophy* IV (1979).

proposition regarding a specific object.¹⁴² Accordingly he delineates a set of three referential functions that underlie all these referential manifestations. Reference relies on a speaker having singular thoughts about at least one object. Singling out occurs when a speaker makes a general proposition believing there is an individual who exists that satisfies it; the proposition is evident to the audience without conveyance. Allusion occurs when the speaker has a singular proposition in mind about an object but may wish to indicate so without conveying the proposition. For Bach this disqualifies descriptions as genuine references.

How these acts of reference or description acquire meaning is considered within two frames: the speaker and the context. Speaker reference is a four-stop itinerary between a speaker, an expression, an audience, and a referent. There is a spectrum of positions that think about the speaker's relation to the object. A restrictive view like Bertrand Russell's would say that to make an allusion, the speaker must have personal acquaintance via perception, perception-based memory, disallowing singular thoughts about unfamiliar objects.¹⁴³ A liberal view like Bach's permits singular thoughts about an object that can satisfy the condition of uniqueness by the speaker's knowledge of it through information. Reference is the most direct delivery of an audience to an object but it is not as context-independent as it sounds. It is conditional on the audience recognizing the name the speaker attaches to his intended referent. The speaker also takes into account his knowledge of the shared context – historical, conversational, situational – between himself and his audience and usually chooses the least informative expression that will enable his audience to identify the referent. Some linguists suggest criteria such as accessibility (givenness or familiarity), being activated by discussion or mutual

¹⁴² Kent Bach, "What Does It Take to Refer?," in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Language*, ed. Ernest LePore and Barry C. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 529-33. A fuller exposition is available in ———, *Thought and Reference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

¹⁴³ Russell, "On Denoting."

awareness, or being uniquely identifiable by satisfying a definite description.¹⁴⁴

Obviously, context matters most in the case of indexicals which acquire their meaning from the situation of person, place, and time. So much for the speaker, his or her context and awareness of the audience context.

Within the frame of audience context, there has been some dispute over how necessary context was to the audience's understanding of a message. At one extreme, Strawson thought context was nearly everything. There is little agreement with his position and as Bach argues, when meaning does not fix reference, context usually does not either.¹⁴⁵ However, Strawson's arguments give us good reason to support the position that expressions certainly do not refer independently but relative to context. More moderate is Bach's description of context as 'mutually salient common ground' which could include the current state of the conversation, the physical setting, salient mutual knowledge, and relevant common background knowledge. It can constrain what a hearer can reasonably take a speaker to mean and it can constrain what the speaker can reasonably mean, but it cannot determine what the speaker actually does mean.¹⁴⁶ Its role is epistemic not constitutive, pragmatic not semantic.

These studies of the mechanisms of reference reveal the naive assumptions that underlie faith in Merleau-Ponty's dream language, or in a naive reading of Milton's words. The reader who is easily enraptured by the text and permits it to close around him may assume on the similarity of things experientially known to each, and may take for granted that authorial intent and readerly experience meet in the linguistic conveyance of things. Yet it also explains why reading might sail smoothly along when the words are clothed in contemporary references.

¹⁴⁴ Bach's positions are found in Bach, "What Does It Take to Refer?."

¹⁴⁵ Strawson, "On Referring."

¹⁴⁶ Again, see Bach, "What Does It Take to Refer?."

What are the implications of the matter of acquaintance and context on Milton's referential acts? Which modes of reference does Milton use? Does his acquaintance with the objects of his time shape his references? What does Milton's use of language say about his expectations of a shared context with his readers or his awareness of contextual differences from his readers?

Early modern rhetorical manuals setting out the modes of figural language are usually sensitive to how the metaphoric work of each word delivers readers to objects or their domains. George Puttenham writes of how words bespeak different material domains in his analysis of metaphor, catachresis, metonymy and other 'Sensible' figures. He describes how 'single words haue their sence and vnderstanding altered and figured many ways, to wit, by transport, abuse, crosse-naming, new naming, change of name'.¹⁴⁷ Thomas Wilson defines metaphor as 'an alteration of a woorde from the proper and naturall meanynge, to that whiche is not proper, and yet agreeth therunto'.¹⁴⁸ How does this frame of norms and expectations impact Milton's practices of naming things?

As we peruse Milton's texts, we need to be sensitive to the possibilities of reference. There are definitely times, especially in the pamphlet literature, when Milton counts on the shared experiences of urban and rural life. These obviously call for attention to the early modern context and to Milton's acquaintance with objects and spaces. On the other hand, his poetry often references objects, such as fruit, quite generically. These could be times when Milton seems to be operating from obliviousness to segments of experiences that are shared and divergent between himself and his readers. Nevertheless, in these cases, even the advocacy of a moderate position of acquaintance

¹⁴⁷ Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, 148.

¹⁴⁸ Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorike*, 91. An analysis of early modern accounts of metaphor is in Anderson, "Metaphor and Culture in Renaissance England."

would suggest that Milton's most contextually undemanding representations are in fact shaped by acquaintance with specific instants of the object in question.

Further, is he presuming on a shared cultural knowledge with his readers? He may have expected his words to function metonymically to kindle a particular contemporary discourse or situation. Studies have shown that metonymic inferences are in general part of our thinking processes. Experiments show that people fill in information in gaps to make a story coherent. This type of knowledge, termed scripts by Roger Schank and Robert Abelson, consists of well-learned scenarios describing structured situations in everyday life. Experiments show that people automatically infer appropriate script-related actions when they are not explicitly stated.¹⁴⁹

In the eighteenth century Jonathan Richardson noticed that Milton 'leaves work for the imagination when he has entertained it' and leaves 'more to the imagination than is expressed'.¹⁵⁰ Perhaps this was why Milton presents objects without much elaboration as Hugh Blair noted. Though one might argue that a 'more detailed account ... could only have assimilated Eden to the landscapes of the earth with which we are familiar', the lack of description also precludes any possibility of correcting the material givens of a culture.¹⁵¹ It is precisely because Milton often presents objects without embellishment that we need to examine the cultural storehouse from which readers coloured in.

Given this context of metonymic extensions of the text into the world, we have to wonder about Milton's choice of vocabulary. Does his spare vocabulary suggest that he considers the bare minimum sufficient to evoke shared contemporary experiences of an

¹⁴⁹ Raymond W. Gibbs Jr., "Speaking and Thinking with Metonymy," in *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, ed. Klaus-Uwe Panther and Günter Radden (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1999), 68-9; Roger C. Schank and Robert Abelson, *Scripts, Plans, Goals and Understanding: An Inquiry into Human Knowledge Structures* (London: Wiley, 1977).

¹⁵⁰ Thorpe, ed., *Milton Criticism*, 56.

¹⁵¹ Eliot, *Milton: Two Studies*, 40.

object? Or perhaps, aware of the differences and similarities of different readerships and his own, Milton may seek to *single out*, to presume on a shared storehouse for those who have the requisite knowledge and yet save the generic character of his references for those who do not. He may count on the conspiracy of mutual knowledge even while attempting to open out the reference to a more inclusive denotation, a form of covert referencing. Another alternative is that Milton, aware of plentiful differences, may choose to negotiate these by refusing to engage with specificities in his own references but surrenders his denotations to the cultural storehouse of his readers.

Further, we need to consider that we may not have an adequate sense of the expression and we may not therefore have an adequate sense of the object. Following metonymic trails takes us through the looking glass to specific spaces and times. Heidegger writes of space and time as ‘perceptual realms for things’. Things are constituted in space and time and help produce our experience of space and the passage of time.¹⁵² For space, this means it is configured by the objects within it, and is constituted by them and their implicit social relations. It is therefore that Henri Lefebvre thinks a description of space incomplete if it included only nature, climate, or history, but needed too ‘mediations, and mediators ... to be taken into consideration: the action of groups, factors within knowledge, within ideology, or within the domain of representations’.¹⁵³

The currency of these objects, the spaces in which they inhere, thicken their significances. Different kinds of practices implicate the action of different social groups and their political or religious ideologies. Implicated simultaneously in several discourses, it takes one token from such a discourse to raise it. Flowers at a funeral might

¹⁵² Heidegger, *What Is a Thing?*, 22.

¹⁵³ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 77.

only refer to their liturgical and ceremonial usages; flowers in a bower or a chamber of sleep conjures up their placement in interior decoration, embroidery and soft furnishings, bedrooms, gardens, and the consonant meanings of interiority, security, and privacy. In the allusive art of poetry, the object may become shorthand for the spaces and practices within which they are situated. The referential expression may belong to a discourse of object practices that we have now lost. We may need to recover words that would have acted nominally. It is only after this recovery that we can begin to consider whether Milton's style of reference is a conscious cultivation of these discourses or a desire for emancipation from them, and then consider the resultant revelations in each case.

Finally, what does the acquaintance account mean for the imagination of unexperienced things and spaces? A moderate acquaintance position would tell us that Milton can only imagine Heaven or Eden or Israel through his own encounters with the objects and spaces of early modern England and Europe. As Edwards explains, 'Milton suggests not simply that we construe paradise from this fallen world, but that we *know* paradise from it' and the corollary must be that 'the prelapsarian must be immanent in the postlapsarian'.¹⁵⁴ Often in this thesis, we will encounter Milton's consciousness of the possibilities and limits of his location in time and space.

These are some of the questions that will govern the direction of the investigation in the following chapters. To that end, my method follows a similar career to Elaine Freedgood's who distinguishes between the weak and the strong metonymic reading. For the former 'the object (as in metaphor) is indentured to the subject', while for the latter 'the object is investigated in terms of its own properties and history and then refigured

¹⁵⁴ Edwards, "Raphael, Diodati," 137.

alongside and athwart the ... dominant narrative – the one that concerns its subjects’.¹⁵⁵ Metonymic connections undergird even the metaphoric reading for literariness, as Jakobson explained, and can be understood as a ‘projection of the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection to the axis of combination’.¹⁵⁶ Material culture with all its metonymic resonances is made metaphoric. To fully unfold its metaphoric richness, we must return to its metonymic location.

Plan of the Chapters: An Apology

There are many material references in Milton’s poetry and prose, and it is impossible to exhaustively ferret out every obtrusive and glancing reference. Instead I have worked out a broad schema, selective rather than comprehensive, within which to analyse these conjunctions between the material and the discursive. The foundation of metaphoric thought does not give us a sufficient principle by which to limit analysis for it opens up the investigative field too widely. We need therefore other motivations to set limits to the analysis. Two present themselves – one pertains to the subjects of the chapters, the other to their methodology.

First, this thesis begins from the attraction we perceive Milton to have had for material culture. It therefore makes conceptual and practical sense to start with cuing in the texts which can lead us to a hierarchy of significance. However this method poses problems for present-day readers. It relies on their ability to discern categories though unsocialized by the seventeenth-century world. It also relies on the narrative adequately framing those categories to the reader. This would defeat the purpose of the exercise which is to examine material culture, framed and unframed by figures of comparison. The resultant methodology is one that begins with the texts but then works antiphonally from

¹⁵⁵ Elaine Freedgood, *The Ideas in Things: Fugitive Meaning in the Victorian Novel* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 3,7.

¹⁵⁶ Jakobson, *Fundamentals of Language*.

the work and the life. While there is no way to completely acquire an immersive socialization within Milton's world, we should be conscious to refer back to the material formations of Milton's world and let those shape our perspectives of the text's cuing. There we may recover material forms whose presences are not framed in the text but whose perspectives or whose dispositions are a formative influence.

This dual perspective of text and biography results from the nature of the methodology. Sense-perception, in Hegel's view, only takes place through being and consciousness of the individual. He writes, 'in sense-certainty, pure being at once splits up into what we have called the two "Thises", one "This" as "I", and the other "This" as object. When *we* reflect on this difference, we find that neither one nor the other is only *immediately* present in sense-certainty, *through* something else, viz. the thing; and it, similarly, is in sense-certainty *through* something else, viz. through the "I".¹⁵⁷ It is therefore that a study of material culture must inevitably take both 'thises' into account.

So looking to make the object and the biography meet, four categories emerge – the natural world, the urban world, the page, and the body – categories which I believe provide sufficient latitude and constraint within which to interpret Milton's materialities. Naturally, I have also been influenced in my choices towards readings of passages that I believed were satisfyingly revelatory. The natural world is plentifully present as a habitat and as a material category whose objects were in common use in the texts and everyday (two chapters explore its significations). The urban world quite obviously emerges from biographical detail as a study of a habitat. The study of the geographic page emerges from graphic representations that inhere in the text. In the study of the page, I have avoided a study of book history for two reasons. One, the subject is vast enough to form a thesis in its own right. Two, to avoid the depthless referentiality possible in biographical and

¹⁵⁷ Hegel, *Phenomenology*, 59.

historical study, I have limited myself to the connections that rose from within the figurations of the prose and poetry. Finally, the study of the body, specifically armour, rises from obtrusive references to forms of armour in the writings due, naturally, to the immediacy of war conditions. There too I have been selective amid the plentiful objects seeking attention.

This scheme of chapters flows not with linear logic; it may even seem arbitrary. Its logic is the logic of practice; it reflects the material it draws on. Apparent arbitrariness is often encountered by everyday theorists. Reflecting on his work, De Certeau writes, ‘This kind of research is complicated by the fact that these practices themselves alternately exacerbate and disrupt our logics’.¹⁵⁸

Further, this scheme of chapters is not exhaustive. Like the everyday, this is not a closed subject but as new historical discoveries rise and new connections to the text are made, more could be added to the archive. That is distinctive of the additive proliferation of the everyday. It was Walter Benjamin’s discovery when he attempted to archive the everyday. Contemplating his archive of scraps and material evidences he writes, the ‘final collecting together of the infinite scraps of my production seems less conceivable, indeed more improbable than ever’.¹⁵⁹ The logic of the everyday displaces telos in favour of scattered and desultory form. Though the past stands complete, as it were, and unproliferating, it continues to proliferate everyday with the discovery and archaeology of present day scholars. To that extent, the everyday of the past is an open archive too and proliferates with the present. There are more fields of inquiry available presently and I will allude to some of those below. Undoubtedly, there will be even further fields in the future.

¹⁵⁸ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xvi.

¹⁵⁹ Walter Benjamin, *Walter Benjamin's Archive*, trans. Esther Leslie (London: Verso, 2007), 31.

Second, this plan of chapters also results from the desire to work strategically to represent a range of domains that beckon (metonymically) or seem to be hermeneutically sated (metaphorically). Beginning with the work, we find Milton frequently referring to certain material domains like fruit, flowers, or weapons and armour. In the case of objects of the natural world, spare references seem to leave no tantalizing excess that leads us to pursue these objects beyond the text. On the other hand, the obvious disjunctions between the mythic context and the contemporary metonymies of armour and gunpowder have led to some investigations of material practices. The urban clearly energizes Milton's imagination in his prose and his poetry. It is the urban palette that offers many of Milton's most striking similes and metaphors. Reading the literature of the city to discover contemporary debates also issues fresh dividends. We discover there may be more that is informed by an urban epistemology than the obviously urban references. We can then return to the texts for an examination of, for instance, light and sight, that do not explicitly attract attention as informed by urban experience. An instance of antiphonal reading, the metonymic trail helps us discover a metaphoric principle at work at other textual occasions and we discover metonymic moments that we would not have otherwise noticed. With the subject of the page, we move towards how text and image interact on the material page to figure space. We know Milton was enthusiastic about the new geographical knowledge, but the discursive nature of these passages draws attention to their discursive knowledge. In fact, much thought is owed to how such knowledge was presented as a material object. Again, the formational role of visual forms of geography is not evident until one returns to Milton's world to survey the visual geographies and chorographies available. This discussion, therefore, is a classic instance of restoring the material culture element to what has been so far a purely discursive discussion.

Finally, it must be borne in mind that the organization of these chapters took place after a discovery of the material. One can only map a place after walking its streets. The nature of the material under investigation draws attention to the ‘postal’ nature of the introduction. An introduction is conversely analogous to the prefix ‘post-’ in ‘post-structural’ which, it has been argued, is temporally *after* but spatially *before*. As Geoffrey Bennington says, ‘history begins to lose its grip ... [or] only maintains its grip by a violent reduction of this scandalous instability of the prefix ‘post’’.¹⁶⁰ So though my introduction precedes my thesis, it must also be borne in mind that, to borrow a metaphor from my last chapter, it is more like mapping the winding streets of an old city after they have been discovered than planning a new city which impresses with its formal geometry.

Each of the following chapters then represents a range of material culture domains that emerge significantly through repetition in the texts and a range of methodological opportunities available to such a study.

The first two chapters analyse the culture of fruit and flowers in Milton’s times. Before proceeding, the question that needs to be got out of the way is whether or not the natural world should be included and whether or not it is in fact the antithesis of material culture. A gesture at an answer was made earlier in a discussion of material culture. But to probe further we should consider Lefebvre who attempted to dichotomize the *work* and the *product*, or nature which ‘does not labour’, ‘knows nothing of its creations’, whose ‘space is not staged’, and production which is characterised by intentionality.¹⁶¹ The metaphor of the stage suggests a degree of self-consciousness and the intent that the product be perceived by others. But as Lefebvre found when thinking of a city, these

¹⁶⁰ Robert Young, "Post-Structuralism: An Introduction," in *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*, ed. Robert Young (Boston & London: Routledge, 1981); Geoffrey Bennington, "Postal Politics and the Institution of the Nation (1986)," in *Legislations: The Politics of Deconstruction*, ed. Geoffrey Bennington (London: Verso, 1994), 242-43.

¹⁶¹ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 70-71.

dichotomies can only be analytical; they can rarely be sustained. When a fruit is placed on a table, it is staged. Studying how single objects might yield different meanings in different practices, Pierre Bourdieu writes, ‘No ‘natural’ or manufactured product is equally adaptable to all possible social uses, there are very few that are perfectly ‘univocal’ and it is rarely possible to deduce the social use from the thing itself’. Bourdieu shows how a single natural substance like rice could have working-class, bourgeois, intellectual, or other connotations depending on its use.¹⁶² Therefore, material culture must include the natural world, not naïvely, but as it enters social practice. The socialization of the natural constitutes ‘material culture’ from it.

Further, objects of the natural such as fruit and flowers tend to be prime candidates for the sort of premature interpretative satiety I described earlier. Their assumed material stability through time suggests that they contain no unknown material knowledge and additionally they are so susceptible to symbolic interpretation that their materiality is eclipsed. However, the horizons of their symbolic interpretations will be quite differently determined in different times, societies, and groups by their different material practices. It is therefore important to follow the metonymic trail of these objects within the narrative to uncover their material contexts. That such investigations are fruitful has already been shown by some studies like Karen Edwards’s bestiaries. Her paradigmatic study of the phoenix shows that even the signification of the most mythical creature was shaped by historical practice.¹⁶³

¹⁶² Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 13. Bourdieu analyzed the differential experiences of objects as a function of their position in economic space. See ———, *Distinction*, 95.

¹⁶³ Edwards argues that Milton combines the phoenix and the bird of paradise (to which the former often referred then) so that the phoenix is ‘not lost or exhausted’ in the identification but ‘revitalized as a symbol of renewal and transformation’. See Edwards, "Raphael, Diodati," 128.

Chapter One: The Mortal Taste of Fruit

The first section on the cultivation and consumption of fruit shows that the common narrative of fruit consumption, its consonant attitudes and apprehensions, gives Milton a powerful cultural scaffolding within which to narrate a radically different representation of the temptation and the fall. The stories of fruit in the kitchen and the garden give Milton a palette of images from which to paint the relative perfections of heaven and Eden. They structure Milton's narrative and his choice of vocabulary.

From the general narrative I move to specific gestures. Fruity abundance in early modern England and the continent is codified in the act of heaps and piles of fruit on the table. These register in courtly and middling situations and reveal Milton's proclivity (to be encountered again) for Royalist aesthetics even while he attempts to distance himself from their ethics. The gesture of excessive fruit eating is ubiquitous in early modern England and Milton uses this to inflect the moment of the Fall. The gesture's instinct inheres deeply enough that it becomes a narrative aesthetic structuring a series of mirroring events that lead up to and lead away from the fall of Eve. Finally, I examine the figure of Eve within the context of housewifery. While housewifery gives her a set of skills and dispositions that make her 'sufficient to have stood', they are also the very dispositions that incline her to fall when not held in the right spiritual perspective.

Practices of fruit consumption and production tie the epic up in a strongly proleptic vision in which the difference of location is seen to constitute identity and enable and limit the imagination. Practices of fruit-eating also reflect on the role of the housewife in the early modern period. Through these evocations of fruit consumption, we find Milton often willing to yield to surprisingly positive representations of aristocratic excess or feminine competence so long as each is ordered by spiritual discipline. The

references to routine work, horticultural or culinary, and routine housewifery are not merely present through the literary ornament of metaphors or similes but drive forward the momentum of narrative plot.

Chapter Two: Each Beauteous Flower

The section on flowers considers the usages of flowers as a natural object and as a decorative device. As the former, they were usually in currency for their beauty, their fragrance, and their transience. As the latter, their visual form was solidified in various practices of artifice. I use the context of these usages to contrast the flower catalogues of *Lycidas* and *Paradise Lost* to show how a consideration of their material uses can make the act of simple nomination yield very different effects. The former is implicated in the rhetoric against prelacy and therefore, contrary to popular readings can be read as well-integrated with the rest of the poem. The latter, contrary to T. S. Eliot's view of Milton's poetry, adds a great deal of texture and tactile sensitivity to an extremely feminized space. The comparison of the two catalogues shows how the same literary device might be construed to yield quite different effects by inscribing them in divergent material practices. While the first emphasizes its homespun ingenuousness, the latter is at ease with a decorative, even baroque effect, and what the value of human effort in ceremony might be. Compared to the former, it presents a far more fearless exploration of the categories of interior and exterior, nature and artifice. As a literary device, the catalogues have usually called attention to the weight of their literary inheritance. Yet a consideration of their material burden highlights the difference in their inflections. Here the materiality of the flower's naturalness becomes a safe place from which to explore the oppositional aesthetics of artifice and ornamentation. It is as if the rhetoric of material being can outweigh the rhetoric of their practice.

Recapturing the habitual gestures of the natural world then reveals how the discursive and the material are inextricably interleaved. Material practice can inform narrative structure and literary convention. It can ground the symbolic object in everyday practices. In each case, the metaphoric mode is brought down to earth by the metonymic.

Chapter Three: In the City

While there is a happier confluence of material aesthetics and discourse in Milton's representation of the natural world, the two are considerably conflicted in his representations of the urban world. In the third chapter I examine the urban setting in which Milton lived most of his life. While the material culture of the natural world is obviously present as objects within the texts, the material culture of the urban world is of a more varied nature. The famous comparison of Satan to a city-dweller escaping his urban confines for the countryside overtly draws on the urban experience, but examining contemporary urban debates show there are other urban epistemologies of light, darkness, movement, and space at work. Here, knowledge of contemporary debates within literature discussing the city is essential to foreground ethereal and solid materialities (atmosphere, physical edifices, and spatial organization) as well as material practices (trade and crime) that might otherwise pass unnoticed in such a study.

The first section explores the urban epistemology of light, darkness and sight. Smoky experiences differentiate fallen being from unfallen as Satan's materiality turns out to be extremely tenuous, noxious, and complicit in discussions of urban nuisance. The regions of Hell and urban references in the prose draw on these nuisances and on the configurations of suburban space, physical edifices, and movement within the city for models on which to reflect naïvely and ironically. The suburban regions of London were known to be noxious environments. Their material nuisances could also be connected to

debates around crime and trade which centred on the suburban location outside the city. In each case, physical location becomes a *locus* for discussions of liberty and licence. Similarly, the bridge and the road become loci for discussing forms of criminal and communal involvement. The values encoded within penal and criminal hierarchies of these and of crimes like theft become a means by which to measure mythic action. Emergent values connected with new structures of water provision and the implications for images of flow in works such as *Areopagitica* or *Paradise Lost* provide leading clues to readers to guide their moral judgments. Each of these categories anatomizes fallen intent, action, and its consequences. But in searching for an aesthetics of materiality that would give form to his ideology, Milton's own knee-jerk responses of distaste for the nuisances of the city lead to metaphoric subtexts of surprising aristocratic snobbery for this Republican champion. In these cases, material experiences work in a manner that might unconsciously subvert the discursive ideology of the texts.

Chapter Four: The Geographic Page

What happens when the gap between discursive ideology and material ideology becomes conscious? In Milton's brief epic, the overtly rhetorical character of Satan's falsehoods leads to a consideration of this question. The presence of material culture here is framed only metonymically and it is knowledge of contemporary formats of graphic geographic and spatial surveys that foregrounds material influence. This third chapter looks at how space is produced through the secondary mediation of the page and its graphic formats to materially present geographic knowledge. I use the term 'geography' in its present meaning to signify the study of places rather than in its early modern opposition to chorography.

In the first section I ask how the different modes of visually representing world geography expressed the confrontation of different belief systems and I examine how Milton negotiated between historicity, faith, and science in the geographical surveys of *Paradise Lost*. Though these surveys are known for the pointillism of their new geography, the spatial configurations they assemble sink into those of medieval *mappaemundi* oriented by a narrative of Biblical history. Complicating this geographical vision is the genre of the city prospect. The influence of the new genre of city views is visible in *Paradise Regained*. They made cities objects of visual desire and pleasure, and I examine how while Satan uses these conventions to drive his persuasive purpose, the consciousness of the rhetorical and artificial nature of these geographical representations undermines it. So while the first epic definitively courts the rhetoric of certain spatial representations, the brief epic is distrustfully conscious of spatial representations whose rhetoric is often varnished by an appearance of truth. Here, material form structures the narrative, as I show in the first chapter. But material forms are now deliberately employed to be at odds with rhetorical content and to give it away. This section meditates further on the closeness between the Milton of learning that has fully occupied critical attention and material Milton. In both sections, descriptions advertise learning, but it is the production of space that places learning in perspective and tells us how to value it.

Chapter Five: Arms and the Man

My final chapter circles back to a theme of proleptic imagination that became an issue in the first chapter but that in many ways is a perennially flowing current in a discussion of material culture. Like the last chapter which explored the staging of an unconscious relation between materiality and literature, this section examines the staging of the proleptic imagination. What happens when a poet looks at the inescapably proleptic

nature of historically bound imagination in the face,¹⁶⁴ and decides to see it not as a set of limitations but as a field of play? This dynamic is uncovered by a study of the material culture that defends or preserves or changes the body. I examine weapons and armour in *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes* as negotiations of invincibility, vulnerability, strength, and speed. These objects are meditations on a culture's bodily fears, power, and mortality, and help define the difference between divinity, humanity, and fallen beings. Here, proleptic vision is not an influence to be accepted but to be deliberately cultivated.

In these chapters, practices of the material world work differently. Practices might inflect mythology, structures of the material world might leverage political arguments, and connotations of the material page might provide an ironic undergirding to an argument. Reading Milton in this fashion will lead, I hope, to an appreciation of his episteme and his imagination that is materially fuller and more concrete. Several conclusions are to be drawn from these chapters. Within the biblical adaptations, Milton's imagination is deeply proleptic. There are times when the sense of this as a limitation is evident but often it opens up a space for creative play and a way to integrate the biblical story with the contemporary everyday more thoroughly. Within the entire oeuvre, his affinity for beauty and order often led him to aesthetics that bore political affiliations quite contrary to the ones he espoused. His material aesthetics reveal those of a snooty aristocrat. Finally, at other times we see a poet with the knowledge that material forms are rarely without the baggage of rhetorical content of some nature and we witness the poetic negotiation that would court and contain those contents.

As the historical evidence is considered paratextually with Milton's texts, each chapter begins with some attention to context before we arrive at Milton's texts. It may

¹⁶⁴ I use the word 'historical' to refer to something that exists in the conventionally accepted imagined or read (insofar as they can be distinguished) past.

require considerable patience but it is the methodological effect of thought *through* things. ‘Through’ is an admirable word for its sense of instrumentality and duration. Both will come into play in the following.

As I have said before, this thesis is not an exhaustive study of material culture in Milton. The limitation of length and the infinite possibilities within the text are too disparate to permit one. In my conclusion, I suggest other promising areas of investigation. Even within each chapter, there are far more references available than can be dealt with within their space. It has instead aimed for a representative distribution that uncovers how material practices might underlie objects most ingenuously accepted and most thoroughly symbolic, how material culture might determine choices of and within literary conventions, and how material aesthetics might conflict with discursive ideologies.

Finally, this thesis explores the heart of any writing enterprise, indeed of any consciousness. As Hegel says, ‘the first knowing is that of the immediate’,¹⁶⁵ and a writer can only develop an empathy with or an understanding of other persons, situations, and times through his own sense-perceptions in his immediate biographical present. Plato tells the story of the philosopher of Thales who fell into a well while he was scanning the stars. A witty Thracian maid-servant laughed at him because she said he was so eager to know what was in heaven that he took no notice of what was beneath his feet.¹⁶⁶ In a manner of speaking, this is the very thing that often plagues Milton criticism. His own gaze was so often fixed on the sky that we forget he lived in a world of material things which would have shaped his ideas and his imagination. This thesis then is a gentle laugh

¹⁶⁵ Hegel, *Phenomenology*, 58.

¹⁶⁶ Plato, *Theaetetus*, trans. John Henry McDowell, Clarendon Plato Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 50-51.

at our non-material apprehension of Milton – not the laugh of the medusa but the laugh of the maid-servant.

1: THE MORTAL TASTE OF FRUIT

Paradise Lost hinges on the act of consuming fruit. ‘She took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat’ is how Genesis puts it.¹ This reticent narrative is roomy enough for poetic amplification and affords narrative and rhetorical possibilities. Milton makes the duple act of eating fruit reverberate through the epic in ten instances of visual or material consumption.² Besides being an engine for the narrative to move forward through repetition and variation, these episodes and the several other references to the word ‘fruit’ open up rhetorical connotations such as those of prayer or consequences. Beyond these narrative and rhetorical dimensions lies the material circumstances that enable but also surely cause Milton’s sensitivity to the diversity of the ways the word ‘fruit’ might mean. These circumstances are, quite simply, the swift surges in consuming and producing fruit during the early modern period in England and the Continent. Some historians, seeking the slickness of a glib term, have written about it in terms of a revolution.³ With proliferating fruit come proliferating practices and the need to look for the social semiotics to be read in the epic’s rehearsals of consumption and production.

Writing about food as a system of signs, Roland Barthes declares, ‘substances, techniques of preparation, habits, all become part of a system of differences in signification’ and observes that all food ‘sums up and transmits a situation’.⁴ Recognizing

¹ Genesis 3:6, King James Version.

² Including absorbed visual gaze and physical consumption, we have: Eden’s first meal, Raphael’s meal, the angelic feast, Adam’s rapt gaze after being created, Eve’s dream, Satan’s tale, Eve’s Fall, Adam’s Fall, the serpents in Hell, Death’s consumption.

³ Joan Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England: Phases, Fads, Fashions 1500-1760* (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006), 294.

⁴ Roland Barthes, "Toward a Psychosociology of Contemporary Food Consumption," in *Food and Culture: A Reader*, ed. Carole Counihan and Penny Van Esterik (New York; London: Routledge, 2008), 29-30, 34. For analyses of the role of food in early modern discourse, see Joan Fitzpatrick, ed., *Renaissance Food*

that fruit lives a banal material existence passing from orchard to kitchen table, and that this life undergirds its religious, political, and rhetorical construals is central to this study.⁵ Inherited medieval suspicion, approbatory and disapprobatory religious discourse, expanding geographies, developing expertise, and traditional and revisionary dietetics, all play a role in the story of early modern fruit. These currents can be traced in receipt books, estate accounts, horticultural and housewifery manuals, herbals and dietaries. The challenge is to ask whether these perceptions and their practices inform Milton's narrative. This chapter's conclusion will be that Milton does appear aware of the signifying possibilities of the practices of fruit consumption and production. His iterations of both are kindled by and kindle a variety of fruity modes of routine existence: from the pastoral ingenuousness of plucking fruit from a tree to the luxury aforethought of a banquet.

Karen Edwards notes how the hermeneutic bias towards figurative readings of Milton's plant world blinds us to when it might mean horticulturally.⁶ It also blinds us to how it might mean through practice. To remedy this is to considerably open out the interpretation of the fruit of the epic's first lines whose 'mortal tast' (*PL*1.2) brings death. Fruit clearly works symbolically there but whether this symbolism is not at various points undergirded by material questions in the epic is to be questioned. The word often passes

from Rabelais to Shakespeare: Culinary Readings and Culinary Histories (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010); John L. Varriano, *Tastes and Temptations: Food and Art in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Joan Fitzpatrick, *Food in Shakespeare: Early Modern Dietaries and the Plays* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Timothy J. Tomasik and Juliann M. Vitullo, ed., *At the Table: Metaphorical and Material Cultures of Food in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007); Robert Appelbaum, *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup, and Other Gastronomic Interjections: Literature, Culture and Food among the Early Moderns* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*.

⁵ Scholarship has produced, for instance, Richard Arnold, *The Logic of the Fall: Right Reason and [Im]Pure Reason in Milton's Paradise Lost* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2006); Poole, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall*; J. Martin Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic: Paradise Lost and the Discourse of Colonialism* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1996); J.M. Evans, *Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968); Edwards, *Milton and the Natural World*; Diane McColley, *A Gust for Paradise: Milton's Eden and the Visual Arts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

⁶ Edwards, "Eden Raised: Waste in Milton's Garden," 263-64.

from symbolical uses, ‘immortal fruits of joy and love’ (*PL*3.67) to physical object, the ‘blooming Ambrosial Fruit’ of Eden (*PL*4.219), and back as when repentant prayers become, metaphorically, ‘first fruits on Earth’ risen from ‘implanted Grace’ (*PL*11.22-23). The passage from one form to the other weaves together material and discursive semioses.

Constraining and offering representational opportunity is that the early modern belief in a historical paradise continually views contemporary practices as results of the Fall.⁷ Milton draws on the contemporary inter-habitation of material and biblical narratives and returns fruity gestures with deeper resonance, to use Bachelard’s term.

There are several kinds of consequences for the narrative. To the extent that material practice forms a textual unconscious to poetic intention, we find that Milton is often drawn to luxurious Royalist aesthetics while repelled by their practices. The conflict shapes some aspects of the narrative. On the other hand, there is good evidence to believe that Milton is thoughtful about how contemporary practice could shape writing and reading. The postlapsarian condition that fruit inevitably foregrounded makes Milton’s engagement with fruity representation often conscious of its own proleptic nature at the levels of both vocabulary and narrative. This emerges in the careful deliberation with which Milton picks his vocabulary of reference, just as Eve carefully selects her fruit. It also emerges in his use of everyday practices, not ornamentally, but to structure the narrative.

⁷ Joseph Duncan wrote that the Renaissance privileged a ‘historical paradise’ over one ‘of legend, vision, or even theology’ in Joseph E. Duncan, *Milton’s Earthly Paradise* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), 89. William Poole shows how the Fall resonated in the everyday in Poole, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall*, 9-14. For the general understanding of Adam and Eve see Philip C. Almond, *Adam and Eve in Seventeenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Nectarines, Juicy Gourds

The Edenic scene presents a picture of routine living in which a fruity meal represents labour's reward and its metaphoric sweetness. Adam and Eve find a refreshing green space and after just enough work to recommend rest they fall to a small repast of 'nectarine fruits' from 'compliant boughes' (*PLA.326*). It is easy to glide smoothly over a phrase like 'nectarine fruit' because it meshes with our expectations of fruity sweetness. Roy Flannagan's footnote to the text notes the word probably means 'filled with nectar, although the fruit nectarine was available in London in the seventeenth century'.⁸ Flannagan suggests we cannot expect the fruit to be a nectarine because its rind cannot contain water. Yet we should not easily dismiss the word as merely a reference to the drink of the gods. Flannagan's comment reveals an uncertainty about how the word refers, how it discloses things. Should we rest content with the adjectival reference to nectar-like sweetness or should we think about the possibilities of its indirect nomination of the fruit species? Does the word refer solely to a textual tradition or might it refer to material practices? While present criticism often inclines to the former, pursuing stories of material culture reveals the sensitization of mythic tropes and established poetic figures to contemporary practice.

Developments in the cultivation of fruit like the nectarine in Milton's time suggest there was enough going on that the word could not exist in purely adjectival mode but must have signified horticulturally. Besides, as an adjective signifying sweetness, the word would signify culinarily *and* horticulturally for it referred to a gustatory ideal that was not as given in the early modern experience as one might expect. Sweetness was instead much striven for in both kitchen and garden and developments resulted in

⁸ Flannagan, ed., *The Riverside Milton*, 452. The OED's earliest record of the word 'nectarine' as an adjective to mean 'Of the nature of, or as sweet as, nectar' dates to 1611. As a variety of peach, OED gives its earliest print record as Charles Estienne, *Maison Rustique*, trans. Gervase Markham (London: 1616), 335.

commensurate shifts in expectations of taste. Fruit was first sweetened in the kitchen to preserve it against the passage of time before its sweetness, colour, and malleability led to fanciful display. In time, horticultural sweetness caught up more consistently with culinary sweetness. The ideals that emerged around fruity sweetness in the kitchen and garden, their simultaneous opposition and co-dependence, and the gap between them, provided a palette of images to play with.

These material culture significations influence Milton's narrative structure and his naming. Milton writes with some symmetry and some striking deviations to other poetic expressions to shape ideas of culpability, sinlessness, and material perfection. We also discover that Milton's careful practice of natural kind naming is bound up in the rivalling yet conflated narrative of kitchen and garden and carefully administers the connotations of material practice in each. We will first, with requisite patience, make excursions into the kitchen and the garden before we return to Milton.

In the kitchen and garden:

Perhaps because fruit was often eaten from the hedgerow, or perhaps because of its historical difference, the early modern taste of fruit is often expressed in terms of its acidity. That its sweetness was more acidic than the presumed experience of Eden registers in nostalgic representations of the garden. Samuel Pordage writes of a lost sweetness in *Mundorum Explicatio* (1661): 'No sharpnesse in the fruit, no naughty smell, / The worst fruit then, our best now, did excel'.⁹ Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas landed on similar vocabulary in his 1605 description of Eden replete 'with sharp-sweet Orange, Limon, Citron trees' and reference to the tempting fruit Eve confronts as 'sugar'd bait'.¹⁰

⁹ Samuel Pordage, *Mundorum Explicatio, or, the Explanation of an Hieroglyphical Figure* (London: 1661), 58.

¹⁰ Du Bartas, *Du Bartas His Deuine Weekes and Workes Translated*, 288.

These phrases describe a contrast of sharp-sweet and sugared tastes that gesture towards the range of sweetness available naturally and through additives. It points us to the story of sugar, a commodity that altered expectations of fruity sweetness, and the emergent ideals paralleled and were conflated with horticultural developments.

During the medieval period, sweetness was sourced from honey and the often acidic flesh of fruit. Sugar, then expensive, was available as a luxury condiment (and medicine) to those who could afford it. Consequently, medieval and early Renaissance food did not separate saltiness and sweetness and the latter was not as significant a taste category as it is today. The colonial production of refined sugar in the British colonies of Jamaica and Barbados radically altered patterns of consumption by making sugar more widely available at lower prices. As an everyday additive, sugar began to be used less *extensively* and more *intensively* leading to the segregation of sweet and salty tastes and to the development of the banquet course of sweet ‘stuffe’ that concluded a meal.¹¹ The expectation of intense sweetness emerged. The versatility of fruity substance and sugar was foregrounded when the Italians of the sixteenth century experimented with the possibilities of its combinations and malleability in the forms of fruit tarts and other fruit-flavoured dishes.¹² In the manifold uses of sugar in the banqueting course and elsewhere, fruit played a significant part. The eighteenth century description of a new trade, the ‘confectioner’, in R. Campbell’s *London Tradesman* (1747) shows him expert in the arts of fruit. Though written well after Milton’s time, it is worth reading the description, for

¹¹ For analyses of these shifts, see Brian Cowan, "New Worlds, New Tastes: Food Fashions after the Renaissance," in *Food: The History of Taste*, ed. Paul H. Freedman (London: Thames & Hudson, 2007), 219-22. For early modern functions of sugar see Wendy Wall, "Just a Spoonful of Sugar: Syrup and Domesticity in Early Modern England," *Modern Philology* 104, no. 2 (November, 2006); Kim F. Hall, "Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century," in *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects and Subjectivities*, ed. Lindsay Kaplan Valerie Traub, and Dymphna Callaghan (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

¹² C. Anne Wilson, "The Evolution of the Banquet Course: Some Medicinal, Culinary and Social Aspects," in *Banqueting Stuffe*, ed. C. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 25. Practices of banqueting in early modern drama are analysed in Chris Meads, *Banquets Set Forth: Banqueting in English Renaissance Drama* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

the institutionalization of confectioning formalizes practices to make their recognition and analysis possible:

The confectioner is a sweet-tooth'd tradesman: He makes all manner of sweet-meats, *preserves all manner of fruit*, and is the architect of a dessert. He builds walls, castles, and pyramids of sweet-meats and *sugar-plumbs*. He is a Proteus in his kind, he disguises many things; he makes sour things sweet, and sweet things sour; he *coveres the products of summer, and the hottest season of the year, with artificial frost and snow*, and delights the eye as much with the arrangement of his pyramids as the taste with the delicious flavour of his wet and dry sweet-meats.¹³ (my italics)

Here, itemization and the repeated phrase 'all manner of' suggest the significance of versatility to the trade. Fruit is also a prime source of colour and plays a crucial role in enhancing visual attractiveness. The confectioner's play with order (form and structure of architecture and flavours) is equalled by specialization in its subversion (disguise) which might then resolve into order. More specifically, his manipulation of fruit subversively conjures up appearance without substance (as in his sugar-plumbs) and disregards the natural cycles of seasons and of decomposition. Perhaps the most significant fact here is just how much the confectioner's tasks have to do with fruit.

The journey to the confectioner's closeness to fruit can be plotted from about the sixteenth century when sugar became a common aid to fruit preservation producing marmalades, fruit preserved in their own *eau de vie*, and syrups and juleps often used medicinally.¹⁴ Replacing honey or fruit's natural sugars, cane sugar served the purpose of

¹³ R. Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London: 1747), 278-79.

¹⁴ Ken Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe* (Westport, CT; London: Greenwood, 2003), 99. The following observations are made from a study of early modern printed books and manuscripts. For a sample of print recipe books, see John Partridge, *The Treasure of Hidden Secrets* (London: 1573); Thomas Dawson, *The Good Huswife's Jewell* (London: 1587); A. W., *A Book of Cookrye* (London: 1591); Richard Oulton, *The Treasure of Hidden Secrets* (London: 1594); *A Closet for Ladies and Gentlewomen, or the Art of Preserving, Conserving, and Candyng*, (London: 1608); Gervase Markham, *The English Housewife* (London: 1615); Thomas Dawson, *The Widowes Treasure* (London: 1620); *The Ladies Cabinet Opened*, (London: 1639); W.J., *A Choice Manuall, or, Rare and Select Secrets in Physick, Chyrurgery, Collected, and Practiced by the Right Honourable, the Countess of Kent, Late Deceased*. (London: 1653); W. M., *The Queen's Closet Opened* (London: 1655); Sir Hugh Plat, *Delights for Ladies, to Adorn Their Persons, Tables, Closets and Distillaries* (London: 1656); Nicolas de Bonnefons, *The French Gardiner* (London: 1658); William Rabisha, *The Whole Body of Cookery Dissected, Taught, and Fully Manifested, Methodically, Artificially, and According to the Best Tradition of the English, French, Italian, Dutch, &C.*

preservation by preserving fruit, its appearance, and the body from the ill effects of fruit *au naturel*. Standard recipes for fruit preservation are found in the anonymously authored *The Ladies Cabinet Opened* (1636) which recommends boiling and storing them in sugar syrup. The desire for preservation is visible in verbs that gather strength through repetition in William Rabisha's recipes (1661) for pickling grapes, berries, and quinces in a liquor of sugary white wine or vinegar. They often end with this refrain: the avowed aim 'to keepe [them] *all the yeare*' (my italics) and to 'reserve them for your use'.¹⁵ His language witnesses the desire for human mastery over natural processes of decay. This is not to say that these culinary aspirations are new to Milton's time; medieval recipes hold similar promises. But these aspirations were certainly very current. Like practices of baking fruit, they also rendered fruit consumable. Fruit's susceptibility to putrefaction suggested it rotted even in the stomach and the need to transform its substance energizes many recipes, embedding fruit in discourses of time, mortality, and power.¹⁶

The wish to stave off deterioration manifested in the concomitant wish to prevent the bright, glossy colour of ripe fruit from being muddied by impending putrefaction. Colour gave the appearance of perennial ripeness and much culinary effort went into its preservation. Ripeness was all and so was appearance. The recipe book of Lady Eleanor

(1661); Sir Kenelm Digby, *Choice and Experimented Reciepts in Physick and Chirurgery as Also Coridal and Distilled Waters and Spirits, Perfumes and Other Curiosities* (London: 1668). Some manuscript sources at the Bodleian Library are Elizabeth Bertie's Receipt Book, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.misc.d.436; Mary Widdington's receipt book, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.hist.e.199. The Wellcome Library has an extensive seventeenth century recipe collection: Grace Acton, Collection of cookery and medical receipts, 1621, MS 1; Jane Baber, 'A Booke of Receipts', c.1625, MS 108; Townshend Family, Collection of medical and cookery receipts by several hands, MS 774; A Book of receites, c.1650-1739, MS 144; Jane Parker, 'Mrs. Jane Parker her Boock Anno 1651', 1651, MS 3769; Mrs. Mary Miller, 'Her Booke of Receipts', 1660, MS 3547; Receipt book, 1669, MS 4047; Receipt book, c.1675, MS 4050; Receipt Book, c.1690-1710, MS 4054.

¹⁵ *The Ladies Cabinet Opened*, 50-51, Rabisha, *Whole Body of Cookery*, 4-6. The multiplication of processes is witnessed by the multiplication of cooking equipment. See Randle Holme, *Academy of Armory; or, a Storehouse of Armory & Blazon*, ed. I. H. Jeayes (London: Roxburghe Club, 1905), book III, chapter XIII.

¹⁶ For a discussion of mortality in the banqueting context and banqueting aesthetics, see Patricia Fumerton, *Cultural Aesthetics: Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 113-68.

Fettiplace contains recipes ‘to preserve greene grapes’; *The Ladies Cabinet* demonstrates how to preserve quinces ‘red or white’. These require fruit to be boiled in sugared water to colour it. The pared fruit is returned to the same water so that its bare flesh acquires colour while being preserved. Conversely, to preserve fruit white, water needs to be ‘faire’ and changed if necessary.¹⁷ The language of clarity and gloss thus becomes the language of longevity.

Such language often resorts to jewelled references, especially in aristocratic recipe books. A good instance of this is Hugh Plat’s *Delights for Ladies*, published several times through the century.¹⁸ His section on banqueting conceits (entirely apart from that on fruit preservation) contains ‘Mukadine Comfits’ made of musk-flavoured sugar paste rolled out thinly and cut ‘into small peeces like diamonds’.¹⁹ Crystal is a common word: sweet preparations are stored in ‘Chrystall glasses’ or made into a ‘fine Chrystall Gelly’.²⁰ For ‘Biskatello’, the housewife is to ‘specke them with gold’ for a ‘very fine banqueting conceit’; for ‘Prince bisket bread’, she has to ‘spot it with gold’; ‘Aromaticum Lozenges’ and marchpane conceits of various kinds are to be gilded too.²¹ ‘Quodinia’ made from quinces and ‘printed’ into shapes with moulds can be of a ‘ruby colour’. Another non-fruited marmalade ‘very comfortable and restorative for any Lord or Lady’

¹⁷ Lady Fettiplace lived her married life in Appleton, Berkshire, and died during the Civil War. Elinor Fettiplace, *The Complete Receipt Book of Ladie Elynor Fetiplace*, vol. 1-3 (Bristol: Stuart Press, 1994), 6-7, *The Ladies Cabinet Opened*, 9.

¹⁸ Plat, *Delights for Ladies*. Plat’s *Delights* went through at least fifteen editions in the first half of the seventeenth century. Plat was fond of jewelled language. An earlier publication was titled *The Jewel House of Art and Nature* (1594). This sort of language is not evident in every aristocratic ms or print receipt book, but when it is so marked it is usually in one that is Royalist and is clearly attempting to cultivate a gleaming courtliness. For more on Hugh Plat, see Malcolm Thick, *Sir Hugh Plat: The Search for Useful Knowledge in Early Modern London* (Totnes: Prospect, 2010). See more on Royalist cookery books in Knoppers, *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton’s Eve*; Madeline Bassnett, “Restoring the Royal Household: Royalist Politics and the Commonwealth Recipe Book,” *Early English Studies* 2 (2009).

¹⁹ Sir Hugh Plat, *Delights for Ladies* (London: 1615), 30.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 31-32.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 35, 40-41, 37-39.

has six gold leaves and two drams of pearl mixed in and is gilded at the end.²² After the Restoration, Rabisha's recipes continue to describe fruit jellies, leaches, and creams in jewelled metaphors: as 'clear as amber', as 'Diamonds', or as 'red as Rubie'.²³ Within the Royalist genre then, banqueting conceits cultivate a jewelled appearance.

Kitchen playfulness also renders the form of fruit a conceit to apply to sugary pastes: recipes 'To Make Artificial Fruits' of sugar syrup or to make artificial oranges and lemons of sugar and water abounded. They materialize the fantasy of constituting long-lasting sweet fruit without the substance itself, producing an all but emptied form.²⁴ Well-versed in these practices of preservation, processual versatility, and trickery, it is no wonder that Campbell dubbed his confectioner a 'Proteus of his kind'.

Parallel to the development of kitchen processes was burgeoning horticultural expertise which soon produced sweetness in fruit *naturally*, albeit through artificially aided nature. The literature of fruit manuals shows hard-won success in cultivating continental fruit in inclement English weather. Fruit like peaches and apricots were especially desired by English horticulturalists. They required skill and invention because they needed more warmth and sunlight than the English climate afforded them compared to the Continent's sunnier climes.²⁵ If they produced fruit, they were often of distasteful flesh. We know that William Lawson, a northern writer, thought peaches and apricots would not grow well in those climates though they were in fact growing at Hardwick Hall

²² Ibid., 44-46. See also W.J., *Choice Manuall*, 48. Its recipes were often attributed to the Countess of Kent but the preface suggests it was compiled by W.J. for her use. Jellies were as 'chrystall' or 'red as any rubie' in John Murrell, *A Daily Exercise for Ladies and Gentlewomen* (London: 1617), recipe nos. 44, 47, 98, 99.

²³ Rabisha, *Whole Body of Cookery*, 26-8.

²⁴ Late instances are *A Queen's Delight, or, the Arte of Preserving, Conseruing and Candyng*, (London: 1671), 68; *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight in Preserving, Physick, Beautifying and Cookery*, (London: 1685), 50.

²⁵ John Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris* (London: 1629), 525, John Evelyn, *Acetaria: A Discourse of Sallets* (London: 1699), 38.

in the 1590s.²⁶ Nectarines were similarly desired. They belonged to the family of peaches and compared favourably to a regular peach which was popular with the gentry despite being ‘waterish’ and capable of putrefying in the stomach. The nectarine on the other hand was ‘more firme then the Peach, and more delectable in tast; and is therefore of more esteem, and that worthily’.²⁷ Comparatively, it embodied a form of physical redemption by signifying the contemporary story of horticultural progress in a challenging species.

The melon has a similar story. Its successful cultivation evaded horticulturalists long after they had mastered the peach. At first, they are perceived as an intractable family of ‘fruit of the garden’.²⁸ Even Andrew Boorde (1547), of a hopeful mind about fruit in general, descends to unforgiving declarations on the subject: ‘Mylons doth ingender euyll humours ... Gourds be euyll of nurysshement’.²⁹ William Cogan (1584) complains that gourds were ‘almost never digested’ and the softer musk-melon finds no mention.³⁰ By the mid-seventeenth century, melons which were chiefly in circulation amongst the wealthy, began to permeate the lower ranks of the social hierarchy. Thomas Moffet (1655) unreservedly recommends melons and pepons, delicate and challenging to cultivate, and composes a brief panegyric in honour of the musk-melon. The comparatively greater success of continental climates spurred a competitive spirit amongst the English. Fynes Moryson, a Lincolnshire gentleman, is at pains to note the

²⁶ ‘Wee meddle not with Apricookes nor Peaches ... which will not like in our cold parts’, writes William Lawson in William Lawson, *A New Orchard and Garden* (London: 1618), 3. A study of household and estate accounts revealed this difference in Mark Dawson, *Plenti and Grase: Food and Drink in a Sixteenth-Century Household* (Totnes: Prospect, 2008), 22. Seventeenth century estate accounts reveal little by way of orchard practices but record the purchase of oranges for the household or gifts of fruit by the lady of the house: *The Estate and Household Accounts of Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal Hall, Westmorland from 1688-1701* (Kendal: Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 2001); *Estate Accounts of the Earls of Northumberland, 1562-1637* (Durham: Published for the Surtees Society by Andrews and Bernard Quaritch, 1955); C. Roy Hudleston, ed., *Naworth Estate and Household Accounts, 1648-1660* (Durham: Published for the Surtees Society by Andrews & Co. and Bernard Quaritch, 1958).

²⁷ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 583.

²⁸ As opposed to ‘fruit of the orchard’, the former growing on plants, the latter on trees.

²⁹ Andrew Boorde, *A Compendyous Regyment or a Dyetary of Healthe* (London: 1547), Hi-r.

³⁰ William Cogan, *The Hauen of Health* (London: 1584), 84.

multiplicity of melons which ‘ripen well, and happily imitate the taste and goodnesse of the same fruites in Italy’ at a time when the lack of similar corroborative evidence makes this a possible exaggeration.³¹ Though Moryson attributes the abundance of melons to the natural weather, the unyielding English climate was usually combated through artificial means. John Parkinson prefaces his section on fruit-trees with this remark, ‘[Some fruit] are planted in the Orchards of Spaine, Italy, and other hot countries, which will not abide in ours. Yet herein I will declare whatsoeuer Art, *striuing with Nature*, can cause to prosper with vs’ (italics mine).³² Hot-beds and glasshouses helped grow delicate fruit like ‘Melons, Cucumbers, Pompions, and Colliflowers’.³³ Continental fruit could grow within an encircling wall to shelter them from the full frontal severity of the wind.³⁴ Fruit trees could be ‘plashit vp against’ it. Plashing referred to the practice of ‘planting any daintie or tender fruit close to a wall, and spreading his braunches open against the same with loopes of leather, or felt, together with small nailes’.³⁵ In any case, the idea of an England that easily produces continental fruit enviable by even the Italians pervades Moryson’s description. Whether true or not, it is one articulation of the Edenic fantasy though won through hard labour and ingenuity.

As softer and sweeter strains were produced, writers waxed more lyrical: in his books of salad vegetables and fruits (framed by its prefatory letter in praise of the Royal Society’s pursuit of knowledge) John Evelyn evokes the musk-melon’s ‘transcendent delicacy and flavour, cooling and exhilarating Nature’, calling it ‘not only superior to all

³¹ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London: 1617), 147.

³² Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 557.

³³ Joseph Blagrove, *New Additions to the Art of Husbandry* (London: 1675), 40-44. Hot beds are referred to in mid-century horticultural works, for instance John Beale, *Herefordshire Orchards, a Pattern for All England* (London: 1657), 31. For a description of grafting practices see Ralph Austen, *A Treatise of Fruit Trees* (London: 1665), 85-116.

³⁴ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 581-84. Bonnefons, *The French Gardiner*, 10-19.

³⁵ Charles Estienne, *Maison Rustique*, trans. Gervase Markham (London: 1616), 335.

the Gourd-kind, but Paragon with the noblest Productions of the Garden'.³⁶ Though this pronouncement may have been produced by his extensive travels on the Continent, his description of a melon's taste reinforces the inference that there was some newly developed sweetness in the fruit. He writes of melons eaten 'in Pulp or Slices, or more properly by it self, with a little Salt and Pepper; for a Melon which requires Sugar to commend it, wants of Perfection'.³⁷ This tells us that earlier melons required sugar to render them palatable but that by the time he writes, it has become possible to cultivate natural sweetness more consistently. That sweetness might be idealized as a sugared taste as when Jean de la Quintinie relishes pears with a 'Pulp that breaks short in the mouth with a sweet and sugared juice' suggests that English horticulture has arrived at a point where it can sometimes produce a *naturally sugared* taste.³⁸ Such achievements change expectations of ideals of taste and the processes needed to achieve them. If sweetness can be constituted naturally in the body of fruit, kitchen processes are rendered suspicious as somehow more artificial than the artificially aided horticultural process. While the intensification of sugared sweetness evolves a new ideal of taste, its achievement through horticulture reinforces the ideal of the organic or the natural development of sweetness.

These kitchen and garden usages inhere in literary and artistic articulations of fruity sweetness of fallenness and perfection, guile and temptation. The glassy look of preserved fruit is one way to imagine the perfection of fruit that never decayed. For Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, heavenly climates vitrify fruit. Writing of the abode of 'Superiour Daemons', More describes plants to 'whose shape and colours the[ir] transparency ... may adde a particular lustre, as we see it is in precious Stones'. They grow in earth 'calcined and vitrified', of a 'crystalline pellucidity'. His language of

³⁶ Evelyn, *Acetaria*, 38.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Jean de la Quintinie, *The Compleat Gard'ner*, trans. John Evelyn (London: 1693), 69.

jewelled vitrification signifies superiority of form expressive of conditions of purity.³⁹

But jewelled appearance might just as easily imply the deviousness of the kitchen. In Samuel Pordage's story of a pilgrim's temptation, Satanic guile is figured through culinary art: 'Down to his *Stygian* Kingdom goes the Foe, / And there assembles all his Cooks below'. He orders them to harvest the fruit of the 'Tree of ills' and with a 'cunning Chymistry', he 'draws out their blacknesse, and deformity; / Extracts their bitternesse, and makes them fair, / Refin'd like Crystal, and as pure as ayr' (2.3028-3038).⁴⁰

Such artifice might be set off against organic language as in Andrew Marvell's *Upon Appleton House*, a country house poem that practices Protestant historiography. It relates how the subtle reasoning and falsehood of a nunnery on the same land gives way to the nobility of the present Fairfax estate. At the nunnery, Marvell conspicuously figures the fine edge between pleasurable piety and sin in the process of preserving fruit. The nuns describe their practice as the boiling of 'mortal fruit' in the 'Sugars uncorrupting Oyl'. The result: 'That which perisht while we pull / Is thus preserved clear and full'. (stanza XXII). The sequence of 'pleasure' and 'piety' leading to 'perfection' is undercut by accumulative associations in the foregoing stanzas. The parallel to 'pleasure and piety' (stanza XV), and the connection to complexion-clearing piteous tears for those who are excluded from the vow (stanza XIV), suggest a piety that is either given to unholy self-absorption or unholy self-satisfaction. The nunnery's practices are comprehensively immersed in artifice and cosmetic disguise, and the absence of natural horticultural processes. Yet an organic ideal ever haunts: the language of clarity and preservation in the image of 'clear and full' fruit leads to an artificial perfection that contrasts with the more organic language of virtues that 'grow' and 'spring' inspired by

³⁹ Henry More, *The Immortality of the Soul* (London: 1659), 424.

⁴⁰ Pordage, *Mundorum Explicatio*.

Isabella Thwaites' song.⁴¹ Here, the narratives of kitchen and garden figure alternate perfections. Their difference figures the difference between purity and guile.

Comparative forms of gustatory perfection appear too in Du Bartas's Eden. Competing materializations of perfection through sugared sweetness, continental fruit, and kitchen processes jostle against each other. On his trees dangle 'a thousand fruites, nor ouer-ripe, nor green: / That egest fruites, and bittrest hearbs did mock / *Madera* sugars and the Apricock'. Their superlative sweetness renders indifferent the difference between sugar and continental standards of sweetness on one hand and sharp (eager) fruit and bitter herbs on the other. His fruit are further more salutary by being more natural, 'yeelding more wholesome food than all the messes, / That now tast-curious, wanton Plenty dresses, / Disguising in a thousand costly dishes, / The various store of dainty Fowles and Fishes' crafted 'more to prouoke then hunger to appease'.⁴² Though they naturally draw the senses, they are not gratuitously wrought up to a pitch of temptation. Clearly, preservation and horticultural labour can all be variously construed in representations of purity or perfection, but kitchen processes often suspiciously smack of artifice.

Representations of clarity and ripeness had an analogue in contemporary Dutch still life paintings with fruit, a relative of the *vanitas* genre.⁴³ Glassy grapes and downy peaches are a staple of these lavish indulgences in the forms, colours, and textures of the natural world. But such ripeness has to occur at the brink of decay. Many paintings follow a standard convention to reflect the premonition of such a future – lurking within

⁴¹ Isabella Thwaites is the young woman who married Andrew Marvell's patron, Sir William Fairfax. In the poem, she is imprisoned by the nuns before Fairfax frees her.

⁴² Du Bartas, *Du Bartas His Deuine Weekes and Workes Translated*, 274.

⁴³ For a standard introduction and survey see Ingvar Bergstrom, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Faber and Faber, 1956); Hanneke Grootenboer, *The Rhetoric of Perspective: Realism and Illusionism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

the echoing globular forms of a cluster of grapes is a single grape with damaged skin – either damaged because the skin is ripely tender, or burst from over-ripeness. Cornelis de Heem’s (1631-1695) *Still Life with Fruit and Oysters* for instance has a single grape turning dark red in the shadows at the top of a bunch. Abraham de Lust (active c.1650-1659) similarly shows a single burst green grape with the skin darkened at the crevice in *Still Life of a Peach and Grapes*.⁴⁴ The proximity of ripeness to decay was not unfamiliar to writers. William Shakespeare exhibits a fondness for medlar-esque analogies. Rosalind quips in *As You Like It*, ‘I’ll graff it [bad fruit] with you, and then I shall graff it with a medlar ... for you’ll be rotten ere you be half ripe, and that’s the right virtue of the medlar’ (III.II.44).⁴⁵ Shakespeare’s medlar only brings to fullness what the Dutch grape prophesies. A similar contrast between the sparkle of clear fruit and the mortality of its flesh could be evoked in the common motif of the partly peeled lemon. The artist’s eye is clearly drawn to the sparkling facets of citrus segments within the rind, but the swirling lines of a peeled rind soon becomes an object of fascination themselves. They abound, for instance, in Pieter Claesz’s still life’s with fruit.⁴⁶ Sometimes a coiled peel occurs in solitude as in Floris van Dijck’s *Breakfast With Cheese and Fruit* (1622) where a forlorn apple peel curls dejectedly in the foreground at the table’s edge. In indicating a meal partly consumed, the rind of the peel marks the passage of time. But in a painting like van Dijck’s they mark the debris left after such an event or the waste of fruit that has run through the length of its existence.

But the continental fruit of these paintings might be put to a far different use.

Their material story might revivify their symbolisms. Common enough in Renaissance

⁴⁴ Ashmolean Museum, WA1940.2.32, WA1940.2.51.

⁴⁵ The usage occurs elsewhere too. For instance William Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*, (II.I) or William Congreve’s *The Way of the World*, I.I.

⁴⁶ A recent survey of Pieter Claesz’s work is Frans Halsmuseum, P. Biesboer, and Kunsthau Zurich, *Pieter Claesz, Master of Haarlem Still Life* (Haarlem: Frans Hals Museum, 2004).

Italian paintings of Eden, gourds function as a redemptive symbol of the resurrection of Christ because of their association with the story of Jonah and are symbolically constructed in opposition to the apple, a symbol of temptation and sin. This might be the sort of redemptive symbolism that operates through the picture of a continental Eden playfully ironized in Andrew Marvell's *The Garden*: 'The nectarine and curious peach / Into my hands themselves do reach; / Stumbling on melons as I pass, / Insnared with flowers, I fall on grass' (ll.37-40). Usually known for the wit of innocent temptation, these lines are equally clever figurations of redemption. This continental Eden does not need to be striven for. Instead, its fruit, icons of redemption, give themselves up to waiting hands. Knowing the material story of the melon and nectarine in England makes this a speaking image of redemptive grace.

Naming Perfection

In Milton's representations of fruit, its production and consumption, these ideas of perfection and temptation find expression through a similar negotiation of kitchen and garden narratives. In Heaven and Eden, representation is carefully tailored to eliminate the unruly connotations possible from material practices. Naming natural kinds, when it occurs, at once preserves a generic character and alludes to the specificities of their earthly stories in a proleptic vision that captures the sameness and the shortfall between English and Edenic existence.

The summit of fruity perfection is pictured in the angelic feast in Heaven where strands of glassy preservation, organic growth, and processual guile are all braided in through their presence or absence. This celestial feast is shaped by kitchen fantasies but is purged of the fallen connotations attendant on labour and artifice:

Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn
 Desirous, all in Circles as they stood,
 Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
 With Angels Food, and rubied Nectar flows:
 In Pearl, in Diamond, and massy Gold,
 Fruit of delicious Vines, the growth of Heav'n.
 (PL5.630-635)

Here, the language of jewelled lustre yields images of immortality. For Milton, jewelled fruit contrasts with the fruit of Eden whose 'gay enameld colours mixt' (PL4.149) must not merely refer to being variously coloured but must present a deliberate contrast of cosmetic opacity and relative dullness. Clearly Milton continues the tradition of material perfection embodied in crystalline fruit. But images that derive from practices of fruit preservation must be safeguarded from the reflex of suspicion. The result is some striking differences between this and other scenes in Milton and other poetic representations that hedge this passage about protectively.⁴⁷

We have seen how the visuality of appetite is important to the display of preserved fruit. We will see later how the visual allure of fruit is the standard precedent for the sequence of events in the story of fruity temptation. At the routine Edenic meal quoted above, work leads to a moderate appetite for a meal. Unlike these, the angelic feast divorces sight and work from appetite. The angels are first 'desirous' and then fruit appears. Though the fruit is beautiful and the angels involved in the physical exertion of dance, the language does not suggest that fruit beckons appetite; appetite, itself dictated by celestial rhythms, commands the appearance of fruit. This is a stronger variation on the routine Edenic meal quoted above. In Eden, a chain of causation is established between effort and appetite. Here, though the angels move from the physical exertion of

⁴⁷ For Milton's continuities with Henry More, see Marjorie H. Nicolson, "The Spirit World of Milton and More," *Studies in Philology* 22, no. 4 (Oct. 1925): 440. For responses to Nicolson and further analysis of the subject, see Phillip J. Donnelly, "'Matter' Versus Body: The Character of Milton's Monism," *Milton Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1999); Fallon, *Milton among the Philosophers*.

play to their meal, the language does not suggest causation, merely sequence, in the word ‘forthwith’. Their mastery of desire is complete. Heavenly fruit is truly innocent.

Similarly, Milton makes sure to show that visual allure is not the product of labour as it is in the usual narrative of temptation. Pordage’s temptation rests on fruit made attractive to the eye through kitchen guile, and Marvell’s nuns indulge in visual artifice. Though a crystalline appearance is a physical mark of perfection for Milton here, he studiously avoids any suggestion of culinary artifice. Unlike the meal in Eden with Raphael (examined later), where Eve’s kitchen labour is disclosed, the angelic feast must have no labour. As Marvell’s nunnery elided horticultural imagery, so Milton’s angelic feast completely elides processual preparation. The action of setting tables is passively voiced and performed by unknown agency; fruit are ‘on a sudden pil’d’ as if materializing from thin air. We will return to the subject of domestic production but for now it suffices to conclude that its elision contributes to the sanctification of the image. So unprocessed are these fruit, that they are in fact natural. Though of jewelled appearance, heavenly fruit is simultaneously organic.

This image could have been a case of a simple retailing of ideas such as those of More’s pellucid fruit, except that by first naming its precious substance (pearl, diamond, gold) and then naming their source in the vine, Milton follows the kitchen logic of restoration. The idea of taking a jewelled piece of preserved fruit and planting it on a stalk was a published kitchen conceit. As early as 1617, we find a recipe for making preserved fruit and flowers whose wet moulded paste is to be dried on a ‘small birchen twig’ so that ‘they will be as though they grew vpon staulkes’.⁴⁸ Milton’s jewelled fruit is similarly restored to the stalk. In effect, Milton’s heaven realizes the kitchen fantasy of

⁴⁸ Murrell, *Daily Exercise*, recipe no. 77.

fruity restoration. The kitchen language of preservation and immortality is thus distilled of chicanery by giving the lie to the kitchen conceit – by making it true.

A consequence of this move is the progressive disempowering of fruity substance. The final clinching of the process takes place in the way their ‘massie’ materiality rarefies into the abstraction of their connotative significances: ‘They eate, they drink, and in communion sweet / Quaff immortalitie and joy, secure / Of surfet’ (*PL5.637-639*). Like Raphael’s plant metaphor, where ‘flours and thir fruit’ are ‘by gradual scale sublim’d / To vital Spirits aspire’ (*PL5.482-484*), so heavenly fruit is sublimed to immortality and joy and the brittleness of jewelled fruit is sublimed to the rhetorical fruit of virtue. The desire for sanctification makes fruit pass from material culture to rhetoric.

To represent a lesser perfection, Eden’s fruit will need to be earthier than Heaven’s and therefore uses a vocabulary that is more natural, less culinary. Unlike the angelic feast which is shaped by the language of kitchen preservation conventions, scenes of Edenic fruit are shaped by the English horticultural scene. The evocation of Eden in terms of English horticulture bespeaks an equivalence between Eden and England while simultaneously noting the shortfall between the two. The play between their similarity and difference acknowledges the proleptic vision that governs this representation. Foreign lands can only be imagined from the ground one walks on.

Where heavenly fruit possesses the physical properties of artificially sweet, preserved fruit, and embodies the ideal of obtaining the equivalent material values from the stalk, Eden’s fruit appears natural in its fleshiness and needs the adjective ‘nectarine’ to underscore its difference from the natural experience of earthly fruit which, as we have seen, was no guarantor of sweetness. A return to the opening picture of Adam and Eve at their supper fruits shows Milton’s ‘nectarine’ bound up in the narrative of the garden.

They sat them down, and after no more toil
 Of thir sweet Gardning labour then suffic'd
 To recommend coole Zephyr, and made ease
 More easie, wholsom thirst and appetite
 More grateful, to thir Supper Fruits they fell,
 Nectarine Fruits which the compliant boughes
 Yielded them, side-long as they sat recline
 On the soft downie Bank damaskt with flours:
 The savourie pulp they chew, and in the rinde
 Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream;
 (PLA.327-336)

In his use of the word, he telescopes the availability of intensified sweetness and its achievement through horticulture. As a horticultural product, sweetness is understood as a synecdochic extension of a pleasurable perfection which reflects a commensuration between labour and product that infuses the entire horticultural process of effort, rest, and their attitude to their Maker (PLA.327-336). In the extended passage, the pattern of intensification of ease and gratitude in the scene is bracketed by the progression from sweet labour to nectarine fruit.

If we think of sweetness as objectified in the potential noun 'nectarine', then Milton's georgic ease contrasts impressively with the laboriousness of English horticultural activity that could only produce peaches, nectarines, and melons through the use of hot-beds and encircling walls. Eden's spatial organization reflects some of these horticultural techniques in its circling row of fruit trees against a 'verdurous wall': 'And higher then that Wall a circling row / Of goodliest Trees loaden with fairest Fruit' (PLA.143-147). The common interpretation of these lines is with reference to the medieval iconography of the *hortus conclusus* and of the enclosed estate,⁴⁹ but this is another instance where the symbolic and the material converge. The wall inevitably recalls the protective circling walls of gardens which permitted the cultivation of delicate

⁴⁹ For instance, Angela Esterhammer, ed., *Northrop Frye on Milton and Blake* (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 136.

fruit. That this is Milton's intention is indicated by the fact that trees grow against the wall, the most common horticultural practice for delicate Continental fruit.

References to English ameliorative action do not suggest that Eden is entirely attainable by dint of human application; rather they summon forms of labour and invention while simultaneously suggesting a condition beyond reach. Though Milton's trees gesture at these methods, they proudly rear unsheltered above the wall, signalling difference through similarity. Instead of being plashed against a wall they spring above. Rather pointedly, Milton immediately after refers to the nurturing action of the sun who 'glad impress'd his beams' upon them. In contrast with the foregoing lines broken up by comma-ed pauses and caesurae to form metrical steps that ascend the hill, the regularity of these lines suggests the ease and serenity of a natural world at peace with itself in internal concord. These allusions to laborious forms of horticultural labour only to make them empty of *labourious* labour suggest Milton's consciousness that imagined Eden transcends physical forms of labour even while it is simultaneously bound to the same forms.

This paradox colours Eden's work ethic. The glibness and reticence of the labourless heavenly feast is gradually expanded in Eden. At the first routine meal, representation houses the precisely imprecise terminology of fruit species in Eden which references a programme of effort not required in Eden. The next iteration, the Edenic feast, perpetuates this imprecise naming and further happily cultivates images of Eve's labour. There is then a gradual disclosure of effort and an uncoupling of effort from artifice. This appreciation for effort goes against the grain of conventional discourse which would suggest that perfection is essentially given and not worked for. The

givenness of perfection characterizes the consumption of fruit in Heaven. But if work is part of the Edenic ethic, then perfection has to be both given and laboured for.⁵⁰

A proleptic vision similarly governs Milton's naming vocabulary. Unlike Marvell's *The Garden* where the nectarine, peach, and melon are named in an act of cataloguing deliberation, Milton's phrases take advantage of signification enabled by deliberately unfixed signifiers to suggest the intersection of English and Edenic experience and to suggest the imaginative possibilities of the unexperienced. By making 'nectarine' an adjective, we are led to consider sweetness and its identity and difference from the fruit species. Precisely because he does not limit meaning to a single denotation we are led to consider the specificities of a fruit family in conjunction with ideas of sweetness which when connected mark culinary and horticultural inadequacies and achievements. A similar nominating strategy energizes the range of fruit Eve places before Raphael: 'each Plant and juciest Gourd' (*PL*5.327). Juicy gourds, as we have seen, had found material existence in the musk-melon by then. By *singling out* 'juicy gourds' rather than denoting melons directly,⁵¹ by combining a sweetness descriptor and a cultivar name in a word, Milton connects the nature of Edenic existence to English horticultural progress, while also opening up the imaginative possibilities of what might exist unexperienced.⁵² Through diffuse connotation, a refusal to land squarely on a limited experiential surface, Milton unfastens words for multiple purposes. His naming of

⁵⁰ The Protestant value for work was seminally articulated by Max Weber in Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 1992). For recent discussions of labour, see Josef Ehmer and Catharina Lis, ed., *The Idea of Work in Europe from Antiquity to Modern Times* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009). For a discussion of intellectual work in the early modern period and the idea that Adam was the first thinker because he was the first worker, see Joanna Picciotto, *Labors of Innocence in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

⁵¹ I use Kent Bach's term here.

⁵² Karen Edwards makes a similar argument for the reference to the possibilities of what might exist unwitnessed in Edwards, *Milton and the Natural World*, 181. This might also be one of the reasons for his refusal to animals or fruit in a 'figurative cabinet of curiosities'. This observation is in Karen Edwards, "Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary, H-K," *Milton Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (2007): 99.

natural kinds anchors the Edenic experience to England and yet shows how Eden surpasses England.

Referencing material praxis has interesting effects on the symbolic modes of fruit. Their postlapsarian proclivity for decay makes fruit symbols of mortality. Connecting horticultural practice to Eden rescues fruit as symbol for Edenic enterprise. Rehabilitation from the language of mortality and impending corruption re-interprets the fruit peel. Circling back to the first Edenic scene, we discover the rind that early modern still life artists are so fond of. Normally a signifier of time and waste after an event of consumption, they are used in *Paradise Lost* as drinking vessels. The Dutch peel makes the observer think how close the discovery of beauty in the inner flesh of fruit, the attractive spiral of its peel, and the pleasures of its appearance are to the annihilation of the object and the debris left from its consumption. Milton's rind evokes the sadness of passing time; it connotes the end of a meal. But it also becomes the object around which to build a gesture by which to salvage waste and stave off thoughts of impending rottenness. Presumably undecaying like fallen Edenic fruit, it is not left to droop decoratively but is added to what must become a stack of Eden's unhewn implements. The fruit peel is strangely reclaimed from waste for productivity.

The gourd inflects this process more self-reflexively. A symbol of redemption, it now truly references redemption by being placed within the narrative of horticultural amelioration. In its open-armed naming, redemption is tied into specific material history which is conversely validated in the forms of Edenic materiality. In this instance, naming permits an integration of symbol with contemporary cultural synecdoche. Edenic character and redemption are thereby characterized not purely by the static quality of the symbol but by the process of the synecdoche, a work rather than a condition of being.

Subverting the free-floating transcendence of the symbol with the groundedness of the synecdoche recognizes that the imagination is both enabled and limited by horizons of experience in the everyday. It is therefore also essentially proleptic, enabled and limited by the horizons of the postlapsarian world.

The consciousness that postlapsarian horizons determine our expectations of language governs the wit of Marvell's *The Garden* and cause critics like Christopher Ricks and Stanley Fish to notice the difference between fallen and unfallen language.⁵³ Milton's scene of nectarine fruit belongs to this category and speaks not with a single voice. It is as playfully double-tongued as Marvell's *The Garden*. In fact, it is possible that the gentle ironies in Marvell are only sharper accents of Milton. Like Marvell's Edenic fruit, Milton's nectarine fruit are 'yielded' by 'compliant boughes', but the ironies here come from the action of Adam and Eve who 'fell' to their supper fruit. It is not just the Fall that is sought through proleptic innocence. Their movements are suggestive of fruit itself, perennially ripe, falling but undecaying. As they recline on the bank of a stream, they seem to embody this overripe, never-decaying fruit, and lie softly fallen on the flowered ground. Marvell uses the postlapsarian language of succumbing to temptation to disinvest them of fallen accumulations of meaning in a prelapsarian context. Milton is far gentler. His proleptic verb goes almost unnoticed. Marvell's language is cannily mindful of the ironies; comparatively, Milton's is not. This gentleness then performs that difference between the postlapsarian perspective that enables irony and the prelapsarian perspective that disables it.

Milton's self-consciousness in this project is evident from his reference to fallen fruit after the Fall. Then, decay finally arrives like a breath released at long last when

⁵³ Christopher Ricks, *Milton's Grand Style* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), 109-17; Stanley Fish, *Surprised By Sin* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), 92-157.

Michael predicts the yet unseen completion of the natural process through the practice of temperance: 'So maist thou live, till like ripe Fruit thou drop / Into thy Mother's lap, or be with ease / Gatherd, not harshly pluckt, for death mature' (*PL*11.535-538). This prophetic recommendation completes the circle begun when Adam and Eve 'fell' to their supper fruits. There the metaphor is unintended. Here the postlapsarian context releases the play of ironies to enable the metaphor of fallen fruit to work for the human lifespan. And no wonder fruit is so self-consciously used. It is not merely an instance of the difference between pre- and postlapsarian language. It is also the figure of it. Milton is conscious of fruit as an object that is materially implicated in the process of time. Its maturation and its decay in a fallen world are fruits of time. The consciousness of fruit as a figure for this process is evident in the fact that Milton does not use the word with subtle doubleness in the narrative in Eden but foregrounds its newly acquired doubleness by treating it as a simile. Similarly, the fallen meaning colours the rhetorical sense of the postlapsarian epic narrator for whom 'mortal taste' brought death to the world (*PL*1.1-3).

As fruit *falls* to the ground, so it *rises* on the table. It is to these risen heaps that we now turn our attention.

Unsparing Heaps

Milton's material culture engagement reveals thoughtful depth in miming contemporary cultural gestures. Luce Giard writes of 'ancient gestures' being 'chased away' by the expiry of material practices and it is in recovering these that a more comprehensive understanding of Milton's action might be gained for they institutionalize the attitudes and anxieties of a group of people in a given historical moment. They reveal the myths of a culture and the fantasies that forge collective subjectivities and will.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Luce Giard, "Gesture Sequences," in *Michel De Certeau: The Practice of Everyday Life: Living and Cooking*, ed. Luce Giard (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998). I mean 'fantasy' as in Lauren

Bearing this in mind, we must dismiss naive readings of Eve's piles of fruit on the table. Not as natural as it might appear, this image is a specific culturally coded gesture, underscored through repetition. At dinner with Raphael, Eve stacks fruit on their rough-hewn table. Her act of piling is reflected in the extension of feet before the comma and the progressive extension of line lengths culminating in the gesture: 'She gathers, Tribute large, and on the board / Heaps with unsparing hand'. Raphael addresses her implicitly as one who 'heap'd this Table'. The verse describes the table on which 'all *Autumn* pil'd' (*PL*5.343-344, 391, 394).

Socializing the natural in these gestures of display reveals their registry of group formations, their class, religious and political commitments, and how these resonate so in the national and householder's psyche. Milton's scene negotiates the variegated practices of different social groups and Eden forms from a selection and discipline of these. At the level of aesthetics, these connotations make visible the conflict between Milton's sympathy for aristocratic aesthetics and his godly value for moderation. Moderation is usually the key note in discussions of Raphael's feast but it is in fact possessed of an aristocratic excitement in displaying excess that is only saved from unseemliness by the careful corseting of its connotations. At the level of social aspiration, such display was a continental practice representing achievement and aspiration. The significance of these practices and of England's adoption of them manifest several kinds of desire: for achievement, in aspiration, through comparison. These Milton recognizes and disciplines and can then permit them to be constitutive of Eden.

Gail Berlant, *The Anatomy of National Fantasy: Hawthorne, Utopia, and Everyday* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 5. I am here influenced by Wendy Wall's application of fantasy to historicism in Wall, *Staging Domesticity*. See also Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits Of "Sex"* (New York; London: Routledge, 1993), 267.

Displaying fruit at the table was a common enough habit. It manifested an anxiety for proof in the custom of setting out the best fruit of the orchard after a meal in order that a man's guests might taste, test, and validate its worth. In Parkinson's *Paradisi*, he refers to fruit put out on the table and to the best pears that make 'an after-course for their Master's table, where the goodness of his Orchard is tried' or to the best apples that 'serve at the last course for the table, in most men's houses of account where, if there grow any rare or excellent fruit, it is then set forth to be seen and tasted'.⁵⁵ John Evelyn records with fond pride presenting oranges from his own trees to his friends after dinner.⁵⁶ This attitude of display was ingrained enough that it had been noted as a horticultural motivation with astonishment early in the century when the Italian Giacomo Castelvetro saw fruit and vegetables 'cultivated less for the table than for show by those who want to boast of their exotic plants and well-stocked gardens'.⁵⁷ Clearly, presentation at the table was not always functional but often a request for recognition.⁵⁸ To Jean de la Quintinie, the Restoration cook, the splendour of the most majestic feasts is sadly diminished if 'Fair and Good Fruits be wanting to set out their Lustre, and to help to leave behind them a certain Idea of Greatness in the Minds of the invited Guests'.⁵⁹

These gestures found extravagant expression at the Restoration court. Fruit had already been a staple ingredient of the Italian banquet course through the seventeenth century. We have, for instance, an account of an Italian banquet arranged for the ambassador of Spain in 1611. Its last course, the sixth, delivers a range of fruit (alongside a few other items like olives and cheeses) and the guests adjourn to other entertainment

⁵⁵ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 300.

⁵⁶ E.S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols., vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 182.

⁵⁷ Giacomo Castelvetro, *The Fruit, Herbs & Vegetables of Italy: An Offering to Lucy, Countess of Bedford*, trans. Gillian Riley (London: Viking, 1989), 49.

⁵⁸ I mean recognition in the psychoanalytic sense in which the subject's desire is to find recognition in another's discourse.

⁵⁹ Quintinie, *The Compleat Gard'ner*, 62. Hannah Woolley's book, addressed to the middling sort, recommends a Candlemas dinner with an extra course of fruit at the end in Hannah Woolley, *The Accomplish'd Ladies Delight* (London, 1684), 203-04.

where sugary confections were provided.⁶⁰ Rossetti standardised the flow of the banquet into a format which lasted through the century. He codified the fruit course (raw fruits with truffles, artichokes, cheeses, olives) as the penultimate course at the end of the meal before the final banquet course of *confetture*, which contained preserved fruit.⁶¹ These are practices of Italian entertaining Milton must have experienced during his circulation amid aristocratic friendship circles in Italy.

Though a natural evolution of the display of fruity abundance, piles and heaps of fruit were a gestural import from the Continent intrinsic to Restoration practices of feasting. The preoccupation with fruit crested in the latter half of the seventeenth century when the banquet became a veritable cornucopia of overflowing fruit, as pyramids of apples, pears, or cherries began appearing at banquet tables. According to the new fashion that invaded England, tall pyramids of fruit and sweetmeats (as the description of the eighteenth-century confectioner indicated) were artfully arranged to impress the viewer with their architectural magnificence. The fashion appeared in full strength in England with the King's return from France in 1660 where he must have enjoyed the fashionable displays of fruit. Fruit pyramids became the norm at courtly banquets as well as fraternities and societies.⁶² While this was enjoyable, it also demonstrated the excesses of Royalist hospitality that the godly had sought to critique right from Elizabethan times. As Philip Stubbes warned, hospitality would 'flow ouer into superfluitie & riotous excesse'.⁶³ Critics of Cromwell would compare his regime to the culinary excesses of the

⁶⁰ An account of this and other banquets in early modern Italy is in Ken Albala, *The Banquet: Dining in the Great Courts of Late Renaissance Europe* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 23-25, 82-89.

⁶¹ A biographical account and summary of his culinary thought is in Gillian Riley, *The Oxford Companion to Italian Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 457-59.

⁶² Francois Massialot, *The Court and Country Cook: Giving New and Plain Directions How to Order All Manner of Entertainment* (London: 1702), 125.

⁶³ Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses* (1583), "Gluttonie and drunkenesse", H8-r-I6-v. He defines true hospitality as philanthropy rather than a display of varied dishes on a table.

Royalist court.⁶⁴ Banqueting excess, even if benevolently hospitable, is a touchy subject.⁶⁵

Perfection proved through comparison was displayed by the availability of international species of fruit on the English table. It signified skilful English gardening and intrepid English travelling. John Parkinson and Samuel Hartlib allude to towering estimates of varieties of a single fruit which sometimes ran into two or three pages. These lists bear traces of their geographical provenances: Parkinson's list of pears for instance, bore the names of Norwich, Worscester, Windsor, Warwick, Greenfield, Wilford, 'Portingal', Suffolk.⁶⁶ Lists of place names could form a heap that implicitly conjure up horizontal expansion too making Eden a microcosm of English adventuring and colonial enterprise. In 1676, Ralph Austen believed that more fruit trees had been planted in the previous thirty or forty years than 'in several hundreds of years in former ages'.⁶⁷ Fruit from Europe, Asia, America, and the West Indies flooded England through trade and adventurous individuals like the Tradescants who collected grafts of new strains of 'rarest fruits ... in any place of Christendom, Turkey, yea or the whole world' to introduce to England.⁶⁸ These lists simmer with a form of overt nationalism and proto-empiric discourse, in their reviews of recent developments through acts of discursive heaps and piles, enumerations, and high numerical quotations. If for Milton, the national self should be constituted through conversation, an implicit principle of globalization as some have

⁶⁴ Anna Trapnel, for instance, interrogates Cromwell thus, 'how can the Commonalty be relieved, and thou hast such great things for thy Table?' in Anna Trapnel, *The Cry of a Stone. Or a Relation of Something Spoken in Whitehall* (London: 1654), 68.

⁶⁵ Food was often a socio-cultural marker in Milton's prose, as Karen Edwards notes. See for instance the analysis of swan-eating prelates in Karen Edwards, "Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary, S," *Milton Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (2009): 132.

⁶⁶ OED records the word 'Portingal' as noun or adjective to mean a person or thing of or relating to Portugal as a usage from the fifteenth century and its later variation, 'Portugal' continuing through the eighteenth century with occasional references later still. Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 592-93.

⁶⁷ Ralph Austen, *A Dialogue ... Between the Husbandman, and the Fruit-Trees* (London: 1676), 59.

⁶⁸ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 575. For more on the international quests of the Tradescant family see also Mea Allan, *The Tradescants: Their Plants, Gardens and Museums, 1570-1662* (London: Michael Joseph, 1964).

argued, then early modern fruit was a site at which the national self is constituted within paradigms that also made that conversation comparative.⁶⁹

If heaps of fruit represent a national fantasy, its availability descended the social hierarchy. As a sign of class membership, fruit was becoming unlimited and unanchored. It could be equivocal in its class associations. As we have seen, extravagant fruit heaps were a class distinctive if associated with courtly practices.⁷⁰ An appreciation for the aesthetics and extravagance of hospitality was yoked together in the royalist rhetoric of cookery books that sustained physical and sensual memories of the court even during the Interregnum.⁷¹ Their luxuriousness had been the subject of critique in Milton's prose works which voiced a nation 'evinced negatively in temperance and corruption'.⁷² On the other hand, fruit was also a sedate pleasure for the middle classes.⁷³ It could be cheaper than some sweetmeats and a fruit banquet consisting chiefly of fresh fruit was fairly popular.⁷⁴ John Parkinson suggests figs, apricots and plums among other fruit for such a banquet and records several unassuming middle class customs: to eat berries 'as an afternoones dish', to eat apricots 'between meales of themselues', apples are 'roast[ed] in the winter time, to warme a cup of wine, ale or beere; or to be eaten alone' or eaten with rosewater and sugar.⁷⁵ These gestures were part of the casual and unpretentious customs of a middle class household.

⁶⁹ Paul Stevens, "How Milton's Nationalism Works: Globalization and the Possibilities of Positive Nationalism," in *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*, ed. David Loewenstein and Paul Stevens (London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 291-93.

⁷⁰ Joan Thirsk writes that the requirement of space made fruit trees more readily found in the gardens of the gentry in Thirsk, *Food in Early Modern England*, 72.

⁷¹ Bassnett, "Restoring the Royal Household: Royalist Politics and the Commonwealth Recipe Book," 3, 17-19. Also see Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth*.

⁷² Laura Knoppers, "Consuming Nations: Milton and Luxury," in *Early Modern Nationalism and Milton's England*, ed. David and Paul Stevens Loewenstein (London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 338.

⁷³ For how print republicanised royal receipt books, see ———, "Opening the Queen's Closet: Henrietta Maria, Elizabeth Cromwell, and the Politics of Cookery," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (Summer 2007).

⁷⁴ Wilson, "Evolution of the Banquet Course," 142.

⁷⁵ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 289, 95, 558, 79, 88-89.

Bearing these political, national, and social discourses in mind, we can examine Milton's heaps as gestures that use and manage these codes. Critics have usually been more mindful of the scene's advocacy of temperateness, but even assuming Milton never attended an extravagant feast, it is certainly the case that readers must have discerned a remarkable similarity between the form of Eve's hospitality, the unabashed excesses of the angelic feast, and the splendour of banquet presentation for London was beginning to see visions of unsparing heaps on its own banqueting tables when the epic was first published.⁷⁶

The gesture is characteristic of both unfallen feasts but their differences subject them to different social and political construals. At the angelic feast, tables are 'piled' with pearl, diamond, and gold. Jewelled language recalls images of preservation as well as expense, as its sugary lustre could only be had at substantial cost. In addition, the context of dance changes the character of the meal from the situation of Edenic labour to merriment. The elision of labour in the phrase 'on a sudden' is complete when labour is substituted by something akin to masque-like revelry.⁷⁷ Despite Knoppers's careful construal of the angelic feast being a display of Republican virtue,⁷⁸ it has a surprisingly courtly countenance. Perhaps we easily succumb to the desire to make peace between Milton's representations and the protests against luxury in his prose. It certainly seems like Milton desired to display the virtues of temperance and moderation but that his imagination only produced that perfection in Royalist aesthetics.

⁷⁶ For a 'temperate' reading see Laura Knoppers, "'No Fear Lest Dinner Coole': Milton's Housewives and the Politics of Eden," in *Politicizing Domesticity from Henrietta Maria to Milton's Eve* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

⁷⁷ See the associations of banquets and masques in aristocratic self-fashioning in Skiles Howard, *The Politics of Courtly Dancing in Early Modern England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998).

⁷⁸ Knoppers, "'No Fear Lest Dinner Coole': Milton's Housewives and the Politics of Eden," 164.

The labour elided in the phrase ‘on a sudden’ is disclosed when Eve heaps her rustic table with autumnal fruit. If the angelic feast adheres more closely to a courtly cast, the meal with Raphael mediates between excess and middlingness, between an artless pile and a histrionic display. On one hand then, the meal with Raphael can be read as richly aristocratic. On the other, it does not lay claim to the exclusivity of such a conception, but allows the middle classes to participate in imagining Eden and experiencing its everyday echoes. In these feasts then, Milton probes the developing connotations and experiences of diverse social participation in this national fantasy.

The negotiation of the two practices is located in the representation of labour. Elided labour in Heaven fits with an aristocratic experience of consumption where labour is invisible. In contrast, the visibility of Eve’s labour at the Edenic feast suggests the middle class visibility of the kitchen. And yet despite the secure knowledge of Eve’s hand at work piling the table with unsparing heaps of fruit, we have the co-existence of the phrase ‘all Autumne pil’d’. Agency which is invisible in Heaven, is attributed to Eve, but equally attributed to the work of nature. Like all of Eden’s perfections, these heaps are at once given and laboured for.

Excess produced from this uncertain negotiation needs management by spiritual disciplines. Eve’s fruit excesses are ‘Tribute large’ (*PL5.343*). Unlike a king who bestows his wealth in condescension, indulgence, or the honour of an equal, tithing language marks the feast as a reverential tribute firmly mapped within a vertical hierarchy. Adam expresses this when he disclaims that all he is doing is to ‘afford our givers their own gifts’ and ‘large bestow from large bestowed’ (*PL5.316-318*). Milton re-crafts the hedonistic feast into a gustatory genuflection. Indulgence is managed by other shaping representations such that this act of proof proves providential benevolence. The feast

models the Republican genre of civility Achinstein analyses. This civility is not the self-interested suaveness of the courtier. It is the code by which to live in the ‘meantime’, and Eden’s time knows only the ‘meantime’.⁷⁹ Edenic civility models an ethic of worship and stewardship. Yet to the extent that worship of the Creator occurs by appreciating his handiwork, these depictions become both a critique of materialism and an endorsement of it. They endorse the Royalist aesthetic of excess but not the Royalist practice of consumption. The former glorifies the Creator; the latter misuses his creation. The passage is shaped by Milton’s attraction to the lavish beauty of Royalist aesthetic while resisting its ethic.

Though displaying fruity excess may not have been entirely unoriginal to England, its practice was perfected on the Continent and re-introduced to England as a continental import after the Restoration. As a continental imitation, the gesture is ridden with aspirations to comparative equivalence in horticultural production. If the household is considered an extension of the nation, we can connect these gestures located within households, courts, and literature of the country.⁸⁰ At all these sites, display is not just an aesthetic but manifests the poignancy of the search for recognition. That these are in fact gestures towards validation in Milton’s Eden are indicated by Eve’s housewifely concern:

But I will haste and from each bough and break,
 Each Plant and juciest Gourd will pluck such choice
 To entertain our Angel guest, as hee
 Beholding shall confess that here on Earth
 God hath dispenst his bounties as in Heaven.
 (PL5.326-330)

⁷⁹ Sharon Achinstein, "When Civil Fury First Grew High: Politics and Incivility in Restoration England," in *Early Modern Civil Discourses*, ed. Jennifer Richards (London: Palgrave, 2003). Also see, David Norbrook, "'Words More Than Civil': Republican Civility in Lucy Hutchinson's 'The Life of John Hutchinson'," in *Early Modern Civil Discourses*, ed. Jennifer Richards (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003).

⁸⁰ For an analysis of the state’s hegemonic organization of the household, see Lena Cowen Orlin, *Private Matters and Public Culture in Post-Reformation England* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 3.

Eve's quest for proof results in language not dissimilar to the horticultural literature of the period. Representing Eden as a place of almost empiric diversity leads to an elaborate international assemblage: 'Whatever Earth all-bearing Mother yields, / In *India* East or West, or middle shoare / In *Pontus* or the *Punic* Coast, or where / *Alcinous* reign'd, fruit of all kindes' (PL5.338-341). In the context of horticultural nationalism, this enumeration of diverse geographical provenances participates in the formal conventions of the horticultural genre of lists. The verse is then informed by the intersection of the forms of epic catalogue and horticultural literature. It is therefore available as a fruity panegyric to English horticultural production and regional or international erudition.

Its aspirational character is succinctly expressed when Adam invites Raphael 'to rest, and what the Garden choicest bears / To sit and taste' (PL5.368-369) and Raphael's affirmation echoes Eve's language:

... though in Heav'n the Trees
Of life ambrosial frutage bear, and vines
Yield Nectar, though from off the boughs each Morn
We brush mellifluous Dewes, and find the ground
Covered with pearly grain: yet God hath here
Varied his bounty so with new delights,
As may compare with Heaven.
(PL5.426-432)

This framing of comparative perfections is threaded through with the recognition that fruit cultivation aspired to continental standards of production, to the desire to secure comparative proof of value, or simply to the recognition of worth. Eve's 'here on Earth' is quite starkly paralleled by 'yet God hath here', each emphasizing location at the end of their respective lines. The summit of her ambition, encapsulated in a single line confession, is expanded by Raphael to land with equal weight on the points of variety and positive valuation that emerge as a concession through negative comparison. Yet desire implies lack that continuously perpetuates it and Milton recognizes the dynamic of

aspiration and inescapable lack that fuel national desire, and makes it constitutive of Eden.⁸¹ Eve's naming of fruit varieties is paralleled by Raphael's survey of heavenly fruit but only to find that Eden herself will always suffer diminishment by comparison to Heaven; Eden emerges equal in diversity and beneficence but qualitatively lesser.

So inscribed in recognizable gestures of aspiration, the lesser perfection of Eden recognizes English aspirations of comparison and proof, and make aspiration itself not un-Edenic in its quest to secure the subject through proof. Like the Puritan work ethic, aspiration itself is construed not as an endless quest for Edenic completion but as Edenic itself. Further, the act of proof is valuable as self-constitution not accomplished through self-aggrandizement but through self-diminishment by glorifying providential benevolence. The weak 'I haste' of Eve's intention is subsumed into substantial vegetative sounds and then yields to 'hee' and 'God', each acquiring metric weight from line-initial and line-final positions. While suggesting difference, Milton describes a fantasy that energizes national effort and re-*appropriates* it to make *proper* desire a sign of Eden. In registering national desire in Eden, he meets it with recognition, just as Raphael recognises Eve, but binds desire by spiritual discipline.

Mirroring English aspiration in Eden again rises as a development of a richly proleptic vision conscious of the limitations set up by its own location. Eve's and Raphael's 'here' emphasize their locatedness and their awareness of the limitations set by it. Their 'here' ultimately reflects Milton's awareness of the inescapability of his own location in postlapsarian England. The space between England and the Continent is mirrored not just in the difference between Eden and Heaven but in the difference between England and Eden. England is at once Edenic because of its similarly

⁸¹ A broad discussion of national desire is Antony Easthope, *Englishness and National Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999), 33-58.

comparative position and un-Edenic because the very position marks its own difference. Founding this representation is the miry paradox of location which enables all and limits all.

Excessive Plenty

So Milton is attracted to the Royalist aesthetic of excess but not to its undisciplined practice. Undisciplined eating can hardly be better exemplified than in the case of fruit. Its availability to rich and poor from foreign lands or the hedgerow meant that undisciplined eating found a range of expressions amid different economic groups and its adverse effects on health were noted by satiric and dietary literature. Alongside the glorification of bountiful England that has been traced so far came voices of complaint from those affected by civic nuisance and those concerned for the nation's dietary habits. Milton co-opts the twined threads of excessive consumption, and attitudes of annoyance and food guilt, to frame the narrative of the temptation.

Excess might develop into a benevolent vision of communality around natural wealth as in an anonymous seventeenth-century device depicting men astride branches collecting fruit while people gathered below with hats and bags to fill. The motto declares, 'Veni, Collige, Imple[r]e'.⁸² However, this tidy vision could be rent by the messier conditions of fruit sale and consumption. The sale of horticultural produce on the street by costermongers and fruit and vegetable hawkers rendered them places of waste, decay, and civic nuisance. The street of Cheape between Bread Street and St. Paul's had become a significant annoyance in 1657 when sellers of fruit, roots, plants, and flowers 'fill, pester and streighten the said Street, that ... the Inhabitants are much hindred and damnified in their trades and estates, ... exposed to manifold hazards and dangers, ...

⁸² *Device Showing People Picking and Gathering Fruit from a Tree, with Motto 'Veni Collige Imple[r]e'*, (1600-1699).

besides the further annoyance thence arising from the unwholsome smells and stenches of the parings and refuse of Roots, Plants and other filth continually left and lying scattered and corrupting'. They were moved to the north-side of St. Paul's, limited in number, and charged to diligently clear the street.⁸³ Paul Griffiths traces judicial attempts to curtail space. One had to occupy 'noe more than 9 foot in length from the gate' and '2 foot in breadth'; others were permitted to occupy the space in front of a wall or a gate. The agents of this troublesome narrative were often perceived to be women peddling fruit, fish, and other wares.⁸⁴ In 1602, the Common Council complained of two sorts of people who 'greatlie hinder' regular shopkeepers – 'forryners' and 'for the most parte women' selling goods on streets. Griffiths also notices that from the spectrum of street sellers, fruit-sellers were most indicted by the authorities for cursing, swearing, and disturbing merchants in front of the Exchange.⁸⁵ This salesmanship, spurred by increasing availability and demand, ran against the grain of a low nutritive evaluation.

A Galenic evaluation of fruit based on its humoural properties, its texture and digestibility found fruit cold and moist, the cause of catarrh, asthma, and other undesirable conditions. Its susceptibility to putrefaction suggested that it corrupted even in the stomach.⁸⁶ Elizabethan dietaries therefore waver on the nutritive value of fruit.⁸⁷ Andrew Boorde positively frames his list of fruit with figs, thought to be one of the most nutritious. They 'nurysh more than any other Fruyte, they ... nurysshe meruelously', he

⁸³ Corporation of London, *Whereas against Divers Lawes, Orders and Provisions, Great Numbers of Men and Women ... Sit in the High-Street of Cheape* (London: 1657).

⁸⁴ See Achinstein's discussion of petitioning womens' voices in the public sphere. Their demands were seen as 'a posture of temptation' proffering 'sugared Notes'. Sharon Achinstein, "Women on Top in the Pamphlet Literature of the English Revolution," in *Feminism and Renaissance Studies*, ed. Lorna Hutson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 343-51.

⁸⁵ LMA, Journal 27, COL/CC/01/01/27, fol. 205. Paul Griffiths, *Lost Londons: Change, Crime, and Control in the Capital City, 1550-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 126-27.

⁸⁶ For analyses of early modern dietaries see Albala, *Food in Early Modern Europe*, Fitzpatrick, *Food in Shakespeare: Early Modern Dietaries and the Plays*.

⁸⁷ Jane O'Hara-May, *Elizabethan Dyetary of Health* (Kansas: Colorado Press, 1977), 101. For a representative sample of early modern dietaries, see Cogan, *The Hauen of Health*; Thomas Moffet, *Health's Improvement* (London: 1655); Humphrey Brooke, *Ugieni, or, a Conservatory of Health* (London: 1650).

writes. He lists ill-effects usually followed by praise.⁸⁸ Other writers take their tone from Galen and are less approbatory. William Bullein recommends figs and raisins, is wary of apples and pears, and warns that peaches ‘doe corrupt both in themselues and in the meats lately eaten’.⁸⁹ Thomas Cogan determines all fruit ‘noyfull to man and do engender yll humors, and be oft times the cause of putrified Feauers, if they be much and continually eaten’. His recommendations are defensive, seeking to ‘write particularly of such fruites as be in common use, declaring their noyfull qualities ... and howe they may bee used with least hurt’.⁹⁰ Suspicion of its nature and effects made the transformation of its substance essential. Apples and pears may be eaten ‘if gathered full ripe, and well kept until the next Winter, or the yere following, and be eaten rosted, or baken, or stewed’. Even then praise is reluctant and expressed in negative affirmations: fruit may be eaten ‘with least detriment’ and are ‘not unwholesome’.⁹¹

Cogan’s fear of baleful fruit-eating is partly due to the cultural proclivity for fruity excess and the conflation of its effects with the plague. The common predilection of the poor to glut themselves with fruit in season resulted in the ‘fluxes’ which were confused with plague fevers, leading people to believe fruit more pernicious than it really was. In 1569, a year of pestilence, fruit sales were forbidden in the street for this reason.⁹² In the plague year of 1665, Daniel Defoe writes, ‘There was a most excessive plenty of all sorts of Fruit, such as Apples, Pears, Plumbs, Cherries, Grapes: and they were the cheaper, because of the want of People: but this made the Poor eat them to excess, and this brought them into Fluxes, griping of the Guts, Surfeits and the like, which often precipitated them

⁸⁸ Boorde, *Compendyous Regyment*, Giii-Hi.

⁸⁹ William Bullein, *The Gouernment of Health* (London: 1595), 56v-60r.

⁹⁰ Cogan, *The Hauen of Health*, 88. This is one of the sections Cogan took almost verbatim from Sir Thomas Eliot. See Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helthe* (London: 1539), 18r-v.

⁹¹ Cogan, *The Hauen of Health*, 88-91.

⁹² C. Anne Wilson, *Food and Drink in Britain* (London: Constable, 1973), 334-48.

into the Plague'.⁹³ Defoe is typical of the dietary narrative that reads a coincidental situation as a causative sequence.

Defoe's comment also foregrounds distinctive patterns of consumption for the poor and rich. Fruity excess was refracted through the experiences of classes. Robert Boyle mints a fruity metaphor differentiating between class practices of surfeit in his tirade against swearing: 'The Ambitious and the Incontinent are like great Ladies, that surfeit upon Apricocks, Nectarines, and Melons: Whereas the Swearer is but too justly resembled to those Beggars, that kill themselves with Blackberries and Slows, and such like Trash, the Excrements of Hedges'.⁹⁴ Like class, other life circumstances might pattern kinds of fruity excess. Another category was the sort of schoolboy scrumping Augustine had admitted to, made attractive by the naïve opportunism of youth. Though dated a little after Milton's lifetime, the letter of a schoolboy in Sedburgh reveals such fruit consumption leading to satiety as a display of overriding personal volition. He writes to his parents about a fellow-pupil whose 'late sickness was occasioned by three pints of black currants, he has been very sufficiently cautioned against fruit and I believe he eats little or none at present'.⁹⁵ Through varied practices of class, wealth, or other life situations, surfeiting on fruit might be prompted by the constrained psychology of the indigent, the naïveté of youth which combines impish delight in the forbidden with a happy indulgence in what is free, or the wasteful excesses of the well-to-do that purely serves the pleasure of the palette. Though kinds of fruit differenced social groups, the gesture was continuous across the spectrum.⁹⁶

⁹³ Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, ed. Cynthia Wall (London: Penguin, 1722), 213.

⁹⁴ Robert Boyle, *A Free Discourse against Customary Swearing; and, a Dissuasive from Cursing* (London: 1695), 125.

⁹⁵ E. Hughes, *North Country Life in the Eighteenth Century: The North-East 1700-1750* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), 356.

⁹⁶ See also the intriguing pamphlet genre of the 'great eater' such as John Taylor, *The Great Eater of Kent* (London: 1630). This is briefly discussed in Paul Hartle, "Culinary Politics in the English Civil War," in *At*

Narratives of excess fed the idea that fruit was tempting. Even the arms of the Fruiterer's Company allude to the Edenic temptation. It bears Adam and Eve standing by a fruit-laden tree. Sinisterly coiled around the trunk is a serpent facing Eve.⁹⁷ This visual formula, dating from pre-Christian antiquity, is commonly used by early Christian iconography from about the 3rd century AD onwards.⁹⁸ It adorns illustrations and frontispieces in the Geneva Bible, the Matthew Bible and the Great Bible, and configure space in the works of Raphael, Titian, Rubens and other Renaissance artists who painted the Genesis story. It denotes at once the events of the temptation and fall, and the fruiterers' iconography was predicated on these.

Unlike the iconographic tradition, Milton's Eden is predicated on excess and so is his temptation. The over-ripeness marked earlier leads to the anxiety of civic nuisance that complained about spatial occupation, spillage, and corruption. The nuisances of overly abundant fruit- and vegetable-sellers are quite likely to be the social conditions that inform Adam's concern for overgrown nature: 'Yon flourie Arbors, yonder Allies green, / Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown ... Those Blossoms also, and those dropping Gumms' (*PL*4.626-627, 630). The concern to restrain proliferating plenitude shapes the versification. Short anaphoric clauses develop images of accumulation. In each, the syllabic equality of the two clauses is complicated by the increased metrical stresses in the second. The lines purport to clear pedestrian passage: to 'ask riddance', to enable 'our walk at noon', to 'tread with ease' (*PL*4.631-632). By recalling the spectre of

the Table: Metaphorical and Material Cultures of Food in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. Timothy J. Tomasik and Juliann M. Vitullo (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007), 33. Hartle's essay contrasts Royalist fantasies about England as a land of plenty whose fruits were enjoyed guiltlessly with Puritan inveighing against the excesses of country-house hospitality.

⁹⁷ Arthur Gould, *History of the Worshipful Company of Fruiterers* (Exeter: 1912), 60-62.

⁹⁸ J.B. Trapp, "The Iconography of the Fall of Man," in *Approaches to Paradise Lost*, ed. C.A. Patrides (London: Edward Arnold, 1968), 226-29.

civic nuisance, Adam's words hints at the remainder lying beyond the beneficent vision of natural benevolence in which excess leads to unwholesome inconvenience and decay.

The apprehension that excess would lead to decay, both physical and moral, shapes Milton's temptation. Most visual and literary figuration of the temptation condenses the moment to a single bite. Bible illustrations and paintings such as the many titled *The Fall of Man* painted by Raphael, Titian, and others show a single fruit in the hand of Eve or Adam. The tentative hand is a feature of Du Bartas' poetic rendering of the Fall too where fear and stealth colour the action. He compares Eve to a novice thief who extends his hand twice or thrice and withdraws before summoning up the courage to pick up his loot and make good his escape. Overcoming her doubt and hesitation, Eve finally reaches for the fruit: 'But (out alas!) at last she toucheth it, / And (having toucht) tastes the *Forbidden bit*'. Turning to Adam, she prevails upon him to taste a 'morsel of the sharp-sweet fruit'.⁹⁹ The fall occurs through a bit and a morsel with the gentle touch of Eve's hand. This is like the implicit idea of the Fall in iconography as a moment marked by a single touch and a bite after which the curtain falls. Though the Fall occurs at the moment of a single bite, Milton's temptation is not narrativized through that moment.

The difference between these and the Miltonic narrative registers in the language of Eve's hand. The book of hand gestures, *Chirologia*, published in the forties makes known the consciousness of the language of the hand at the scene of the temptation: 'To present the Hand, is their expression who proffer or deliver a thing as their act and deed ... This was the first expression that ere appeared in the *Hand*, and was used by *Eve* in the

⁹⁹ Du Bartas, *Du Bartas His Deuine Weekes and Workes Translated*, 92.

fatall profer of the forbidden fruit unto the first man'.¹⁰⁰ The tentative hand of Du Bartas resembles the reaching hand of the 'Fall of Man' paintings. The hand of Milton's Eve is not tentative. The narrative leads to the point of the reaching hand, to the first bite, but takes us further. The reaching hand of Eve is variously manifested in the approach to the temptation. She withdraws her hand from Adam's in independence: 'from her Husbands hand her hand / Soft she withdrew' (*PL*9.385-386); hers is the hand of craftsmanship: 'Among thick-wov'n Arborets and Flours / Imbordered on each Bank, the hand of *Eve*;' (*PL*9.437-438). Finally, these pictures lead to the iconic reaching hand where the emphasis moves from her hand to the verbs: 'So saying, her rash hand in evil hour / Forth reach to the Fruit, she pluck'd, she eat' (*PL*9.781-782). Her action is then carried forward to climactic excess. 'Eager appetite' is egged on by the 'smell so savourie' and the beauty of its aspect till she is moved to 'touch or taste'. Then, 'Greedily she ingorg'd without restraint / And knew not eating Death: Satiat at length / And hight'nd as with Wine, jocond and boon ...' (*PL*9.791-793).

Milton's temptation only resembles Du Bartas's passage in the 'toucheth ... tastes' and 'pluck ... eat' parallel. Thereafter, all resemblance ends. Du Bartas's touching and tasting occurs in bits and morsels; Milton's plucking and eating swells to satiety. Adam falls into the same gestural pattern. Proffered the fruit by Eve's 'liberal hand', he 'took no thought, / Eating his fill, nor *Eve* to iterate / Her former trespass fear'd' (*PL*9.997, 1004-1006). There is a rehearsal of Satan's fictional narrative which frames features of the temptation that are then entrenched through repetition: compelling temptation enhanced by the lure of sight and smell, the inability to override temptation or defer consumption, and persistent eating to the point of excess.

¹⁰⁰ John Bulwer, *Chirologia, or, the Naturall Language of the Hand Composed of the Speaking Motions, and Discoursing Gestures Thereof: Whereunto Is Added Chironomia, or, the Art of Manuall Rhetoricke ...* (London: 1644), 71.

To satisfie the sharp desire I had
 Of tasting those fair Apples, I resolv'd
 Not to deferr; hunger and thirst at once,
 Powerful perswaders, quick'nd at the scent
 Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keene

Amid the Tree now got, where plentie hung
 Tempting so nigh, to pluck and eat my fill
 I spar'd not, for such pleasure till that hour
 At Feed or Fountain never had I found.
 Sated at length ...
 (PL9.584-588; 594-8)

Misrepresenting the fruit as alluring, Satan's *sparing not* is a travesty of the 'unsparing heaps' Eve places before Raphael. The perverse echo of those lines is mirrored by the grotesque imagery of the scene in Hell which perpetuates the image of compulsive fruit-eating. The sight of 'fruitage fair' leads the fallen angels, now serpents, to 'allay their appetite with gust'. But,

... instead of fruit
 Chewed bitter ashes, which the offended taste
 With spattering noise rejected: oft they assayed,
 Hunger and thirst constraining, drugged as oft,
 With hatefulest disrelish writhed their jaws
 With soot and cinders filled; so oft they fell
 Into the same illusion
 (PL10.565-571)

This last instance of eating fruit takes excessive consumption to a disorderly summit as Satan's 'resolution' results in a 'drugged' loss of will. Despite the fact that each fruit tasted turns to ash in their mouths, the serpents cannot help themselves but are ineluctably driven onwards in repetitive 'disrelish'. After their Fall, Adam and Eve indulge in 'amorous play' (PL9.1046) in which the violence of their hand gestures reflect the rashness and violence of the foregoing action. 'Her hand he sies'd' (PL9.1037) is how Milton describes Adam's conduct and its sharpness in sound and abruptness of rhythm presents a contrast to the gentle moment of their separation.

The excess eating of Adam and Eve is troped as intoxication. Eve's satiety lifts her mood to unseemly conviviality. She is 'hight'nd as with Wine, jocond and boon'. The idea of intoxication simmers under the phrase 'of operation blest / To Sapience' (PL9.796-797). Milton may have thought to pun here on the conflation of the word's Latin root, *sapere*, which means to taste and to know, and its Germanic relative *sæp* from which the English 'sap' derives.¹⁰¹ Gluttony and drunkenness are often paired as the twin objects of sermons. Like the law forbidding fruit theft, the legal literature of gluttony and drunkenness reflected religious teaching that saw them as the root of proliferating sin. The 1644 statute against drunkenness calls it 'the Root and Foundation of many other enormous Sins, as Bloodshed, Stabbing, Murder, Swearing, Fornication, Adultery, and such like; ... the overthrow of many good Arts and Manuall Trades; the disabling of divers Work-men; and the generall Impoverishing of many good Subjects, abusively wasting the good Creatures of God'.¹⁰² Its sin-inducing nature could cause declarations of partisanship. Royalist John Taylor wrote *Ale Ale-vated*, setting up a series of puns in the text that links drinking ale to courtly allegiance and nostalgia for the lost days of a halcyon 'English Eden'.¹⁰³ We might see Milton as part of the corrective project to which the statute belonged which protested that English Eden was not one addicted to habits of excess or waste. The idea that gluttony and drunkenness spawn other sin made the return to fruit a gesture that potently represents the exponentially generative capacity of a single sinful act in the myth and the everyday.

These ideas surface later in the last book of *Paradise Regain'd* where Satan's renewed assault on Christ's steadfast virtue is described 'as a swarm of flies in vintage

¹⁰¹ The OED suggests the German word may be cognate with the Latin.

¹⁰² *A Statute against Drunkenesse* (London: 1644). There was a move at the time to enforce the existing laws more strictly.

¹⁰³ John Taylor, *Ale Ale-Vated into the Ale-Titude* (London: 1651), 13. For a political and social analysis on the various connotations of early modern drinking and the culture of sociality see Adam Smyth, *A Pleasing Sinne: Drink and Conviviality in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004).

time, / About the wine-press where sweet moust is powr'd, / Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound' (PR4.15-17). The act of temptation is described in the same terms as succumbing to it. This in turn makes Satan's tempting of Christ a yielding to temptation too driven to excess.

The story of Eden was an ur-text for early modern culture, construing fruit consumption in narratives of sin and theft;¹⁰⁴ the myth shaped the everyday. Milton reverses this process by actively re-shaping the myth in terms of everyday gestures.¹⁰⁵ Besides probing spiritual vulnerabilities and discipline in the everyday, his work suggests how *poesis* might institute closer inter-habitations of biblical and everyday narratives leading hopefully to greater vigilance.

Domesticating the Fall

Though Eve falls and turns tempter, neither the temptation she yields to nor offers is represented through culinary processes. She appears in the 'kitchen' before the Fall but it is an unspoilt prelapsarian space.

And *Eve* within, due at her hour prepar'd
For dinner savourie fruits, of taste to please
True appetite, and not disrelish thirst
Of nectarous draughts between, from milkie stream,
Berry or Grape:
(PL5.303-307)

This disclosure of kitchen labour in Eden is not negatively figured as in other contemporary poetry. Rather, the kitchen is a source of pleasure and timely routine. Those critics who have commented on the scene from the housewifery perspective have been keen to see Eve 'sufficient' to have withstood temptation, demonstrating her

¹⁰⁴ As is Augustine's confession of fruit-theft. See Poole, *Milton and the Idea of the Fall*, 12.

¹⁰⁵ Louis Montrose writes of the 'dialectical character of cultural representations ... [which] creates the culture by which it is created' in Louis Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture," *Representations* 2, no. Spring (1983).

wisdom, temperance, Republican virtue, or her ability to choose.¹⁰⁶ There are however two vacant spaces in these analyses. Agreed, Eve is wise, but the precise nature of that wisdom has not been adequately delineated. Further, if Eve is sufficient to have withstood the Fall, then we need to understand how the housewifely expertise that is supposed to secure her against it is overcome. This section argues that Eve's peculiar strength is not just her habit for temperance and right choice, but her skilful discernment of substances and their ministrations to the body. The expertise that should have helped her fails when not held in the appropriate spiritual frame. It is the misapplication of housewifery that let her down.

An examination of the role of the housewife through print and manuscript sources shows the kitchen of *Paradise Lost* as a space where female competency might be secured. We know that Milton appreciates kitchen expertise from his comment to Elizabeth Minshull, his third wife. In her will are many and various saucepans and 'implements of cooking' (in comparison to only a few sewing instruments) which indicates a style of cookery more sophisticated than average country fare.¹⁰⁷ Her mastery of culinary processes either gave or confirmed Milton's appreciation for the same. His relish for processual detail in preparing food is evident in the epic. As Shirley would say of Milton, 'Milton tried to see the first woman; but, [...] he saw her not ... It was his cook

¹⁰⁶ For instances of each, see Ann Gulden Torday, "Milton's Eve and Wisdom: The "Dinner-Party" Scene in *Paradise Lost*," *Milton Quarterly* 32, no. 4 (1998); Ben Faber, "The Spare Rib Fixes Lunch: *Paradise Lost* 5.303-349," in *The 1997 Conference on John Milton* (Murfreesboro, Tennessee: 1997); Knoppers, "No Fear Lest Dinner Coole': Milton's Housewives and the Politics of Eden." Faber's conference paper is quoted in Knoppers, 150.

¹⁰⁷ Milton was reported to have said, 'God have mercy Betty, I see thou wilt p[er]forme according to they promise in providing mee such Dyshes as I think fit whilst I live, and when I dye thou knowest that I have left thee all'. Dorothy Gardiner, "The "3rd and Best" And Her Uncle Thomas," *North American Review* 219, no. 820 (March 1924): 380; J. Milton French, ed., *Life Records of John Milton*, 5 vols., vol. V (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1949-1958), 221.

that he saw, making custards, in the heat of summer, in the cool dairy, ... preparing a cold collation for the rectors'.¹⁰⁸

Eve is similarly expert in culinary processes. She cooks without heat and is knowing in her selective foraging for 'choice' fruit. She crushes grapes and presses berries (*PL5.324-5*) for meads and musts which could require you to 'squise your Licour from your Reasons'.¹⁰⁹ Other fruit she tempers for creams, a process that requires fruit to be 'bruised' or quinces to be boiled, pared, and have its pulp extracted.¹¹⁰ Most fruit grows fully ripened and will go directly from stalk to table but some may take transformative operations. With discretion, she improves or alters substances and flavours. She promotes the nutritive goodness of those fruits that from 'frugal storing firmness gains / To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes' (*PL5.324-325*). This description of Eve is similar to seventeenth century recipe books and housewifery manuals that paint a picture of the housewife selecting, dissecting, extracting, regulating temperature and moisture to meet the criteria of taste and nutrition.¹¹¹ They reveal several purposes to these processes.

¹⁰⁸ Charlotte Bronte, *Shirley*, 2 vols. (London: J. M. Dent, 1902), Vol. 1, 504.

¹⁰⁹ Fettiplace, *Receipt Book*, 2:36. After the Restoration, the virtues of fruit drinks (often advocated over wine) were extolled. See John Worlidge, *Vineta Britannicum, or, a Treatise of Cider and Such Other Wines and Drinks That Are Extracted from All Manner of Fruits Growing in This Kingdom* (London: 1676); John Evelyn, *Pomona, or, an Appendix Concerning Fruit-Trees in Relation to Cider* (London: 1670).

¹¹⁰ Rabisha, *Whole Body of Cookery*, 30, 28.

¹¹¹ For a survey of household books see Lynette Hunter, "Books for Daily Life: Household, Husbandry, Behaviour," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. D.F. McKenzie John Barnard, and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). For scholarship on individual writers, Thick, *Sir Hugh Plat: The Search for Useful Knowledge in Early Modern London*; Malcolm Thick, "A Close Look at the Composition of Sir Hugh Plat's *Delightes for Ladies*," in *The English Cookery Book: Historical Essays: Leeds Symposium on Food History "Food and Society" Series*, ed. Eileen White (Totnes, Devon: Prospect, 2004); Elaine Hobby, "A Woman's Best Setting out Is Silence: The Writings of Hannah Woolley," in *Culture and Society in the Stuart Restoration: Literature, Drama, History*, ed. Gerald MacLean (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Elizabeth David, "A True Gentlewoman's Delight," *Petits Propos Culinaires* 1 (1979). For scholarship on receipt books, see Ken Albala, "Cooking as Research Methodology: Experiments in Renaissance Cuisine," in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010); Elizabeth Spiller, "Recipes for Knowledge: Maker's Knowledge Traditions, Paracelsian Recipes, and the Invention of the Cookbook, 1600-1660," in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010); Wendy

One purpose was to preserve fruit in anticipation of the winter months. Simultaneously, the housewife made a single substance yield diverse products. For instance, a recipe simply headed 'To preserve barberries' in *The Ladies Cabinet Opened* follows a triumphalist narrative concluding happily: 'and so shall you have both sirrups of Barberries, and preserved Barberries'.¹¹² If there is an element of satire here, it is still playing on a kitchen fantasy. John Beale values fruit trees for the same reason: they supplied ciders and perries, tarts and pies, fresh and preserved fruit.¹¹³ The mastery of processes implicated the qualities of prudence and invention. Housewifery was about deliberation and lack of impulsiveness, and multiplying the uses of an ingestible substance.

Sometimes the uses fruit could be put to depended on transforming their substance. By Galen's measure, fruit is a moist substance; it 'rots, affords a negligible nutrition and passes easily out of the body'.¹¹⁴ Naturally, dryer fruit can be rendered more nutritious. Interestingly, Eden's fruit are not immune to these imbalances even though they have achieved a perfection of sweetness. Some of Eve's responsibilities are to

Wall, "Distillation: Transformations in and out of the Kitchen," in *Renaissance Food from Rabelais to Shakespeare*, ed. Joan Fitzpatrick (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010); Edith Snook, "'The Beautifying Part of Physic': Women's Cosmetic Practices in Early Modern England," *Journal of Women's History* 20, no. 3 (Fall 2008); Catherine Field, "'Many Hands Hands': Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books," in *Genre and Women's Life Writing in Early Modern England*, ed. Julie A. and Michelle M. Dowd Eckerle (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Bassnett, "Restoring the Royal Household: Royalist Politics and the Commonwealth Recipe Book."; Sara Pennell, "Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England," in *Early Modern Women's Manuscript Writing: Selected Papers from the Trinity/Trent Colloquium*, ed. Victoria E. and Jonathan Gibson Burke (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); Eileen White, "Domestic English Cookery and Cookery Books, 1575-1675," in *The English Cookery Book*, ed. Eileen White (Totnes, Devon: Prospect, 2004); Robert Appelbaum, "Rhetoric and Epistemology in Early Printed Recipe Collections," *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 3, no. 2 (2003); Elizabeth Tebeaux, "Women and Technical Writing, 1475-1700," in *Women, Science and Medicine 1500-1700*, ed. Hunter and Hutton (Phoenix Mill: Sutton, 1997). For scholarship on the receipt book and on its relation to literature, see Wall, "Just a Spoonful of Sugar: Syrup and Domesticity in Early Modern England.", ———, *Staging Domesticity*; Helen Wilcox, *Literature and the Household*, ed. David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller, *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Hall, "Culinary Spaces, Colonial Spaces: The Gendering of Sugar in the Seventeenth Century."

¹¹² *The Ladies Cabinet Opened*, 11.

¹¹³ Beale, *Herefordshire Orchards, a Pattern for All England*, 5-6.

¹¹⁴ Galen's writings are given in English in Mark Grant, *Galen: On Food and Diet* (London: Routledge, 2000), 111.

administer fruit only after discerning how best to do so. The pressure to have space to exercise choice and action makes Eden's perfection give. If being created sufficient yet free to fall is a relative imperfection, then physical environment is only reflective of the theological puzzle.

Galenic theory (challenged and combated through the latter half of the seventeenth century) suggests that all ingestible substances possessed humoral properties that affect the body positively or negatively and therefore 'physic, or internal medicine, included the vast grey area of overlap between medicines and food, in which women had an established role'.¹¹⁵ *A Booke of Fruit and Flowers* (1658), for instance, reveals the 'The Nature of Fruits and Flowers Shewing the Nature and Use of them, either for Meat or Medicine'.¹¹⁶ The result is that the household was 'the primary location for medical care'.¹¹⁷ The housewife's recipe book is the repository of culinary and medicinal recipes for the kitchen and the still-room. Of the recipes in Hugh Plat's *Delightes for Ladies* (1602), twenty-five are still-room recipes for distillations of roses and other flowers and waters like 'Aqua Rubea', 'Aqua composite' or 'aqua vitae'.¹¹⁸ In another, a recipe 'To keepe Gooseberries' rubs shoulders with 'An approved Medicine for the

¹¹⁵ Margaret Pelling, *Medical Conflicts in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003); 189-224; ———, "Thoroughly Resented? Older Women and the Medical Role in Early Modern London," in *Women, Science, and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 72, 77. For the rising influence of Paracelsian medicine, see Lynette Hunter, "Women and Domestic Medicine," in *Women, Science, and Medicine 1500-1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society*, ed. Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997). Catherine Field believes this to be a more gradual process than Hunter makes out though there has been debate on the issue in Field, "'Many Hands Hands': Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books," 53. For Galenic and Paracelsian influence in womens's medical practice, see Linda Pollock, *With Faith and Physic: The Life of a Tudor Gentlewoman, Lady Grace Mildmay 1552-1620* (London: Collins & Brown, 1993); Tebeaux, "Women and Technical Writing, 1475-1700.,"; Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 61-65.

¹¹⁶ *A Book of Fruits and Flowers* (London: 1656), titlepage.

¹¹⁷ Jennifer K. Stine, "Opening Closets: The Discovery of Household Medicine in Early Modern England," (PhD Thesis, Stanford University, 1996), 63.

¹¹⁸ Sir Hugh Plat, *Delights for Ladies* (London: 1602), Er-Fv. These appeared in a section on distillation. In later editions they appeared in a section on cordial waters.

Dropsie' without categorization.¹¹⁹ As Gervase Markham explains, the housewife's administration of fruit and other substances encompasses its nutritional, aesthetic and medicinal aspects: 'she [has] a phisicall kinde of knowledge, how to administer many wholesome receipts or medicines for the good of their healthes, as well to preuent sickness, as to take away the effects of the same'.¹²⁰

Galenic theory gives fruit medicinal value. Its humoural sharpness makes it unsuitable for regular diets (at least in theory) but useful to correct humoural imbalances. Peaches, for instance, are not very nutritious but an excellent purge, and apples are soothing for inflammations.¹²¹ Berries are valued for their purgative and cleansing properties, 'to open the Liver', 'for Ach in the joynts', or 'for the Cholic and Stone'.¹²² The conserve and syrup of berries can 'coole an hot stomacke', moderating the effects of choler, or 'quicken vp those that are ouercome with faintnesse' just as their juice and distilled water are 'verie comfortable and cordiall'.¹²³ The juice of Apples can 'procure mirth' and 'expell heauinesse'.¹²⁴ In each case, they restore equilibrium, the physical condition of temperateness.

A common housewifely (and medical) quest sought a substance that could cure any ailments and restore a body to perfect health. Elizabeth Bertie's receipt book for instance contains a recipe for 'Water of Life' which was touted to cure palsy, dropsy, convulsions, consumptions, plague and other infectious diseases. Her recipe for Aqua Mirabilis 'cures all sorts of ailments' and under its 'vertues' she lists seven medicinal

¹¹⁹ *The Ladies Cabinet Opened*, 22-23.

¹²⁰ Markham, *The English Housewife*, 2-4.

¹²¹ John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (London: 1644), 1633, 447, 460.

¹²² W.J., *Choice Manuall*, 101, 94, 24.

¹²³ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 558.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 589. A similar recommendation of fruit is to be found in Samuel Hartlib, *A Designe for Plentie* (London: 1652), 6-7. Also see Jan Purnis, "The Stomach and Early Modern Emotion," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 79, no. 2 (Spring 2010).

uses.¹²⁵ Phrases like ‘a sovereign medicine’ and ‘a precious medicine’ were also terms applied to efficacious waters or other medicinal substances.¹²⁶

Additionally, spiritual principles were inculcated within kitchen spaces. The kitchen hearth became a picture of hell and the handles of cooking vessels were engraved with mottoes like ‘the wages of sin is death’. Alternatively others might simply have salutary proverbs such as ‘love thy neighbour’ or ‘pity the poor’. Frugality is set off by philanthropy and vigilance extends to the spiritual in this set of domestic responsibilities.¹²⁷ As a material mnemonic, pots and pans made the spiritual a tangible presence. This spiritual frame is key to reading Eve’s temptation and her fall. Housewifery does not render her vulnerable. Rather, it is only when housewifery’s purpose to extract utility from a material substance is followed while discarding spiritual principles that Eve loses the plot and loses the game.

The Eve, then, that is characterized by scenes in a prelapsarian kitchen is a woman of knowledge and skill in evaluating the material world. Given fruit’s susceptibility to putrefaction, processual operation on fruit interpellates Eve not merely as an administrator of nutritious substances but as one whose vigilance defends and guards the body from malefactive ones. Her knowledge of storage is not merely a matter of future provision but one of vigilance, for fruit ‘that are very moist and waterish ... doe soone putrefie in the stomacke, causing surfeits oftentimes’.¹²⁸ Not merely a source of pleasure,

¹²⁵ Elizabeth Bertie’s Receipt Book, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.misc.d.436, 108, 30.

¹²⁶ Mary Widdington’s receipt book, Bodleian Library, MS Eng.hist.e.199, 27; Fettiplace, *Receipt Book*, 1:23.

¹²⁷ R. Seymour Lindsay, *Iron and Brass Implements of the English House* (London: 1927); Rupert Gentle and Rachel Feild, *Domestic Metalwork, 1640-1820*, Rev. ed. (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors’ Club, 1994); Sara Pennell, “Pots and Pans History’: The Material Culture of the Kitchen in Early Modern England,” *Journal of Design History* 11, no. 3 (1998): 212-13. Piero Camporesi, *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe*, trans. Lucinda Byatt (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1991); Philip C. Almond, *Heaven and Hell in Enlightenment England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹²⁸ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 58.

her kitchen practices are signs of her foresight, vigilance, and authority on ingestible substances.

Her competence however does not belong solely to the realm of the material. Her mediation between spiritual and domestic practice has been noted. Some have seen her domestic practice as a form of wisdom.¹²⁹ In her administration of fruit and tempering of creams, she locates Michael's 'rule of not too much, by temperance taught / In what thou eatst and drinkst' (*PL*11.531-532) within material practice. The cultivation of the spiritual within the material sustains Eve's pre-lapsarian practice.

The quest for the multiple efficacies, care and vigilance, of perceiving the material as an allegory of the spiritual, forms the frame within which to read Eve's actions. The housewifely role stages the contest between the authority of the person who originates a procedure, usually documented in a recipe, and the validation of the one testing it and refining it by practice.¹³⁰ In this case, the test of practice is only possible in the failure of vigilance. Eve's habitual inclination to appraise food for its properties and their effects on the human body registers in her language during the temptation.

John Leonard notes the slippage in the uses of the word 'vertue'. Adam and Eve used it to mean godliness while Satan uses it to mean efficacy or courage. In yielding up its reference to godliness Eve begins to use Satan's fallen language and Leonard sees this as evidence of Satan's effective persuasion.¹³¹ In fact this change of register does not mark Satan's manoeuvring Eve into foreign ways of thought but his extension of Eve's

¹²⁹ Torday, "Milton's Eve and Wisdom: The "Dinner-Party" Scene in *Paradise Lost*." The role of women was additionally seen as akin to scientific experimenters. See Jayne Elisabeth Archer, "Women and Chymistry in Early Modern England: The Manuscript Receipt Book (C.1616) of Sarah Wiggess," in *Gender and Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Kathleen P. Long (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010).

¹³⁰ Pennell, "Perfecting Practice? Women, Manuscript Recipes and Knowledge in Early Modern England," 238.

¹³¹ John Leonard, *Naming in Paradise: Milton and the Language of Adam and Eve* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 211-13.

housewifely habits of thinking for the word is used in a housewifely fashion as she apostrophizes the fruit exclaiming, 'Great are thy virtues,' or tells Satan she cannot eat fruit 'the credit of whose virtue rests with [him]' (PL9.649, 745). Despite commenting on Eve's housewifery, Knoppers continues to take virtue for housewifely character. In fact, as Natasha Korda makes clear, virtue meant *materially* in the world of goods to refer to their authenticity or excellence.¹³² As Eve looks at the fruit to discover its virtues she perceives the possibilities of a 'cure of all' (PL9.776). As such, the forbidden fruit is effectively Eve's aqua mirabilis on a tree and proves attractive in being able to 'feed at once both Bodie and Mind' (PL9.779).

Just as the word 'vertue' descends from a moral-spiritual register to a housewifely one, so does the word 'sovereign', a term that Adam previously applies to describe God's 'sovereign goodness' and one that Raphael has applied to God (PL8.239,647). After eating the fruit Eve addresses it thus: 'O sovereign, virtuous, precious of all trees' (PL9.795). It was in this usage that the Spirit in *A Masque* refers to a herb of 'sovrane use' (ll.638). Instead of fostering godliness in material practices, Eve closes down the spiritual register, choosing to make meaning singularly in the material: 'Till dieted by thee I grow mature' (PL9.803). Her yielding to efficacy fails to recall the spiritual. Eve's failure is not in her proclivity for the sensory over the rational,¹³³ but her failure to hold housewifery within the appropriate spiritual interpretative framework which leads to an excessive and misapplied intent to extract efficacy from material substances.

¹³² Korda's unpacking of the term occurs as part of her discussion on 'false wares' in Natasha Korda, *Labors Lost: Women's Work and the Early Modern English Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 175.

¹³³ Shannon Miller, *Engendering the Fall: John Milton and Seventeenth Century Women Writers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 163-64. Miller perceived Eve succumbing to Hooke's project to remedy ratiocinative processes by 'the *real*, the *mechanical*, the *experimental* Philosophy' which gave the 'Philosophy of *discourse* and *disputation*' the 'ground-work' it lacked. An alternative understanding of Eve's actions is explained by Karen Edwards as the failure to consistently follow the thought and practices of experimental philosophy. For the housewife as domestic experimental scientist, see Edwards, *Milton and the Natural World*, 37; Field, "'Many Hands Hands': Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books," 56-57.

The operation of this mentality on the plant paradigm is to collapse its metaphoric and synecdochic natures. She concludes that physical ingestion and metabolism could function as an engine for ontological change whereas it is only the synecdochic end of the material chain that functions as metaphor for the process.¹³⁴ Naturally, not only can eating the forbidden fruit not speed the processual, it cannot overcome the ontological difference between God and his creation. Housewifery then is almost accidental to the fall. Eve's Fall is precipitated by the failure to keep material practice ingrafted in the spiritual, to ensure that the 'contemplation of created things' could direct the ascent to God (*PL5.511-512*). Her story suggests the perilous closeness to sin of housewifery or any other material practice outside spiritual discipline.

Milton writes against a sacramental understanding of eating in *De Doctrina Christiana* where he describes the Tree of Life as 'not ... so much a sacrament' but a 'symbol of eternal life, or rather perhaps the nutriment by which that life is sustained', as purely mechanistic or purely metaphoric (*CPW6.134-136*).¹³⁵ Yet Milton's language is more ambiguous. Perched on the Tree of Life, Satan 'sat devising Death / To them who liv'd; nor on the vertue thought / Of that life-giving Plant' (*PL4.197-199*). The ambiguity of use remains unresolved failing to close down the possibility that the fruit itself has special virtues and that consumed like a potion, its material efficacy can lead to immortality. The verse then declares, 'so little knows / Any, but God alone, to value right / The good before him, but perverts best things / To worst abuse, or to thir meanest use' (*PL4.201-204*). This ambiguity is only resolved in the succeeding events that teach the reader how to value the material. Later, God decides to remove Adam from Eden lest he reach for the fruit of the Tree of Life and 'live for ever, dream at least to live' (*PL11.95*).

¹³⁴ These ideas are unpacked in Fallon, *Milton among the Philosophers*, 105.

¹³⁵ Cited in Don Marion Wolfe, ed., *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, 8 vols., (New Haven: Yale University Press; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953-1982). All quotations are from this edition hereafter.

The careful precision of his self-correction here resolves the ambiguity in favour of the understanding that the material is only accidental to the ontological.

Milton locates the Fall within a symmetry of action that redeems even as it attributes culpability. We can perceive Eve's postlapsarian habit of medicinal thought and still-room practice as proleptic. Perceiving inadequacy in Eden, she futilely resolves to reach for a cure. Eve might be seen as establishing a paradigm for action that the postlapsarian world is then fated to operate within. But the symmetry mirrors both ways. If perverted housewifery is the cause of the fall, it is also the site of restorative practices in the fallen world. If the lapsed self is one that needs governance, the self at sites of housewifery such as receipt books emerges less as grounded in shame and more as positive and capable of being healed.¹³⁶

Eve's action suggests a sequential pattern between pre- and postlapsarian practice. An event of mythic proportions, her mistimed healing, leads to the establishment of repetitious action, of housewifely acts of healing. This pattern is paradigmatic of Milton's strategy for the representation of fruit throughout *Paradise Lost*. Linking the actions of the temptation and the Fall to routine events of the everyday works in two directions. Repetitious events form the blocks with which to build the narrative house. They also permit the narrative to gather force as it proceeds through routine. They set up Edenic routine as uneventful by the repetition of undistinguished events. Then, each return to the scene of fruit consumption is sedimented over the previous scene. It is precisely through this repetition that routine can be made to monumentalize a single event on which the epic hinges, an event that might otherwise pass unremarkably. Conversely, repetition suggests how monumental the event of the Fall is. It is precisely through repetition that

¹³⁶ Field, "'Many Hands Hands': Writing the Self in Early Modern Women's Recipe Books," 58-59. For an analysis of the shameful self, see Gail Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), 19.

the generation of sin upon sin reverberates through time from a single act. Repetition of the routine thus reveals the monumental and the ordinariness of the Fall whose gentle ripples still sour daily life. It reveals Milton as a poet of the epic and the everyday.

2: EACH BEAUTEOUS FLOWER

Flowers are a peculiar object in literature. Sensory beauty makes them an object that can enhance the sense of occasion. They probably have affective effects because of their sensory effects. But as their currency increases, their fragrance, colour, and texture, acquire symbolic meaning. When they are represented in literature, they often deliver their material pleasure to their symbolic significance, blinding criticism to material readings. Much of Milton's early poetry is imbued with a sense of occasion expressed through flowers. These works are exercises in literary genres and it has been difficult to look beyond literary convention. So the presence of genre eclipses other formational agents. For this reason, the flowers of *Lycidas* are usually considered a variation in the classical convention of floral catalogues.¹ The flowers of Eve's bower in *Paradise Lost* have undergone almost no comment except as an extension of her Prosperina-like character.² Yet critics like Karen Edwards have shown that there is much to recover from a pursuit of floral materiality.³

¹ On *Lycidas*, see William Collins Waterson, "'Once More, O Ye Laurels': *Lycidas* and the Psychology of Pastoral," *Milton Quarterly* 27, no. 2 (May 1993); Karl P. Wentersdorf, "Allusion and Theme in the Third Movement of Milton's *Lycidas*," *Modern Philology* 83, no. 3 (1986); Michael Lieb, "Scriptural Formula and Prophetic Utterance in *Lycidas*," in *Milton and Scriptural Tradition: The Bible into Poetry*, ed. James Sims and Leland Ryken (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1984); ———, "Milton's 'Unexpressive Nuptial Song': A Reading of *Lycidas*," in *The Southeastern Renaissance Conference*, ed. A. Leigh Deneef and M. Thomas Hester (Raleigh: North Carolina State University Press, 1983); Karl P. Wentersdorf, "The Thematic Significance of the Flower Catalogue in Milton's *Lycidas*," *ELH* 47, no. 3 (Autumn, 1980); James H. Sims, "Perdita's 'Flowers O' Th' Spring' And 'Vernal Flowers' In *Lycidas*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 22, no. 1 (Winter, 1971); C.F. Stone III, "Milton's Self-Concerns and Manuscript Revisions in *Lycidas*," *MLN* 83, no. 6, *Comparative Literature* (December 1968); Rosemund Tuve, *Images and Themes in Five Poems by Milton* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957); Wayne Shumaker, "Flowerets and Sounding Seas: A Study in the Affective Structure of *Lycidas*," *PMLA* 66, no. 4 (June, 1951); Henry Hitch Adams, "The Development of the Flower Passage in 'Lycidas'," *Modern Language Notes* 65, no. 7 (November 1950).

² For instance, Stevie Davies, *The Feminine Reclaimed: The Idea of Woman in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1985), 231-47.

³ Edwards, *Milton and the Natural World*, 166-81.

One paradigmatic comparison within Milton's poetry might be made between the floral catalogues in *Lycidas* and in Eve's bower in *Paradise Lost*. Both are ceremonial commemorations of death and marriage.⁴ Roy Rappaport defines ritual as the 'performance of more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performer'.⁵ We see this in both catalogues at the level of literary and social practice. The use of flowers for emotional expressionism in each provides a common platform from which to analyse how Milton negotiates acts of literary ceremony and how socio-political constraints are equally important in determining the form of generic conventions and the freedom with which they engaged the material. In the ceremonial context, floral references came with sensitive issues to negotiate even as they offered an imaginative space of play. As the limits of a convention and its conditions are sounded, Milton sounds the limits of their determining problematics: the categories of nature and artifice, of interior and exterior. Contrary to the Milton who protests against ceremony and the beauty of holiness, we discover a Milton who is ceremonially inclined and seeks a baroque celebratory aesthetic. But this is only made possible when we restore flowers from symbolic to material practice and back.

Keith Thomas writes of the expansion in flower gardening during the early modern period as a garden revolution.⁶ Their ever-diversifying shapes and colours within

⁴ For a discussion of the ceremonial poem and of how the poetics of the elegia and epithalamia govern lyric poetry in general see Celeste Marguerite Schenck, *Mourning and Panegyric: The Poetics of Pastoral Ceremony* (London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1988).

⁵ Roy A. Rappaport, *Ritual and Religion in the Making of Humanity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 24.

⁶ Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), 223-4. See a discussion of variety in Edwards, *Milton and the Natural World*. Also see Diane McColley, *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Ken Hiltner, *Milton and Ecology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 12-48. The conflation of horticultural progress and the printing press produced a vast amount of literature. For studies, see Bushnell, *Green Desire*; J. Webb, *Shakespeare's Imagery of Plants: A Study of the Named Species* (Hastings: Cornwallis Press, 1991); Leah Knight, *Of Books and Botany in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009); Wendy Wall, "Renaissance National Husbandry: Gervase Markham and the Publication of England," *The*

England witnessed geographical exploration and increased horticultural expertise that let foreign plants flourish in dull desultory weather. Adventurous individuals like the Tradescants, father and son, travelled the world and returned with new introductions to the English floral repertoire.⁷ Expanding varieties and changing practices can be seen in gardening catalogues. The early sixteenth century Fromond catalogue lists flowers chiefly for kitchen purposes: for ‘a gardyn’, ‘Potage’, ‘Sauce’, ‘Salade’, ‘the copp’, ‘Stylle’, ‘Savour and beaute’, and ‘an Herber’. William Lucas’s Restoration catalogue however acquires a quasi-scientific classification. It listed ‘Sallad Seeds’, ‘Flower Seeds’, ‘Seeds of Evergreen and Flowering trees’, ‘Seeds to improve land’ and the like, reflecting a range of uses and specialised horticultural practice.⁸ Variety became the aesthetic of floral spectacle: John Parkinson recommends mingling the roots of diverse flowers that bloom simultaneously and rise to the same height together to ‘make many to believe that one roote doth beare all those colours’.⁹ Though the practice of preciously invented spectacle may have diminished later, its aesthetic remains in the gushing flow of colours, stripes, and checks available in flowers like the Dutch gillyflower discussed below. So flowers simultaneously occupy positions in different material practices of the kitchen, health, and ornamentation.

Sixteenth Century Journal 27, no. 3 (Autumn, 1996). For a survey of early modern literary gardens, see Hester Lees-Jeffries, "Literary Gardens from More to Marvell," in *A New Companion to English Renaissance Literature and Culture*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Oxford: 2010).

⁷ For more about the Tradescants’ gardening enterprises, see Jennifer Potter, *Strange Blooms: The Curious Lives and Adventures of the John Tradescants* (London: Atlantic, 2006); Prudence Leith-Ross, *The John Tradescants: Gardeners to the Rose and Lily Queen* (London: Peter Owen, 1984); Allan, *The Tradescants: Their Plants, Gardens and Museums, 1570-1662*. For a print edition of diary extracts, see *Hugh Johnson on Gardening: The Best of Tradescant's Diary* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 1993).

⁸ These and others are printed and described in John Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues* (London; Chichester: Phillimore, 1972), 58-74. A rare early printed list is Gerard’s catalogue of his own plants. See John Gerard, *Catalogus Arborum* (London: 1596). Also see John Tradescant the younger’s *Musaeum Tradescantianum: Or, a Collection of Rarities Preserved at South-Lambeth Neer London* (London: 1656). For more on the development of early nurseries, see John Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (London: Phillimore, 1974).

⁹ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 14.

By the second half of the century, sheer variety meant the emergence of a distinct *taste* of elite and common valences in the cultivation of flowers. John Rea's book shows superciliousness in distinctions between the flowers of the vulgar, the florists, and the curious. Flowers found in the countryside are mentioned only in passing. Like varieties of mountain lilies, they are 'kept in vulgar Gardens, which are not worth the mentioning'. Their ornamental cousins however merit print: 'Queens gilliflowre, is a common Plant, growing plentifully in every Country-womans Garden ... but we have three nobler varieties of this flower, worthy to be received into the choicest Gardens'. A similar distinction is made for meadow-saffrons that are 'like the common *English* kind, that grows plentifully in divers moist Meadows, onely the Flowers of this are double, containing many leaves'. Unlike their common kind, their doubled petals save them from being a textual nonentity. Though the cowslip is a common flower of the field, the Auricula are 'nobler kinds of *Cowslips*' and are fit to 'stock a *Florists* Garden'. Such flowers are worthy of the 'Gardens of the curious' or are 'entertained for variety in most *Florists* Gardens'.¹⁰

Common and ornamental flowers often parallel the distinction between domestic and foreign categories, a common habit of floral analysis in the century. A stark categorisation is John Parkinson's set of chapters on 'English flowers' and 'outlandish flowers'.¹¹ While primroses and cowslips head the former list, hyacinths and crocuses feature in the latter. Fragile foreign imports needed careful protection, like the Virginian Martagon, 'a tender Plant [which] must be defended from Frost in Winter'.¹² The common clove gilliflower on a bank or bed needed care 'to shake off the snow, and to defend them from excessive wet in Winter'. The gillyflowers from Holland and Flanders

¹⁰ John Rea, *Flora, Seu, De Florum Cultura* (London: 1665), 44, 165, 00, 51, 62, 66.

¹¹ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 8-11, 170, 249.

¹² Rea, *Flora*, 45.

were of the highest esteem, the ‘pride of somer’. They were known for their variety: ‘fair, large, thick, and double flowers, well striped, staked, marbled, or powdered with white or blush ...’ The new varieties they produced yearly soon disappeared, ‘for commonly the Plants after they have born flowers die in Winter’. Parkinson decides he need not therefore list their kinds ‘in respect of their frailty’. Unlike other flowers, they needed more than a page of instructions in caring for their slips. They were ‘so frail, and apt to perish after they have born flowers’. Rea asks for ‘the greatest care’ to defend them from rain, wind, and snow.¹³ These were plants only likely to be found in the gardens of those seriously given to horticultural pursuit. The variety and the brevity of each kind made them precious.

The developing botanical enterprise sought to describe flowers as they are, to merely verbalise the visible, implying a commensurate simplicity and naturalness.¹⁴ Visual and verbal representations too develop a naturalising style. Flowers in still life and narrative painting become less precious and more botanically naturalistic.¹⁵ Language witnessed a similar shift in reducing the metaphoric content of words to the plainly descriptive. Earlier, nomination rose from the vision of resemblance that Foucault attributes to Renaissance Europe.¹⁶ Describing flower shapes in terms of domestic and ecclesiastical objects such as cups, saucers, bottles, buttons, and hair was commonplace in gardening literature as a device of identification and poetic metaphor. Bell-flowers of the valleys took their name from the objects. Extending the association to church-bells,

¹³ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 160-67. The stock gillyflower also needed to be set twice in order to grow sturdy enough to survive the winter. See Rea, *Flora*, 162-64.

¹⁴ See Foucault’s analysis of this as a systemic shift in Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 1997), 132-37.

¹⁵ Joan Evans, *Nature in Design: A Study of Naturalism in Decorative Art from the Bronze Age to the Renaissance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933). For emblematic flowers and increasing naturalism in floral and vegetable painting, see Norbert Schneider, *Still Life: Still Life Painting in the Early Modern Period* (London: Taschen, 2003), 135-56.

¹⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Routledge, 1970), 19-35.

steeple-bell flowers grew like a 'speere Steeple'.¹⁷ Daffodil cups evoked the chalice as in Shakespeare's 'chaliced flowers'.¹⁸ The consciousness of metaphor persisted at least till Parkinson's gardening manual (1629) where he unpacks the term when writing of the Narcissus Nompaille: 'the cup doth very well resemble the chalice, that in former days with vs, and beyond the Seas is still vsed to hold the Sacramentall Wine, that is with a narrower bottome, and a wide mouth'.¹⁹ Parkinson's comments lay bare the imaginative trajectory in natural kind nomination from the material objects that informed description to their eventual reification as the figural dimensions of the terms are lost. Later gardening manuals like John Rea's (1665) happily refer to their cups without any apparent consciousness that the word could have been a metaphor.²⁰

Early modern floral ornament was both visual and olfactory. Francis Bacon lists the violet and musk-rose as flowers that most scent the air and herbals note the strong sweet scents of the woodbine.²¹ Rea recognises that yellow Martagons would be more valuable 'were they as pleasing to the scent, as they are to the sight'.²² Flowers, like sugar, were 'sweeteners' around which centred the sweet trades of perfuming and nosegay-making.²³ Garden designers bid their readers position their flower gardens adjacent to the principal rooms of the house that their beauty might be easily viewed and their perfumes waft in providing the salutary air believed to be essential to health.²⁴

¹⁷ Rea, *Flora*, 147.

¹⁸ William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, 2.3.22.

¹⁹ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 354, 67-68.

²⁰ Rea, *Flora*, 73-83.

²¹ Francis Bacon, "Of Gardens," in *The Essayes or Counsels, Ciuill and Morall, of Francis Lo. Verulam, Viscount St. Alban* (London: 1625), 270; Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 35-6.

²² Rea, *Flora*, 46.

²³ Nicholas Breton, *The Figure of Foure Wherein Are Sweet Flowers. The Second Part* (London: 1636), B2r. The role of flowers as chief source of fragrance is evident from its dominance in paintings of the five senses like Jan Saenredam's (1565-1607) *Smell* (undated) and Jan Brueghel the Elder's *The Sense of Smell* (1618). See Schneider, *Still Life: Still Life Painting in the Early Modern Period*, 67-71.

²⁴ For instance Parkinson recommends having 'both sight and scent of whatsoever is excellent' by this means in Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 1.

Sweet floral fragrances were indispensable to early modern refreshment: one walked among the ‘delectable sights and fragrant smells of the flowers’ for the ‘delight and comfort of the wearied mind’.²⁵ Ornament was thus contiguous with the discourse of health.

Early modern sweetening did not merely render blandness attractive but disguised sourness, sharpness, and ill-favoured smells. Medicinally remedial, they fragranced foul and cleansed pestilential air. To counter the polluted air of the city, Royalist John Evelyn proposes arranging plots of ‘the most fragrant and odoriferous Flowers’ around London, listing the woodbine and musk-rose, beds and borders of pinks, carnations, violets, and primroses for the purpose.²⁶ Medicinally fragrant flowers were household strategies to fight the plague as Simon Kellwaye’s *A Defensatiue Against the Plague* (1593) and the accounts of Thomas Dekker and Daniel Defoe indicate.²⁷ Though there were different theories about the effects of smell, most agreed that perfumed air from flowers, fruits, and trees were remedial, ‘not onely for delight, but also for medicin’.²⁸

Floral shapes were widely current in the decorative arts especially after the publication of print designs by publishers like Peter Stent. Their forms were simplified to two-dimensional shapes easily copy-able from a pattern book. Sometimes, their ornamental use gives flowers of the garden a more complex anatomical structure and

²⁵ Thomas Hill, *Gardener's Labyrinth* (London: 1577), 47.

²⁶ John Evelyn, *Fumifugium, or, the Inconveniencie of the Aer and Smoak of London Dissipated Together with Some Remedies Humbly Proposed* (London: 1661), 14.

²⁷ Simon Kellwaye, *A Defensative against the Plague* (London: 1593), 3-4; F.P. Wilson, ed., *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 35; Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, 239. Also see Mary J. Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England*, ed. Richard Smith, Roger Schofield, John de Vries, Paul Johnson, vol. 29, Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 29.

²⁸ Thomas Moffett, *Health's Improvement* (London: 1655), 19, Andrew Wear, *Knowledge and Practice in English Medicine, 1550-1680* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 197-9. For the significance of smell in the early modern period and its relation to disease, see Mark Smith, *Sensing the Past: Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting and Touching in History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 63-67.

physical presence in these books. Stent's diminutive pinks have only a limited amount of hatching and the primrose exists in simple outlines compared to the size and density of cross-hatching in the ornamental rose.²⁹ John Payne uses an oblique viewing angle and deep cross-hatching to view the structural complexity of the carnation's overlapping petals.³⁰

The celebration of flowers' material attributes culminated in the emergence of florists' feasts later in the century.³¹ The secularising move to confront the disinterested flower-as-object available for manipulation and design could provide a refuge for floral interest when flowers were disturbingly knit with contested social rituals. It is perhaps their existential brevity besides their beauty and fragrance that make flowers perennial material markers of liminality in rituals and rites of passage, festive or funerary. However, certain areas of floral culture connected with contentious religious practices, condemned as pagan or popish, rendered flowers disputatious objects. The fear of Popish connections led to a purge in floral nomination among those devoted to Mary and the saints.³² Pre-Reformation churches liberally 'garnished' churches in floral decoration but the proscription of traditional Christian feasts like Christmas and the strait-lacing of services resulted in diminishing floral culture.³³ The godly censured floral festivity, endorsed by the reissued Book of Sports, for it connoted Roman idolatry, licentiousness,

²⁹ *Flora Flowers Fruicts Beastes Birds and Flies Exactly Drawne* (London: (1660-1665?)).

³⁰ *Flowers Fruicts Beastes Birds and Flies Exactly Drawne. With Their True Colours Liuely Described.*, (London: 1620), n.p; John Payne, *Animalium Quadrupedum, Auium, Florum, Fructuum, Muscarum Et Vermium Omnis Generis Verae Delineationes in Aees [Sic] Incisae* (London: 1625), n.p.

³¹ Ruth E. Duthie, "English Florists' Societies and Feasts in the Seventeenth and First Half of the Eighteenth Centuries," *Garden History* 10, no. 1 (Spring 1982).

³² For instance, Our Lady's Smocks became Cuckoo-flowers or Milkmaids, Sweet Saint William became Sweet William. See a list of changes in Jack Goody, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 156-57.

³³ Evidence of expenditure on flowers comes from parish accounts in J. Charles Cox, *The Parish Registers of England* (London: Methuen, 1910), 238.

fertility rites, and eventually anarchy.³⁴ As late as 1660, Thomas Hall published *Funebria Florae* to stall floral merry-making. He reminds readers that Flora was a ‘notable harlot’ who bequeathed a sum of money to Rome to remember her with ‘*Floralia* or May-games, in singing, dancing, drinking, whoring, and all manner of lasciviousness’. She was later worshipped as a goddess having the ‘tuition of Flowers’. In the voice of ‘*Sir May-Pole*’, he describes revelry in ‘*Bowers of May-sprigs gaily built / With Flowers and Garlands*’.³⁵ Royalists like Robert Herrick celebrated the sexual connotations of May garlands in poems like *The May-Pole*, but they were objects of wrath to the godly.³⁶

A florally impoverished culture of mourning similarly pervaded. Flowers were disputed if they seemed to acquire undue intercessory power. Thus, one Yorkshire minister challenged the sprinkling of holy water, carrying candles or torches in a procession, and strewing a grave with flowers and herbs on account of their popish character.³⁷ Protestant disgruntlement is once reported: for before the observance of All Souls’ Day was prohibited ‘our burial places were decorated with flowers, [but] now there is nothing so wretched as our tombs’.³⁸ It seems not unreasonable to speculate that floral displays in churches and in funeral culture chafed somewhat under the general programme to marginalize visual and aesthetic dimensions of worship in Laud’s cultivation of the beauty of holiness.

Flowers were not the only objects to suffer in the material culture of ceremony. The largest item of expense in Stuart funerals, black hangings for church and home and

³⁴ Leah Marcus, *The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell, and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago; London: Chicago University Press, 1986), 153-4, Goody, *The Culture of Flowers*, 200-4.

³⁵ Thomas Hall, *Funebria Florae: The Downfall of May-Games* (London: 1660), 7-8, 42-3.

³⁶ David Underdown, *Revel, Riot and Rebellion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 96.

³⁷ Joshua Stopford, *Pagano-Papismus, or, an Exact Parallel between Rome-Pagan, and Rome-Christian, in Their Doctrines and Ceremonies* (London: 1675), 278-85.

³⁸ Pierre Muret, *Ceremonies Funebres De Tous Les Nations* (Paris: 1677), 198. The report could be biased by French Catholic perspective.

black cloth for mourners, became culpable for its wasteful expenditure and excessive gloom that swamped the joy to be felt for a person's departure to heaven.³⁹ Though curtailed after the Reformation, bell-ringing continued to stir ritualistic impulses even in the seventeenth century when Thomas Browne guiltily confessed to feeling the need to pray for the dead when he heard the bells.⁴⁰ Bell-ringing persisted but voices of protest continued to peal too, in the fear that 'men's charity herein may be suspected of superstition in praying for the dead'.⁴¹ Bells were also disputed objects of floralia when their ringing disturbed the Sabbath peace. It led to the 1644 law prohibiting the 'Ringing of Bells for Pleasure or Pastime'.⁴² Within a larger ceremonial context, an object as simple as the cup raised disputes over whether it should be an elaborately decorated chalice or simpler pewter or wooden cups.⁴³ At issue in these debates is the relation of the material significance of flowers to their symbolic significance: at what point does pleasure in material delight become excessive?; what are the limits of symbolic value

³⁹ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion and the Family* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 287. For an account of funeral mourning, see Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 1984), 118-21; ———, "Sacred and Secular 1558-1660," in *Death in England: An Illustrated History*, ed. Clare Gittings and Peter C. Jupp (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

⁴⁰ M.H. Lee, ed., *Philip Henry: Diaries and Letters, 1631-96* (London: 1882), 116.

⁴¹ John Brand, *Observations on Popular Antiquities* (Newcastle upon Tyne: 1777), II, 133. Quoted in Peter Marshall, ed., *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002). Jennifer Woodward, *The Theatre of Death: The Ritual Management of Royal Funerals in Renaissance England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 58-9. For the celebratory uses of bell-ringing see David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989).

⁴² *An Ordinance for the Better Observation of the Lord's Day*, (London: 1644). See also David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 2005); Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England*; Gregory Semenza, *Sports, Politics, and Literature in the English Renaissance* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 59, 160. For stories of God punishing people who indulged in floralia, see Henry Burton, *A Divine Tragedy Lately Acted* (London: 1636), 7.

⁴³ Dutch-influenced changes in the post-Reformation Communion ceremony (seated Communion, wooden plates and cups, passing wafer and wine around the congregation) are traced in Jas R. Leith, "Communion in the Churches of the Dutch Reformation to the Present Day," in *Bread of Heaven: Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion*, ed. Charles Caspers, Gerard Lukken, and G.A.M. Rouwhorst (Kampen, the Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1995).

attached to material objects?; how should their symbolic content bear on material pleasure or should the former be a reason to limit the latter?

These are questions that frame Milton's occasional verse. Occurring fairly early in his career, they elegiacally celebrate personal and public figures and are sensitive to the expressive possibilities of flowers. As we have seen, some flowers offered a view of the precariousness of life and the many moments vulnerable to death. Such fragility is the theme of Milton's first English poem, *On the Death of a Fair Infant*, where he praises the beauty of his short-lived little niece.⁴⁴ He begins by apostrophizing her, 'O Fairest flower no sooner blown but blasted, / Soft silken Primrose fading timeleslie' (ll.1-2), and rehearses the conventional trope in which the love of a flower leads to its death. She would have been 'summers chief honour' if winter, enchanted by her colour, had not sought her too closely (ll.3-7). The point is appropriately made in the evocation of a primrose. Though growing easily in the English field, primroses were an object of soon-coming death, for they 'die in the Winter and spring again'.⁴⁵ Through the primrose, the apostrophe gives us the gentleness of an unassuming home-grown plant *expected* to fade quickly against the grain of the sudden shock of death. This might be explained by high rates of infant mortality. Expectations were, we estimate, that one in every three or four children would die in its first year.⁴⁶ The imagery is shaped by the reconciliation of unexpected shock and the expectedness of the natural cycle of life and death.

Such fragility is also foregrounded in *An Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester* where the Marchioness's life is compared to a 'tender slip', the 'pride of her carnation train'. Though it is 'saved with care from winter's nip', it soon falls prey to the

⁴⁴ For a discussion of how this theme frames the oration, see Gayle Edward Wilson, "Milton's Praise of 'a Fair Infant'," *Milton Quarterly* 22 (1988).

⁴⁵ Stephen Blake, *The Compleat Gardeners Practice* (London: 1664), 57.

⁴⁶ Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England*. For a detailed geographical analysis see Chapter 4.

hand of an ‘unheedy swain, / Who only thought to crop the flower / New shot up from vernal shower’ but the flower is unable to survive, droops, and dies (ll.35-42). Like the nectarine, ‘carnation’ hovers between an adjective and a noun. The word was commonly used to mean red or a flesh-like tint,⁴⁷ but sometimes referred to flowers kin to gilliflowers. John Gerard writes of the ‘great Carnation gillow-floure’ and Shakespeare mentions ‘carnations and streaked gillyvors’.⁴⁸ The noun’s drift towards an adjective as in the former quotation justifies the extension of the adjective to the noun, to the carnation gillyflower which offered a view of the precariousness of the life of a slip as other plants did not. The image recalls the solicitous care needed for these delicate and often foreign flowers nursed through the cold winter with much attention. The idea is not foreign to the elegy which praises her virtues as ‘more than she could own from Earth’ (ll.6). The image then issues a bleak view of the futility of human precaution and the unexpectedness of lurking death. Yet the language recalls the admiration of Rea’s later phrase, ‘the pride of Somer’ and within the floral frame of reference brief existence only serves to imply the ecstatic beauty of the flower. Here, as in other early poetry, Milton is precisely evocative of the material and textual life of his flowers.

The poem that gives us a far more radical use of floral quotation is *Lycidas*, written in the thirties when Archbishop Laud’s reforms recruited external materialities to aid inner devotion. Laud restored church fabrics, colours, and textures in the attempt to restore the ‘beauty of holiness’.⁴⁹ His rigid ceremonialism however precipitated over-determined hostility. Milton is clearly drawn to certain aspects of ceremony: the

⁴⁷ The OED defines it as the ‘colour of human ‘flesh’ or skin’ or ‘the general name for the cultivated varieties of the clove-pink’.

⁴⁸ John Gerard, *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (London: 1633), 590. William Shakespeare, *The Winter’s Tale*, 4.4.82.

⁴⁹ An account is in John Cosin, "Articles or Instructions of Articles to Be Exhibited by His Maiestie's High Commissioners," in *Correspondence of John Cosin* (Durham: Publications of the Surtees Society, 1869-1872).

conviviality of communal merriment of *L'Allegro* and the ritual healing in *A Masque* are evidence. Yet events of the thirties, political and personal as Campbell and Corns show, hardened Milton's position to an anti-sensualist condemnation of 'fleshly ceremony' which cause the soul to surrender to her 'sensuous colleague the body' (CPW1.522) and against carnal prelates who revel in their 'costly suppers, and drinking banquets' (CPW1.701).⁵⁰ Written from within the ferment of these changes in Milton's attitudes to Laudianism, the poem enacts the desire for ceremony and its rehabilitation.

The flower catalogue in *Lycidas* has provoked responses at two ends of a spectrum. As a soothing interlude in the poem, critics such as David Norbrook have emphasized that its soothing Arcadianism is illusory and others like Rosemund Tuve have emphasized that despite being illusory the interlude is soothing.⁵¹ These debates are also shaped by the choice between emphasizing the catalogue's material or symbolic significance. For some, the flowers are symbolic of anticipated immortality or sadness; for others, literary form triumphs as a consolation diminishing material value.⁵² Such work has tended to see the flower catalogue as a halcyon caesura within the fiery political rhetoric that precedes and follows it. However, examining the catalogue within contexts of material and ceremonial practices reveals a dimension that is not oblivious to the political but engages with and is shaped by it.

⁵⁰ They list the horror of William Prynne's mutilation and the confrontation with Laudianism over the grave of Sara Milton who died in 1637. Corns and Campbell, *John Milton*, 95-6. For Milton's changing attitudes to ceremony, see Achsah Guibory, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 147-227.

⁵¹ David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, Rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 259, Tuve, *Images and Themes*, 73-111.

⁵² For the first kind see Adams, "The Development of the Flower Passage in 'Lycidas'"; Shumaker, "Flowerets and Sounding Seas: A Study in the Affective Structure of *Lycidas*." For the second kind, see C.F. Stone, "Milton's Self-Concerns and Manuscript Revisions in *Lycidas*".

Though belonging to a literary tradition, *Lycidas*'s catalogue recalls a material rite and displays sensitive precision in its delineation. Because of its extensive enumeration of names, I will quote the catalogue here at length:

Return Alpheus, the dread voice is past,
 That shrunk thy streams; Return Sicilian Muse,
 And call the Vales, and bid hither cast
 Their Bels, and Flourets of a thousand hues . . .
 Throw hither all your quaint enameld eyes,
 That on the green turf suck the honied showres,
 And purple all the ground with vernal flowres.
 Bring the rathe Primrose that forsaken dies.
 The tufted Crow-toe, and pale Gessamine,
 The white Pink, and the Pansie freakt with jeat,
 The glowing Violet.
 The Musk-rose, and the well attir'd Woodbine.
 With Cowslips wan that hang the pensive hed,
 And every flower that sad embroidery wears:
 Bid Amaranthus all his beauty shed,
 And Daffadillies fill their cups with tears,
 To strew the Laureat Herse where Lycid lies.
 For so to interpose a little ease,
 Let our frail thoughts dally with false surmise.
 (ll.132-135, 139-153)

The Trinity manuscript tells us that Milton originally imagines the flowers in 'scutcheons' and 'livery'.⁵³ At a funeral, scutcheons displayed the heraldic devices of the deceased and colourfully exhibited against a procession of dark-liveried mourners.⁵⁴ These cancelled words suggest Milton models the flow of the catalogue through space and time on the diachronic unfolding of processional movement at funerals. Milton's eventual decision to settle for 'embroidery' is probably motivated by the general instinct we see in him to avoid the limitation of his words through specificity. At work too, must be the desire to hide from the ceremonial colour of the words he rejects.

Artifice is cancelled too in the unpretentiousness of the catalogue's floral choice. The flowers of this passage are distinguished by being flowers of the English field as

⁵³ Milton, *Facsimile from the Manuscript in Trinity College*, 28.

⁵⁴ An account of the heraldic funeral, a few of which lasted into the seventeenth century, is in Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England*, 166-87.

much as the garden, and by their ubiquitous presence in English gardens. Though the rose and jasmine had their exotic varieties, they were a fairly common sight in domestic gardens. The pansy and the violet ‘were first wilde’, gardeners recalled.⁵⁵ The daffodil was a site of potential exoticization for new strains from various parts of the world flooded England, but Milton de-exoticizes the flower by calling out its homely connotations in the word daffadilies, a poetic term, but one also applied to the bastard daffodil of the field ‘so well knowne to all that it needeth no description’.⁵⁶ Pinks, tiny wild flowers, were of ‘little esteem’ and used as fillers in borders and posies alongside flowers of greater consequence.⁵⁷ Rea describes violets as ‘hanging down their heads’ and thought a few sufficed for gardens ‘especially of the lesser and common kind’.⁵⁸ Milton is carefully alert to material significations and precise in his naming as John Leonard and Karen Edwards have shown in their studies on naming and the natural world.⁵⁹ In his pinks and crow-toes, Milton emphasises naturalness, disinvesting his flowers of human intervention and cultivating a tone of floral humility.

The discourse of naturalness and commonness becomes one of Englishness for primroses and cowslips were considered English in the sea of foreign strains. Parkinson writes that both cowslips and primroses ‘haue been found wilde, growing in diuers places in England, so they haue been transplanted into Gardens, to be there nourished for the delight of their louers’. The single white primrose grows ‘under euery bush or hedge, in all or most of the Woods, Groues, and Orchards of the Kindome’.⁶⁰ Primroses and cowslips, says John Rea, are ‘English flowers, and well known to every Milk-maid, being

⁵⁵ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 28.

⁵⁶ Gerard, *Herball*, 132-34.

⁵⁷ Rea, *Flora*, 170.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 82-83.

⁵⁹ Leonard, *Naming in Paradise*, Edwards, *Milton and the Natural World*.

⁶⁰ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 242, 46-47.

the common ornaments of Meadows and Pastures'.⁶¹ They are so commonly and in such great variety produced 'by our own Country breeding, that strangers being much delighted with them, have beene often furnished into diuers Countries'. The countryside and the milk-maid here are carriers of home-grown English purity without extraneous ornament.⁶²

So *naturally* did they grow that they did not qualify for procedural advice to Stephen Blake, a writer of gardening books, who describes the primrose as growing 'naturally of it self'. One has merely to 'plant them in ... a bed with other Flowers, where they will prosper with out any more trouble'. So he declares, 'I shall not trouble my self to write any more of them'.⁶³ Minimal intervention in their cultivation and display is linked with a commensurate verbal paucity. Further, their low stature made them iconic of God's favour to the humble. In Henry Peacham's book of emblems, they feature as such an instance which when compared to high mountains 'seeme to check the sky' and yet 'for the most part barren lie'.⁶⁴ These common flowers materialize the fantasy of a completely *natural* process where human effort is not needed. In *Lycidas* then, Milton seems instinctively drawn to ceremonial progress but relegating the procession of escutcheons and liveried followers to the scrapheap, he sublimates ceremony through the effortless process of nature.

Yet it is precisely because the natural world is a place of refuge from ceremony that a few object terms filter through. The beginning and end of the flower catalogue are after all framed by the commonplace floral comparison to cups and bells. The question is, of course, whether the metaphoric potential of these words is at work, or whether they are

⁶¹ Rea, *Flora*, 156.

⁶² For a discussion of the symbolic functions of milk-maids in the national imaginary see Wall, *Staging Domesticity*, 132-34, 42-46.

⁶³ Blake, *The Compleat Gardeners Practice*, 57.

⁶⁴ Henry Peacham, *Minerua Britannia or a Garden of Heroical Deuises* (London: 1612), 55.

to be interpreted as floral commonplaces whose origin in other material domains has been forgotten in their usages. So far, criticism has not asked the question at all. Making this interrogation however might open us to the idea that the words do function as ceremonial objects. Before the catalogue, St Peter's speech has already kindled the metonymic figures in the images of keys and mitre and it is possible that this attention to objects and their synecdochic aspect continue in the ecclesiastical objects that frame the floral catalogue.⁶⁵ Further, we know that Milton is selective in his choice of floral metaphor. In addition to the catalogue's cancellations, he has rejected 'buttons' in favour of 'wardrop' when he compares the news of Lycidas's death to the coming of 'Frost to Flowers, that their gay wardrop wear' (ll.47).⁶⁶ He seems to prefer general fabric metaphors to objects of specificity, perhaps because (ironically in this context) the metaphoricity of the former is more *dead*.

Surely then he cannot have been unwitting in his troped cups and bells. The serenity of his flowers are then mildly disturbed by these troublesome objects and the disputes they designate as ecclesiastical objects and as evocations of ceremony. Surely, Milton is drawn to the communion of the cup yet subsumes it in the sorrowful communion of nature. Surely he is drawn to the mournful bells but gentles them to ring the silent music of floral sobriety. The coincidence of botanical and ecclesiastical nomenclature solicits ceremonial commemoration but only licitly within the envelope of literary convention. One wonders then whether the darkened colour of the clothing metaphor retains some sense of a soberly-clothed procession. Perhaps his primroses and cowslips, the floral imaginary of vernal mirth in the Jonsonian *On May Morning*,⁶⁷ bear

⁶⁵ For a discussion of Milton's use of the Episcopal symbols of mitre and keys and of the Communion service, see John King, *Milton and Religious Controversy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 29-30, 136-43.

⁶⁶ Milton, *Facsimile from the Manuscript in Trinity College*, 29.

⁶⁷ In the poem, 'Flowry May' yields 'the yellow Cowslip, and the pale Primrose' (ll.3-4).

‘sad embroidery’ as quiet mourning colours just as daffodil cups droop harmlessly. Instead of conspicuous ceremonialism, Milton congregates ecclesiastic metaphors and by their elegiac context renders them ceremonial metonymies, covering funeral ceremony with floral embroidery. While reformers sought a *via media* that would express moderation and balance, neither parsimony nor profligacy in material ceremony,⁶⁸ the floral catalogue becomes a possible middle way through which to rehabilitate transgressive ceremonial objects and to trouble pastoral serenity. Ceremony is embedded in discourses of commonness, homespun artlessness, and Englishness providing a natural subsumption of ceremony.

The anglicizing naturalness that proceeds from pastoral convention opens up imaginative possibilities for expression even as political conditions restrict them. In fact the catalogue is not as neutral as it might seem; rather, the material practices of floral culture would support the idea that the catalogue supplies an implicit continuation of the preceding criticism. We reach this conclusion from the fact that though the catalogue begins with a call for visuality – ‘Ye valleys ... Throw hither all your quaint enameld eyes’ (ll.136, 138-139) – it is remarkable for flowers fragrant rather than just attractive to the eye. As the colourful *enamel* yields to the paleness of the jasmine, the ‘freakt ... jeat’ of the pansy and to ‘beauty shed,’ the catalogue of flowers begins to acquire a densely fragrant presence (ll.143-144, 149). This heavily scented passage animates associations of corrupt air, stench, and disease and could be seen as the literary equivalent to the measures John Evelyn later resorts to when he asks for a ring of flowers to fence the city and purify the air.⁶⁹ We know that Milton figures the corruption of the church in terms of the corruption of the physical body and the air around it. He wrote of the ‘loud stench of

⁶⁸ Ralph Houlbrooke, *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 270.

⁶⁹ Evelyn, *Fumifugium*.

avarice, simony and sacrilege' (*CPW*1.610) and of bishops sending a foul stench to heaven (*CPW*1.894). Fragrance bespeaks a concern for health and restoration, perpetuating a subtle continuation of the ire that went before. The *Lycidas* catalogue is then witness to the play between literary convention and contested materialities. While the latter find refuge in the former, sublimating ceremony in floral discourse, rhetorical genre and register animate the materialities of the discourse.

Lycidas achieves an effect vastly different to the uncannily similar image of Adam and Eve lying supine among the flowers. The gentler atmosphere of religious politics and the context of marriage where ceremony was considerably less disputed led to a more indulgent treatment of acts of floral ritual in *Paradise Lost*. The two poems present differenced catalogues: while *Lycidas* emphasizes this natural beauty and produces an unstudied effect as befits a rustic situation, Eve's bower is decorated with intricate sophistication. Her flowers themselves engage ceremonially and are catalogued through verbs of design even as ceremonial prayer is repudiated. The result of these energies in this ornamental bower will lead to a probing of categories of nature and artifice, and interiority and exteriority that conflicts with any sweeping rejection of ceremony.

As Perdita's paradox indicates, flowers were used equally for courtship and burial, weddings and funerals.⁷⁰ As the corpse was arrayed in floral tributes, so the bride was decked in floral accessories, her bedchamber strewn with flowers. Flowers were significant ceremonial media at a marriage for they came to emblematised gendered experience. The bridal ritual of a fall of flowers suggested the loss of virginity, the spilling of blood. Henry Peacham's 'fall of plenteous showers ... of all the sweetest flowers', conventionally expresses the aesthetic and transcendent in a painful, leaky

⁷⁰ Perdita's reference to flowers is discussed in Sims, "Perdita's 'Flowers O' Th' Spring' And 'Vernal Flowers' In *Lycidas*."

anatomical experience.⁷¹ Flowers metaphorised one of the most important practices of a wedding for before the full formalization of the ceremony in Hardwick's Marriage Act of 1753 the bedding ceremony was one of the important ways a marriage was registered and witnessed communally.⁷² So at a marriage, flowers were materially and symbolically present: beauty and fragrance expressed the relational beauty of a messy corporeal event, a rite of passage, while also participating in the general expression of celebration. Not being intercessory, they were far less contentious than prayerful flowers at a funeral. Perhaps this led Milton to a more generous incorporation of ceremonial action in Eve's bower.

If ceremony is the rehearsal of scripted action which ascribes some transcendent value to a material event, then Adam recollects his marriage in terms of ceremonial forms. He awaits Eve's approach and receives her from God.⁷³ He solemnizes his own marriage by pronouncing words from the second chapter of Genesis, 'For this cause [man] shall forego, / Father and Mother, and to his wife adhere; / And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul' (*PL*8.497-499). Significantly there is no form of material mediation around this performative speech, yet there is some delight in ritual form.

Milton's affinity for form is more tensely displayed at the scene of the union of the first couple when ceremony and its religious associations come to the fore by the juxtaposition of prayer and the marriage night. The tension between what is appropriate

⁷¹ Henry Peacham, *The Period of Mourning ... Together with Nuptial Hymnes, in Honour of This Happy Marriage between the Great Princes, Frederick Count Palatine of the Rhene, and the Most Excellent, and Aboundant President of All Virtue and Goodness Elizabeth* (London: 1613), Nuptial Hymnes 4, ll.226-27. For another account of floral ceremony, see A. Marsh, *The Ten Pleasures of Marriage Relating All the Delights and Contentments That Are Mask'd under the Bands of Matrimony* (London: 1682), 27. Also see David Cressy, *Birth, Marriage, and Death* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 363.

⁷² As analysis of the importance of the bed in life and on stage is Sasha Roberts, "'Let Me the Curtains Draw': The Bed in Shakespearean Tragedy," in *Staged Properties in Early Modern England*, ed. Jonathan Gil Harris and Natasha Korda (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁷³ For a study of the wedding's forms, see Cheryl H. Fresch, "'And Brought Her into the Man': The Wedding in *Paradise Lost*," *Milton Studies* 30, no. 16 (1982).

in worship and to express the affective relationship between Adam and Eve registers in the word ‘rites’ as ceremony is rejected in certain forms and courted in others. They begin by praying effortlessly under ‘open skies’ and then

... other Rites
 Observing none, but adoration pure
 Which God likes best, into thir inmost bowre
 Handed they went; and eas’d the putting off
 These troublesom disguises which wee wear,
 Strait side by side were laid, nor turnd I weene
Adam from his fair Spouse, nor *Eve* the Rites
 Mysterious of connubial Love refus’d:
 (PL4.736-743)

What makes rites acceptable in its second usage and unacceptable in its first?

Achsah Guibbory examines this passage in depth from a ceremonial perspective and concludes the juxtaposition of prayer and love-making are ‘complementary acts of worship commemorating Creation’ as ‘spontaneous prayer’ parallels ‘instinctive love-making’. Yet she also speaks of ceremonialism in the ‘ritual holiness of marital sex’.⁷⁴ In this seamless joinery, she ignores the repudiation of rites in prayer the passage starts with and fails to explain how we get from the first rite to the second. The similarities and difference between the two rites, the deliberate paralleling of prayer and love-making and their subsequent divergence shows us an underlying tension in Milton’s thought and affinities. It is this that creatively shapes the flower catalogue.⁷⁵

Prayer is like love-making, Milton suggests, because they happen best without ‘troublesome disguises’. Prayer requires no external ritual, only ‘adoration pure’. What is left is the inwardness of devotion alluded to when Adam and Eve move into their ‘inmost bowre’. The bower’s interiority is crucial to this ethic of inwardness. Almost

⁷⁴ Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton*, 202-09.

⁷⁵ Edward Muir anthropologically defines rites of passage as sequences of rituals performed at a special time and place, usually transitional or liminal, and involving the sacred by a release into emotion or transcendent or abnormal experiences. See Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 21-22.

immediately, the floral catalogue by which it is described touches its spatial limits. Stretching upward, the catalogue gazes towards the 'rooffe', 'what higher grew', before levelling sideways towards 'bushie shrub' on 'either side'. The line-ends touch these boundaries before turning 'underfoot' where the orientational adjective occurs at the centre (PLA.694-700). The verse motion thus describes the chamber's dimensions by delineating a compact concealed area. Its similarity to the enclosure of a tester bed might be seen from images such as those that front the genre of 'curtain lectures'.⁷⁶ They depict a space closely guarded by canopies and curtains. As the emerging dichotomy between public and private re-mapped the house so that it progressively discovered its 'capacity for further subdivision', Eve's bower is a space of withdrawn privacy like that of a bedchamber, bed, or closet.⁷⁷ In 'thickest covert', the enclosure is 'sacred and sequesterd', the alliteration suggesting equivalence between the sacred and the interior (PLA.693, 706). Interiority hallows prayer and love-making.

So far so good. Prayer and love-making are still analogous. Milton's description of prayer sets out an ethic that his description of love-making then enacts. After this, however, the analogy breaks down. Prayer, naked, stays relatively immaterial leaving love-making with a residual corporeality that is indispensable. In that corporeal dimension, rites return to the picture. The material continues to mediate in a way that it cannot in prayer but description cannot continue in the same register because of decorum and ineffability. Milton resorts to elaborating the floral metaphor of falling roses in a

⁷⁶ Thomas Heywood, *A Curtaine Lecture* (London: 1637); Richard Brathwaite, *Ar't Asleepe Husband? A Boulster Lecture* (London: 1640). Also see Roberts, "'Let Me the Curtains Draw': The Bed in Shakespearean Tragedy."

⁷⁷ Analysing privacy in the elite house, Michael McKeon writes, 'The common element of 'privacy' in these early plans is a function of withdrawing from the ceremonial display of magnificence in the dining ritual, a privation of the public 'presence' (which by the sixteenth century had itself been hived off into a separate space) from which it negatively derives its meaning'. Michael McKeon, *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 220, 42.

picture of the coordinated rhythms of the human pair and the created world. As Eve decorates her 'nuptial bed' with 'flowers, garlands, and sweet-smelling herbs' (*PLA*.709-710), so 'on their naked limbs the flower roof / Showered roses, which the morn repaired' (*PLA*.772-773). On their marriage night, nature colludes to rejoice harmoniously and provide witness to the union of the first couple.⁷⁸ This mode of floral expressionism surrogately enacts ceremony. As with *Lycidas*, flowers are a safe place to lodge the ceremonial instinct. As with Eve's heaping of fruit, agency accrues chiefly to natural processes. Floral ceremony can therefore preserve ceremonial form while disinvesting it of human effort.

Floral ceremony has a place here, not merely as a celebration of the first couple's consummation but as a distinctive, exhibiting the forethought and intentionality in their consummation. The bower's floral richness could easily be redolent of free and unsanctified May-time loving. In the lilting rhythms of *L'Allegro*, roses and violets belong to the unpremeditated nature of a carefree May morning. There *Zephir* disports with *Aurora* 'on Beds of Violets blew, / And fresh-blown Roses washt in dew' (ll.21-22). A minimal level of figural language is sustained by simple adjectives of colour and combines with the language of casual flirtation. But in *Paradise Lost*, Milton addresses himself against 'adulterous lust driven from men / Among the bestial herds to range' found in harlotry and court entertainments. Milton pits intentional responsible loving against the heedless off-handedness of 'casual fruition' (*PLA*.753-754; 767).

The aesthetics of this passage are governed by the pressure to consolidate these stances: ensuring the sanctity of love-making simultaneously by its parallel with prayer and by the floral expressionism that surrogately enacts the rites of love. In a context that

⁷⁸ Mandy Green notes how chastity is maintained when floral ceremony restores itself through its own cyclical processes in her discussion of the Ovidian context in Mandy Green, *Milton's Ovidian Eve* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 149-53.

valorises nature and spontaneity, the aesthetic of ritual and floral expressionism releases the language of effort and artifice. It is to this paradoxical effect that I want now to turn to. Planted and designed by God, Eve's bower is described thus:

.... the roof
 Of thickest covert was inwoven shade
 Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
 Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side
 Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub,
 Fenced up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
 Iris all hues, roses and jessamin,
 Reared high their flourished heads between, and wrought
 Mosaick; underfoot the violet,
 Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich inlay
 Broidered the ground, more coloured than with stone
 Of costliest emblem:
 (PLA.692-703)

In contrast with *Lycidas*, this catalogue begins with 'fragrant leaf' and 'odorous bushie shrub' but the flowers named suggest the effort of cultivation to produce visual spectacle. These flowers had developed vast variety. Crocuses flowered early in the spring and in the autumn and both varieties were planted so that 'they might procure more delight, in yielding their beauty both early and late, when scarce any other flowers are found to adorne them'. Crocuses and hyacinths were valued for their many colours and shapes. The iris was so called because of its spectrum of colours. Inter-twined diversity, like Parkinson's bed of many flowers, is emphasized in the congregational organization of lines like 'iris all hues, roses and jessamin' which slows down considerably because of accumulating names.

But diversity, as we have seen, was not developed from purely English horticulture but through the incorporation of foreign imports. Some flowers grew 'abundantly in many parts of England' while others grew 'only in the Gardens of those that are curious lovers of rarities'. Unlike the primrose and cowslip which were equally flowers of the field as of the garden, the crocus and the hyacinth were numbered among

flowers chiefly cultivated in the garden and their rarer varieties were displayed only by pursuers of those rarities.⁷⁹ In the eighteenth century, the hyacinth would be counted amongst the eight specialist florists' flowers.⁸⁰ The Myrtle-tree was another grown 'by the care of the Curious that delight in things that are so'. It needed careful preservation for it was 'tender and impatient of our long frosty Winters'. These plants were nursed in 'Winter-quarters' with pans of charcoal half burnt out but placed not too near the plants, and then opened to the sun and air by degrees in spring before being set outside.⁸¹ The rose too, though quintessentially English, had come to represent exoticization and solidly coloured petals were giving place to mottled ones. Rea writes that roses of 'divers excelend kinds, not known to former Ages' grace English gardens and describes 'spotted and marbled', 'striped or *variegated*' ones.⁸² The flowers of Eve's bower are different from those of *Lycidas* because of this sense of greater presence and 'outlandishness'. They are at once signs of rarity and its domestication to English gardens. Naming here negotiates degrees of knownness: it recalls the wondrous encounter that is obverse to the traveller's because it occurs within the limits of the domestic. In their mixture of known and new, flowers perfectly conjure for Eve's bower the oxymoronic phenomenology of a place where the strange and known merge and are met with wonder and familiarity.

The difference between the catalogue in Eve's bower and *Lycidas* is the difference between Parkinson's English and outlandish flowers, implicating a tale of effort. The ornamental aesthetic and its implied labour are also present in some of the verbs and nouns of the passage: 'mosaick', 'inlay', 'broidered', 'wrought', 'emblem'. These words move the focus from diversity of colour to interwoven patterns that shape and colour make. They speak of meticulous thought to place, combination, and contrast of shape and

⁷⁹ Parkinson, *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris*, 170.

⁸⁰ Ruth Duthie, *Florists' Flowers and Societies* (Aylesbury: Shire Publications, 1988), 7-8.

⁸¹ Rea, *Flora*, 19-20.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 26-27.

colour. But what is of interest here is the manner in which this aesthetic is figured. Milton's choice of words reference processes and textures that belong to material domains of artifice and ornamentation. Their vocabulary floated in other contexts can still evoke the materialities and immaterial values of their origination. I therefore want to probe these words to discover the archaeology of contemporary spaces within Eve's bower. I want to examine how the space of Eve's bower might be perceived through the material epistemology of this vocabulary.

These are words that signify in spaces of ornament and interiority. Inlay and mosaic could be encountered in the construction of a grotto, an interiority located within the open garden, featuring elaborate shapes and forms put together from pieces of shells and minerals. The grotto at Woburn Abbey is a fine example of this. Created by Isaac de Caus for Lucy Harrington, Countess of Bedford, the grotto displays shell and mineral mosaics of putti riding on dolphins and sea gods.⁸³ A contemporary Florentian instance would be the Palazzo Pitti which features extensive mosaics of grotesque work on the walls.⁸⁴ Its shells and minerals and sea-creatures provides the softness of garden forms with a shocking variation of hard forms and textures. Displaying nature in an ornately artificial fashion, the grotto exists to question the categories of nature and artifice by staging nature artificially.

Another practice of mosaic and inlay that decoratively produced flowers was the art of *pietre dure* (hardstone or semiprecious stones) mosaics crafted in Renaissance Italy and perfected in seventeenth-century Florence. Milton visited Florence in 1638 and must have seen *pietre dure* table-tops, cabinets, jewel caskets, floors and panels of grand

⁸³ John Dixon Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden and the English Imagination 1600-1750* (London: Dent, 1986), 133-34.

⁸⁴ Malcolm Campbell, "Hard Times in Baroque Florence: The Boboli Garden and the Grand Ducal Public Works Administration," in *The Italian Garden: Art, Design and Culture*, ed. John Dixon Hunt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 188.

houses. By the seventeenth century, *pietre dure* designs included flowers, fruits and birds. From the second decade, they were particularly influenced by the naturalistic vegetable and animal drawings of the painter Jacopo Ligozzi. They were extravagant expressions of artistry affordable by the wealthy.⁸⁵ A typical example is the table-top known as ‘table of strewn flowers’ executed by the Grand Ducal workshops between 1614-21. It depicts an intricate web of curling plant-life and animals nested between the swirls.⁸⁶ A cabinet acquired by John Evelyn from the Florentine Domenico Benotti during the English Civil War incorporates 19 *pietra dura*, or hard stone plaques depicting birds and flowers. Among the latter are white, blue, and yellow flowers, and a sprig of primroses. Unlike Augsburg and Spanish cabinets which featured allegorical scenes, Florentian cabinets incorporated natural elements. Peter Thornton charts how cabinets and decorated table tops became fashionable and imposing items within living spaces.⁸⁷ They brought the floral and vegetable forms of the wood and garden to the safe interior of the house.

The world of nature and artifice joined too in representational embroidery. John Taylor locates its worth in mimesis: ‘For it doeth ART, so like to NATVRE frame, / As if IT were HER Sister, or the SAME.’ The list of natural elements is endless: ‘Flowers, Plants, and Fishes, Beasts, Birds, Flyes, & Bees, / Hills, Dales, Plaines, Pastures, Skies, Seas, Riuers, Trees’.⁸⁸ Embroidery could additionally be the site of intricately woven textures, gleaming colours, and precious stones. One print manual purports to detail ‘certain patternes of cut-workes’ of flowers, birds, and fishes to be ‘wrought, some with

⁸⁵ Gordon Campbell, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Decorative Arts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 385.

⁸⁶ Annamaria Guisti, "Roman Inlay and Florentine Mosaics: The New Art of Pietre Dure," in *Art of the Royal Court*, ed. Wolfram Koeppe (London: Yale University Press, 2008); ———, *Pietre Dure and the Art of Florentine Inlay* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 76-83.

⁸⁷ Peter Thornton, *Authentic Decor: The Domestic Interior, 1620-1920* (London: Seven Dials, 2000), 22.

⁸⁸ John Taylor, *The Needles Excellency* (London: 1631), A3-r.

Gould, some with Silke, and some with Crewell'.⁸⁹ Randle Holme's *Academy of Armory* lists 'several sorts and manners of Worke wrought by the Needle with Silk ... Purles, Wyres, etc. which cannot be described'.⁹⁰ Scenes were composed of flat stitches for smooth, glossy surfaces or raised work of sculptural dimensions. Silk threads might be wrapped with metal strips of silver or silver-gilt, flat metal strips called 'plate', coiled metal thread or 'purl' wrapped in fine silk and incorporate sequins, glass beads, semi-precious stones, hair or peacocks' feathers created a variegation of texture, height, glint, and contour.⁹¹

Such work might be seen in the metallic crowns, sceptre, and medal in a piece depicting the story of Esther or the sheen of angelic wings might be evoked by raised work in shining metal thread in tent stitch whose longer display of thread yields a vibrant gloss.⁹² A similar display befits the story of Sheba which is rendered in gold, silver, and inwoven pearls.⁹³ The gifts she gives Solomon make these material delights tributes of honour not unaccompanied by wisdom, redeeming material goods, as Jennifer Summit explains, as signifiers of immaterial virtues.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Here *Folovveth Certaine Patternes of Cut-Workes: And but Once Printed Before* (London: 1632), titlepage.

⁹⁰ Randle Holme, *The Academy of Armory* (London: 1688), 98.

⁹¹ Mary M Brooks, *English Embroideries of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, 2004), 9, 23.

⁹² 'Esther and Ahaseurus' is an embroidered canvas in the Ashmolean Museum's Mallet collection, WA 1947.191.309. 'Abraham Entertaining the Angels' is produced in the same, WA 1947.191.314.

⁹³ Ashmolean Museum, WA 1994.142. Ann Rosalind Jones, "Needle, Scepter, Sovereignty: The Queen of Sheba in Englishwomen's Amateur Needlework," *Early Modern Culture: an Electronic Seminar*, no. 3 (2000-2003).

⁹⁴ Jennifer Summit, "Domestic Shebas: A Response to Ann Rosalind Jones, 'Needle, Scepter, Sovereignty'," *Early Modern Culture: an Electronic Seminar*, no. 3 (2000-2003). For more on the relation of women, gardening, and embroidery, see Jennifer Munroe, *Gender and the Garden in Early Modern English Literature* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 105-09. For the analysis of embroidery in the construction of the feminine see Rozsika Parker, *The Subversive Stitch: Embroidery and the Making of the Feminine*, New Ed. (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010).

Embroidery then shared a similar practice of spatial imagination with the arts of *pietre dure*. Its conception of space interwove forms and filled them with small units of varied colour and texture. The aesthetic emphasizes the craftedness of the bower and dispels the shadow of thoughtless love. Though Milton appears to have repudiated ‘nice Art’ (PL4.232), this passage is both an artful celebration of nature and a natural celebration of art. In Eve’s bower, references to inlay, mosaic, and embroidery conjure up the preciousness of richly decorated interiors. The bower was inlaid to appear ‘more colour’d then with stone / Of costliest Emblem’ (PL4.702-703). In a tangential connection, the name ‘hyacinth’ doubled as a name for a blue gemstone akin to the sapphire.⁹⁵ The hard gloss of inlay and mosaic is present even if it is denied. Similarly, inwoven form and colour of inlay, and variegated texture and height of embroidery, develop through the description. Dimensional gradations emerge as some flowers ‘reared high’ while others cower beneath. Textural difference moves from the softness of weaving and fabric to the hardness of mosaic, inlay, and stone. The resulting opulence of the bower suggests the costliest of Renaissance baroque interiors.⁹⁶

Describing the Baroque moment and aesthetic, Murray Roston describes how the desire to evoke ‘a more intense emotional response, at arousing feelings of rapture, devotion or awe’ led to interiors becoming ‘jewel-like, richly ornamented with coloured marble, onyx, porphyry and lapis lazuli, and surmounted by a wealth of stucco decoration’.⁹⁷ Recent historical work has shown that if post-Reformation England witnessed a diminishment of religious imagery in oil paintings, it did not do so in

⁹⁵ For instance, see Sir Thomas Browne, *Nature's Cabinet Unlock'd* (London: 1657), 41.

⁹⁶ Tara Hamling shows that even the godly did not live in unadorned, but indeed lavish houses in Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*.

⁹⁷ Roston, *Milton and the Baroque*, 3.

decorative arts like wall painting, plasterwork, panelling, textiles, even in godly households.⁹⁸ In Eve's bower a similar decorativeness shapes inwoven nature.

But in the craftedness of nature ornamented, Eve's bower confronts conflicting discourses on the subject of feminine ornament which set up parallels between ceremony, the category of the feminine, and the practice of embroidery and design. The position of Adam and Eve's love-making between the immateriality of unritualised prayer and the materiality of ornament finds expression analogously through these debates.

While didactic literature condemns women's attention to external appearances, embroidery manuals valorise external products as signs of virtue. To examine the debate, we could oppose the writings of Stephen Gere and John Taylor. Gere considers feminine ornament within the same paradigm of externality and internality as ceremony. In *The Ornament of Women* (1639), he draws this parallel: 'That they had golden Chalice, but wooden Priests. *The like may not unfitly bee affirmed of some women, who have golden garments ... [but] leaden soules*'. Later he writes '*They are clad with Purple and silke, but the conscience in the meane while lies torne and tattered*'.⁹⁹ Metonymy leads to metaphor as their ornamental work carries with it the problematics of internal and external worth.¹⁰⁰ This opposition is mapped out on the body and in the house of the godly woman: 'That precious time which other Gentlewomen vickedly wast in tricking and trimming the body, she specially spent in decking and adorning the soule' and 'vvhwhereas others are taken up with faire buildings and stately homes, &c. shee mainly minded to beautifie her house , not only vvith *the Forme of godlinesse*, vvich many

⁹⁸ Hamling, *Decorating the Godly Household*, 6.

⁹⁹ Stephen Gere, *The Ornament of Women* (London: 1639), A3-v, A4-r.

¹⁰⁰ For more on the feminine figuration of ceremony see Guibory, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton*, 23-25.

families have, but most of all with the *Power of godlinesse*, vvhich few regard'.¹⁰¹ Eve's bower shows an interest in both the power of godliness *and* its form.

John Taylor takes a different stance. His positive evaluation of women's ornamentation registers in his representation of it as *work*, as objects *wrought*. The words are often foregrounded in the literature of embroidery and implies the virtue of industry. John Taylor's *The Needles Excellency* (1631) 'wherein are diuers Admirable *Workes wrought* with the Needle' (my italics). The frontispiece engraving depicts the interweaving of garden design, embroidery, and industry. It allegorises 'Indvstrie' as a woman bent on the needle and fabric in her hand. The garden is at once the formal inspiration of design and the inspiration for character formation. The poem itself is written in praise of this 'Instrument / Of profit, pleasure, and of ornament'.¹⁰² While the alliteration unites the paradoxical couple of profit and pleasure, the rhyme underlines the coupling of utility and aesthetics. In the succeeding verses, Taylor lists queens and noblewomen; in each case, her 'Workes [shew] her worth'.¹⁰³ Here, works *wrought* are effects of character. Ornament has a role to play as effects of character, signs of virtue. It is this evaluation of ornamental work that must suffuse Milton's 'wrought'. It parallels the line-end position of the two invocations of 'rites', returning the same value to it as to ornamentation.

In writing the bower, Milton displays some of Adam's simultaneous attraction for and discomfort with ornamental materiality. He refers to the transcendent ornaments 'of Innocence, of Faith, of Puritie' (*PL9.1075*). His emphasis on transcendence ties in with the implicit belief that ornamental excess always implies impoverished character. Eve has 'too much of Ornament, in outward shew / Elaborate, of inward less exact' (*PR8.538*).

¹⁰¹ Gere, *The Ornament of Women*, 'The Epistle Dedicatory' and a4-r.

¹⁰² Taylor, *The Needles Excellency*, A2-r.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, B1-v-B2-r.

Yet Adam confesses to feeling ‘transported touch’ (*PR*8.530). In the words lie the paradox of tactility and transcendence. The rapturous corporeality of consummation gives the bower its paradoxical aesthetic. But there are consequences for virtue and its ornamentalising language.

The paradox of the association of virtue with interiority on one hand and its effects as exterior on the other rises when we consider that these arts were often those that ornamentalised interior spaces. Often, the premium on interiority and privacy was visualised by a commensurate increase in valuable exterior ornamentation. A 1640 illustration titled *An English Lady’s Bedchamber* shows a room with a canopied bed in the corner, a table covered with a fringed carpet with long candlesticks on either side. A lady’s closet might have an arras covering her wall, florally embroidered textiles built into her tester bed with needlework devices and emblems, and other furniture of inlaid or mosaic work.¹⁰⁴ The preciously decorated bower is informed by the practice of signalling interiority with richly external materialities. This would not be unsynchronous with the early modern imagination of the garden which though exterior, merited the considered arrangement and ornamentation of a costly cabinet. John Rea likens it to ‘the form of a Cabinet, with several boxes fit to receive, and securely to keep, Natures choicest jewels’.¹⁰⁵ Though the description of Eve’s bower starts with prioritizing inwardness and nature, it reaches a point where the interiority of virtue and interiority itself cannot but be expressed through the exteriority of ornament. Like Milton’s clock, Eve’s bower finds its form through paralipsis of ornament. Overtly, he repudiates hard, artificial materialities for soft, apparently natural ones. Yet by the same logic, those materialities are called into being through figuration suggesting that the immateriality of virtue, devotion, worship

¹⁰⁴ The illustration is printed in Thornton, *Authentic Decor*, 36. See other continental bedchambers in ———, *Authentic Decor*, 22, 28, 36, 40.

¹⁰⁵ Rea, *Flora*, 6.

and their associate forms of interiority can only be transcended into *through* material forms.

And so the journey from the first to the second ‘rites’ of Eve’s bower reaches its logical conclusion in the floral catalogue. Even in the first rite of prayer, critics have noted Milton’s attraction to ritual and his incorporation of ritual time through hymn.¹⁰⁶ Ceremonial aesthetic runs its course in the catalogue where the coupling of design and ceremonial context result in an aesthetic built from the artefactuality of nature and the shaping function of nature in artefact. Milton seems to at least subconsciously acknowledge that the natural and artefactual exist only through each other’s reification. The same logic however disrupts the valorising of the unceremonial and the immaterial. Nouns and verbs of design suggest that material effort can point to transcendent virtues. It can simultaneously express virtue and secure it through work. If interiority finds expression and is secured in the encrustation of exterior design, then the expulsion of material forms in securing interior character or spirituality may not be possible or desirable. In the illusionism that has drawn attention away from its decorativeness, and pleasure in intricate tactile surfaces, interior space and exterior surface, the bower exudes a baroque aesthetic simultaneously expressive of internal worth and external show.¹⁰⁷

We can see this as a backhanded result of Milton’s idea of marriage. Sharon Achinstein examines the mystical Platonism that shaped Republican articulations of marriage as a society of care modelling the human relationship to the divine. The sensual

¹⁰⁶ Regina Schwartz discusses the liturgical aesthetic in Regina Schwartz, *Remembering and Repeating: Biblical Creation in Paradise Lost* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 60-90. Also see Thomas Bradley Stroup, *Religious Rite and Ceremony in Milton's Poetry* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1968).

¹⁰⁷ See an account of the ‘universal’ and British baroque in Peter Davidson, *The Universal Baroque* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

and material have a role only insofar as they signify divine grace.¹⁰⁸ Conversely, this conception legitimises pleasure in surfaces and extravagant detail.

Accounts of Milton's ceremony, gardens, and baroque aesthetic have all overlooked the jewel that is Eve's bower. Recent critical work notices the mature Milton's desire to 'find a place for the body in worship',¹⁰⁹ but fails to examine the emergent aesthetic and its ideological consequences. Milton's repudiation of 'nice Art' threw historians of the garden off the scent. Similarly, those who claim a baroque aesthetic for Milton have only discussed his penchant for the grand style and rapturous mode, movement, or sublime,¹¹⁰ missing the ceremonial instinct that leads to an emergence of a preciously artefactual aesthetic even in Milton's ingenuously natural world.

¹⁰⁸ Sharon Achinstein, "Saints or Citizens? Ideas of Marriage in Seventeenth-Century English Republicanism," *The Seventeenth Century* 25, no. 2 (October 2010).

¹⁰⁹ Guibbory, *Ceremony and Community from Herbert to Milton*, 10.

¹¹⁰ David Norbrook, "The Sublime Object: Milton, Lucy Hutchinson, and the Lucretian Sublime," *Tate Papers* (Spring 2010); Roston, *Milton and the Baroque*; Graham Parry, "Literary Baroque and Literary Neoclassicism," in *A Companion to Milton*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003).

3: IN THE CITY

After visiting London during the 1650s, John Evelyn recorded the perspective of the ‘weary *Traveller*’ who ‘at many Miles distance, sooner smells than sees the City to which he repairs’.¹ In his writings, the city emerges as an object whose effects are dispersed around it. The distance from which the traveller is assailed by its sights and smells measures its unpleasantness. Conversely, one of Milton’s most dramatic urban images reverses the direction of encounter. In the act of discovering Eve’s bower, Satan is figured in *Paradise Lost* as one assailed by the strangeness of clear air after the cloying stink of the city:

As one who long in populous City pent,
Where Houses thick and Sewers annoy the Aire
Forth issuing on a Summers Morn to breathe
Among the pleasant Villages and Farms
(*PL*9.445-448)

Milton’s simile typifies the feeling that the city disrupted the smooth grain of experience as the traveller moved towards or away from it. Terry Gifford argues that the Satanic perspective in these lines is a clue to Milton’s awareness that his attraction to the pastoral and aversion for the urban is problematic.² Yet the city is not always a negative exemplum; in *Areopagitica* Milton’s imagination is fired by the thriving city’s ‘shops of warre’ (*CPW*2.553-554). From these diverse expressions, I examine how urban experiences inform Milton and draw his attention as a rhetorical and analytical category.

Henri Lefebvre writes that social space cannot be adequately explained through its nature (climate, site), or its history but needs attention to group action, knowledge,

¹ Evelyn, *Fumifugium*, 6. The account re-works the observations of his John Evelyn, *A Character of England as It Was Lately Presented in a Letter to a Noble Man of France* (London: 1659).

² Terry Gifford, *Pastoral* (London: Routledge, 1999), 68-69. Gifford argues that since the urban-countryside duality of the ‘As one who long in populous City pent’ allusion is evoked through Satan’s perspective, it suggests Milton’s own consciousness of the seductions of that duality.

ideology, representations. He conceives of social space and its objects in terms of circulation and relations. It holds ‘a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information. Such ‘objects’ are thus not only things but also relations’. Social labour might re-arrange spatio-temporal configurations without necessarily changing their natural material state.³ In this study therefore objects and material spaces are examined for their registry of relational organisation and complicit ideologies.

As London grew from a medieval wall-bound city to a suburb-laden metropolis, its buildings and streets loomed large in the early modern imaginary. Its structures and practices found their way into pamphlets and plays alike.⁴ Though more conventionally thought of as the poet of the garden, Milton too draws on urban experiences as Jonathan Sawday has so excellently demonstrated in his study of London’s Works.⁵ Through a survey of urban atmosphere, highways and waterways, and criminal and policing systems built around proliferating household objects, this chapter looks to discover the many ways urban categories engage themes in Milton’s work, and are produced, reproduced, or interrogated.⁶

Profound and multiplying change prompted continuous practical and ideological evaluations of the city’s civic systems of travel, water supply, building norms, and the

³ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 77.

⁴ Recent studies include Darryll Grantley, *London in Early Modern English Drama: Representing the Built Environment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Jean Elizabeth Howard, *Theatre of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2007); Dieter Mehl, Angela Stock and Anne-Julia Zwierlein, *Plotting Early Modern London: New Essays on Jacobean City Comedy* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004); J. F. Merritt, ed., *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Lena Cowen Orlin, ed., *Material London, Ca. 1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁵ Jonathan Sawday, *Engines of the Imagination: Renaissance Culture and the Rise of the Machine* (London: Routledge, 2007).

⁶ Similar work, less material and more political, has sought the connections of Dante’s Hell to the Italian city-state. A seminal study is Joan M. Ferrante, *The Political Vision of the Divine Comedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

like.⁷ These give Milton a set of debates he could enter to bring Hell and Heaven to earth. Examining them reveals how an urban epistemology might inform the expression of Milton's religious and political ideas. In these studies, the material formations of the city, their debates and the competing priorities they bring to attention, provide ways to figure modes of fallen being, and to discuss matters of agency, motivation, and effects of action. In nearly every case, Milton's knee-jerk repulsion to the nuisances of the city betrays a surprising cultural snobbery in one recently set up as champion of the people. The material aesthetics Milton seeks to express his political and religious ideologies turn out in fact to be disloyal.

The Urban Skyline: Smoke, Light, Sight

The blanketing darkness of Milton's Hell has posed something of a conundrum to his readers. At best, it has been thought paradoxical; at worst, unimaginable. Amid the many forms of the word 'dark', and phrases like 'dusky air' and 'mournful gloom' (*PL*2.226, 244), readers have been puzzled by irreducibly paradoxical images of *visible* darkness.⁸ Hell flames 'as one great furnace', yet 'no light, but rather darkness visible' rises from them (*PL*1.62-63). These images are variously attributed to patristic tradition, classical literature, and contemporary art.⁹ Most recently, 'darkness visible' was connected to the seventeenth-century resurgence of a troubling atmospheric phenomenon, coal-smoke. Ken Hiltner has uncovered the ways the early modern technology of smoke-stacks and coal-mining register in Milton's description of Hell's belching flames and

⁷ Some recent work on urban change in the Civil War is Ben Coates, *The Impact of the English Civil War on the Economy of London, 1642-50* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), Stephen Porter, *London and the Civil War* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996).

⁸ Roland Frye counts about three dozen iterations of forms of the word 'dark' in the first two books in Frye, *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts*.

⁹ Almond, *Heaven and Hell in Enlightenment England*, 89, Robert J. Edgeworth, "Milton's 'Darkness Visible' and 'Aeneid' 7," *The Classical Journal* 79, no. 2 (Dec. 1983 - Jan. 1984); Don Cameron Allen, *The Harmonious Vision* (Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins Press, 1970), 103; Edgar F. Daniels, "Thomas Adams and Darkness Visible," *Notes and Queries* 204, no. 369-70 (1959); John M. Steadman, "Milton and Patristic Tradition: The Quality of Hell-Fire," *Anglia* 76 (1958); ———, "John Collop and the Flames without Light," *Notes and Queries* 200 (1955).

underground world, and in the absorption of sulphur and brimstone by established infernal description.¹⁰ But a purely environmental critique attenuates the richness of Milton's engagement with contemporary cultural paradigms. Smoke must not be merely seen to be present in Hell; its political and cultural implications need to be explored. Smoke variously dispersed itself across the city, and genres of urban complaint registered its nuisance in terms of health, mortality, morality, religion, the environment, and architecture. Complaint was inevitably apprenticed to political positions. As Mark Jenner said, air was political. Groups provided contesting hermeneutics by which meteorological signs were read to uphold mythologies.¹¹ The urban skyline therefore came to implicate politics, religion, and morality in its aesthetics.

Perhaps this readiness to see substantial meaning in tenuous substance draws Milton to smoke as a figure for hellish modes of being. It represents at once the potency of wilful sinning and the insubstantiality of fallen effort. But eventually Milton's figural language is lost amid the smog of politically generated mythologies. He ends up bringing to life the Royalist urban nightmare, and discovers himself in his imagery as a closet son of Ben.

As the proverb was sometimes rendered, 'there is no fire without smoake', and the dark issue of London's domestic and industrial fires became the burden of a rapidly swelling literature of complaint.¹² From the sixteenth century onwards, the sky-rocketing population, expanding agricultural tracts, and mushrooming industry, made wood fuels both expensive and in short supply. London and other parts of England then turned to

¹⁰ Ken Hiltner, "'Belch'd Fire and Rowling Smoke': Air Pollution in *Paradise Lost*," in *Milton, Rights and Liberties*, ed. Christophe Tournu and Neil Forsyth (Bern: Peter Lang, 2009), 298-300.

¹¹ Jenner, "Politics of London Air," 543-44.

¹² Nicholas Breton, *Crossing of Proverbs. The Second Part. With, Certaine Briefe Questions and Answeres* (London: 1616), 12.

‘sea-coal’ to meet their needs.¹³ Royal Society fellow, John Graunt, thought little sea-coal was burned before 1600, but by the mid-seventeenth century, coal was a routine household necessity.¹⁴ The clogged atmosphere was noticed when a Newcastle blockade stopped seacoal supplies during the Civil War and cleared the air. *Artificiall Fire or, Coale for Rich and Poore* (1644) charts how Londoners who previously complained about the atmosphere protested against the blockade.¹⁵ Historians estimate that seventeenth-century England mined three or four times more coal than the rest of Europe together.

Industrial coal fires were the usual smoky culprits. Evelyn blamed the work of ‘Brewers, Diers, Lime-burners, Salt, and Sope-boylers’. Gideon Harvey, a London physician, thought smoke from ‘Brew-houses, Cooks and Smith Shops, besides all other Private houses, Brick and Lime Kills about the City’ one of the chief causes of consumption.¹⁶ Milton was no stranger to urban smoke. His early life in Bread Street fixed him in the thriving centre where home fires and industrial ovens were familiar. His later life in the western suburbs and the Holborn area would have given him close encounters with brewers’ houses which had become a by-word on the smoky theme. They would have annoyed the gardens and nurseries of the area too.¹⁷ Milton was assigned

¹³ J.U. Nef, *The Rise of the British Coal Industry*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (London: Great Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1932), 133-64; William H. Te Brake, "Air Pollution and Fuel Crises in Preindustrial London, 1250-1650," *Technology and Culture* 16, no. 3 (July 1975): 213-14; John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 234-35; J. Landers, P. Griffiths, M. Pelling and R. Tyson, "Population and Disease, Estrangement and Belonging 1540-1700," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain: 1540-1840*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Raymond Smith, *Sea Coal for London* (Edinburgh: Longmans, 1961), 1-33.

¹⁴ John Graunt, *Natural and Political Observations Mentioned in a Following Index, and Made Upon the Bills of Mortality. With Reference to the Government, Religion, Trade, Growth, Ayre, Diseases, and the Several Changes of the Said City* (London: 1662), 70.

¹⁵ *Artificiall Fire, or, Coale for Riche and Poore* (London: 1644).

¹⁶ Evelyn, *Fumifugium*, 15, Gideon Harvey, *Morbus Anglicus: Or, the Anatomy of Consumptions* (London: 1666), 166.

¹⁷ For instance, a great issue of smoke was compared to a brewer’s chimney in Hamon L'Estrange, *The Reign of King Charles: An History Faithfully and Impartially Delivered and Disposed into Annals*.

lodgings in Scotland Yard during the Protectorate, and easterly winds would have driven this visible darkness towards him.

As Hiltner points out, coal-smoke gave earthly experiences an infernal dimension. John Evelyn's London is an 'ugly Town, pestred with ... *Noyse*, and such a cloud of *Sea-coal*, as if there be a resemblance of *Hell* upon Earth, it is in this *Vulcano* in a foggy day'.¹⁸ Smoke contiguously related the material and moral: Daniel Defoe's list seamlessly weaves together 'smoke and dirt, sin and seacoal'.¹⁹ Metaphors of smothering cover abound. To Harvey, 'at a distance *London* appear[ed] in a morning as if it were drowned in a black cloud'.²⁰ Evelyn has similar words of censure for the circumstances that made the city 'wrap her stately head in Clouds of Smoake and Sulphur, so full of Stink and Darknesse'. Londoners, he claims, breathe 'nothing but an impure and thick Mist, accompanie[d] with a fuliginous and filthy vapour'. Billowing coal-smoke which, as Evelyn writes, 'draw[s] a sable Curtain over Heaven', is a defining experience of urban darkness wholly apart from nightfall.²¹

Pierre Grosely's description of London smoke perpetuates the trope of artificial nightfall. Though written in the eighteenth century, it is useful for its evocative detail in which obscurity and the particulate meet: 'loaded with terrestrial particles, and rolling in a thick, heavy atmosphere, [smoke] forms a cloud, which envelopes London like a mantle; a cloud which the sun pervades but rarely; a cloud which, recoiling back upon itself, suffers the sun to break out only now and then, which casual appearance procures

(London: 1655), 55. For the group of Westminster brewers see J.F. Merritt, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 184-86.

¹⁸ Evelyn, *Character of England*, 28-30.

¹⁹ Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*.

²⁰ Harvey, *Morbus Anglicus*, 166.

²¹ Evelyn, *Fumifugium*, a-r, 16.

the Londoners a few of what they call *glorious days*'.²² The unusual palpability of this materially tenuous phenomenon led to other particulate descriptions. Sir Hugh Plat describes the transformation of 'foule and grosse matter of the cole' to a 'foule and smooty' substance, 'that black kind of peppering or seacole dust'.²³ Margaret Cavendish's 'sharp atomes' of coal, informed by an atomistic understanding of matter, and Sir Kenelm Digby's air 'full of [pit-Coal] atomes' express the offensive materiality of this airy substance.²⁴

As one might expect, urban smoke was of considerable concern to physicians. Richard Graunt who studied London's bills of mortality attributes low life expectancy to 'Fumes, Steams, and Stenches'.²⁵ Hartlib writes that by 'taking Tobacco in smoak' and 'using Sea-coals abundantly', the country collectively wheezes from 'consumption, Ptyicks, and the indisposition of the lungs, note onely [ibid] by the suffocating by abundance of smoak, but also by virulency'.²⁶ Its virulence was manifested in bodily irritation. Harvey describes coal-smoke as 'corrosive'; it 'bites and gnaws' people's eyes and 'by pricking their Throat and Lungs puts them into a dry Cough'.²⁷ The tale of malevolent agency in the lungs is paralleled by similar narratives of trespass and spoil within the house. In 1603, Plat writes of its 'great offense to al the pleasant gardeins of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Marchants of this most honorable Citie and the suburbes therof, besides the discoloring and defacing of al the stately hangings and other rich

²² Pierre Jean Grosley, *A Tour to London; or, New Observations on England, and Its Inhabitants*, trans. Thomas Nugent (London: 1772), 45.

²³ Sir Hugh Plat, *A Nevv, Cheape and Delicate Fire of Cole-Balles* (London: 1603).

²⁴ Margaret Cavendish, *Poems, and Fancies* (London: 1653), 26; Sir Kenelm Digby, *Of the Sympathetick Powder* (London: 1669), 161-62. See also Rogers, *Matter of Revolution*.

²⁵ Graunt, *Observations*, 70.

²⁶ Samuel Hartlib, *Legacy of Husbandry* (London: 1655), 136-7.

²⁷ Harvey, *Morbus Anglicus*, 167.

furniture of their houses, as also of their costlie and gorgeous apparell'.²⁸ The narrative survives in Evelyn's complaint in the fifties: it 'fouls our Clothes, and corrupts the Waters ... [and] with its black and tenacious quality, spots and contaminates whatsoever is expos'd to it ... [and] strews about those black and smutty *Atomies* upon all things where it comes, insinuating it self into our very secret *Cabinets*, and most precious *Repositories*'.²⁹ Its invasion of secret spaces exemplifies the 'attraction of air' for Sir Kenelm Digby: 'although we do not see it, yet we find the effect: for it spoils Beds, Tapestries, and other household stuffs... And, though one should lock up his Chamber very clean, and come not thither in a good while, yet at his return, he will find a black kind of thin soot cover all his household-stuff'.³⁰

The aristocratic note sounded in Plat's description surfaces too in Laud's annoyance over corrupted green spaces. Pestered by the wafting of a brewery's smoke in his garden, Laud was once forced to abandon his pleasant evening walk. Several brew-houses in Westminster were closed down because the smoke caused by the burning of sea coal plagued the King's house, garden, and park at St. James.³¹

These added to smoke's worrisome effect on urban green space. Gardens might often be threatened by new construction as in the case of the Company of Leathersellers in 1659. When several men built sheds adjacent to the garden wall of the company in the parish of St Mary Aldermanbury, they blocked their light and built chimneys higher than the wall 'by means whereof the Garden ground of the s[ai]d Company was very much

²⁸ Plat, *Cole-Balles*, B4-v-C-r. The work describes how one might replace the 'smootie substance & subtile *atomies*' with a 'strong and lasting fier' and with a less troublesome smoke that could be 'more sweete by many degrees' and even 'very pleasing and delicate, and fit for Ladies chamber and also more profitable'.

²⁹ Evelyn, *Fumifugium*, 6, John Deacon, *Tobacco Tortured, or, the Filthie Fume of Tobacco Refined* (London: 1616), 42.

³⁰ Digby, *Sympathetick Powder*, 162.

³¹ William Laud, *The History of the Troubles and Tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God and Blessed Martyr, William Laud, Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury Wrote by Himself During His Imprisonment in the Tower* (London: 1695), 256-9.

annoyed'.³² Evelyn writes of the detrimental effect smoke had on city gardens, killing 'our *Bees* and *Flowers* abroad, suffering nothing in our Gardens to bud, display themselves, or ripon'.³³ A 1627 petition complains that coal burned for alum works was 'tainting the pastures and the very fish in the Thames'.³⁴

Smoke also ruined courtly aspiration to clarity and uniformity of spectacle in air and architecture. Evelyn's *Fumifugium* sees smokiness and hellishness as equivalent and both a product of the absence of a proper form of religious and civic authority. His complaints re-articulate those of an alleged French visitor to London which Evelyn published in 1659 as *A Character of the City of England*. By this Frenchman's mathematics, London's smoky urban air and noise amounted to a demonic atmosphere, and her gawky haphazard construction to a manifestation of skewed religious organisation. He joins the dots of atmospheric and religious murkiness in an anecdote about a 'spacious *Church* where [he] could not discern the *Minister* for the *Smoak*; nor hear him for the people's barking'. He finds the '*Buildings* ... as deformed as the minds and confusions of the people'. He equates haphazard unplanned house shapes, their lack of 'uniformity', with the democratic voice of the people, and this a contrast to Italy's '*Palaces*, uniform and conspicuous structures'.³⁵

Having a broad street reach its end at a church spatially represented a religious teleology and Hugh Grosley fails to find this in London's town planning perturbed by smoke and ill-formed architecture: 'St Paul's is the object which should naturally terminate, the view in the Strand; but after walking a long time in the street, we do not

³² 'Viewers' Reports' 1659-1675, LMA COL/SJ/27/469, fol. 1.

³³ Evelyn, *Fumifugium*, 7.

³⁴ John Bruce et al ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I*, 23 vols., vol. 2 (1627-1628) (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, & Roberts, 1967), 270.

³⁵ Evelyn, *Character of England*, 10, 28-30.

discover that fine cathedral till we come close to the building'.³⁶ In a Royalist history of St. Paul's Cathedral, Charles's 'princely heart was moved with such compassion to this decayed fabric that for prevention of its near approaching ruin (by the corroding quality of the coal smoke, especially in moist weather, whereunto it had been so long subject)' that he was impelled to finance its repair.³⁷ Visual obscurity of religious architecture convicts the nation of dim spiritual vision.

Unplanned overcrowded building spurred boundary disputes over land, water, and gardens. We have testimony to these in the certificates of the London Viewers who adjudicated such cases.³⁸ Their reports foreground the urban sense of 'shared spaces and moveable borders'.³⁹ Many disputes contest permitted sight-lines right through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and these are often staged over domestic gardens. In 1538, for instance, the Viewers oversaw a case where Johanna Thorpe, a widow, built a house at the back of her garden such that 'all that water that falls from the S[outh] side of the house falls into the garden ground' of her neighbour and further, her 'window of four lights [faced] toward pl[aintiff]. 's garden whereby she may oversee the garden'. The Viewers ruled that 'the lights ought to be set in with a loupe so that there can be no sight into the garden, or else clean stopped up'. In 1542, the Viewers found a garden 'so high raised and enhanced that not only may [the defendant], his wife, and his servants stand in his garden and look over the coping of the Fleet wall'. In another case in 1549, the Viewers ruled that the plaintiff, Hugh Dany, currier, in St Stephen's in Coleman Street

³⁶ Grosley, *Tour to London*, 34.

³⁷ Sir William Dugdale, *The History of St Paul's Cathedral in London* (London: 1658), 134.

³⁸ The Viewers' bore the functions of the medieval Nuisance Assize. Their reports are available for the years 1623-1636, 1659-1675, 1668-1670, and 1674-1691 in the seventeenth century. LMA COL/SJ/27/464-469. The first set are the most legible and consistent. Sixteenth century reports (LMA COL/SJ/27/463) have been transcribed in Janet S. Loengard, ed., *London Viewers and Their Certificates 1508-1558* (London: London Record Society, 1989). As many of the disputes have similar subjects, I quote diversely from all. For the sixteenth century, I refer to the transcription; for the rest I refer to the mss versions.

³⁹ They have been analysed in conjunction with Ralph Treswell's plans in Lena Cowen Orlin, "Boundary Disputes in Early Modern London," in *Material London, Ca. 1600*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

‘should have the garden with egress and regress into, through, and from the same at all times needful and convenient by the alley there called the Swan Alley’. The defendant had to secure the integrity of the plaintiff’s passage with a fence.⁴⁰ In these cases, the intrusive gaze over designated boundaries is troublesome and privacy is defined in terms of opacity to the outer world.

Architectural haphazardness and crowding was keenly felt in the western suburbs where Milton lived for much of his life. Historians estimate that much of the growth of London’s population in the late sixteenth and mid-seventeenth century came from metropolitan Westminster, Middlesex, and Surrey which expanded demographically from 1580 to 1695 while there was little increase within the City walls or liberties.⁴¹ Consequently, development took place despite proclamations (from 1580) forbidding building.

The western suburbs were built by aristocratic developers like Nicholas Barebon. Lincoln’s Inn Fields was developed in 1638 and Covent Garden Piazza was developed ‘for persons of repute and quality’ in 1630.⁴² Parliamentary surveys of the forties and fifties have shown distinct differences between the east and west ends. West End housing tended to be more spacious, with three or four storeys, and more rooms than East End houses. The average house in Long Acre contained 6.1 rooms, 9.9 in High Holborn, and just 5.2 in the Tower Liberty. West End houses were built of brick, the East End’s of timber and Flemish wall. Piccadilly developed as a rural area of green fields but the

⁴⁰ Loengard, ed., *London Viewers*, no. 129, no. 71, no. 257, 53, 70-71.

⁴¹ Jeremy Boulton, "London 1540-1700," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Vol. 2: 1540-1840*, ed. Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Also Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 51-56.

⁴² Boulton, "London 1540-1700," 319-20.

Strand, hosting double-banked structures of the most affluent, was probably most valued.⁴³

Long Acre and High Holborn (near where Milton lived) were densely populated. Their brick houses were usually places of multi-occupation.⁴⁴ These areas were adjacent to the unsavoury and the aristocratic. Strype thinks High Holborn, ‘not over well inhabited’. It was flanked by Queen Street, ‘graced with a goodly Row of large uniform Houses on the South side, inhabited by the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, but the North side is but indifferent’. Though a well-to-do area itself, Lincoln’s Inn Fields was unfortunately close to humbler residences in Newton Street, Little Turnstile and such ‘ordinary place’.⁴⁵ Strype’s language suggests a hierarchy of spaces based on the distance they preserved from the common classes. Parliamentary surveys suggest that those more protected from ‘ordinary’ neighbourhoods were more highly valued.⁴⁶

These debates around the urban skyline, their political, religious, and class allegiances inform Milton’s Hell which rises from a smoky landscape. Here smoke is not merely atmospheric but manifests modes of infernal being. The fallen angels begin their story from what might be the latter end of a burnt-out sea-coal fire: a ‘singd bottom all involv’d / With stench and smoke’ (*PL*1.236-7). Unfolding the smoky imagery of fallenness from this point of the after-effects of petered out strength anchors the epic’s conception of fallen angels. Their powers are secondary and residual to their original glory. As the fallen angels begin to assemble their forces, they move to a hill that ‘belch’d

⁴³ M.J. Power, "The East and West in Early-Modern London," in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England*, ed. R.J. Knecht and E.W. Ives, J.J. Scarisbrick (London: The Athlone Press, University of London, 1978), 168-74.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ I quote from a 1720 Strype edition which is based on John Stow’s *Survey*. John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster ... By John Stow* (London: 1720), 75-76.

⁴⁶ See n.43.

fire and rowling smoke' (*PL1.671*). From here onwards, rather than being merely residual, the imagery of smoke is galvanized by the force of production.

Smoky surroundings give way to the industrial materiality of a mining camp and boiling cells. Its 'rowling smoke' eventually yields to the image of the gates of Hell, which 'like a Furnace mouth / Cast forth redounding smoak and ruddy flame' (*PL2.888-889*). From this obscurity, Satan takes flight: 'At last his Sail-broad Vannes / He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoak / Uplifted spurns the ground' (*PL2.927-929*). Though Satan ascends on wings, the dubiously arranged word order makes his ascent seem aided by smoky surges from the infernal furnace. However, beginning from a 'singed bottom', smoky ontology undermines any narrative of progress. Situated at the threshold between production (often industrial) and residue, smoke signifies a spent force. Smoky figures therefore at once fortify and emaciate images of fallen effort. Hovering beneath every industrial effort is the insubstantiality of a wispy beginning and a singed ground.

It is this that distinguishes the cloudy hill in Hell from the one in Heaven. Mammon remembers 'thick clouds and dark' covering God's throne so that 'Heav'n resembles Hell' (*PL2.263-268*). But the resemblance is only superficial. When God commissions his army to march against Hell, 'Clouds began / To darken all the Hill, and Smoak to rowl / In duskie wreathes, reluctant flames, the signe / of Wrauth awak't' (*PL6.56-59*). That smoke has been generated by Satan's rebellion even at the throne of God shows how deeply the countenance of Heaven has changed. But smoke is less ontological than a sign of wrath. It neither enables action nor figures being but temporarily figures emotion. With Satan, as we have and will see, smoke and its discourse figure modes of being and intent.

The doubleness inherent in smoky imagery continuously fuels descriptions of Satan and sets him up in comparison and contrast to those of Eve and God. The following image of Satan at his most imposing is like Evelyn's personified London, a figure whose head is enveloped in clouded light. He materialises from invisibility in Hell thus: 'As from a Cloud his fulgent head / And shape Starr-bright appeer'd, or brighter, clad / With what permissive glory since his fall / Was left him, or false glitter' (*PL*10.449-452). The chronologically prior 'cloud' anticipates a vision of dark obscurity before 'fulgent' clarifies the word to denote the obscurity of light. Similar to innocent Eve, 'veild in a Cloud of Fragrance' (*PL*9.425), and to the 'golden cloud' from which God approves Raphael (*PL*6.28), the smoky context simmers in the background suggesting counterfeit light. The syllables of 'fulgent' easily recall the sooty descriptor, 'fuliginous', as in Evelyn's mist of 'fuliginous and filthy vapour'. This makes the image beautifully double-sided as Satan glorified in Hell momentarily becomes an irradiated version of the Satan who has ascended from Hell amid currents of smoke. He is momentarily an effigy of the city whose head is wrapped in clouds of smoke and sulphur, full of darkness and stink. These images of radiant, perfumed, and smoky clouds illumine each other and initiate a relay of comparisons and contrasts. While the parallel with Eve gives us the difference between fallen and unfallen being, the parallel with his smoky origins reinforces the residual context within which Milton exposes his falseness.

Smoky figures of fallenness render descriptions of fallen glory disingenuous. If we read the picture of Satan's glory straightforwardly, his brightness is 'permissive' (*PL*10.451), permitted by God. If we read it ironically via a smoky epistemology, its beclouded nature is an act of will as was the production of smoke. Yet complicating these ironies is the fact that while being the product of an act of will, smoke is usually never the object, only a superfluity. Satan's materialization from invisibility in his throne room

draws attention to the play between his insubstantial and material being, as well as the originary superfluity of his being. Smoke in heaven is a superfluity, reinforcing the substantiality of heavenly existence; smoke in hell is fundamental to its material definitions reinforcing the superfluity of fallen nature.

If falseness emerges from the comparison of false to true light and false light to prior darkness, it also exhibits in the false darkness of cloudy image. Answering Satan's call *en masse*, the fallen angels appear like 'a pitchy cloud / Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind / That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung / like Night' (*PL1.340-343*). Here night is only recalled belatedly as an afterthought and the simile develops instead the particulate experience of artificial darkness recalling the discourse of artificial nights that rose from the particulate matter of smoky emanations. Without obvious reference to coal smoke, the trope suggests a smoky epistemology of light and darkness which again foregrounds the secondariness of hellish existence. Artificial darkness undoes the natural experience making artifice and simulation the sign of the lapsed condition.

Further, the difference between fallen and unfallen clouds is told by acts of intrusion. While Heaven's fulgent clouds shimmer independently, Satan's darkness insinuates itself into forbidden spaces. Proposing scenarios by which to strike back at Heaven, Moloch discourses thus:

Or could we break our way
By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise
With blackest Insurrection, to confound
Heav'ns purest Light, yet our great Enemy
All incorruptible would on his Throne
Sit unpolluted, and th' Ethereal mould
Incapable of stain would soon expel
Her mischief
(*PL2.134-41*)

Moloch desires 'blackest insurrection' to leave its mark on heaven's purity. If it were possible, he would corrupt, pollute, and stain. Nearly every line touches on the

representation of light and darkness, or stain and incorruption. Both coal-smoke and Hell's blackness shared a malevolent inclination to contaminate what it touched. Fallen attack is figured in the language of stain, a significant feature of the discourse of smoky complaint.

Unlike the forceful entry described here, smokiness is most strongly represented in a scene that has no obvious reference to smoke but is in fact smokiest in *movement*. Satan's entry into Eden is imitative of the movement of coal-smoke. He enters the garden 'wrapt in mist / Of midnight vapour' and glides through the foliage looking for the serpent 'through each Thicket Dank or Drie, / Like a black mist low creeping' (*PL*9.158-159, 179-80). Insinuating movement works as a figure for susceptibility to Satan's influence. He slips easily into the serpent's mouth just as his words would penetrate Eve's heart with 'too easie entrance' (*PL*9.734). Smoke becomes a vehicle to materialize Satan's intent to corrupt, the entrance of sin, and its spreading contagion. As Karen Edwards notes, the poisonous action of smoke in *Paradise Lost* is both literal and figurative, and this simultaneity permits the smoky embodiment of fallen intent and action.⁴⁷ Anthropologist Daniel Miller notes the correlation between social importance and substantiality of being. This might manifest itself as corpulence or as a wealth of things.⁴⁸ Milton seems to intuitively reach for this idea. In embodying fallen character through smoke, Milton manifests the paradoxes of its ability to slither into every space and its insubstantiality, its potency and impotence at once.

Having Satan seep thus into the garden refers to a tradition of complaint which fears the effect of the smoky atmosphere on the animal and vegetable world. In having a mist sully the purity of Eden, Milton participates in the discourse of health, pollution, and

⁴⁷ Edwards, *Milton and the Natural World*, 194.

⁴⁸ Miller, *Materiality*, 17.

staining that characterized the literature on smoke. Further, Milton perpetuates the construct of the urban-pastoral binary represented in his city-dweller through a variation of the *rus in urbe* paradigm. While the idea of *rus in urbe* reflects the effort to carve out green space within the urban environment, the emergence of the city in the garden reflects the illicit encroachment of pernicious urban evils, evoking the ambush of fragile green spaces within spreading urban contagion.

This re-location of urban nuisance to the country is the implicit engine defining the moment when Satan perches atop the enclosing wall of Eden. Satan's perch can be interpreted within the country estate frame. The word 'prospect' certainly gestures towards the visual geometry flowing from the masterful position of an owner overlooking his lands. But if we consider the fact that Satan is present as an intruder, the point of view belongs less to a retired country setting than to an urban one. Right through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as we have seen, the domestic gardens of London staged boundary disputes. Satan's gaze should be seen here as sight that is intrusive and troublesome, and is antithetical to Adam's gaze of ownership.

Pronominal indeterminacy leads to alternate joining and separation of Satan's and Adam's gaze in the narrative. Satan's journey to the border of Eden flickers briefly into Adam's presence. With the line, 'So on he fares, and to the border comes / Of *Eden*,' the narrative absorbs the ensuing description of Eden's trees into the forward momentum of Satan's journey. Briefly, the ascent is punctuated by Adam's mirroring perspective: 'Yet higher then thir tops / The verdurous wall of paradise up sprung: / Which to our general Sire gave prospect large / Into his neather Empire neighbouring round' (*PL4.142-145*). Adam's is a proprietary gaze. His expansive ownership finds form in the centrality of the word 'Sire' to the line. That outward gaze is shortly subsumed into Satan's approach to Eden and his inward looking gaze (*PL4.153*).

Thence up he flew, and on the Tree of Life,
 The middle Tree and highest there that grew,
 Sat like a Cormorant; yet not true Life
 Thereby regaind, but sat devising Death
 To them who liv'd; nor on the vertue thought
 Of that life-giving Plant, but only us'd
 For prospect, ...
 Beneath him with new wonder now he views
 To all delight of human sense expos'd
 In narrow room Natures whole wealth ...
 (*PLA*.194-200, 205-207)

Satan's 'view' constitutes an intrusive sightline. Though the verse following the word will resume the expansiveness of Adam's gaze, its glorification of God suggests a view not inhabited by Satan. The preceding narration of Satan's 'prospect', clearly Satan's perspective, is contrastively constrained, shut down every now and then by punctuation and by a comma immediately following 'prospect'. Like Milton's description of a city-dweller journeying into the countryside, these lines pit the crowded urban house against the spacious country estate.

But by these repeated infernalizations of the urban, its crowds and its smoke, Milton betrays attitudes that locate him oddly within the political spectrum. In raising images of a smoky garden and a smoky metropolis, Milton would have found himself not far off from royalist narratives of the subject much of whose discourse is reproduced in the smoky atmosphere of Pandemonium. A chain of critics has connected Hell's glorious architecture to continental and papist architectural structures which functioned as 'mnemonic topi for architectural idolatry' and has seen the image as a gesture against the continentally influenced Royalist values of architectural beauty. In the image, the work of Civil War deconstruction and architectural wrecking is overturned. The emergence of church instruments in a smoky atmosphere with its clarity of respiration infernalises

Royalist aspirations to clear air and uniform facades. So runs the argument.⁴⁹ Yet such criticism has overlooked the likelier inspiration nearer home in places like the western suburbs. Living in the north-western suburbs of London in locations for the affluent middle class between grand buildings and ‘ordinary’ houses positioned Milton between the two ends of the social spectrum, between aspiration and disgust of the messy disorders of the common people which sullied the grace of the urban landscape.

If Milton’s infernal architecture deflates Royalist aspirations to grandeur, his vision of architectural uniformity obscured by coal-smoke sympathetically brings to life the worst Royalist nightmare. The desire to fend off this dark future drove Royalist developers and writers. On one hand, the buildings of the western suburbs sought to isolate enclaves of beauty and sanitation; on the other, St Paul’s became the subject of smoky complaint. Milton’s Hell pictures all these worst fears and gives the lie to the clarity and unity of his ideological alignments. His continuous demonisation of smoky nuisances lines him up quite neatly, if unexpectedly, with aristocratic discourse. Instead of being the republican Milton we know and revere, he seems to have experienced the same annoyance as the aristocracy and we witness the hand-wringing of a son of Ben. Hell’s skyline shapes the urban experience as a tale of nuisance whose material nightmares express its fallen nature.

By this account, the urban as a rhetorical device works unsubmissively in Milton’s poetry. In vivifying the imagery of nuisance, unexpected allegiances rise to the surface to compromise the clear lines of political alignment. Milton succumbs to the pitfalls of connecting two narratives of sight – one of architecture and one of light. In trying to demonise continental architectural models while simultaneously retaining the

⁴⁹ Joseph Lyle, "Architecture and Idolatry in *Paradise Lost*," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 40, no. 1 (2000): 146. For Pandemonium and St. Peter’s, see Rebecca Smith, "'The Source of Milton's Pandemonium,'" *Modern Philology* 29, no. 2 (November 1931).

narrative of smoky nuisance, he inadvertently discloses his own snobbery and succumbs to a Royalist trope.

We have been used to considering a Milton of staunch Republicanism who seeks literary forms to accommodate his politics. If unrhymed heroic verse frees the poet from the ‘modern bondage of rhyming’ then we think of that aesthetic choice as one that distances itself from John Dryden’s argument for Restoration aesthetics in *Of Dramatick Poesy* published the same year, 1668.⁵⁰ We hold close to our hearts the poet informed by Lucan’s *Pharsalia*, and rightly so.⁵¹ But this aesthetic revolution seems not to have extended to his metaphoric subtexts. These images encode instinctive knee-jerk reactions to materiality that express distaste for the very groups he champions. While his avowals and arguments seek an alignment of form with ideology, his metaphoric subtexts give these away.

The Suburbs of Hell

When John Evelyn resorts to the phrase ‘suburbs of Hell’ to describe the horrors of London he is not being particularly inventive. The phrase was commonplace because the suburbs were a geographical locus for the unpleasant sights and smells of industry. In London, this was especially so of the area south of the river. Milton does not cheaply resort to the phrase but, continuing to shake the people’s dust off his feet, he does bend his infernal geography to a suburban model. In doing so, he moves beyond visual and olfactory encounters with the city to using primarily spatial configurations to epitomise the disorder of the fallen world. Milton performs this first through similarity. Through

⁵⁰Milton added a note explaining his use of rhyme in 1668 and in the same year John Dryden published his essay, John Dryden, *Of Dramatick Poesie* (London: 1668). Steven Zwicker, "Lines of Authority: Politics and Literary Culture in the Restoration," in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and History of Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven Zwicker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 239.

⁵¹ David Norbrook argued the epic was influenced by Tom May’s translation in David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 438-67.

certain recognizable urban constructs and loci, he spatialises his account of freedom and sin in terms of the social and economic practices of liberty, crime, and punishment, and thereby accentuates their sociality. Geography colours discourse as the fallen angels speak and think with suburban logic. Disorder is also staged through contrast. The liminal space between the suburb and the city was conventionally punitive space, symbolic of the closure of, repulsion or expulsion, of criminal influence in the city. In the epic, that closure is denied and the travesty of disorder becomes a spectacle by contrast.

Many historians have noted that immigration significantly bulked out the early modern London demographic. Most Londoners were born outside the capital. In the period before 1650, the largest sources of immigration were male apprentices and European Protestant refugees in the 1560s and 1570s.⁵² The former came to train in a trade, and the latter brought their trade with them and often settled in communities on the city's margins. Manufacturing trades were also drawn to the space available at the city borders with the result that many suburbs were organized around industrial crafts: ship-building was based in Poplar and Stepney; tanneries and dyeing houses were found south of the river; the Tower Liberty's industry was mainly metallurgical; Shadwell on the Thames had ship-building and ship-fitting industries.⁵³ Across the bridge, Southwark was home to a host of manufacturing trades: dyers, brewers, lime-burners, makers of glass and saltpetre.⁵⁴ These manufacturing units annoyed the air. Their large furnaces emitted billowing smoke, but breweries, dyeing houses, and tanneries were also blamed for releasing the most nauseating smells. Paint-making, one complained, 'chiefly carried on

⁵² Boulton, "London 1540-1700." For staple studies on which Boulton is based see Finlay, *Population and Metropolis*. Immigration is considered the reason for death rates being higher than birth rates during the period. A second wave of European Protestant immigration occurred in the late seventeenth century.

⁵³ Power, "East and West," 175-76.

⁵⁴ Emily Cockayne, *Hubbub: Filth, Noise and Stench in England* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2007), 210; Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 62-73.

in the Borough of *Southwark*; is an odious stinking Business'.⁵⁵ Tanneries were pervaded by the stench of dead meat from animal skins and by bird and animal droppings, urine, lime, alum and bark used in the tanning process.⁵⁶ Dyers might use foul-smelling substances like ox-blood, woad, and urine in the dyeing process.⁵⁷ Suburban areas in the south and east rapidly became the locus of manufacturing processes and noxious air.

With smells and smoke attendant on industrial processes, it is little wonder that London-residing Royalists sought to relocate the industries of the city to the suburbs too. Royalist John Evelyn's suggested moving offending industries out of the city, south of the bridge, downwind.⁵⁸ The same solution was applied to tanners and dyers who were commonly found at the hem of the city's skirts.⁵⁹ The common phrase, 'the suburbs of hell', referred to this early modern construct where hellishness, smokiness, rank stench and the suburban experience converged.

The narrative of expulsion was both industrial and criminal for Southwark was home to five prisons of which one was the infamous Clink within the liberty of the Bishop of Winchester. If expulsion from the city secured its sanctity by returning polluting and criminal elements to the exterior of an originally perfect world, the suburbs could conversely be a source of threat. Those south of the river and the new East End proved attractive to criminal elements as an easy refuge beyond the proverbially long

⁵⁵ Campbell, *The London Tradesman*, 100. Brewhouses and clock-makers were located in the north-western suburbs. Theatre and other entertainments flourished and the proximity of immigrant artisans and craftsmen helped with staging and costuming needs. Jean-Christophe Agnew, *Words Apart: The Market and the Theater in Anglo-American Thought, 1550-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 54-57.

⁵⁶ L. A. Clarkson, "The Organization of the English Leather Industry in the Late Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 13, no. 2 (1960): 84-5; Marion Kite and Roy Thomson, *Conservation of Leather and Related Materials* (London: Elsevier, 2006); Cockayne, *Hubbub*, 210-11.

⁵⁷ Joan Thirsk, *Alternative Agriculture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 87. See also Jo Wheeler, "Stench in Sixteenth-Century Venice," in *The City and the Senses: Urban Culture since 1500*, ed. Alexander Cowan and Jill Steward (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 28.

⁵⁸ Evelyn, *Fumifugium*, 16.

⁵⁹ Thomson, *Conservation of Leather*, 84-5.

hand of the law.⁶⁰ In addition, many suburbs contained liberties which were governed by ecclesiastical law and manors distinct from London's authority. So the liberties of Fleet Prison and St Martin le Grand Chapel were protected by statute and harboured law breakers, debtors and felons. Similarly, Whitefriars, Blackfriars and the Mint were notorious thieves' sanctuaries as were Suffolk Palace, Clink Liberty, and Paris Gardens south of the river. Though city JPs were entitled to pursue criminals into London's liberties, jurisdictional and geographical distance resulted in a slacker enforcement of the law.⁶¹

In 1592, Henry Chettle, a London dramatist, describes the suburbs in these nightmarish terms in a work of 'invectives against abuses reigning': 'in many places [they were] no other but dark dens for adulterers, theives, murderers and every mischief worker'.⁶² If the city expelled nuisances to the peripheries, peripheral boundaries would not hold securely; rather, the peripheral stood perennially on the brink of bleeding back in. Sir Henry Calthrop expresses this fear when he described Southwark's thieves awaiting an opportune re-entry: 'many times after their Thefts, and Fellonies done within the said City, [they] then fly and retire out of the same City unto the Stewes, and into Southwark, out of the Liberties and Power of the City, and remain there doing mischief, watching their time to come back and do mischief, there the Officers of the said City have used always to pursue, and search such Theeves and ill doers ... and bring them to *New*

⁶⁰ Robert Ashton, *The City and the Court, 1603-1643* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 163-7; Ian W. Archer, "Government in Early Modern London: The Challenge of the Suburbs," in *Two Capitals: London and Dublic, 1500-1840*, ed. Peter Clark and Raymond Gillespie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 136-9.

⁶¹ Joseph P. Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity, and Change in Early Modern London* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 11.

⁶² Henry Chettle, *Kind-Harts Dreame* (London: 1593), F-v.

gate'.⁶³ Later in the century, the difference between suburbs and city in crime and sinfulness is less distinct.⁶⁴

Distance entailed a range of economic freedoms. The City of London was the largest corporate entity in the metropolis and livery companies provided London citizenship and the 'freedom' to work in the City through apprenticeship, patrimony, or purchase. Areas outside the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction were suburbs and liberties (the latter possessed distinct administrative relationships to the crown).⁶⁵ In 1636 the Crown granted an Incorporation to 'the tradesmen and artificers inhabiting as well within the Cities of London and Westminster exempt from the freedom thereof, as without the said City, and within three miles of the same who have served apprenticeship'.⁶⁶ To the City's chagrin, the suburbs now constituted a rival jurisdiction. Subject to the Statute of Artificers and the ordinances of the City Companies, suburban dwellers were exempt from taxes and guild regulations governing the practice of their craft though they would have had a weaker position trading within the City. While some guild members sought the advantages of the suburbs, their lower rents and expanding markets, for other city freemen they were a thorn in the flesh. Suburban freedom of practice made the freedom of the City redundant.⁶⁷ The liberty of its unlicensed practice threatened the city's freedom. Whether the movement away from the city was penal or empowering depended on the agency of the actors.

⁶³ Sir Henry Calthrop, *Reports of Special Cases Touching Several Customes and Liberties of the City of London* (London: 1655), 171-2.

⁶⁴ Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, 14. Freedom and deviance came in other forms too. This argument could be extended to theatrical and other entertainments and dissident religious groups.

⁶⁵ Liberties were built on former monastic lands and included Blackfriars, Whitefriars, Holywell Priory, Paris Garden, the Inns of Court, and Chancery. The City's charter of 1608 extended the City's influence by appointing City officials to serve as Justices of the Peace in six liberties.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Valerie Pearl, *London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution: city government and national politics, 1625-43* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 33.

⁶⁷ Phil Withington, *The Politics of Commonwealth: Citizen and Freemen in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 8-11; Ward, *Metropolitan Communities*, 43.

The threshold position of the southern suburbs was monumentalised by the iconic bridge that straddled the river Thames. Built in the twelfth century, London Bridge had long been a part of London's distinctive urban iconography available to surveyors and visitors. Bridges were known by the number and shape of their supportive arches and London Bridge was made distinctive by its twenty arches (including the drawbridge), remarked on by William Camden and others.⁶⁸ In 1664, George Abbot ranked it as one of the remarkable products of England along with her wool and her churches.⁶⁹ In James Howell's *Londinopolis* (1657), it appears in Wenceslaus Hollar's view of London under the generic title, 'The Bridge', suggesting its definitional character to most Londoners. Howell lists possessing 'an admirable great Bridge' as a reason for London's pre-eminence among cities.⁷⁰

Howell's nostalgic antiquarianism is kin to a Laudian scheme of aesthetic appreciation for the monumental. Called a 'sort of Anglican, even Laudian, Stow', his language is given to affective excess in the poem *Londinopolis* opens with.⁷¹ Titled 'Of *London-Bridg*, and the Stupendous Site, and Structure thereof', the verse praises 'such vast *Arches* ... that might / Nineteen Rialtos make for deapth and height' and concludes, 'Let the whol Earth now all Her *wonders* count / This Bridg of Wonders is the Paramount'.⁷² In similar vein, Thomas Dekker writes of the jaw-dropping effect it had on a naive northerner who 'at first gaping at it, swore he thought in his conscience it cost

⁶⁸ William Camden, *Britain, or a Chorographical Description of the Most Flourishing Kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Ilands Adjoyning, out of the Depth of Antiquity* (London: 1637), 434. See the discussion of London Bridge's arches in Nicholas Hawksmoor, *A Short Historical Account of London-Bridge; with a Proposition for a New Stone Bridge at Westminster* (London: 1736), 5-14.

⁶⁹ George Abbot, *A Briefe Description of the Whole World* (London: 1664), 202.

⁷⁰ James Howell, *Londinopolis* (London: 1657), a3-v, 385.

⁷¹ J. F. Merritt, "The Reshaping of Stow's *Survey*: Munday, Strype, and the Protestant City," in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720*, ed. J. F. Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 67-9.

⁷² Howell, *Londinopolis*, 'De Ponte Londinensi'.

about vortie shillings'.⁷³ Such effervescent language tells the standardised narrative of how the bridge organised encounters with the city's countenance. Wondrous encounters express both the pride of possession and a momentary dispossession in the confrontation with otherness.⁷⁴

But the wondrous bridge had a dark underbelly, literally. Passing beneath its arches against the powerful gush of water, 'shooting the bridge', could be a deathly business. A catalogue of the trials of the young Elizabeth, describes how while 'shooting the Bridge, the Barge grated against the Arches, being in great danger of splitting'.⁷⁵ Similarly, a mid-century account of Sir Jervas's 1615 execution records his gratitude that God had not 'taken away my life by shooting the Bridge, or some fall, or otherwise'.⁷⁶ Not all were as lucky. Mrs Anne Kirk, lady of the bedchamber to Henrietta Maria, was 'unfortunately drowned passing London Bridge' in 1641.⁷⁷

Death on London Bridge was not always accidental. Its gate was the site at which to ritually enact civil disorder and its expulsion. As the site where the dead remains of traitors were publicly shamed, the bridge proclaimed a fable against disloyalty. Heads were grotesquely skewered on long poles high above the city gate as a visual mnemonic of treachery rewarded. Records show the practice continued into the late seventeenth century after which it petered out.⁷⁸ Milton himself just escaped exhibiting his own head

⁷³ Thomas Dekker, *Penny-Wise Pound Foolish* (London: 1631), D4-v.

⁷⁴ For more on the wonder of colonial encounters, see Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 74.

⁷⁵ Thomas Heywood, *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women in the World* (London: 1641), 194-95.

⁷⁶ Francis Bacon, *A True and Historical Relation of the Poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury with the Severall Arraignments and Speeches of Those That Were Executed Thereupon* (London: 1651), 70.

⁷⁷ She was mourned with elegies in *White-Hall, a Poem Written 1642 ... With an Anniversarie on the Timelesse Death of Mrs Anne Kirk, Wife to the Truly Noble Geo. Kirk, Gentleman of the Robes and of His Majesties Bed Chamber, Drowned Unfortunatly Passing London Bridge, July 1641* (London: 1643).

⁷⁸ The last head was William Stayley's, displayed in 1678. See *An Account of the Digging up of the Quarters of William Stayley, Lately Executed for High Treason, for That His Relations Abused the Kings Mercy* (London: 1678). For the debate over whether these executed men were traitors or martyrs, see for

there after the Restoration. In Thomas Beard's *Theatre of God's Judgment* (1642), the bridge stages divine compensatory action: 'the bridge and gates of London beare witness of the wofull ends that these runnagates come into'.⁷⁹ Ironically, Beard's pupil, Oliver Cromwell, suffered that very fate.⁸⁰

The policing symbolism of city gates undergirded Stuart triumphalist entries into the city.⁸¹ Charles II's coronation progression, modelled on James I's, proclaimed the continuity of the Stuart dynasty and the banishment of the interlude of rebellion. At the first arch in Leaden Hall Street, a theatrical sketch depicted a woman impersonating Rebellion, 'mounted on an *Hydra*, in a Crimson Robe, torn, Snakes crawling on her Habit'. She probably owes her being to the likes of Spenser's *Errour*. Such allegorical figures were sufficiently in currency that Cowley made his *Schism* an 'Old Hagg' whose Medusa-like 'knotty Hairs were with dire Serpents twist'.⁸² *Hydra* locates these allegories of sin and rebellion at the city gates. By her side was her attendant, Confusion, 'in a deformed Shape'. As the King drew near, Rebellion declaimed, 'I am Hell's Daughter, *Satan's* Eldest Child'. She would eventually be banished by a figure representing Monarchy with the words: 'To Hell, foul Fiend, shrink from this glorious Light, / And hide thy Head in everlasting Night. / Enter in Safety, Royal Sir, this *Arch*, / And through

instance, *The Fierie Tryall of Gods Saints as a Counter-Poyze to I. W. Priest His English Martyrologie. And the Detestable Ends of Popish Traytors* (London: 1611), 19.

⁷⁹ Thomas Beard, *The Theatre of God's Judgements* (London: 1642), 167. See also 71, 45, 225, 423, 30 for instances of heads displayed on London bridge or falling off the bridge.

⁸⁰ For a brief account of how criminal heads (including Cromwell's) were treated, see Sarah Tarlow, *Ritual, Belief, and the Dead Body in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 148-52.

⁸¹ An account of James I's progress is in Gilbert Dugdale, *The Time Triumphant Declaring in Briefe, the Ariual of Our Soueraigne Liedge Lord, King Iames into England, His Coronation at Westminster* (London: 1604).

⁸² Abraham Cowley, *A Poem on the Late Civil War* (London: 1679), 13.

your joyful Streets in Triumph march'.⁸³ And so error and rebellion are ritually expelled to secure monarchical safety.

This suburban construct construed in economic, legal, and political discourse, gives Milton the fear of the alien, the annoyance of manufacturing, and the problem of competing freedoms, as contours around which to model Hell and to think about the ideological implications of material formations. Certainly, Hell's geographical and sensory character implicitly recalls suburban space. It is distant from the residences of God and man but it is especially suburban to Eden: spatial distance, a separating gulf, and a fording bridge, all correspond quite closely to London's geographical relationship to the suburbs south of the Thames. Like the southern suburbs, Milton's Hell binds industrial activity with 'noxious vapour' (*PL2.216*). Zestful industry vivifies the rendering of Pandemonium. For Milton, observes Jonathan Sawday, industry 'was truly daemonic in that it signified an endlessly restless, Godless, pursuit of self-gratification and self-aggrandizement'.⁸⁴ In these urban typologies, we continue to glimpse Milton turning up his nose at messy industrial activity.

Milton's self-consciousness in this matter materialises in just one preciously ironised reference. He describes the fallen angels swarming around Pandemonium as bees who 'on the smoothed plank, / The suburb of their straw-built citadel, / New rub'd with balm, expatiate and confer / Their state affairs' (*PL1.772-5*). The concerned discourse of writers like John Evelyn makes the flourishing of the natural world, especially bees, ironically inhabit the suburban trope. Whereas a suburban Hell was oriented around another centre, Hell orients this suburban plank. The metaphor is typical of Milton's infernal aesthetic in its diminishment of scale, irony, and mimetic character. It reveals a

⁸³ John Ogilby, *The Relation of His Majestie's Entertainment Passing through the City of London to His Coronation* (London: 1661), 14, 41-42.

⁸⁴ Sawday, *Engines of the Imagination: Renaissance Culture and the Rise of the Machine*, 276, 80.

suburban model organising space and justifies an exploration of the material correspondences and corollaries as conscious narrative devices.

Hell functions as suburb as more than just an industrial locus. The suburb as a place dramatising control and licence is an animating engine driving turns of rhetoric forward in the epic's first two books. The threads of criminal or industrial refuge and threat, and criminal prison, are teased apart in the dialogue between Satan and his fallen cohorts. Moloch's vision at the infernal council is of Hell as locus of criminal ferment and punishment, a 'dark opprobrious Den of shame, / The Prison of his Tyranny who Reigns / By our delay' (*PL2.58-60*). Confinement is compelled by a tyrannical figure, yet the language suggests resistance. Moloch reminds them of the distance that renders Heaven's authority tenuous in the spatial and temporal delay before he names their subduer. He recommends against delay by delaying the subject of the line. Grammatical delay articulates the will to resist in this temporal pun. His 'dark opprobrious Den of shame' approximates Henry Chettle's festering criminal 'dens'. Moloch's resentment seethes with the desire to turn imprisonment into criminal ferment. His view contrasts with Belial's who finds solace in Hell's distance. He recalls how the fleeing angels 'besought / The Deep to shelter [them]'. Hell was then 'a refuge from those wounds' (*PL2.166-168*). The possibilities of place as both dungeon and safe retreat are sounded, thereby marrying the criminal narratives of the suburbs.

The criminal aspect turns enterprising in a consideration of liberty and licence, fittingly delivered by materialistic Mammon. Mediating between the extremes of aggression and placidity, Mammon proposes to instrumentalise the liberty of a place distant from authority. Declaring his aversion to 'Strict Laws impos'd' as well as to 'leave obtain'd' even if they permit a 'splendid vassalage' (*PL2.241, 250, 252*), he seeks instead an independent economy of 'hard liberty':

... [Let us] but rather seek
 Our own good from our selves, and from our own
 Live to our selves, though in this vast recess,
 Free, and to non accountable, preferring
 Hard liberty before the easie yoke
 Of servile Pomp
 (PL2.252-257)

This, as some critics have understood it, might be one interpretation of negative liberty. In his sonnet, *I Did But Prompt the Age to Quit their Clogs*, Milton is wary of the raucous herd of such freedom-seekers, for it is ‘Licence they mean when they cry liberty’ (ll.11). In Hell, the suburbs become a construct by which to figure self-interest and escape from structures of accountability. The interlocked, mirroring phrases, ‘our own good’, ‘our own’, ‘our selves’, witness how this spatial separation is selfishly insular.

These wavering ideas resolve in the cinching arguments of Beelzebub and Satan. Their conversation begins in the first book when Satan first contemplates the relationship of material distance to obedience to the law. First he comforts himself for the loss of Heaven with the thought that place does not matter: ‘The mind is its own place, and in it self / Can make a Heav’n of Hell, a Hell of Heav’n / What matter where’ (PL1.254-256). Conversing with Beelzebub alone, however, he soon changes tack when he declares, ‘farthest from him is best’ (PL1.247). Attached is the idea that distance separates him from heavenly rulership and allows him the freedom to establish a kingdom of his own. At this point, his rhetorical hovering is motivated chiefly by consolation but his value for location has changed: ‘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’ (PL1.258-61). The plaintive repetition of ‘here’ manifests how significantly location sets the possibilities of action.

There is still only wavering certitude in the shift from Satan's 'shall' to 'may'. Beelzebub emphatically clarifies these competing perceptions of Hell as dungeon, retreat, and base of operations in the foregoing infernal council. He says,

... the King of Heav'n hath doom'd
 This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
 Beyond his Potent arm, to live exempt
 From Heav'ns high jurisdiction, in new League
 Banded against his Throne, but to remaine
 In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
 Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
 His captive multitude
 (PL2.317-323)

Turning their penal circumstances into enabling ones hinges on the placement of the phrase 'Beyond his Potent arm'. Following punctuation cues, the phrase attaches itself to the foregoing 'not our safe retreat' to acknowledge God's omnipotence. There is no place *beyond* his reach. Yet positioned after a line break, the phrase is seen adjacent with the following clause, 'to live exempt / From Heav'ns high jurisdiction'. The second line rethinks the certainty of the first. It toys with the hope that distance could permit rebellion to foment.

The eventual decision to mobilize rebellion returns the fallen angels to the idea of Hell as prison. They find themselves 'barr'd' by ninefold, adamant gates that 'prohibit all egress' (PL2.434-437). Sin releases them: 'Forthwith the huge Porthcullis high up drew' and 'every Bolt and Bar / Of massie Iron or sollid Rock with ease / Unfast'ns' (PL2.874, 877-879). The drawing up of the portcullis is remarkably like the southern portcullis of London Bridge and without desiring to be reductive, this materially resonant image only reinforces a suburban map of reference. While most criticism has tended to

read the argumentation at the Council primarily through a political or religious lens, they miss how those ideas are vitally figured in the material spaces of Hell.⁸⁵

Suburban liberty and its criminal culture gives material manifestation to what has been referred to as Satan's espousal of a negative conception of liberty. Negative liberty is defined by analytic philosophers as the absence of restraint in contradistinction to positive liberty which hypothesizes that humans are only truly free when they serve the end of human flourishing. 'Without law', reasons Satan negatively, they 'err not' (PL5.798-99).⁸⁶ Critics like Christopher Hill and Steven Jablonski have examined these freedoms in *Paradise Lost*.⁸⁷ Yet these conceptions of positive liberty or rational liberty imply an individualism that the suburban context belies. More helpful perhaps is Suzanne Woods's distinction between liberty as social responsibility and freedom from civic disorder, and the right to individual conviction. Milton, she argues, helps mobilise the shift from the first to the second.⁸⁸ However, Woods too fails to fully discern the roundedness of Milton's social vision. While Milton is certainly against tyrannous legalism, he does recognize the social inter-relatedness of the practice of freedom. Hill contrasts liberty with discipline. The former is individual, the latter is 'social, national'.⁸⁹ But we have here Milton's burning concern that the effects of licence are unfortunately social too. Placing these political, theological (or philosophical) purities within a

⁸⁵ For instance, Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 453-55, Benjamin Myers, *Milton's Theology of Freedom* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2006), 53-72.

⁸⁶ See the godly response in PL12.83-85, 88-90. For an analysis of negative and positive liberty, their relation to classical republicanism, and their application to Milton, see Isaiah Berlin, *Two Concepts of Liberty: An Inaugural Lecture Delivered before the University of Oxford on 31 October 1958* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958). Also, Stephen L. Darwall, *Equal Freedom: Selected Tanner Lectures on Human Values* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995).

⁸⁷ Steven Jablonski, "'Freely We Serve': *Paradise Lost* and the Paradoxes of Political Liberty," in *Arenas of Conflict: Milton and the Unfettered Mind*, ed. Kristin Pruitt McColgan and Charles W. Durham (London: Associated University Presses, 1997). Also see Frank Lovett, "Milton's Case for a Free Commonwealth," *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (July, 2005).

⁸⁸ She associates legalism with the former, elective poetics with the latter in Suzanne Woods, "Elective Poetics and Milton's Prose," in *Politics, Poetics, and Hermeneutics in Milton's Prose*, ed. David Loewenstein and James Grantham Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 205.

⁸⁹ Christopher Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (London: Faber and Faber, 1977), 253.

suburban geography illumines the messy relationships of contesting and interdependent freedoms. In effect, the suburban context re-captures the lost sociality of liberty under God.

Within the immediate material frame of reference, the urban context shows the impossibility of universal success when the end one seeks is personal freedom from restraint. From a genealogical perspective, the suburban context traces a lineage from past loss of true freedom to its contemporary refraction in multiple alternative constructions of freedom and associated political struggles. It is like placing readers in a hall of distorting mirrors to observe the several distorted reflections of an original purity. Juxtaposing seventeenth-century ‘liberties’ and ‘freedoms’ with Hell’s ‘hard liberty’ (*PL*2.256) and Heaven’s ‘rational liberty’ (*PL*12.82) enables one to squint through contemporary freedoms towards the lost original. The Bible was after all never to be read in mythological isolation, but laid beside worldly experience to measure it. Milton’s demonization of the suburbs may have risen from horror at their disorder, yet their economic and social construals of space open up imaginative possibilities to figure the ways that freedom is irretrievably social.

If Milton uses the ideological investments of suburban space to witness their contestations, does he also use its space to witness resolution at the City Bridge and its gates? Milton’s bridge has been considered reminiscent of the language of colonialism in its connection to a ‘new world’.⁹⁰ Yet this metaphorization of exploration diverts us from more obvious physical structures at home and elides available domestic discourse around London Bridge’s connection to its seamy outposts, the south bank of the Thames.

⁹⁰ Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic: Paradise Lost and the Discourse of Colonialism*, 42.

The figures of Sin and Death are usually considered allegorical, another variation of the siren-esque figures such as Cyril Tourneur's Sin who stands on a bridge luring men to false pleasures in *The Transformed Metamorphosis*.⁹¹ The suburban location however raises the spectre of London Bridge and its punitive role in the city. Though the allegorical tradition personifies temptation, locating the image in the city foregrounds the character of sin and death, spawned by the 'Traitor Angel' (*PL2.689*) as violations of loyalty. Simultaneously, location prophesies their end.

Located first at the mouth of Hell (*PL2*), Sin and Death are later located at the entrance to the human world (*PL10*). In the first instance, they are spatially reflective of the far gate of the bridge that so starkly exhibits the expulsion of disorder from the secured city perimeter. The mirrored image in the second instance problematises a singular triumphalist narrative. In the theatre of God's judgement, punitive action appears not to be definitively final; the model of punishment remains open and irresolute.

Just as a dark fate undergirded the jaw-droppingly glorious architecture of London Bridge, so here graceful arches rise above. Unlike the departing city-dweller we began the chapter with, Satan returns to the city to an experience of wonder. His response to the bridge is strikingly similar to Howell's eulogistic adjectives. The monumental character of the bridge is matched by the weighty syllables of descriptive phrases: 'high-arched', 'wondrous pontifice', 'stupendous bridge'. Its affective impact conforms to the topos of silent wonder:⁹² Satan 'long ... admiring stood, till Sin, his fair / Enchanting daughter, ... the silence broke' (*PL10.348-353*). If the parallel is intended, such language equates the nostalgic valorization of monumental architecture with diabolic values. Unlike London

⁹¹ Allardyce Nicoll (ed.), *The Works of Cyril Tourneur* (London: Fanfrolico Press, 1930), 62, ll.183-89.

⁹² Joan Pong Linton, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 58-59. For the relation between wonder and rhetoric, see Jonathan Sell, *Rhetoric and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560-1613* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 1-22. For an account of domestic travel, its culture and literature, see Andrew McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Bridge which combined wonder and horror to its glorious and deathly countenances, Satan only responds with wonder even when horror is in order. This reflection of encounter suggests a deeply moral flaw in the Royalist gaze. In this moment, we are back to a conventionally ingenious Milton.

Through these engagements with the suburban disposal of space, we see Milton mindful of the fact that dogma cannot be considered independently of material circumstances. The theological account of choice and freedom can be cast into the worldliness (to use Heidegger's term) of contemporary debates of liberty and licence. The mythic events of the past are typologically present in contemporary practice for they, in any case, genealogically inherit the motivations and conflicts of the mythic past.

Highway

Crucial to the narrative of *Paradise Lost* is the scene that discovers Sin and Death labouring over a highway to the newly created world. This is a divergence from the usual trope of a watery gulf between hell and earth. Dante's was a watery hell where the formidable coal-eyed Charon and Phlegyas ferried passengers into Hell's circles.⁹³ The fact that Milton did scatter the narrative with ferrying metaphors suggests a deliberate choice to forego an infernal river. We might start therefore by interrogating the choice of highway travel when a ferry might have satisfied the mythology of Hell. This section will explain Milton's poetics of the road. First, competing poetic devices are considered against competing transportations of the time to clear the ground for Milton's highway. Then, contemporary debates about highways will be examined through royal edicts and parliamentary ordinances, and contemporary travel accounts and didactic literature. Framed within contexts of acquisition, road-building often pitted personal and communal

⁹³ Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy*, trans. Henry Francis Cary (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), Cantos 3 and 8.

interests against each other. Sin and Death inhabit these debates sincerely and ironically. Their perfectly harmonizing work reflects ironically against the real-life failure of the urban communal ideal. But their wilful enterprise leads straightforwardly to trespass. These narratives join to materialise hellish character, motivation, and the effects of hellish action.

Variouly termed ‘highway’, ‘bridge’, ‘mole’, or ‘causeway’, the path that Sin and Death build merges the character of a road and a bridge. Indeed, roads and bridges were jointly subsumed under the early modern administrative category of highways, meant for the passage of the king’s subjects, and were attended to by the same surveyors and commissioners. Over the early modern period, villages, towns, and cities developed their roadways to gain connections to others for trade.⁹⁴ Within London, new forms of road travel rendered forms of water travel superfluous. The year 1625 saw the publication of John Norden’s *England. An Intended Guyde for English Travailers* which gave readers tables of the miles between towns.⁹⁵ John Ogilby’s *Britannia* of 1675 published the distances between towns along roads as opposed to how the crow flew.⁹⁶ The difference between the two tells the tale of increasing and increasingly sophisticated road travel. These developments provoked thought about the conveniences of travelling modes and the competition of interests each represented.

⁹⁴ For a survey of early modern road travel see Catherine Delano-Smith, "Milieus of Mobility: Itineraries, Route Maps and Road Maps," in *Cartographies of Travel and Navigation*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Virginia A. LaMar, *Travel and Roads in Britain* (Washington: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1960). For the political connotations of mapping and surveying practices see Robert J. Mayhew, *Enlightenment Geography: The Political Languages of British Geography, 1650-1850* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000). For the relation of literature and road travel, see Garrett A. Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1998).

⁹⁵ These measurements were taken as the crow flies, not along highways. John Norden, *England. An Intended Guyde for English Travailers, Shewing How Far One Citie, & May Shire-Townes Are Distant from Other* (London: 1625).

⁹⁶ John Ogilby, *Britannia ... An Illustration of the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales: By a Geographical and Historical Description of the Principal Roads Thereof* (London: 1675).

Developing road travel multiplied the number of hackneys, carriages, and sedan chairs but this incurred the watermen's resentment. As John Taylor, ardent Royalist waterman, complains, coaches 'do rob vs of our liuings, and carry fares daily from vs'. In his tract, *The World Runnes on Wheeles* (1623), wheels signify the ease with which the world followed the Devil and the Flesh: 'The *Deuill* and the *Flesh* runnes swift away. / The Chayn'd ensnared *World* doth follow fast'. Multiplying commercial coaches were termed 'Hackney hell-Carts' and implicated in that name was both the fear of hazardous travel and economics, for they absorbed the business of London watermen and simultaneously ruined saddlers by raising the price of leather. The language of trespass begins to describe their competitive activity when Taylor exclaims, 'I think neuer such an impudent, proud sawcie Intruder or Encroacher came into the world as a Coach is'. For him, its inability to rhyme with many words, its poetic intractability, suggests a commensurate socio-economic unsociability.⁹⁷ While Dante could make ferrymen the infernal translators of people, seventeenth-century London was not the most appropriate place or time for demonizing ferrymen. Besides, materialising diabolic will in a highway gave Milton the material problematics of recklessness and self-interest.

The character of acquisitiveness was a universal driver for the development of roadworks and yet it was almost always thought to be an expression of the common good. Critical to the commerce of produce and labour, the vitality of roadworks was impelled by the growing commercial enterprise of English towns and cities.⁹⁸ It was therefore required that church-wardens or constables take charge of maintaining those that led to

⁹⁷ John Taylor, *The World Runnes on Wheeles* (London: 1623), E6-r, A2-v, B-r-B2-v, 'The meaning of the Embleme' (n.p.). He bemoans the loss of whores' business in Taylor, *The World Runnes on Wheeles*, B1-r-B2-v.

⁹⁸ Ruth Mary Clementi Anderson, *The Roads of England: Being a Review of the Roads, of Travellers, and of Traffic in England from the Days of the Ancient Trackways to the Modern Motoring Era* (London: E. Benn, 1932), 92-3. According to Jenner, pre-restoration London legislation dealt primarily with roads leading into the city or between London and Westminster. Jenner, "Early Modern Conceptions of Cleanliness and Dirt", 47.

market-towns.⁹⁹ In his address to judges about to depart on a circuit, James I exhorted vigilance and action on various subjects of reformation and included highways and bridges in their number.¹⁰⁰ The construction of roads and bridges had been one of the defining actions of the English medieval state in conjunction with public collectivities and this pattern continued through the succeeding centuries as an established component of the commonweal.¹⁰¹ The highway was for the king and his people's safe passage. Nathaniel Bacon writes, 'the high way or open street be more properly a franchise belonging to the King, although the soile happily may be the Lords ... and no violence must be there tolerated but by the Kings especiall Writ'.¹⁰²

As a matter of the commonweal, highway acts anchored maintenance at the parish level as a collaborative affair between surveyors, landowners who supplied carts, oxen, and labour, and householders who had to work themselves or provide substitutes for up to six days. Michael Dalton expresses this communality when he writes, 'by common right Bridges shall be amended by the whole County, for that it is for their common good and ease'. If highways did not run through land enclosed by specific owners, they were to be maintained 'at the charge of the whole Town ... For if all their said ways be not sufficiently amended, the whole Town may be indicted therefore'.¹⁰³ They were a constant factor in communal civic consciousness and culpability.

But relying on collective responsibility was not necessarily advantageous and citizens were often unwilling to participate in these civic obligations. The gentry

⁹⁹ Michael Dalton, *Countrey Justice* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1655), 74.

¹⁰⁰ A history of these interventions is Paul Slack, *From Reformation to Improvement: Public Welfare in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 60-1.

¹⁰¹ J Campbell, "The Late Anglo-Saxon State: A Maximum View," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 87 (1995): 52, J. Campbell, "Was It Infancy in England? Some Questions of Comparison," in *England and Her Neighbours 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais*, ed. M. Jones and M. G. A. Vale (London: Hambledon, 1989), 1-18.

¹⁰² Nathaniel Bacon, *An Historicall Discourse of the Uniformity of the Government of England* (London: 1647), 259.

¹⁰³ Dalton, *Countrey Justice*, 48, 74-6.

displayed lackadaisical unconcern and waged labourers were understandably reluctant to gratuitously release six days. Administrative and judicial literatures bewail the country's unkempt highways and unworthy bridges.¹⁰⁴ With everyone dragging their feet, Cromwell's Parliament tried to prod people into stricter obedience by appointing landed surveyors, a tax, and strict fines in a 1654 ordinance. Exasperation is in its wording: 'the several Statutes now in force for mending Highways, are found by experience not to have produced such good Reformation as was thereby intended'.¹⁰⁵ We are used to considering Milton's reformation of gardens, but highways were a matter of intransigent reformation.

The failure to maintain a highway was a punishable offense. As indicated earlier, an indictment by the Common Law could be brought against any parish for not repairing their highways or citizens for failure to meet their responsibilities in this regard. Such crimes were classified as misdemeanours, victimless crimes, that were nevertheless detrimental to a community of people.¹⁰⁶ Neglecting to maintain bridges and highways is one of the offenses exempt from the general pardon issued by the interregnum Parliament in 1651.¹⁰⁷ For the seventeenth century then, the paradigm of road travel and road building is a study in negotiating self-regard with communal benevolence.

Further, building roadways raised the matter of boundary disputes. The two chief advantages to be had from regular upkeep was the security of persons and property. In *A Profitable VVorke to This VVhole Kingdome* (1610), Thomas Proctor complains that the

¹⁰⁴ The writings of Thomas Proctor, George Meriton, Thomas Mace and others alluded to in this chapter.

¹⁰⁵ C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, ed., *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1874-1936), 861-70, 97-98.

¹⁰⁶ Nicholas Collyn, *A Briefe Summary of the Lavves and Statutes of England* (London: 1655), 67-71, George Meriton, *A Guide for Constables, Churchwardens, Overseers of the Poor, Surveyors of the Highways, ... &C.* (London: 1669), 198-217. Such instructions were found in legal and administrative advice books through the century: Edmund Wingate, *The Exact Constable*, 2nd ed. (London: 1660), George Meriton, *A Guide to Surveyors of the High-Ways* (London: 1694); William Mather, *Of Repairing and Mending the Highways* (London: 1695). For a discussion of nuisances, see Robert Brink Shoemaker, *Prosecution and Punishment: Petty Crime and the Law in London and Rural Middlesex* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 29-30.

¹⁰⁷ Rait, ed., *Acts and Ordinances*, 573.

lack of ‘good waies’ leads to ‘the great and imminent danger of their liues, and ofte spoile and losse of goods’ as well as ‘great hurt and spoile of fences and grounds, with riding and going ouer the corn, and such like, by shifting & seeking the best way diuersely’.¹⁰⁸

Fences and highways were material objects habitually linked antagonistically by competing claims of property and passage. The over-running of roads by tree and bush and severely potholed surfaces made the ‘King’s Highway’ more often a right of passage than a paved pathway forcing travellers to find easier routes across adjacent properties.¹⁰⁹

Writers shook their heads over these undesired yet permissible intrusions. In 1694, George Meriton records how failing to execute the law compelled ‘Owners and Occupiers of Lands in most Places ... to suffer their Fences to lie down, and to permit People to travel over their inclosed Grounds, to the private Damage of such particular Persons’.¹¹⁰

Sometimes they bore judicial authority: in order that a ‘decayed ruinous and broken’ bridge at Shoreditch in London be repaired in 1654, the parliament ordered surveyors to ‘breake open the fence of Thomas Robinson of his land in some convenient place neere to the said bridge’ for the passage of carriages over his land.¹¹¹ A well-maintained highway, a preserved physical road space, would then guarantee property demarcations.

Usually understood as a perversion of familial relationships, the Satanic trinity is also an ironic reflection of the civic community modelling a ghastly parody of civic conscientiousness rarely met in town and city life.¹¹² Motivating the construction of their highway is Sin’s touching familial concern for Satan’s passage through the impenetrable gulf separating Hell and the new world. Mechanical affinity, ‘sympathie, or some

¹⁰⁸ Thomas Proctor, *A Profitable Worke to This Whole Kingdome: Concerning the Mending of All High-Ways as Also for Waters and Iron Workes* (London: 1610), A3v-r.

¹⁰⁹ For a discussion of the relationship between the highway and the estate, see Sullivan, *The Drama of Landscape: Land, Property, and Social Relations on the Early Modern Stage*, 159-93.

¹¹⁰ Meriton, *A Guide to Surveyors of the High-Ways*, A3-r.

¹¹¹ John Cordy Jeaffreson, ed., *Middlesex County Records: 1625-1667*, vol. 3 (London: Middlesex County Records Society, 1886-92), 220-31.

¹¹² For instance, see Su Fang Ng, *Literature and the Politics of the Family in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 148.

connatural force', transmutes into a passage that assumes the character of familial affect as Sin, alliteratively gluing words together, declares, 'Thou my Shade / Inseparable must with mee along' (*PL*10.249-250). Acts of cleaving are materially embodied in the 'aggregated Soyle', the 'gather'd beach', alliteratively 'fix't as firm' with Death's petrifying Mace (*PL*9.293-295, 299, my italics). Familial and material cleaving reflect each other in verbal parallelisms: the 'inseparable' infernal family forges a way across the 'Impassable, Impervious' gulf (*PL*10.250, 254) and Death volunteers equal endeavour with Sin in a mimicry of conscientious citizenship. Yet the benignity of familial affection sits oddly with their acquisitive motives and the fleshliness of Death's hunger for 'carnage, prey innumerable' (*PL*10.268). The road's implicit narrative of consumption takes the form of manifest selfishness. Enterprising, inventive, hell-bent, Sin's and Death's affectation of conscientious citizens lays bare the rooted self-interest that governs the fallen idea of the common good. It tells us that sinful ends are often pursued with more zest than pious ends, just as nothing is as motivating as selfish consumption in the fallen world.

The fallenness of driven enterprise emerges too as a product of the teleological inversion of the narrative. The shadowed corollary of collective responsibility is collective culpability, emphasized in the punitive provisions of the law. Rather than being punished for neglect, their civic determination is an outcome of sin and punishment and will propagate a cycle of continued punishment. Fallenness seems to be the necessary condition for effort as Heaven and Eden are too perfect for industrious work (we discount the tame occupation of pruning trees to clear a path). The result is that despite its benevolence, the civic community of the early modern city is embedded in integrally postlapsarian culture.

Conflicts of interest materialise in the completion of the bridge, ‘Immovable of this now fenceless world / Forfeit to Death; from hence a passage broad, / Smooth, easie, inoffensive down to Hell’ (*PL*10.303-305). The line’s sibilance suggests the easy slide along it to Satan’s domain. This is not unlike Taylor’s vision of the world being pulled after the devil along the road. Fricatives connect its inoffensiveness to the ‘fenceless’ world of the succeeding line (*PL*10.304). The relation between offence and fenced protection characterises Satan’s back-door entry into Eden. There, Satan finds his route blocked by thick-growing vegetation: ‘But further way found none, so thick entwin’d, / As one continu’d brake, the undergrowth / Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex / All path of Man or Beast that past that way’ (*PL*4.173-177). Fused vegetable matter prophesies the fused materiality of the infernal bridge which occurs like the fulfilment of a crying need. Tying the two scenes together contextualises Satan’s pedestrian journey to Eden within the same discourses.

Satan’s passage through the underbrush is coloured by the discomfort of ill-maintained country highways overgrown by the hedgerow. Those were cases of vegetative trespass; here, trespass occurs through this vegetative fence. Constructive action appears similar but their offensiveness depends on property ownership. The highway then reflects on what makes an action offensive. It is less the action itself than its motivation and its effects that constitute offense. Alternatively, the highway could recall cases of highway intrusion through private property, perhaps through vegetative fences. Though the highway ideal was that a maintained highway secured boundaries of houses and gardens, practice often entailed encroachment. Nestling the infernal highway in contemporary practice interprets the latter’s inevitably conflicting interests as a postlapsarian condition. It also suggests that fallen action is irredeemably defined by such contestation.

Milton appears to poetically intuit George Simmel's analysis of the bridge as *topos* materialising exerted human will. The 'will to connection', Simmel writes, becomes a 'shaping of things ... available to the will at every repetition'. It 'symbolizes the extension of our volitional sphere over space'.¹¹³ Milton's bridge gives him this materialisation of infernal and postlapsarian will. Extending the suburban lesson, it highlights the sociality of all effort, the inevitable costs involved in all effort as some interests are favoured over others. The narrative of roadways testifies to the offence of lost common good and the irretrievably self-serving nature of fallen human will. Ironically, they also suggest a mythic origin for the contemporary unreformed highway.

Theft

The highway was also the site of theft. Arterial highways radiating from London attracted vagrants and highwaymen.¹¹⁴ The Quarter Sessions show highways could often be the scene of violent assault. March, 1650 was a vicious month. It witnessed the assault of Edward Knight by three labourers on the highway in St Andrew's Holborne and the theft of his money, and knife and sheath. Philip Moulter was assaulted too by three labourers on the highway in St James's Clerkenwell for a silver spoon worth five shillings.¹¹⁵ Though highway robbery and housebreaking took place in two vastly different locations, they were understood to reflect a common criminal paradigm by evoking fear for property and person. In 1652 and 1653, the Parliament attempted

¹¹³ He goes on to say, 'Only for us are the banks of a river not just apart but 'separated'; if we did not first connect them in our practical thoughts, in our needs and in our fantasy, then the concept of separation would have no meaning'. Georg Simmel, "Bridge and Door," trans. Mark Ritter and David Frisby, in *Simmel on Culture*, ed. David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1997), 171. Also ———, "The Sociology of Space," trans. Mark Ritter and David Frisby, in *Simmel on Culture*, ed. David Frisby and Mike Featherstone (London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1997).

¹¹⁴ J.S. Cockburn, "The Nature and Incidence of Crime in England 1559-1625: A Preliminary Survey," in *Crime in England 1500-1800*, ed. J.S. Cockburn (London: Methuen, 1977), 52.

¹¹⁵ John Cordy Jeaffreson, ed., *Middlesex County Records: 1667-1689*, vol. 4 (London: Middlesex County Records Society, 1886-92).

measures ‘for the better and more effectual’ capture of thieves by offering a reward of ten pounds to whomever apprehended one.¹¹⁶ Clearly theft was a social nuisance.

Crime against property was a New Testament figure for the work of Satan.¹¹⁷ Milton’s use of theft in the narrative of *Paradise Lost* is precise and pertinent and bears the weight of the early modern analysis of the relative seriousness of criminal acts and commensurate punishments. Measuring Milton’s metaphor by contemporary criminal systems shows us how Milton accentuates the crime’s reprehensibility and expresses criminal character and its repercussions. He describes Satan’s entry into Eden as a thief entering the house of ‘some rich Burgher’ (*PLA*.188). The operative word here is ‘Burgher’. It means householder and as Garthine Walker shows, social order and disorder was usually figured in terms of the relationships of the household.¹¹⁸ The metaphor of house theft then underscores the conception of household relations through which the first couple and Satan are analysed.

The household, it has been noted, was the common concept structuring social, political, and economic units. The microcosm to the nation’s macrocosm, its good governance suggested an orderly people. For Walker, the household is the basis from which to analyse crime, for order and disorder were often figured in terms of household relations inflected by politics, class, and gender. Walker defines the early modern senses of the term as partaking of four meanings: familial relationships, an economy of production and consumption, physical edifice, and material goods within.¹¹⁹ It is easy to identify Adam and Eve’s Edenic residence as a household in terms of the first three senses. Their marital relationship is housed within delineations of allocated space: spaces

¹¹⁶ Rait, ed., *Acts and Ordinances*, 577-78, 772-73.

¹¹⁷ John 10:10: The thief cometh not but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy (King James Version).

¹¹⁸ Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 9-12.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

to prepare meals, for a plant nursery, to dine in, to retire for the night. Their days are organised through rhythms of production and consumption. The fourth sense, the idea that the household contains material household goods, is suggested by the metaphor above. However these objects are not physical but the life and well-being of our householders. The game is played for these stakes. If we figure the temptation as besieging the Edenic household, what are we to conclude about the relationships of agency, victimization, and culpability within the temptation narrative?

Theft was serious business in seventeenth-century England. Theft and murder were the chief forms of felony, the first often provoking the second.¹²⁰ Theft was also serious *business* as England's proliferating materiality produced conditions ripe for theft. The century witnessed an expanding and diversifying catalogue of moveable property resulting in the newly emergent category of 'householdstuff'.¹²¹ Proliferating markets, enticing display, and the close proximity of rich and poor urban dwellings spawned limitless opportunities for theft.¹²² Studies show the increasing percentage of larceny and forms of theft to other types of crime especially in urban areas.¹²³ The majority of indictments at seventeenth-century assizes were for crimes against property. Each year offered indictments for theft of silverware and clothes, house-breaking and highway robbery.¹²⁴ The heightened cognizance of theft and concerted effort to combat it is marked by legislation that periodically offered rewards for the apprehension of thieves.¹²⁵

¹²⁰ Dalton, *Countrey Justice*, 56.

¹²¹ Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies*, 1-5; John L. McMullan, "Criminal Organization in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century London," *Social Problems* 29, no. 3 (1982): 311.

¹²² For instance, see Michael R. Weisser, *Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1979), 38-9; J.M. Beattie, "The Pattern of Crime in England 1600-1800," *Past and Present* 62 (1974): 92-3.

¹²³ Weisser, *Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe*, 47, 81-4.

¹²⁴ Jeaffreson, ed., *Middlesex County Records: 1667-1689*; Cockburn, "The Nature and Incidence of Crime in England 1559-1625: A Preliminary Survey," 60.

¹²⁵ "October 1653: An Act for the Better and More Effectual Discovery and Prosecution of Thieves and Highway Men," in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, ed. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), 772; *A Proclamation for Discovery of Robberies and Burglaries, and for a Reward to the Discoverers* (London: 1661); *A Proclamation for the Apprehension of*

Milton spent several years on the north-western edges of the city in Holborn near Lincoln's Inn, on Aldersgate Street, and Jewin Street. There, deserted fields and highways that led out of the city were prone to theft and assault. St. Andrew's Holborn, St. Martin's in the Fields, and Clerkenwell repeatedly feature in the Middlesex sessions as sites of such criminal activity and Milton would have been keenly aware of neighbourly incidences of theft, burglary, and housebreaking.¹²⁶

There was a sliding scale of seriousness by which to measure theft, its motives and circumstances. Sir Edward Coke's *Institutes of the Laws of England* (1644) explains the practice of the law. Least serious was the crime of larceny or theft, the felonious and fraudulent taking and carrying away of the personal goods of another, when the act did not involve bodily assault or nocturnal house-breaking. Theft was not larceny if the objects were part of the realty such as fruit growing on a tree before it had been gathered. Grand larceny, of goods over a shilling, was a capital offense unlike petty larceny.¹²⁷ A notch more serious was robbery, theft by violent assault upon the person of another. It was especially reprehensible because its victim feared for his life.¹²⁸

The third form of theft was burglary. Common law defined a burglar as 'a felon, that in the night breaketh and entreth into a mansion house of another, of intent to kill some reasonable creature or to commit some other felony within the same, whether his felonious intent be executed or not'. Burglary entailed both breaking and entering: if a thief broke the glass of the window, for instance, and then inserted a whole or part of his body to steal something, the act constituted a burglary. Burglary was not constituted by

Certain Notorious Robbers (London: 1668). An account of thief-takers is Tim Wales, "Thief-Takers and Their Clients in Later Stuart London," in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

¹²⁶ Jeaffreson, ed., *Middlesex County Records: 1667-1689*, 193-200.

¹²⁷ Sir Edward Coke, *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (London: 1644), 107. An account of larceny and burglary is in Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England*, 177-90.

¹²⁸ Coke, *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England*, 68-69.

‘breaking in law’ or simply entering a house to steal; the physical edifice itself had to be broken into. The law used the phrase ‘domus mansionalis’ to refer to a man’s mansion or dwelling house, and that could imply ‘inset edifices’ such as a dairy or a church, but not a booth or stall in a market. Finally, ‘the intent must be to commit felony, and not trespasse’, to qualify it as burglary.¹²⁹

These criminal categories reflect the material tokens by which life and property were valued. In his *A Briefe Summary of the Lavves and Statutes of England* (1655), Nicolas Collyns identifies the reprehensibility of theft in penetrating another person’s secure space, the spatial witness to a social breach of trust.¹³⁰ The residence of the house’s inhabitants at the time could make all the difference in determining how seriously a crime was punished. One writer thought the law ‘most prudently punishes [burglars] with death, since every man’s house ought to be his Castle, and greatest place of security’.¹³¹ This idea of spatial security was traced etymologically in the term. In Latin, a burglar was termed ‘Raptors domorum’ and the word burglar itself derived from the words ‘burgh’ or house and ‘laron’ or thief.¹³² Additionally, threatening personal vulnerability at night compounded the act of breach. Nocturnal theft made vulnerability piquant. It ‘doth aggravate the offence, sith the night is the time wherein man is to rest, and wherein Beasts run about seeking their prey’, Coke writes. ‘When the night begins, the Dog sleeps and the Wolf seeks his prey’, he proclaimed proverbially. Nocturnal actors bore only ill intent; all others had retired. Activity of the night also implied the dishonesty

¹²⁹ Ibid., 63-65.

¹³⁰ Collyns, *Briefe Summary of the Lavves*, 15.

¹³¹ *A Narrative of the Sessions, or, an Account of the Notorious High-Way-Men and Others, Lately Tried and Condemned at the Old-Bayly* (London: 1673), 5-6.

¹³² Coke, *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England*, 63-65.

of anonymity for it was a time when ‘you cannot discern the countenance of a man’.¹³³

Burglary offended doubly in its violation of space and time.

There were always mitigating and aggravating circumstances. In most cases, thefts of small quantities of food rose from indigence, were not used for monetary profit but eaten almost immediately. Cases like these were more easily forgiven and the thief released with a branding.¹³⁴ On the other hand, surmounting the barriers of doors and bolts necessitated considerable planning and forethought and juries were then severe. A 1657 account describes how thieves assessed the doorpost of a house in Shoreditch, ‘whether the bolts and locks wear within, that ... they might exactly know where the greatest strength of the door lay’, and then forced the door open that Saturday to steal about a hundred pounds of money, plate and jewels.¹³⁵ Another describes the events around Christmas 1662, when the house of Mr Francis Tyron, a merchant of Lime Street, was broken into by Colonel Turner, a habitual thief, who had made a wax impression of the key to the house and copied it. He broke in, gagged the merchant, and escaped with his personal jewels and the keys to his warehouse and counting house. He was eventually arrested and executed. An account of his escapades and execution was written and was popular enough to have gone through at least two editions.¹³⁶ These popularly known incidents perpetuated the image of such criminal trespass as particularly devious.

Housebreaking brought the death penalty upon the criminal agent by early modern law.

Finally, the character of theft was differenced on gendered lines. Historians have shown that female thieves usually acted as burglars, housebreakers, and cutpurses whereas male thieves were convicted in acts of overt violence like horse-theft and

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹³⁴ For an analysis of degrees of theft and punishments see Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England*, 177-85.

¹³⁵ *The Devils Cabinet Broke Open: Or a New Discovery of the High-Way Thieves*. (London: 1657), 38-39.

¹³⁶ *The Triumph of Truth in an Exact and Impartial Relation of the Life and Conversation of Col. James Turner* (London: 1663), 10-14.

robbery. Though clothes, household linen, and food were popular objects of theft for both groups, they made up a higher proportion of women's thefts. Garthine Walker argues that women's participation in thefts of household goods reflects their 'preoccupations and duties in social and economic life'.¹³⁷ These are gendered conditions to be taken into account when analysing the acts of the players in the story of the Fall.

The commonality of theft made it an easily available metaphor for the temptation and the Fall. Not surprisingly, Guillaume du Bartas uses the metaphor to figure the entry of corruption into the human world. He applies the metaphor to Eve illicitly plucking the forbidden fruit. In his version, Eve is a hesitant thief tentatively extending her hand towards the fruit before summoning enough courage to grasp it. She is as

A novice thief, that in a closet spies
 A heap of gold, that on the table lies;
 Pale, fearful, shivering, twice or thrice extends
 And twice or thrice retires his fingers' ends,
 And yet again returns, the booty takes,
 And faintly-bold, up in his cloak it makes,
 Scarce finds the door, with falt'ring foot he flies
 And still looks back for fear of *Hue-and-cries*:¹³⁸

The focal point of Du Bartas's metaphor is the object of theft: the glistening pile of gold in a closet. There is no suggestion here of house-breaking, perhaps only breaking in law, but even that is not certain. This would therefore constitute grand larceny. The metaphor emphasizes the illegality of the action but provides mitigating circumstances. The thief is timid and the act opportunistic. Eve is only a hesitant and faltering criminal. The motive too could be assumed to be less serious than acts of premeditated burglary. Greed was typically thought to underlie housebreaking and burglary whereas indigence might underlie larceny.¹³⁹ Additionally, the metaphor is crossed with the theft of food, the act in which Eve herself engages: 'But (out alas) at last she touches it, / And having

¹³⁷ Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England*, 167.

¹³⁸ Du Bartas, *Du Bartas His Deuine Weekes and Workes Translated*, 245.

¹³⁹ Walker quotes contemporary accounts such as Beard, *The Theatre of God's Judgements*, 438.

touched, tastes the forbidden bit'.¹⁴⁰ The allusion to the gendered theft of household food weakens reprehensibility, suggesting fragile will rather than hard malice. Throughout, Satan only features on the margins of the metaphor egging Eve on by suggestion.

In his own adaptation, Milton restores the metaphor to its Biblical context by making Satan the agent of theft.

... As when a prowling Wolfe,
Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
Watching where Shepherds pen thir Flocks at eeve
In hurdl'd Cotes amid the field secure,
Leaps o're the fence with ease into the Fould:
Or as a Thief bent to unhoord the cash
Of some rich Burgher, whose substantial dores,
Cross-barrd and bolted fast, fear no assault,

In at the window climbs, or o're the tiles;
So clomb this first grand Thief into Gods Fould:
(*PL4.183-192*)

This act does not involve an assault on the physical edifice of the house but its premeditation is unquestionable. It operates within shades of larceny and burglary. The language works most to signify spatial trespass by listing nouns and adjectives of garrison, only to be met with evasive manoeuvres and alternative ingresses. Though the wolf and thief are paralleled, the metaphors yield different effects. The ease of the wolf's leap in the flowing momentum of those lines gives way to stumbling phrases as the thief encounters and avoids each obstacle. Though he does not break in like Col. Tyson, his exercise of ingenuity is not dissimilar. Further, the position of the metaphor after the reference to the wolf at dusk shapes it like nocturnal burglary. Spatial and temporal trespass make the oblivious absence of fear a point of vulnerability. Satan's crime is now the far more culpable act of a far more culpable character.

¹⁴⁰ Du Bartas, *Du Bartas His Deuine Weekes and Workes Translated*, 245.

The allusions to birds and animals of prey secure the allusion to burglary for the rhetoric of criminal nocturnal activity was conventionally replete with hunting imagery. Coke's language of beasts seeking prey is not uncommon. One describes burglars as those who 'live in the world like perfect beasts of Prey, and to gratify their Lusts and Debaucheries are ready to devour (if it lay in their power) all their fellow-Creatures'.¹⁴¹ Another writer speaks of prostitutes as 'Thieves ... [who] watch their Prey in the Streets'.¹⁴² It is this discourse that must be one of the energies yielding the comparison of Satan to a 'prowling wolf, / Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey' (*PL*4.183-184). Satan's comparison to a stealthy wolf is also one that evokes the rhetoric of the fence again, linking his thieving to Sin and Death's highway in Book 10. There, Death's hunger is described as a 'flock / Of ravenous fowl' (*PL*10.273-274). Death is merely imitative of Satan who himself 'sat like a Cormorant ... devising Death / To them who liv'd' (*PL*4.196-198). The cormorant's greed was a commonplace poetic evocation, as in Chaucer's 'hot cormeraunt of gloteny' and Spenser's '*cormoyraunts*, with birds of ravenous race'.¹⁴³ Though conventionally resonant with greed, this passage's symbolism turns to trespass to which category both greed and death can be reduced.

In evoking the shades between larceny and burglary, Milton increases the sense of violation and evokes the householder's fear for his life that was so guarded against by early modern law. Unlike Du Bartas, Milton's point is not the act of theft itself or the goods involved. His points of emphasis are acts of trespass and the craftiness of trespass that did not involve anything so unsophisticated as an assault on the structure of the

¹⁴¹ *Narrative of the Sessions*, 5-6.

¹⁴² David Abercrombie, *A Moral Discourse of the Power of Interest* (London, 1690), 180.

¹⁴³ Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Parliament of Fowls*, ll.362, Edmund Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, 2.12.8. See also Karen Edwards, "Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary, a-C," *Milton Quarterly* 39, no. 4 (2005): 258-59.

house. His metaphor assigns greater agency and subtle craft to Satan while Adam and Eve become victims of mortal threat.

Milton's metaphor uncovers a surprisingly intuitive imagination. For both Du Bartas and Milton, the metaphor at one end finds a correspondence between the criminality of a thief and Eve or Satan. At the other end however their metaphors are systemically different. Du Bartas merely substitutes fruit for a pile of gold, one object for another. Milton substitutes life for the household and the implication of household goods. Starting from the Biblical metaphor, he seems to have intuited his way towards a Heideggerian life materially manifested in space. Being is in-the-world.

Through the metaphor, Milton also calls for the preciousness with which things were guarded. As people and goods multiplied, the insecurity of streets became a matter of concern. Safety could not be solely guaranteed by closing the town or city gates in the evening and admitting only local residents after; crime rose from within the urban circumference. Michael Dalton writes of 'infinite swarms of idle vagabonds ... [which] wandered up and down to the great danger and indignity of our nation'. He declares them 'for the most part, thieves, cut-purses, cozeners or the like'.¹⁴⁴ Hoping to snare thieves and other criminal agents, cities and towns usually provided a night watch after dusk to patrol the streets and interrogate suspicious streetwalkers.¹⁴⁵ An order issued to Justices of the Peace in 1649 reflects administrative worry over urban streets. It proposes to monitor entry and exit points by posting armed men at gates and posts and recording careful descriptions of visitors, their lodging places, horses, and apparel.¹⁴⁶ The watch had the power to accost and arrest 'persons suspect, and nightwalkers' and examine

¹⁴⁴ Dalton, *Countrey Justice*, 205, 385.

¹⁴⁵ Weisser, *Crime and Punishment in Early Modern Europe*, 84.

¹⁴⁶ *Instructions to Be Observed by the Several Justices of Peace in the Several Counties within This Commonwealth, for the Better Prevention of Robberies, Burglaries and Other Outrages* (1649), 4.

‘whence they come, and what they be, and of their business’.¹⁴⁷ The night watch unfortunately had a reputation for inefficiency, whether merited or not. They are represented as drunkenly inept or cowardly, and ridiculed in Shakespeare’s *Much Ado About Nothing* and Anthony Copley’s *Wits Fittes and Fancies*.¹⁴⁸ During the mid-century, the Civil War also offered experiences of a city on high alert. William Lithgow described tense vigilance in London:

the Citie hath many courts du guard with new barrocaded posts, and they strongly girded with great chaines of yron; and all the opening passages at street ends for the fields and road wayes are in like manner made defensive, and strictly watched: The sides of the river ... have also Courts du guard, and they nightly guarded with companies of the Trained Bands’.¹⁴⁹

Paradise Lost reflects such systems of vigilance of watchmen alert at night.

Milton’s angelic guard resembles these though they are rather more militarily organised than the average street watch. They monitor the entrance to Eden with ‘strict watch’. Gabriel instructs angels who ‘stood armed / To their night watches in warlike Parade’ to circle the garden and examine it for unwanted presences (*PL*4.562, 779-780). Though they are far from inept, they are still fallible. Uriel fails to discern Satan through his disguise and Satan is only apprehended after he has weasled his way into the most interior space. Milton’s image of sleeping vigilance does not lessen angelic keenness or sagacity, but like the bolts and bars in the theft metaphor, it speaks of the precariousness of the household: ‘suspicion sleeps / At wisdom’s gate, and to simplicity / Resigns her charge’ (*PL*3.686-688). Simplicity may not be sufficient guard against the wiliness of the grand thief. These images of vigilance turn the theft metaphor into an allegory. They secure the inevitability of temptation and Satanic infiltration and exhort perpetual vigilance.

¹⁴⁷ Dalton, *Countray Justice*, 166.

¹⁴⁸ Dogberry, head of the night watch, is a figure of fun in William Shakespeare’s *Much Ado About Nothing*. See also Anthony Copley, *Wits Fittes and Fancies* (London, 1595), 114-5.

¹⁴⁹ William Lithgow, *The Present Surveigh of London and Englands State* (London: 1643), A4-r.

A construct that foregrounds the public and the external, the metaphor of theft locates the battle of sin inwardly by dramatising the threat of the exterior. Yet the relation to corporate personhood is not lost to Milton's thought. *Areopagitica*'s eulogistic phrasing applies the domestic space of the household to the urban and to the national. Milton's picture of the mansion house, individual, political, religious, national, achieves through constant intellectual vigilance what Eden failed to: 'Behold now this vast city, a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with his protection' (CPW2.553-554).

Water

In both poetry and prose, Milton was drawn to the image of flowing water. To be sure it does have plenty of Biblical significance. Amos likens justice and righteousness to the vigour of mighty waters; John writes of Jesus as the source of living water and of the Holy Spirit as rivers of living water.¹⁵⁰ These Biblical references became topically resonant with visibly changing technologies of water supply in Milton's London. The Biblical hermeneutics of material culture would have only reinforced sensitivity to the rhetorical possibilities around these material formations. Locating Milton within these changes reveal how Milton's aqueous imagery bubbled up from contemporary events and debates. Aristocratic idealism flows through *Paradise Lost* while civic pride and annoyance wend through prose works set in a fallen city.

Water was vital to seventeenth-century London, a growing metropolis of residences and industry. Rivalling needs and the disputed control of local water sources often became a source of strife.¹⁵¹ Scattered conduits, old wells, and the Thames had long

¹⁵⁰ Amos 5:24; John 4:10; John 7:38.

¹⁵¹ For accounts of water disputes, see Mark S.R. Jenner, "From Conduit Community to Commercial Network? Water in London, 1500-1725," in *Londinopolis*, ed. Paul Griffiths and Mark S.R. Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 250-1.

supplied London with water, but one of the great engineering conundrums of the time was to arrange for wide and even distribution. Peter Morris delivered one solution when he built a water wheel under the second arch of London Bridge in 1584. Another was provided by Hugh Myddleton. After a wavering start, he founded the New River Company in 1613 which transported water from Hertfordshire to London.¹⁵² Despite some controversy, his work was a matter of pride to many. Thanks to him, noted James Howell, London was far better supplied with water than cities like Amsterdam which had fresh water supplied by boat.¹⁵³ He suggested erecting a statue to him and there are presently no less than three statues of the man in London.¹⁵⁴ Captivated by the spectacle of the New-River aqueduct, James Brome would call it ‘the most remarkable thing in Ware’ by which water was dispersed ‘into abundance of Streets, Lanes, Courts and Alleys of this City and Suburbs of *London*; the great Contrivance whereof all the Citizens have daily Experience, and ought to immortalize the Name of their Inventor Sir *Hugh Middleton*, who bestowed this most excellent Gift upon them ... at his own proper Cost and Charges’.¹⁵⁵ Brome’s comment flags contemporary value investments in aqueous practice.

Water supply could be measured by the gift or cost involved. Brome’s view of the New River as a gift of finance and effort chimed with the ubiquitous metaphor in spiritual discourse of networked conduits dispersing God’s grace. George Abbot conventionally compared God-fearing people to conduit pipes through which ‘mercy and louing

¹⁵² For this he drew on the financial support from the Crown. For a brief history of London’s water supply in the early modern period, see Metropolitan Water Board, *The Water Supply of London* (London: Staples Press Ltd, 1949), 1-4.

¹⁵³ James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell Shewing by What Cours, and in What Compasse of Time, One May Take an Exact Survey of the Kingdomes and States of Christendome, and Arrive to the Practicall Knowledge of the Languages, to Good Purpose* (London: 1642), 209.

¹⁵⁴ Around Holborn Viaduct, on the Bank of England, and on Islington Green.

¹⁵⁵ James Brome, *An Historical Account of Mr. Roger's Travels over England and Wales Giving a True and Exact Description of All the Chiefest Cities, Towns and Corporations in England, Dominion of Wales, and Town of Berwick Upon Twede* (London: 1694), 111.

kindnesse is ... diffused through all the coasts and quarters of a land'.¹⁵⁶ Mark Jenner traces how the aqueous imagery of fountains of charity, divine grace, and justice were premised on urban water being available without the intervention of the market. The moral economy of water was to be jealously guarded.¹⁵⁷ And yet New River water was eventually paid for. Measured by the freely available gifts of God, the debate over water supply formed part of a larger matrix of changing thought on the right to natural resources also evinced in the game laws of the country.¹⁵⁸ In Richard Sibbes's sermon at Gray's Inn, the sun shines as a 'public fountain or Conduit, every man hath as much right in it as another'.¹⁵⁹ Water as freely available gift is rendered more resonant and more precious by the construction of the New River.

A second shift occurred in the valorisation of water supply. Formerly, monumental architecture valorised the source of water, the fountain, the well, or the conduit. John Stow's descriptions revel in the ornate conduit-head at Cheapside, a 'curious wrought tabernacle of gray Marble' surmounted by the figure of 'Diana with water flowing from her breast'.¹⁶⁰ Such ornamental architecture easily lent itself to civic pageants, as well as to rhetorical charge (a reason for being a pageant site apart from the material convenience of a local gathering place). Truth objectified as a fountain was in frequent currency. Thus Repentance might sit dejectedly, 'Herselfe beholding in a fountain cleere, / As greiving for the life, that she hath had'.¹⁶¹ But as the New River brought water to each home, networked connectivity was foregrounded; Brome admired

¹⁵⁶ George Abbot, *An Exposition Vpon the Prophet Ionah Contained in Certaine Sermons, Preached in S. Maries Church in Oxford* (London: 1600), 428.

¹⁵⁷ Jenner, "Early Modern Conceptions of Cleanliness and Dirt".

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 320-22. For a history of London's water supply and the regulations surrounding it, see chapter 20.

¹⁵⁹ Richard Sibbes, *A Learned Commentary or Exposition: Upon the First Chapter of the Second Epistle of S. Paul to the Corinthians* (London: 1655), 61.

¹⁶⁰ John Stow, *A Survey of London [1603]*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), vol. 1, 11-19.

¹⁶¹ Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*, 225, Peacham, *Minerua Britannia or a Garden of Heroical Deuises*, 46.

its monumental lengths rather than its monumental fount. Reflecting the value of connectivity, Mark Jenner estimates that by at least 1625, piped water is thought to be necessary to the material comfort of a well-furnished house.¹⁶² The New River's long wooden pipes became symbolic of this connectivity.¹⁶³ The New River interpreted for the city the system of water supply perfected in the Italian garden where water was required to flow against gravity over hills and to dispersed locations. Mastery of these waterworks could lead to gestures of excessive display as at the Villa d'Este whose garden features an alley of one hundred fountains.¹⁶⁴ The challenges were different but the principle was the same.

Another reason for the prioritisation of aqueous flow was the absence of a separate sewage system. Mayoral orders warned against silting the Thames by sweeping dirt off the streets into it or into street-side gutters that led to the river. In 1623, Londoners were asked to clear the 'shelues' with the Thames and position their 'Laystals' away from the river.¹⁶⁵ Such injunctions appeared periodically. In 1652, one ordered the unblocking of Fleet Ditch, the River Wells, and other places on the river Thames which had become 'choaked up' by offal from butchers, encroachments on the river, and was not only unfit for river traffic but 'very stinking and noisome' to nearby inhabitants.¹⁶⁶ Lincoln's Inn Fields near which Milton lived for a time was strung with drains, 'Black

¹⁶² Jenner, "Early Modern Conceptions of Cleanliness and Dirt", 330-1.

¹⁶³ For instance, when one townsman proposes to lay another beneath the spigot of a barrel so that he might drink in John Fletcher's comedy, the other quips, 'And you shall lye ready at the end of one another to receive it at second hand, that so it may run through us like new River-water through the wooden Pipes'. John Fletcher, *The Island Princess, or, the Generous Portugal* (London: 1669), 2.4.

¹⁶⁴ John Dixon Hunt, *The Italian Garden: Art, Design and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 200-01, Hunt, *Garden and Grove: The Italian Renaissance Garden and the English Imagination 1600-1750*, 49-54.

¹⁶⁵ *An Act of the Common Councill Concerning the Preseruacion and Clensing of the Riuer of Thames*, (London: 1623).

¹⁶⁶ Commissioners of Sewers of the City of London, *At a Court of Sewers Held at the Guild Hall, London on Saterdag the Fifth of February in the Year of Our Lord 1652* (London: 1653).

Standing Liquids'.¹⁶⁷ The flow of water, its 'perpetuall progression', was an indicator of how healthful it was and travel accounts often deplore the disease-breeding stagnant water of the marshy areas such as Essex and the Fens.¹⁶⁸ Post-Restoration legislation forced city-dwellers to attend to the sewers and many instances of blocked and overflowing water channels arose and the records of ward mote inquests from this period are full of complaints. At Bassishaw, for instance, a pipe was presented for being out of repair causing water to flood the street. A common sewer starting at Lincoln's Inn was presented for being 'stuffed, obstructed and choked up with Mudd, Dirt and Filth'.¹⁶⁹

The anxiety of polluted water contaminated emblematic fountain imagery. In John Hall's *Emblems with Elegant Figures* (1648), one speaker urgently pants, 'Faint, I faint: these channels here / Though they seem Crystall, run not clear; / What nasty heaps of rubbish lie / Within these waves? I die; I die'.¹⁷⁰ In the illustration, an ornate fountain stands against the distant image of a church, comparing polluted water sources to the pure water of saving faith. The term 'Adam's Ale' was applied to water as a double-edged reflection of its priority as the first drink and its present polluted form which made ale the common thirst-quencher instead.¹⁷¹

Disease could also rise from the stinking air of blocked polluted water. One account attributed scurvy to the 'prodigious bottom of clay [that] extends it self from the Metropolis, or city of London, all along the Banks of the River *Thames*, into the Marshes or Flats of Essex'. This clayed bottom was pumped up due to the popularity of 'Clay Waters' for brewing and baking during Elizabeth's reign, and now 'vitiates both Air and

¹⁶⁷ Mildmay Fane, *To a Frennd upon my Pallace and habitation*, ll. 15.

¹⁶⁸ For a survey of early modern opinions on marshes see Dobson, *Contours of Death and Disease in Early Modern England*, 10-16, 25, ch. 6.

¹⁶⁹ LMA, WCS 332/19.

¹⁷⁰ John Hall, *Emblems with Elegant Figures* (London: 1648), 56-7.

¹⁷¹ The OED for instance quotes William Prynne writing, 'They have beene ... allowed onely a poore pittance of Adams Ale' in William Prynne, *The Sovereigne Power of Parliaments & Kingdomes* (London: 1643), II.32.

Water in the *Hundreds* to a very high degree'. Thanks to this and dyeing processes, there was no water fit for healthy use except the New River Water.¹⁷² Such was the stink from the river that inhabitants of London were asked to refrain from throwing filth into the sinks or streets and reserve it for the scavenger.¹⁷³ To ensure due flow was therefore to ensure the city's health and sanitation.¹⁷⁴

Aqueous flow could also become the subject of focus amid new urban construction. In 1634, for instance, the London Viewers viewed a watercourse in Shoelane that had been 'stopped up by a Brickewall lately built up and erected ... from the wonted course and passage thereof'. The Viewers made arrangements for the 'ancient watercourse' to carry 'the water falling from the gutters of both those houses running through that platt of ground'.¹⁷⁵ This instance is demonstrative of two issues commonplace in Viewers' reports. One is the preservation of the passage of ancient watercourses: ancient habitual passages had priority over new ones. The other is ensuring appropriate boundaries to the flow of water. The provision of eavesdropping was made to prevent the undesirable material intrusion of water dripping off a roof onto its neighbour's.¹⁷⁶ Flow needed to be policed so that it did not become a source of nuisance to another. These material and rhetorical coagulations around flow, grace, and health form the palette from which Milton paints his aqueous imagery.

Eden's water supply reflects shifts in urban prioritization materialised in a garden: 'Southward through *Eden* went a River large, / Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggie hill / Pass'd underneath ingulft' (*PLA.223-225*). The word 'ingulft' mildly hints

¹⁷² *An Account of the Causes of Some Particular Rebellious Distempers Viz. The Scurvey, Cancers in Women's Breasts, &C.* (London: 1670), 2-5.

¹⁷³ Meriton, *Guide for Constables*, 218-19.

¹⁷⁴ Jenner, "Early Modern Conceptions of Cleanliness and Dirt", 394.

¹⁷⁵ 'Viewers' Reports' 1623-1636, LMA COL/SJ/27/465, fol.27.

¹⁷⁶ For a discussion of eavesdropping see Lena Cowen Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 39-40.

at the insecurity of flow. Instead of implying absorption by a body of water, the word is swivelled the other way to imply absorption of water by a massy body. The rhetorical theft of aqueous function suggests a material theft too, but the apprehension is only momentary. It is quickly razed when we discover the river pulsing at the other end of the hill with a 'rapid current' (*PLA.227*). It flows with the ancient steadiness of course that civic adjudication aspired to preserve. Briefly too, the river emerges as a 'fresh fountain' (*PLA.229*). Freshness, which might seem a mere redundancy for our times, is critical to the idealism of the scene that rectifies every urban nuisance.

In distinct contrast to the cumbersomely ingenious New River, Eden's river passes serenely through a vertical geographical feature and is altogether untroubled by it. Water is gently drawn to the top and then peaceably caused to water the garden on its way down. Emphasized throughout the description is the local connectivity that rills of water bring to each part of the garden. Its streams balletically diverge and rejoin (*PLA.223-235*). As always, Milton's Eden represents early modern priorities and yet an effortless perfection of the laborious material enterprises of early modern London. His water pipes are more akin to the waterworks of Italian gardens whose virtuosity signify their complete mastery of ascent, descent, and flow. By re-producing material contours without their mechanisms, Eden appears liberated from the laws of earthly restraint. It is unencumbered by fallen conditions of troubled flow. In a material pun, it rises naturally in an unfallen world.

The gardening ideals of Eden emerge in civic form in the fallen city of the prose pamphlets. They are chiefly a feature of *Areopagitica* where truth is pictured as a 'streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetuall progression, they sick'n into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition' (*CPW2:543*). Diane McColley paid cursory

attention to these images in the context of the countryside,¹⁷⁷ but the urban context of the tract also situates Milton's fountains in the urban landscape as other didactic and spiritual literature did. Is McColley right to read this purely in the context of the countryside or is there also an urban ecology at work? Is this another instance of Milton deliberately turning away from conditions of material culture that shape his figures?

Though Milton refuses to name a specifically urban structure here, he would later name the conduit as a symbol of royal benevolence. In *Eikonoklastes*, he inveighs against the tame acceptance of free gift from a king as one might have grace from God: 'that we should yeild [ibid] them subjection to our own ruin, or hold of them the right of our common safety, and our natural freedom by meer gift, as when the Conduit pisses Wine at Coronations, from the superfluity of thir royal grace and beneficence, we may be sure was never the intent of God, whose ways are just and equal' (CPW3.486). At this point, for Milton, the free grace of a conduit needs to be divorced from the fountain of God's free grace. The wine issuing from a conduit is not a picture of organic flow and flourishing but merely superfluous excess that discredits the gift. Perhaps it is this discomfort with the conduit as symbol of human systems of corrupt authority that motivates Milton's choice of the natural sounding fountain in *Areopagitica* where the vocabulary carefully avoids the material urban topos of the conduit in a tract of prolific urban allusions.

Nevertheless, *Areopagitica* does reflect the shift in urban priorities. Instead of clarity, the staid highlight of the aqueous Truth metaphor, Milton's metaphor pivots on the idea of flow. The tract works through themes of movement and health and these come together in the image of the fountain. Relating movement to health, Milton delineates the advantages of exercise to faith and knowledge as to limbs and complexion. He also uses

¹⁷⁷ McColley, *Poetry and Ecology in the Age of Milton and Marvell*, 85-98.

the discourse of medicine and disease in which freely printed information acts as ‘usefull drugs ... and strong med’cins’ to combat the anticipated spread of ‘contagion’ (CPW2.521, 518). These two threads are drawn together in his metaphor, governed by the logic of health and disease. Truth as a ‘streaming fountain’ accomplishes the joinery of medicinal metaphors to the theme of flow and to the civic concerns of the tract. Just as exercise was salutary for the constitution and medicine remedial to the body, so flowing water made body and place salubrious. Milton’s metaphor turns on this civic prioritization of flow.

It is this that makes the difference between Heaven and Hell in *Paradise Lost*. There the poet invokes his muse in searching metaphors thus: ‘Or hearst thou rather pure ethereal stream, / Whose fountain who shall tell? ... Thee I revisit now with bolder wing, Escaped the Stygian pool, though long detained’ (PL3.7-8,14-15). In all the aqueous imagery, celestial character is described by flowing waters, hellishness by a standing pool.

If to ensure the flow of information through the circulation of printed material was to ensure the health of the nation, then to fill print with unreasoned and ill-informed literature is to hinder flow by sweeping waste into clear channels. In *Animadversions*, Milton satirically applauds the remonstrant for being ‘the sewer of [his] owne messe’ (CPW1.667). This is a clever conversion of the attempt to sully Milton by accusing him of settling in a ‘*suburb sinke*’ (CPW1.885). While Milton might acquire the stink of his surroundings, he accuses the remonstrant of being a collection of his own waste, of a redoubled stagnancy by being both its cause and effect. The image of flowing water does not permit unthoughtful or irresponsible literature.

In fact, the fear of unpoliced flow within urban space invigorates *Animadversion's* imagery of urban water. Here the city emerges as a porous and unstable space where the unavailability of information upsets social relations. Searching for the 'precious gem of truth', rulers feel compelled to 'stand the night long under eaves of houses, and low windows, that they might hear every where the utterances of private breasts' though it might force them equally to 'stand to the courtesy of a night-walking cudgeller for eaves dropping, [or] to accept quietly as a perfume, the over-head emptying of some salt-lotion' (CPW1.670).

Inappropriate channels of flow manifest the political wrongs of the city's condition. Flow *will*, whether permitted or not. *Areopagitica* is therefore not just a plea for the free flow of information, but for appropriate systems to enable flow with safety and civility. The alternative is this vision of a nightmarish city where hidden spaces are a source of festering threat. The passage is noticeable for its sudden invocation of depth. The image transforms the two-dimensionality of the page by extending horizontal and vertical spaces in the evocation of depth, and positions the ruler within dimensional depth as well as in the liminal space under the eaves and windows of a house. The image returns us to our discussion of sightlines in the London Viewers' reports which foregrounded windows and holes as objects violating privacy and enabling 'mutual surveillance'.¹⁷⁸ But illicit surveillance is a diabolic act which renders the one who resorts to it vulnerable. Porous city windows that render possible the receipt of information equally threaten when they become the source for the contents of the chamber-pot. The composite image increases metaphorisation and materiality. Seditious information is materialized as 'salt lotion' inappropriately encountered through urban nuisance. The just ruler becomes a vulnerable inversion of lordly Satan looking into Eden in this disordered world.

¹⁷⁸ Orlin, *Locating Privacy in Tudor London*, 192.

Sharon Achinstein has written of the logic of choice that undergirds Milton's arguments in *Areopagitica*.¹⁷⁹ Analogically, these urban references leverage readerly choice towards a desired end by integrating widespread urban concerns of flow, nuisance, and health with the argument. Their leverage works by a sensory and affective logic. However the result of these aesthetic choices is that in searching for a landscape to express his religious politics, Milton reverts time and again to the straightforward idealism of the country and country house park of Horace and Ben Jonson.

The City in Milton

John Twyning argues that early modern writers wrote Hell as a 'cultural narrative; not simply as a theological concept but as a complex social structure which refracts ideology through urban space and city topography'.¹⁸⁰ Conjuring up the city through the figure of Hell provides a revelation of the seamy face of the city and an indictment of its social system. We see some of this in Milton. His poetic instinct for figuration draws him to the themes of physical edifices, nuisances, spatial practices, crime and detection. These are not dissimilar to the categories within which the city is analysed today.¹⁸¹ Milton's critical gaze is drawn to how urban narratives that surround the city's structures stage and analyse political and spiritual ideals. Its various practices provide multiple ways in which to anatomize motivation, agency, and consequences of action.

For Milton the city is a definitively social space. The foregrounding of sociality makes the city an interface between the internal world of the household and the

¹⁷⁹ Sharon Achinstein, *Milton and the Revolutionary Reader* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 58-67.

¹⁸⁰ He makes this argument about earlier writers like Thomas Nashe and Thomas Dekker in John Twyning, *London Dispossessed: Literature and Social Space in the Early Modern City* (Hampshire; London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1998), 129.

¹⁸¹ Ben Highmore's collection of contemporary readings of the city sees it analysed in terms of circulation, crime and detection, and consumption. The latter interestingly is not especially present in Milton. See Ben Highmore, *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

household figured large in the city. Sinful action is measured in terms of the sociality of its consequences, in terms of the common good and the common ill. Urban imagery does call upon civic ideals of citizenship, right choice and responsibility, but inevitably through a negative figuration of urban environment or an ironically positive figuration of civic action and motivation.

This underlying note of repulsion continues to fall back to a basic Horatian opposition of city to the country, so that the narrative of the city as nuisance triumphs over others of intellectual thought or production. We glimpse the figure that Thomas Corns saw when he describes, in refutation of Christopher Hill, how Milton distinguished himself in learning and class from radical and fringe groups and courted Royalist allies in the 1645 poems.¹⁸² As we examine Milton in the city, the son of Hill disappears leaving in his stead a son of Ben and we remember the Milton who repeatedly sought a tranquil house and garden outside the city's perturbation. He seems ever in the city, yet ever in retreat from it.

¹⁸² Thomas N. Corns, "Milton's Quest for Respectability," *Modern Language Review* 77 (1982). See Lewalski's reply in Lewalski, *The Life of John Milton: A Critical Biography*, 226-29. Patterson comments on the need to recapture Corn's Milton in Annabel Patterson, "His Singing Robes," in *Milton Studies XLVIII: Milton and Historicism*, ed. Albert C. Labriola (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008), 181-89.

4: THE GEOGRAPHIC PAGE

Milton's interest in the spatial representation of the earth is well-documented. He recommends the study of atlases and had a lively geographical curiosity even during his blindness.¹ Studies have revealed Milton's thoughtful absorption of the most current geographical minutiae into his descriptions.² These studies are however bound by a textual bias. They follow the trail of geographic breadcrumbs to atlases or travel literature but fail to recognise that the influence of maps lies not solely in their legacy of names but in their inheritance of spatial configuration. As new spaces are explored and old spaces explored in new forms in the early modern period, the ways in which space is produced as handle-able material product became various: there were travel writings, estate surveys, maps, atlases, books of cities, globes, and books of roads to name some.³ With all change comes reflection mindful of making choices between forms and their complicit

¹ Elbert N. S. Thompson, "Milton's Knowledge of Geography," *Studies in Philology* 16, no. 2 (April 1919).

² Mary C. Fenton, *Milton's Places of Hope* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Robert Ralston Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1951); George Wesley Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939). For a description of the books of history and geography Milton is likely to have read see John T. Shawcross, *John Milton: The Self and the World* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), 108-27.

³ Surveys of early modern mapping practice are Rhonda Lemke Sanford, *Maps and Memory in Early Modern England: A Sense of Place* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Bernard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001); Lucia Nuti, "Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance," in *Mappings*, ed. Denis Cosgrove (London: Reaktion, 1999); ———, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language," *The Art Bulletin* 76, no. 1 (March 1994); ———, "The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye," *Word & Image* 4, no. 2 (April-June 1988); Sarah Tyacke, *English Map-Making 1500-1650* (London: British Library, 1983). See also McRae, *Literature and Domestic Travel in Early Modern England*. On the colonial influence in the geographical imagination, see Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature, 1580-1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Lesley B. Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580-1620* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, ed., *Geography and Empire* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994). For several perspectives on the relation of early modern politics and geographical and cartographical practice, see David N. Livingstone, *Geography and Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

ideologies. Knowing Milton's appreciation for cartographical forms, it only makes sense to investigate his representations of space for their cartographical epistemology.⁴

In his poetry and prose, Milton was repeatedly drawn to images of wide geographical survey. This chapter will examine how graphic representations of the world inform those in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. It will do so in terms of Lefebvre's concept of 'representations of space' which rise from ideologies, scientific knowledge, and lived experience, and play a part in social and political practice. As Lefebvre explained, they establish relations between objects and people that break up because of their inconsistencies.⁵ Milton's time saw these establishments and breakings and his work engages with implicated debates.

Considering spatial configuration through text and image on the material page opens up unventured avenues of enquiry. If there exists the aforesaid discursive bias, then have graphic presentations of geography that were not discursively dense been overlooked? Similarly, blinkered attention to contemporary geography leads to categorical representations of Milton as modern man epitomized, one who believed that 'accurate history and geography might best be produced, not by depending upon the fictions of medieval chronicles and related medieval world iconography, but rather by studying authoritative eyewitness accounts by ancient and modern voyagers and travellers'.⁶ These fail to consider that mapping conventions are not hermetic but respond to previous systems. They do not permit us to ask if Milton felt ineluctably drawn to medieval cartography because of a shared religious understanding despite being

⁴ For a lack of a better term I use the term 'cartographical' an analytical category containing all graphic representations of geographic surveys on a page.

⁵ He also analyses the early modern emergence of perspective here. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 38-46.

⁶ John G. Demaray, *Cosmos and Epic Representation: Dante, Spenser, Milton, and the Transformation of Renaissance Heroic Poetry* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1991), 177.

discomfited by their factual laxity. In fact, could his precise geographical naming be the sign of a subterranean anxiety that cartography governed by Biblical perspectives needed securing against emerging medievalisms? Or could Milton use current geographical knowledge as a secure position from which to court medieval conventions? These questions are part of the complicated problematic of how cartographic practices served the Biblical text. While maps were purged of Biblical narrative, Biblical texts became more guardedly isolated, and the seventeenth century witnessed the paradigmatic change from the Geneva Bible, with its graphic aids to humanistic learning, to the nearly unadulterated purity of discourse in the King James Bible.⁷

From this palette of representational formats, Milton searches for adequate forms with which to clothe his vision of the world. In *Paradise Lost*, the prelapsarian Edenic perspective from which the future of biblical history is narrated leads to an originary cartographical vision that is quintessentially medieval. It shows itself covertly in the spaces where early modern mapping conventions fall short. In *Paradise Regained*, the stationary tourism of the city temptations finds analogy in the genre of city views whose graphic chorography provides direct visual encounters that maps and narratives do not offer. Here, however, the consciousness of rhetorical strategies the views foreground stages the speciousness of Satanic rhetoric.

Old and New Geography

Perhaps the place from which to start is an architectural image in *Paradise Lost* that acquired cartographical significance through the early modern period as the new geography gathered momentum. This is the image of the compass-wielding Son of God: ‘in his hand / He took the golden Compasses, prepar’d / In Gods Eternal store, to

⁷ A comparison of the Geneva Bible and King James Bible shows that the illustrations and marginal notes of the former are absent in the latter. See n.47.

circumscribe / This Universe, and all created things' (*PL*7.224-227). The image captures how a medievalism might rub against new cartographical practice to generate new meaning. The medieval image of an architectural Creator bearing a pair of compasses can be traced to Hellenic times,⁸ and featured as printer's ornaments, on stained glass windows, and in sermons where God 'did square and proportion the heuens for the earth, vsing his rule, leauell, and compasse'.⁹ The architectural act alluded to yet elided the two-dimensional draughtsman's diagram. While architecture was geometric, graphic forms of world geography owed little to geometry.

In the main, medieval world maps commonly belonged to the Macrobian convention which divides the world into climactic zones or to a 'T-in-O' schematization of space oriented towards the east.¹⁰ It is to the latter that writers like Christopher Marlowe and John Donne (discussed below) referred. These maps were alternatively called Noachid maps because the terrestrial world is divided into three regions bearing the names of Noah's sons. Usually, the African continent is at the lower right of the world disk and its outermost band contains monstrous races. Unlike other forms, they possessed the imagination long after they lay disused. Birthed from a conception of Christian history, space and time unfold from an easterly Eden or Paradise at the top. Spatial and narrative, they typically depict a civilisational trajectory. In the Anglo-Saxon world map

⁸ The medieval currency of this image was fuelled by Thomas Aquinas's bridge to Pythagorean thinking via Cicero's translation of Plato's term 'idea' as 'forma'. One could therefore think of the idea of a thing through its geometrical pattern. For a brief description of this trajectory of thought see Glenn W. Most, Anthony Grafton, Salvatore Settis, eds., *The Classical Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), 527-28. Many discourses have been unpacked from this moment. As Gordon Teskey writes, we can discern 'Hebrew psalms, Galenic medicine, Aristotelian metaphysics, ... the erotic and supernatural "marvels" (*maraviglie*) of chivalric romance' in Gordon Teskey, *Delirious Milton: The Fate of the Poet in Modernity* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 109. For some of these interpretations see Schwartz, *Remembering and Repeating*, 64.

⁹ Godfrey Goodman, *The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature* (London: 1616), 16; Grant McColley, "Milton's Golden Compasses," *Notes and Queries* 176 (1939): 97-8; Merritt Yerkes Hughes, ed., *Paradise Lost: John Milton* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2003), 171.

¹⁰ For a survey of these and other categories see David Woodward, ed., *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, *Cartography in the European Renaissance* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

in the Cotton collection, created around AD 1050, the most prominent city icons trace a line through Babylon in the top half, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Tarsus in the middle section, and Alexandria, Rome, and Carthage beneath.¹¹ They follow the imperial history of the distant and recent past and the spatial centres of ancient and contemporary Christian spirituality.

These maps do not aim for encyclopaedism. Instead they display a ‘*translatio imperii*’ and a ‘*translatio studii*’ moving east to west, from Adam and Eve’s banishment from the terrestrial paradise, through the empires of Babylon, Persia, and Greece, to Rome.¹² This narrative, devised by Paulus Orosius in *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, is adapted in England by Gildas, Bede, and Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹³

Cartography derived from such an understanding links paradise, Jerusalem, and Rome in a vertical axis. Influential writers like Bede and Augustine broke history into six stages: from Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, Abraham to David, David to the Babylonian Captivity, the Babylonian captivity to the birth of Christ, and from the birth of Christ to the present. These relationships are stated most obviously in Higden’s mandorla-shaped map which shows a progression from Paradise to Jerusalem to Rome.¹⁴ Beneath Paradise lies India. Further down are Parthia, Media, Assyria, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Galilea. Jerusalem, placed at the centre, is contained within a rectangular box. A few names down, Rome receives the same treatment and is placed in the centre of the second half of the map. These names are read with a head-on orientation that does not require the map to be turned to either side as other names on the map do. They emphatically exhibit the narrative linearity of an imperial and Christian timeline.

¹¹ BL, Cotton MS Tiberius B.V., fol. 56v. A brief introduction to the map is in Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers Viewed Their World* (London: British Library, 1997), 16-17.

¹² For a discussion of this principle, see *Ibid.*, 26-30.

¹³ Scott D. Westrem, *The Hereford Map: A Transcription and Translation of the Legends with Commentary* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2001), xxxii.

¹⁴ Bodleian Library, MS Digby196, fol. 195r.

The spiritual and historical significance of the east lent it spatial and symbolic weight. Whatever else a map contains, there is almost always a representation of Paradise or Eden. Unacquainted with the precise territorial demarcations of the east, medieval maps often place India nearest Paradise and Indian rivers constitute the boundaries between the mythic and historic past. In the Anglo-Saxon world map, the Pison river, traditionally identified as the Ganges, wends its way across the northernmost section of the map in the region marked India. Marking the liminal space between divinely imbued Eden and the terrestrial human world, the Ganges is conceptualized in these mapping conventions as the representation of the 'final frontier ... exiting from the everyday world in which history is made'.¹⁵ On the other hand, Jerome's map of Palestine in the twelfth-century *Liber Locorum* posits no enclosed space marked paradise but four rivers flow out of Mount Caucasus and Armenia in the map of Palestine.¹⁶ The landscape is detailed with winding rivers and intersecting hills. Nineveh sits on the banks of the Tigris and Constantinople rises upside down from the bank of the sea.

The trajectory of spiritual degeneration from Eden is written into space and into the body. The stories of monstrous races that first begin with Pliny's accounts of Ctesis and Megasthenes are often perpetuated.¹⁷ In Beatus of Liebana's map accompanying his *Commentary on Revelation*, the earliest map known to depict the monstrous races, a Sciopod reclines in the Antipodes.¹⁸ In zonal or theological constructions of racial space, monstrous men are placed at the far reaches of the world in India, Ethiopia, or Cathay.

¹⁵ Shankar Raman, *Framing "India": The Colonial Imaginary in Early Modern Culture* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2001), 86.

¹⁶ Bodleian Library, Add. MS 10049, fols. 64r-v.

¹⁷ John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 37-58.

¹⁸ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, 10 vols. (1938-1963), Book 7. John Block Friedman schematizes responses to the monstrous races thus: Aristotle considered anomalous births as monsters, *terata*, or defects of nature; Cicero discussed them as portents of the will of the gods; Saint Augustine saw them showing God's power and creativity which in turn renewed man's sense of the marvellous and the ordinary. See Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*.

The former see their appearance as an effect of climate; the latter, as an effect of the Fall. So they lie in extreme climactic zones or furthest from the Christian centre, Jerusalem. Some Christian readings of this see the monstrous races as Cain's kin. A Vienna Genesis enumerates Adam's children, deformed from disobedience, like a Plinian catalog: 'Some had heads like those of dogs; some hand their mounts on their breasts, their eyes on their shoulders; they had to make do without a head'. Rabbinic tradition, through the thirteenth-century *Zohar* and thirteenth-century midrashim, propounds the theory that Cain was born from the impure side of Eve and originates all corrupt beings.¹⁹

Conversely, the world might be framed by the divine or the angelic. The Sawley map has the world surrounded by four angels, each at the four corners of the earth. One points an admonitory finger at Gog and Magog, another holds a closed book that is usually taken to symbolize the Bible. Together they seem to distinguish the way of the godly and the ungodly.²⁰ The Psalter map shows Christ above the world, his elbows resting on its circumference. He is flanked by incense-bearing censors. On the page preceding the map is an image of Christ triumphant enclosed in a mandorla.²¹ This is the shape that Higden chooses to frame one of his world maps in, implying a triumphant Christ immanent in the *imago mundi*. The Hereford map shows Christ seated above the world. An angel on his right leads the blessed towards him while on his left the damned

¹⁹ These non-English sources are quoted and the tradition analysed in Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, 93-96. Debra Strickland describes the Classical origins of the understanding that sin expressed itself in bodily deformity or ugliness in Debra Higgs Strickland, *Saracens, Demons, & Jews: Making Monsters in Medieval Art* (Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003), Chapter 1, 29-59. For how England saw her own position on the cartographical periphery, see Kathy Lavezzo, *Angels on the Edge of the World: Geography, Literature, and English Community, 1000-1534* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006).

²⁰ P.D.A. Harvey, "The Sawley Map and Other World Maps in Twelfth-Century England," *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997).

²¹ BL, Add. MS 28681, fols. 9r-v.

are led towards Hell.²² The map makes earthly space and time the stage for choices for good or ill. An ascendant Christ, having made those choices, dominates or embodies the map. These maps suggest the vanities of the world to be perceived in the light of the future reign and judgment of Christ.

These maps are not yet geometrical but geometry was rapidly gaining ground as the chief tool of spatial representations. Geometry had and continued to be used to survey property. In his introduction to *Euclides Elements of Geometry* (1650), John Dee accounts for its origins in rectifying land disputes: when land had to be divided or accounted for, ‘some by ignorance, some by negligence; some by fraud, and some by violence, did wrongfully limit, measure, encroach, or challenge (by pretence of just content and measure) those lands and grounds: great losse, disquietnesse, murther, and war did (full oft) ensue: Till, by Gods mercy, and mans industry, The perfect Science of Lines, Plains, and Solids (like a divine Justicer,) gave unto every man his own’.²³ The defining function of geometry often came to be seen as prescribing limits. Thus George Sandys, translating Ovid, writes of ‘limit-giuing Geometry’.²⁴ But as Dee explains, geometry approached divinity in its study of perfect form. It was perceived as a discipline of eternal and temporal use, immaterial and material, heavenly and down to earth.²⁵ Dee classifies *Things Mathematicall* between ‘things Naturall’ and ‘things Supernaturall’ because they have no ‘materiality’ yet are not as base as the former nor as excellent as the last.²⁶ It is precisely this ideal immaterial nature that makes it a fit ‘justicer’ that brooked no argument.

²² Westrem, *The Hereford Map*, 4-6. Some of these images belonged to a very papistical paradigm: in the Hereford map, a pontifical figure leads the blessed towards Christ.

²³ John Dee, *Euclides Elements of Geometry* (London: 1650), E1-v.

²⁴ George Sandys, *Ovids Metamorphosis Englished* (London: 1638), 4.

²⁵ For more on the dualism of pragmatic and idealistic geometry, see Jess Edwards, *Writing, Geometry and Space in Seventeenth-Century England and America* (London; New York: Routledge, 2006), 36-44.

²⁶ Dee, *Euclides Elements of Geometry*, E2v-r.

Textbooks and manuals foreground the geometrical foundations of descriptive practices. William Leybourn's *The Compleat Surveyor* (1657) begins with a chapter on 'Geometricall Definitions' that initiates the reader into the drawing of lines and curves with a scale and compass and introduces trigonometric functions based on the same.²⁷ Advertising the continuity of academic mathematics with surveying, the title page to George Atwell's *The Faithful Surveyor* gives his name thus: 'By George Atwell late Teacher of the Mathematicks in Cambridge'. His book explains, among other procedures, the use of a compass in plotting lines and angles while measuring land, the use of beam compasses for measuring large plots, and the use of a circle to discover the angle of the sun's declination without any other instrument except a chain.²⁸ His book delights in the objects inventive instrument-makers designed for greater surveying ease and accuracy. The theodolite was built of a planisphere, a square within a circle, and a semi-circular quadrant perpendicular to it. A circumferenter consisted of a circle containing a compass resting on a scale.²⁹ These instruments developed the variety of measuring functions available from a circle and a line.

God's compass directed at the earth now conjures up surveying associations too. Robert Fletcher humourously prays, 'Thy Kingdom's not / Of this world. For we cannot finde a spot / Of thy Crown land, where Geometrie may stay / Her reeling compass to move any way / In demonstration of that circling Round / That may define th'inclosure Holy Ground'.³⁰ As a surveyor of land, the compass speaks not just of ownership but of just stewardship. The surveyor was to be versed in 'iust dealing' and make known by 'faithful and sincere informations ... what is iust and right to be done and demanded'

²⁷ William Leybourn, *The Compleat Surveyor*, 2nd ed. (London: 1657), 3. Other surveying manuals of the period include John Norden, *The Surueyors Dialogue* (London: 1607); Aaron Rathborne, *The Surueyor* (London: 1616); George Atwell, *The Faithful Surveyor* (London: 1665).

²⁸ Atwell, *The Faithful Surveyor*, titlepage, 14-8, 40, 48-52, 61.

²⁹ Rathborne, *The Surueyor*, 124, 27-9.

³⁰ Robert Fletcher, *Ex Otio Negotium. Or, Martiall His Epigrams Translated* (London: 1656), 221.

within ‘the compasse’ of the owner’s reach.³¹ The compass could therefore equally represent the reach of ownership, the law, and justice.

Surveying could highlight the double-sided question of ownership and freedom. If the tenant desired freedom to do as he pleased with portions of the land unseen by his lord, he was erring in the wrong practice of freedom. For as Norden explains, ‘The vse and occupation is yours, but if the Land were so yours as were none about you, you might then call it yours: but so is none, but the Kingdome which the King holdeth of none but of God’.³² Norden parallels tenancy to the human-divine relationship. Each is a steward of things that belong to another in a chain reaching through the king to God. In instituting thorough accountability, surveying enabled a lord’s omniscience over his property. An accurately-surveyed plot permitted ‘the Lord sitting in his chayre’ to view precisely how his property lay. The practice was however disliked by tenants for ‘by it they are often preuented or disouered of deceitfull purposes’.³³

Practicing geography geometrically gained impetus with the Renaissance rediscovery of Ptolemy’s *Geographia* and other classical texts.³⁴ This geometrification of space changed the shape of teaching in the academy. Geometry and astronomy were taught at university as part of the quadrivium and geography was fitted in as an extension. At Oxford, Henry Savile endowed the Savilian chairs of Geometry and Astronomy, specifying that the former include land measurement and the latter geography and navigation. Cambridge college statutes specified the engagement of mathematical

³¹ John Norden, *The Surueyors Dialogue* (London: 1610), ‘The Epistle to the Reader’, *2-v.

³² *Ibid.*, 5-6.

³³ *Ibid.*, 15-6.

³⁴ Norman Joseph William Thrower, *Maps and Civilization* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 58; Leo Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of Cartography* (London: C. A. Watts, 1964), 77. Also, Jr. Samuel Y. Edgerton, “From Mental Matrix to *Mappamundi* to Christian Empire: The Heritage of Ptolemaic Cartography in the Renaissance,” in *Art and Cartography*, ed. David Woodward (London: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

lecturers in arithmetic, geometry, perspective and cosmography, especially at Jesus, Queens, Trinity and St. John's during the sixteenth century.³⁵ Much of Cambridge geography came to be influenced by William Gilbert and Henry Briggs.³⁶ The new geography may have been taught via refutation of the old. Richard Hakluyt, who taught at Oxford from 1577 to 1586, recalled comparing tripartite maps to intricately detailed new maps in his cousin's chambers, and used a comparative paradigm in his public lectures. He would display 'both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of his Art'.³⁷

In time, the compass became more visibly associated with the practice of geographical and chorographical survey. In Caesar Ripa's *Iconologia*, published from 1593, Geometria holds a globe aloft in her left hand. With her right she places a compass on paper.³⁸ Jodocus Hondius's world map (1611) bears Cornelia Drebbel's figure of Geometry, a woman positioning a compass on a globe.³⁹ His illustrations for John Speed had similar figures scattered throughout as did William Blaeu's *Atlas* (1622) which bore a woman, compass in one hand and an easel in the other.⁴⁰ Compasses are now part of the iconography of geographical knowledge.

³⁵ For a summary history of geography at Oxford and Cambridge see Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580-1620*, 14-15, 27-34.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 86.

³⁷ Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English* (London: 1589).

³⁸ Casare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Milano: TEA, 1992), 158. Guiliana Bruno traces the provenance of the image and discusses gendered figures in cartography in Guiliana Bruno, *Atlas of Emotion* (New York: Verso, 2002), 210-17.

³⁹ [*Map of the World by Jodocus Hondius*], (1611).

⁴⁰ John Speed, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London: 1612), 'Oxfordshire', between 44-45 and 46-47; Willem Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Sive, Atlas Novus* (Amsterdam: 1624); Günter Schilder, ed., *The World Map of 1624* (Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1977).

As surveying implied ownership, so geometric geography often connotes some form of spatial mastery.⁴¹ The theoretical and practical mastery of space was linked in the act of mapping as in Anthony van Dyck's portrait of Jean-Charles della Faille, a Jesuit mathematician accomplished in surveying, cosmography, and warfare in Spain.⁴² He is seated at a table littered with measuring instruments and holds a compass in one hand. As one historian explained it, the mathematical grasp of space encouraged a mentality that understood space as manipulable and sanctioned its exploitation.⁴³ Another portrait joining economic and spatial command is Anthony van Dyck's portrait of the Earl of Arundel.⁴⁴ The Earl stands near a large globe. Nearby, his wife points with a compass to Arundel's colonial ventures in Madagascar on the globe.

Finally, geometric geography had implications for the practice of faith. Historians have noted the disappearance of the biblical frame of reference in favour of a classical one in its conventions.⁴⁵ To some the new geography was too conquest-oriented. Troubled by the easy abandonment of medieval T-O maps for the new cartography, Christopher Marlowe had his Tamburlaine rail against 'blind geographers / That make a

⁴¹ Svetlana Alpers argues that Dutch views were not engaged in a discourse of ownership in Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

⁴² Sir Anthony van Dyck, "Portrait of Father Jean-Charles Della Faille, S.J." (Brussels: Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, 1629).

⁴³ Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580-1620*, 11. A thoroughly geometric survey of space was epitomized in the ichnographic map. See John A. Pinto, "Origins and Development of the Ichnographic City Plan," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35 no. 1 (March 1976).

⁴⁴ Sir Anthony van Dyck, *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and His Countess ("Madagascar" Portrait)* (Sussex: Collection of the Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle, 1639). A detailed discussion is Ernest B. Gilman, "Madagascar on My Mind: The Earl of Arundel and the Arts of Colonization," in *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race and Empire in Renaissance England*, ed. Peter Erickson and Clark Huls (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

⁴⁵ An excellent book-length study is Alessandro Scafi, *Mapping Paradise: A History of Heaven on Earth* (London: British Library, 2006).

triple region of the world'.⁴⁶ This stark characterization suggests the felt necessity for some problematizing of the cartographical narrative of progress that supplanted a crude schematization of space with an agnostic pointillism of names. With a more equivocal understanding of mapping conventions, John Donne conflates new geographical discovery with tripartite Noachid maps on the prone body of Jesus on the cross in *Hymn to God my God, in my Sickness*.⁴⁷ He demonstrates equal value for the spiritual insight that contemporary geography could bring and for the divinely immanent conception of space the medieval map expressed.⁴⁸

Despite secularizing cartography, faith is a significant and often declared motivation for many cartographers. The preface to Mercator's *Atlas* claims that such work as his, indeed the study of cosmography, proved 'the infinite wisdom of God, and his inexhaust goodnesse' to any man to whom 'this power, & goodnesse of God doth not sufficiently appeare'.⁴⁹ The title page bears visual affinity to that of the King James Bible published from 1611 onwards.⁵⁰ Biblical frontispieces usually display the gospel writers at the four corners of the rectangular tablet or along the top of the monument. They sit

⁴⁶ Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine the Great* I:4.4.81-82. Bernhard Klein, "Tamburlaine, Sacred Space, and the Heritage of Medieval Cartography," in *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, ed. Gordon McCullan and David Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁴⁷ John Donne, *Hymn to God my God, in my Sickness*, ll. 4-13.

⁴⁸ For more on Donne's celebration and distrust of the new geography, see Howard Marchitello, *Narrative and Meaning in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 68-73; John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 188.

⁴⁹ Gerhard Mercator, *Atlas or a Geographicke Description of the World*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Amsterdam: 1636; reprint, 1968).

⁵⁰ An analysis of Cornelis Boel's 1611 title page is found in Margery Corbett and R.W. Lightbrown, *The Comely Frontispiece: The Emblematic Title-Page in England, 1550-1660* (London: Routledge, 1979). A discussion of the King James Bible's title page and artwork can be found in David Norton, *A Textual History of the King James Bible* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 46-54. Another concise analysis is in Gordon Campbell, *Bible: The Story of the King James Version 1611-2011* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 92-105. For a history of the material values of the English Bible during the early modern period (which strangely does not discuss the KJB title page though it does discuss others), see John N. King and Aaron T. Pratt, "The Materiality of English Printed Bibles from the Tyndale New Testament to the King James Bible," in *The King James Bible after 400 Years: Literary, Linguistic, and Cultural Influences*, ed. Hannibal Hamlin and Norman W. Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

attentive, pen in hand, books open on a table or on their laps as they look to God for inspiration. In the woodcut frontispiece to the King James Version's New Testament (an adaptation of the title page of the Bishop's Bible of 1602), Luke and John placed at the lower end of the page look upwards towards a slain lamb as they write. On the main Cornelis Boel title page to the Bible, Mark in the upper right corner looks towards the slain lamb as does John in the lower right corner. Mercator's title page features two pairs of geographers above the portico. In each pair, one lays his compass to the globe while the other takes notes in an open book. Above them is the usual divine halo with the sun on the left and the moon on the right.⁵¹ When set against each other, geographical and Biblical iconography suggests the surveying of God's world is akin to recording Christ's deeds in the gospels.

This conception of cartography was not unusual to Mercator. The title page of William Cunningham's *The Cosmographical Glasse* (1599) shows Ptolemy and Marinus, their countenances turned towards their surroundings. Between them is a globe on which Ptolemy rests one hand and Marinus inscribes something with a compass.⁵² Similarly, Peter Heylyn resorts to geography when he was cast out from his living by Cromwell's government. His *Cosmographie* (1652) sets out to survey the history and chorography of the world, record the triumphs of the English nation, and prove that wherever Christianity was accepted, some form of episcopacy was married to it.⁵³ Its title page bears a degree of similarity to the Boel title page. A dove descends from a tetragrammaton cloud towards waters, conveying God's creation of the world from chaos. Below, diplomatic and military representatives of the four continents congregate, each followed by a symbolic

⁵¹ Mercator, *Atlas or a Geographicke Description of the World*, titlepage.

⁵² William Cunningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse* (1599), Titlepage.

⁵³ Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie* (London: 1652), 'To the Reader', n.p. This was an expansion of the pocket-sized handbook, ———, *Microcosmos: Or, a Little Description of the Great World* (London: 1621).

animal (not unlike the four gospel-writers). Implicit comparisons are generated by these shared visual tropes.

But if geographical description was a discourse of faith, those descriptions were believed to serve faith best by narrating it less. The tension between expressing the numinous and veracious registered in the biblical graphic. As the Reformation leeriness of pictures overtook Bibles, maps became one of the few acceptable illustrations. Former Bible illustrations became vignettes within the geographical survey.⁵⁴ Even Biblical maps in Abraham Ortelius's *Parergon* separate episodic vignettes from cartographic detail. In his illustration of the journeys of St. Paul, episodes from Paul's life are represented in horizontal ovals flanking the map's title. In like fashion the peregrinations of Abraham are presented within a capacious border around a map in twenty-two vignettes.⁵⁵ The veracity of Biblical history is thus proved by spatial constancy as the emphasis shifts from fabular to empirical truth. These were strangely contrary movements that at once sought to bind narrative in space while preserving their distinction.

The relation of Biblical image to text was composite with systemic changes in Biblical bibliography after the publication of the King James Bible. While the Geneva Bible had been supplemented by humanistic learning in tabular and diagrammatic material and punctuating illustrations, the King James Bible was constituted by the pristine flow of pure text.⁵⁶ Sometimes the text might be construed within the Geneva bibliographic construct if John Speed's map of Canaan and genealogies were inserted as readers' aids on request. Inserted just before Genesis, Speed's map acts as a second

⁵⁴ Elizabeth M. Ingram, "Maps as Readers' Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles," *Imago Mundi* 45 (1993).

⁵⁵ Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum [with Parergon]* (Antwerp: 1595).

⁵⁶ Helen Moore, "A Tale of Two Bibles: Geneva and King James after 1611" (Oxford: Bodleian Library Lecture, 20 May 2011).

frontispiece to the Bible.⁵⁷ However, Speed's map only records Biblical historicity at the cost of representing Eden which is entirely absent in the map. This purely human geography secularises space even here. Yet it was precisely this witness of secular space to biblical history that claimed historical truth for the Bible at a time when geography was the essential proof of history.

A similarly sacralising narrative inhabits Speed's genealogies which trace the descent from Adam to Christ. The first ten pages contain pictorial representations of Biblical scenes like Noah's ark on Ararat or Jacob on his deathbed. This is part of the move to separate *narratio* from abstract time whose calendrical aspect is evoked through generational life-spans.⁵⁸ The production of Speed's maps and genealogies within the new Biblical bibliographic witness the ideological conflicts in the tenacious desire to anchor the mythic to the empirical.

There was also a practical reason for the separation of narration and geography. The move away from itinerary and story towards encyclopaedic surveys meant that extensive information was difficult to contain within the limits of the page, and must have been one of the reasons for the discrete consolidation of discursive chorography and abstractly mapped space. The blend of history and geography in Heylyn's *Cosmographie* too required spatial grounding. Books devoted to single continents, detailing history and material description, are preceded by maps that locate city names on it and are divided by

⁵⁷ This account relies on Catherine Delano Smith, "Maps as Art and Science: Maps in Sixteenth Century Bibles," *Imago Mundi* 42 (1990); Ingram, "Maps as Readers' Aids: Maps and Plans in Geneva Bibles"; *The Holy Bible*, 1st ed. (London: 1611).

⁵⁸ An excellent discussion of the separation of *narratio* from time itself is found in Margareta De Grazia, "Anachronism," in *Cultural Reformations: Medieval and Renaissance in Literary History*, ed. Brian Cummings and James Simpson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

rhumb lines.⁵⁹ So encyclopaedism was one of the factors resulting in an atemporally abstract construction of space devoid of the traces of time and of Christian story.

Of these formats, what would have been available to Milton? We have seen that mathematical geography was strongly present at Cambridge. Though the jostling of cartographic conventions may have quietened by mid-century, the poetic joinery of medieval and new cartography was part of Milton's poetic inheritance. Critical work has proved Milton's adroit use of the latest geographical knowledge in his poetry but we must be open to the possibility that Milton too held to multiple conventions to tease out the implications of their spatial configurations. Instances of medieval cartography were certainly available to Milton. The Egerton library held a Pietro Vesconte map and Cotton's collection in London held an Anglo Saxon map. Matthew Paris's world maps were held by Cotton and Corpus Christi's library at Cambridge. Apart from assorted maps at the Bodleian Library which we know he did consult, he may have leafed through old copies of Higden's *Polychronicon*. It is impossible to tie Milton down to specific medieval maps, but they were certainly accessible to his intellectual circles and spaces, and certainly the idea of them persisted in discourses by turns nostalgic and supercilious.

This section considers how Milton is informed by the changing shapes, quite literally, of geographical presentation on a page in his search for spatial aesthetics to represent Biblical narratives. Does he find himself drawn to medieval conventions which corresponded more to the Biblical view of space and time than the most detailed contemporary maps? How does he place space and time against each other? The spatial mapping of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* works through jostling conventions whose analytical categories register differences but equally permit them to fall in surprisingly similar contours.

⁵⁹ Heylyn, *Cosmographie*.

To return to Milton's description of creation, the stock image of the compass-wielding Son of God might be open to the changing significations of that two-legged instrument to the story of creation. The Son's proclamation, 'This be thy just circumference, O world' (*PL*7.231), conveys some of the sense of 'eternal geometry as the very soul and reason of the world'.⁶⁰ As Stanley Fish said, 'this is not an act performed according to a norm, but an act that constitutes a norm at the moment of declaring it'.⁶¹ In effect, Milton's compasses restore the practices of territorial division to the justice of shapes and spiritual idealism. But to be bound by this reading is to impoverish the image by ignoring the liminal position of the geometer's compass between eternal verities and their earthly applications.

For one, it is not merely an originary act but a resacralisation. As geometricised geography became more secular, the image doubles back to give geographical practice origin. It encompasses (forgive the pun) the original act of creation and the act of observation and record. Further, it speaks of the surveying character of ownership. It undermines any attempt Satan or his angels make to escape the eyes of God. It undermines what I have called before their suburban mentality. At the heart of a geometric circumscription of land was its ability to reveal what is hidden and lay every corner of space open and available to the surveying eye of the owner. The simultaneity of divine architect and geometric geographer gives us a Creator of closely knowledgeable ownership.

Moving from medieval to early modern signification, meaning migrates from the purely creative act of architecture to an expanded act of creation and observation. The early modern image emerges as a discourse of faith which makes the geographer

⁶⁰ For instance, Claire Colebrook, *Milton, Evil and Literary History* (London; New York: Continuum, 2008), 35.

⁶¹ Stanley Fish, *How Milton Works* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 89.

vulture's intended journey. The Ganges is secularized and de-mythicised in the attempt to marry the nostalgic need for the mythic space of the medieval cartographic east and the veracity of contemporary knowledge. Milton's demystified Ganges exhibits the desire to re-capture the mystique of ancient origins for his mythic mode and yet fend its historicity by updating the myth to reflect newer knowledge.

The geographic survey of Book 11 finds its shape similarly under the married governance of secular and sacred, medieval and contemporary cartographic constructs. Led to a high vantage point, Michael unscrolls, as it were, a view of the world for Adam (*PL*11.385-411). His first glimpse is this: 'the Hemisphere of Earth in cleerest Ken / Stretcht out to amplest reach of prospect lay' (*PL*11.379-380). The speed caused by the initial inversion foregrounds the excess syllables impelled by the word 'stretcht'. In this hemisphere, Adam sees Asia, Africa, and Europe. As he sees Africa, the stretch of his vision is alluded to by an echo of the 'Ken': 'nor could his eye not ken / Th' Empire of *Negus* to his utmost Port ...' (*PL*11.396-697). Though this survey begins by looking towards a distant hemispheric horizon, its rotundity is eventually flattened by the comprehensive vision of a virtual view. 'In Spirit perhaps he also saw' the hemisphere that he would not have been able to see from his vantage point on a globe (*PL*11.406). The simultaneity of planular and hemispheric vision had been accomplished in maps like Mercator's where space is measured by rhumb lines, and that cartographical trick of the eye governs this stretch of space.

This view of the world supplants another kind of mapping that went before. The passage really begins by mapping space affectively as Adam notes God's absence and former presences: 'On this Mount he appeerd, under this Tree / Stood visible, among these Pines his voice / I heard, here with him at this Fountain talk'd' (*PL*11.320-322). These acts of pointing entirely eschew specificities of name for the narrative of presence.

The difference between the two views of space is the absence of presence. This is the first moment when time is experienced as loss and the desire to stall it brings attention to space. Adam wistfully says: ‘So many grateful Altars I would rear / Of grassie Terfe, and pile up every Stone / Of lustre from the brook, in memorie / Or monument to Ages’ (PL11.323-326). Worship in the fallen world commemorates God’s past presence, his present absence. Worshipful space is then organised around a history of his presences. In the world outside Eden, God is no longer a reference for the organisation of its space: ‘In yonder nether world where shall I seek / His bright appearances, or foot-step trace?’ (PL11.328-329). Adam fears losing space immanent with God’s presence and narrative. In Eden, he can follow an itinerary that memorializes the history of God’s presences; outside, he will be quest-less.

The dichotomy Adam sets up is characteristic of how the difference between medieval and early modern mapping conventions were perceived. The narrative of geographical progress becomes conversely a narrative of regress, a movement out of Eden. This dichotomy, Michael says, is a false one. God fills ‘not this Rock onely’. He is not so localised. His omnipresence fills all and is ‘not to these narrow bounds confin’d / Of Paradise or *Eden*’ (PL11.336, 341-342). This means effectively that if there is a dichotomy between medieval and contemporary mapping conventions, it is only between their methods, not their truth. Through this discussion of space, Milton effectively recognizes the rhetorical nature of maps.

But if Adam needs the transformative work of euphrasy and rue to perceive the historical and spiritual dimensions to the map he has viewed, does the supplanting of the map of presences suggest a narrative of progress? On the contrary, the separation and adjacency of maps to narratives mark the effects of the Fall on human perception. Spatialisation might verify the biblical story but it also represents the fact that this is so

precisely because human perceptions need transformation to perceive the truthful narratives inherent in space.

In fact Adam's view of the world negotiates the two geographical conventions. Milton's narration of space is expressive of the new cartography whose space was overrun by names. From a unitary proportion of geographic designations to lines, the lines progress in complexity as geographic units are interrupted and extended by enjambments. Nominal density suggests comprehensive knowledge, rigour, and calculation. As a piece of sophisticated discursive cartography, it also serves its Biblical narrative as a map might serve the Biblical text. Adam first views the capitals of the world; only then does he look into the future. As a cartographic frontispiece to Adam's visions, or a map summarizing the Bible through vignettes, this passage situates Biblical stories in known geography. Cartographic space provides the ground for narrative veracity by appealing to space as an unchanging constant.

Yet the map owes much to medieval conventions. Contrary to most atlases which began with Europe and moved eastwards, the geographic survey of *Paradise Lost* unfolds from east to west following the tripartite pattern. Beginning with *Cambalu*, *Samarchand* and *Pacquin*, the survey then passes over Indian *Agra* and *Lahore* and other Asian cities, and ends with African and European places of significance. It broadly configures Asia, Africa and Europe as if starting from the top of a medieval map and working clockwise round the continents. As on a map, the flow from east to west visually flows north to south in the lines on the page. This triad is distinct from the Americas, the other hemisphere, which Adam sees only virtually. In its eastern orientation and its terrestrial continuity with Eden, it finds greater kinship with medieval cartographic convention.

Like medieval cartography, cities are invested with temporal weight. The survey claims to mark ‘City of old or modern Fame’ (*PL*11.386) but within this retrospective claim, language marries past and future tenses to suggest the prophetic fame of past or present cities. The phrase ‘destind Walls’ introduces the survey of empires and suggests them as places which exist in the (reader’s) past but which know their mythic future. In another marriage of tenses, Adam sees where ‘*Rome* was to sway / the world’ (*PL*11.405-406). So too he views the ‘yet unspoil’d’ Guiana (*PL*11.409). Itemized geography could derive from contemporary knowledge, but the inherence of the future within the past which rises from a strong sense of *telos*, makes this map ideologically medieval.

Combined with the history of degeneration that follows, the survey is also medieval in its depiction of monstrosity. As spatial and temporal distance from Eden signified spiritual and physical degeneration in corrupt nature, so the successive corruption of human generations is paralleled implicitly with monstrous margins. That this is on Milton’s mind is evident when Michael and Adam speak of the sights they have seen, the murder of Abel and the scenes at the Lazar-house, as sights of deformity. ‘Sight so deform’, Adam calls them and asks weeping, ‘Why should not Man, / Retaining still Divine similitude / In part, from such deformities be free, / And for his Makers Image sake exempt?’ (*PL*11.511-514). Milton finds the truth of the fanciful monsters in the deformities of the human condition in the contemporary world. It would not be unusual to think of monstrosity in terms of genealogy, but to see that development located on this discursive map is another instance of an ideological medievalism.⁶⁴

In searching for geographical perspectives that are divine, fallen, and redeemed, Milton is drawn to an eclectic cartography. Though the reification of mapping

⁶⁴ Kristen Poole writes of figuring radical dissent through monstrous genealogies and responses in Milton’s anti-prelatical tracts in Kristen Poole, *Radical Religion from Shakespeare to Milton: Figures of Nonconformity in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 124-26.

conventions is itself a consequence of the Fall, there is some suggestion that the shift from medieval to classically influenced early modern cartography is also one of spiritual decline. The former recollects divine presences; in the latter, the separation of space and time is an etiolation of a more comprehensive perception that was geographically and relationally knowledgeable. As geometrical cartography prevailed, Milton exhibits some of the affect Lefebvre ascribed to viewers of abstract space for whom ‘history is experienced as nostalgia’.⁶⁵ More significantly, the geographical survey performs similarly to Milton’s compasses. It restores Speed’s map to its Biblical context for the space of early modern cartography is only available from Eden. Searching for a perspective on the world that coincides with the divine, it is the perspective of the medieval map that emerges to shape and encompass the new geography.

The palimpsest of mapping traditions governs the spatial display of *Paradise Regained* too but here the uses of mapping conventions are more equivocal. Though the first and second Adam are both raised to a hill-top, the views they are given differ greatly. But the scene in *Paradise Regained* continuously looks back to the first Adam (PR3.253-264). The scene that first meets Christ’s gaze is descriptively topographical. Its picture of ascents, ‘spacious plain’, flowing and winding rivers, establishes a spatial symmetry to the Edenic hill and the rivers that flowed from it. Where Adam needs the reference to a cartographical survey within which to frame ensuing biblical history, Satan refers to Biblical history and its Edenic perspective to suggest veracity. If the Biblical perspective in *Paradise Lost* yields medieval aesthetics, it is likely to be present here too.

Additionally, as Robert Cawley points out, Milton’s treatment of geography in *Paradise Regained* is distinctive in his adroit evocation of history through geography.⁶⁶ As we have seen, historical geography is a cartographical medievalism. Examining the geographical

⁶⁵ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 51.

⁶⁶ Whiting, *Milton’s Literary Milieu*, Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel*, 24-41.

survey that follows shows us that the specious resort to Biblical perspectives does release forms of medieval mapping amid the new geographical detail.

Though the geographical survey in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* are assembled from princely seats and capitals, the first is spatially dispersed whereas the second constitutes a civilisational history of the east. Milton's survey follows a loose empiric chronology from Assyria and Babylon to Empathia and Parthia in Book 3. This recall of names, their spatial assembly, and imperial genealogy are conventions of medieval mapping of the Mesopotamian area. But far from foregrounding a spiritual perspective on space and time, they highlight the history of imperialism woven through medieval *mappaemundi*. They express one of Satan's principle arguments: the accommodation of imperial history in the Christian timeline. Satan suggests Christ play successor to the Roman and Parthian kingdom in Mesopotamia and that, as Satan argues, would 'truly reinstall thee / In *David's* royal seat, his true Successor' and bring deliverance to his people (*PR3.372-80*). Military mastery of space, which does not rise in *Paradise Lost*, now rears its head.⁶⁷

Satan's hope that *Christ triumphans* would prevail militaristically contrasts with the kind of triumph alluded to by the cartographic hermeneutic of the survey. The Christ who stood above a medieval map or enveloped, as in the psalter map or the Hereford map, was already kingly. His rulership is evident in his possession of space and the allusion to his glorification and return. He also triumphs through death, and the allusion

⁶⁷ Though military prowess is not a theme, Satan has been discussed as an early modern adventurer in Evans, *Milton's Imperial Epic: Paradise Lost and the Discourse of Colonialism*. For colonial discourse in early modern poetry, see Maja-Lisa Von Sneidern, *Savage Indignation: Colonial Discourse from Milton to Swift* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005); Walter S. H. Lim, *The Arts of Empire: The Poetics of Colonialism from Raleigh to Milton* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998). Also see Martha Pollack, "Military Architecture and Cartography in the Design of the Early Modern City," in *Envisioning the City: Six Studies in Urban Cartography*, ed. David Buisseret (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

to judgement preaches about exercising right choice. This re-frames the temptation. Christ above the imperial survey is at once identified as kingly and meek. He is triumphant through virtue. *Paradise Regained* has been read as a battle of typology,⁶⁸ and the battle works cartographically too. Christ fulfils the cartographical typology of his own identity by resisting Satan's. In refusing to be tempted, he fulfils the appropriate cartographic hermeneutic. In this battle of cartographical typologies, representational form is shown to have only manipulable authority over meaning: it can be turned to subvert the hermeneutic it is meant to foster.

It was usually not medieval maps but early modern maps that were considered imperially and militaristically useful. Geometry and astronomy served trade, power, and acquisition in reducing a city to its geometrical figures. Though Satan's map is chiefly a list of names, geometry works too - the geometry of war, rhombs, wedges, wings, and half-moons. It would not be unlike Milton to play with the close visual and phonetic approximation of rhomb to 'rhumb' lines that geometrically marked early modern maps. Indeed the two were sometimes used interchangeably as in Elisha Coles's *An English Dictionary* (1677) where 'rhomb' and 'rhumb' describe a four-sided figure and 'rhomb' denotes the points of a mariner's compass.⁶⁹ But if this alludes to the geometry of war, it works quite differently to Marlowe in *Tamburlaine*.⁷⁰ Tamburlaine, like Satan, uses a map to mark geographies of power and dismisses the work of medieval 'blind geographers'. As an aggressive fallible conqueror, he is the antithesis to Jesus' gentleness. But Milton's is no simple equation of medieval mapping with sacralised space. The sub-text of medieval cartography provides ways in which to perceive Christ's

⁶⁸ Barbara Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic: The Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1966), 167-69.

⁶⁹ Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary* (London: 1677), li-r.

⁷⁰ The maps in both epics seem to have *Tamburlaine* as a subtext. The first epic references Temir, the second references Persepolis, Susa, Fez, and Morocco, kingdoms that marked his conquests.

kingship over the world. But the same conventions are convicted of harbouring narratives of unholy conquest and power. The map of Milton's brief epic recognises the continuities of fallen motivation through time.

This conclusion does not invalidate past critical work that has traced Milton's geographical minutiae to Pliny and the contemporary geography of Peter Heylyn. As Robert Cawley showed, Heylyn's incidental detail directs the selection and flow of Milton's name. But despite the pointillism of up-to-date details, the geographical survey of *Paradise Regained* reveals more of the narrative and schematic colour of medieval mapping. This time however, Milton withholds assent to a reductive view of medieval map-making as more spiritually insightful. Perhaps the use of typological rhetoric exercised by Satan and Christ's unswayed scepticism influences his cartographical typology, accentuating his consciousness of cartography as rhetoric.⁷¹

As medieval maps portray a spatio-temporal trajectory that lead to a summit in Jerusalem or England, spiritual capitals marked in space, so Satan's cartography leads to Rome, Athens, and Jerusalem, centres of imperialism, knowledge, and spirituality.

City Views

Nonplussed (*PR*4.2) by Christ's enduring resistance in Book 3, Satan changes tack from persuasion of a militaristic ilk. Though he continues to present spatial views, he shifts from a governing discourse of militarism to cultural consumption. His first move is to take Jesus to the western side of the hill for a series of city views. These views are not cartographically pointillist or extensive in their reach. They dwell on a single city and evoke its landscape and physical structures, rendering them more chorographical than

⁷¹ For more on the rhetorical nature of maps see J.B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, edited by Paul Laxton (Baltimore; London: John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 35-37.

geographical. As critics have noted, the figure on the hill is awash with typological resonances of the stories of Adam in *Paradise Lost*, and Moses from the Old Testament,⁷² but to the early modern reader the figure on the hill also represents the urban chorographer commanding the best view of the city. It is this chorographical expressionism that leads me to visual analogues that model close urban depictions. Satan's agile flitting from one immersive city scene to another does find striking correspondences to early modern collections of city views.⁷³ They provided graphic itineraries for surrogate travel and made cities easily available at the flip of a page. This section will examine the genre of city views and how they shape the presentation of Athens, Rome, and Jerusalem to Jesus. By assimilating their formal and ideological character, these views interrogate the truth of representation and learning, and so provide a hermeneutic by which to discern temptation and perceive the duplicity of Satan's offers.

The genre of the town and city view developed in Italy and France in the first half of the sixteenth century. Such views enjoyed immense popularity and were collected as individual sheets and as sets in books for about two centuries in England and on the continent.⁷⁴ Compared to the plain schematization of maps, city-views were artistically inscribed. Nathanael Carpenter's geography textbook distinguishes between Geography and Chorography as between Ichnography and Scenography. The latter requires artistic ability for no man could 'fully and perfectly expresse to the eye the true portraict of cities,

⁷² Jason P. Rosenblatt, "Adam's Pisgah Vision: *Paradise Lost*, Books XI and XII," *English Literary History* 39, no. 1 (March 1972).

⁷³ An analysis of the eighteenth century's response to these as city views is Anne-Julia Swierlein, "Pandemonic Panoramas: Surveying Milton's 'Vain Empires' in the Long Eighteenth Century," in *Milton and the Terms of Liberty*, ed. Graham Parry and Joad Raymond (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002).

⁷⁴ There are few histories of these productions but some history might be gathered from Nuti, "Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance"; ———, "The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language"; Elisabeth Hodges, *Urban Poetics in the French Renaissance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008). For a history of later city views see Stuart M. Blumin, *The Encompassing City: Streetscapes in Early Modern Art and Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008).

townes ... in their true colours, liuelyhood, and proportion; except they bee skilled in the Art of Painting'.⁷⁵ By this definition, the city-view is chorography made graphic. Unlike geometrical maps which abstract spatial relations, city views represent places by simulating its appearance to the eye. Canonical forms of the genre are the work of Jacopo di' Barbari, the atlas *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* published by Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg in 1570, and the city views of Joan Blaeu and Frederick de Wit later in the century.⁷⁶

The practice of viewing a city from a high vantage point has been traced to the Italian chorographer who sought a hill from which to view the undulating landscape.⁷⁷ From this practice developed the iconography of the chorographer situated atop a nearby hill. For instance, Anthon van den Wyngaerde's view of Jaen positions a surveyor on a hill in the foreground sketching a profile of the city.⁷⁸ Acquiring the knowledge of place from a high point was recommended travelling practice too. Fynes Moryson directed travellers to 'first climb one of the highest steeples, where having taken the general situation of the City, he shall better remember in order the particular things to be seen in the city'.⁷⁹ Atlases such as Braun and Hogenberg's combine Moryson's steeple-top view and his walk through the street.

The result, as with Braun and Hoefnagel's atlas, is an assemblage of views from artists and travellers which therefore do not all have the same spatial format. Leafing

⁷⁵ Nathanael Carpenter, *Geographie Delineated Forth in Two Bookes* (London: 1635), 3.

⁷⁶ All references refer to Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum 1572-1618*, 3 vols. (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1965); J. Blaeu, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Sive, Atlas Novus*, 6 vols. (Amsterdam: 1648-1655). For the early history of city and town views, see Juergen Schulz, "Jacopo De' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500," *The Art Bulletin* 60, no. 3 (September 1978).

⁷⁷ Nuti, "Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance," 99-100.

⁷⁸ Anthon van den Wyngaerde, "Jaen" (London: Victoria and Albert Museum). See also Cuningham, *The Cosmographical Glasse*, 12-13.

⁷⁹ Moryson, *An Itinerary*, 12-17.

through their pages we discover a world of artistic experiments with spatial conventions: in profile or 'prospect', the 'plat' or the city from above which was often considered the truest likeness, in bird's-eye perspective, in oblique view which developed from perspective drawing.⁸⁰ Some maps like those of London and Paris develop in an additive manner with buildings viewed in elevation such that no street is hidden from the line of sight. They attempted a composite mastery of space that some historians have called a 'totalizing knowledge' of space in combining the perambulatory experience of the traveller with the static view of the chorographer.

Despite the perspective of a high vantage point, they often include different perspectives only available to the perambulist. Joris Hoefnagel's Alhambra (*Civitates* V.14), is composed of four parts: a broad sprawling view of the city facing east that takes up two thirds of the height of the double page, and below it three squares in a row containing another view and details. The middle square contains the view to the east. It is flanked by a close-up of an architectural structure from the views to the east on its left (the gate to Granada's defensive military camp), and a detail from the view to the west on its right (a cistern). Each of these pictures carry some identifying structure from the larger views to give readers their bearings. Quite striking is Hoefnagel's views of Seville (*Civitates* V.8). There three horizontal views stacked upon each other down the centre are flanked by two vertical columns on either side, each bearing the tower of the church in Seville. The one on the right has a piece of the wall cut away to reveal the spiral interior staircase up which men ascend on foot and on horseback. These views overcome blocked lines of sight in a manner available only to a perambulist moving about the city's edifices. They give the reader an immersive experience.

⁸⁰ Nuti, "Mapping Places: Chorography and Vision in the Renaissance."

To enhance that immersiveness, Braun and Hoefnagel aimed to produce something of the distinctive objects and practices of the city.⁸¹ Hoefnagel's view of Antequera (*Civitates* II.4) shows a giant earthen jar in the foreground and the text informs the reader that the people of Antequera used like jars to store water, oil, liqueurs, and capers.⁸² Sometimes, he composed a montage to represent visual and cultural aspects of the city. The view of Mons et Crypta S'Andriani in Biscaia (*Civitates* V.16) displays rich ladies and country girls going to the market. Jacob van Deventer's view of Luxembourg is composed of parts. In one, the city's iconic monumental pillar to its nobility extends vertically along the page in fine detail (*Civitates* V.23).

This composite evocation of space through multiple perspectives, distances, and iconic details gives form to Satan's views in Book 4. An analysis of his view of Rome makes a good starting point from which to view correspondences between textual and graphic chorography because, unlike Athens, it is often to be found in collections of city views. The view begins thus:

... an Imperial City stood,
With towers and temples proudly elevate
On seven small hills, with palaces adorned,
Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens and groves presented to the eyes.
(*PR4.33-37*)

The view has recognizably distinct topographical features (the seven hills and the river) as well as iconic architectural details (baths and triumphal arcs). Satan then assigns names to specific features: the imperial palace and Mount Palatine. Varied distances and perspectives are implied in the view of the distant Roman skyline and closer renderings of

⁸¹ An early study charting the rise of cultural travel is Clare Howard, *English Travellers of the Renaissance* (London: J. Lane, 1914). Her bibliography contains an excellent list of books of travel accounts and advice for travel. See also Judith Adler, "Origins of Sightseeing," *Annals of Tourism Research* 16 (1989).

⁸² Such details, argues Lucia Nuti, were made by Hoefnagel's merchant's eye. Nuti, "The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye," 550. For an older analysis of Hoefnagel's work see A. E. Popham, *Georg Hoefnagel and the Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1936).

porches and statues. This view of Rome is not too dissimilar from the one encountered in *Civitates*. While you can distinguish the square, circular, and tiered structures in the maps of ancient Rome by Pirro Ligorio (*Civitates*, II.49, IV.54-55), G.F. Camocio's view of modern Rome (*Civitates* I.45) shows the manner in which the parts of the city were broken up for textual and experiential consumption. Along the lower edge of the view is a list of places categorized under headings – portae, montes, pontes, aquae et aquaeductus, thermae, amphitheatr et theatr, circi, obelisci, arcus, columnai, templa, varia, palatia, domus insignes. The list bears a remarkable similarity to Milton's list of generic urban features. It breaks the city up into discrete parts for cultural consumption.

Like other city views, Satan also attempts to overcome blocked line of sight by imagining the pleasure of permeating interior spaces: '(so well I have dispos'd / My Aerie Microscope) thou may'st behold / Outside and inside both' (*PR*4.56-58). Finally, against this backdrop, he evokes human figures with some sense of varying costumes: praetors, proconsuls, legions and cohorts are glimpsed entering or leaving the city 'in robes of state', with 'lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power', 'in various habits' (*PR*4.63-68). These views belong to early modern practices of visually consuming cities, either in anticipation of an actual visit or instead of one.⁸³ Considering Satan's views in the light of the city book genre helps us characterise Satan and understand the mechanics of this phase of temptation. Satan's at-will visual pyrotechnics demonstrate his own consummate mastery of space. As temptation, they note the move from a spatial organization of conquest to one of travel and from a military register to one of cultural consumption.

⁸³ For a study of how city views might have been used see Thomas Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century," *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994). See also Robert Dallington, *A Method for Trauell* (London: 1605).

Having soldered the aesthetic correspondences between Milton's views and the genre of city books, let us examine further the implicit ideologies of their construction and consumption so that we can re-examine the temptation in their light.

Of all the geographical and chorographical objects, city books were most explicitly double in their pedagogical and pleasurable intentions. City views represented a compendium of travellers' knowledge and experiences. Some city views were so exceedingly rare that their compositional characteristics had to be accepted though a departure from the formal features of other views.⁸⁴ The truth of knowledge was also at stake. A 'true likeness' was much sought after. Its truth referred to the presence of the artist at the scene. His first-hand experience guaranteed fidelity and authenticity. Similarly, Georg Braun writes that all his images were true ones, derived from direct observation of the world. The image of the cartographer or chorographer on a hill became symbolic of truthfulness and direct first-hand experience. Joris Hoefnagel drew himself and his friend Abraham Ortelius in the foreground of his views of the Campania region for the *Civitates* for precisely that reason. By depicting Ortelius and himself on a steep slope at the edge of a waterfall (*Civitates* III.52), Hoefnagel indicates the real risks and adventures encountered in the pursuit of knowledge. In his views, either a textual description appears alongside or the Greek word *autopteo* or eyewitness to emphasize direct observation. Sometimes the image of the cartographer on the hill clinches the plausibility of an implausible view.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ R. A. Skelton, "Introduction," in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum 1572-1618* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1965), xi.

⁸⁵ Frangenberg, "Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century," 43; Nuti, "The Mapped Views by Georg Hoefnagel: The Merchant's Eye, the Humanist's Eye," 553.

The pedagogic purpose of a city book was fed by the common opinion that despite its many dangers travel was needed to complete the education process.⁸⁶ As one writer recommends, one should ‘resolue to *Trauell* out of his country fashion, and indeed out of himselfe’, and ‘determine, that the end of his *Trauell* is his ripening in knowledge, and the end of his knowledge is the seruice of his cuntrye, which of right challengeth, the better part of vs’. He recommends collecting the best features of each country’s culture to gather ‘so much to his owne vse, as may make him a complete gentleman’. From the French, he should absorb valour, a discreet carriage from the Italians, and honest dealing from the Dutch. This process of understanding a country’s culture through its best attribute was not just educative but transformed the self.⁸⁷ In fact a worthy governor to a prince was one well-travelled.⁸⁸ Such a counsellor, writes Herman Kirchner, is ‘like that opticke Glasse, wherein not onely the space of three or tenne miles, but also of a whole Province, yea and of the whole world itself may be represented’.⁸⁹ Such a tutor might be had in a book of city views which produced the experiences of countries across the globe. Obviously, it could not quite replicate the rich effects of travel, a subject we will turn to later, but the city book materialises the idea that cultures were collectible.

⁸⁶ J. Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman, or, Directions for the Education of Youth as to Their Breeding at Home and Travelling Abroad in Two Treatises* (London: 1678), 'The Second Part: About their Travelling Abroad', 7-9. Boyle codified travel practices by which to educate oneself in Robert Boyle, *General Heads for the Natural History of a Country Great or Small Drawn out for the Use of Travellers and Navigators* (London: 1692).

⁸⁷ Dallington, *A Method for Trauell*, B-r, B4-r. Francis Bacon recommended that it should not change manners, apparel or gesture but should ‘appear rather in ... discourse’ in Francis Bacon, *The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral of Francis Bacon*, ed. Samuel Harvey Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), 'Of Travel', 128-29.

⁸⁸ Gailhard, *The Compleat Gentleman, or, Directions for the Education of Youth as to Their Breeding at Home and Travelling Abroad in Two Treatises*, 'The Second Part: About their Travelling Abroad', 7-9.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 'The Second Part: About their Breeding Abroad', 9; Hermannus Kirchnerus, "An Oration Made by Hermannus Kirchnerus ... Concerning This Subject; That Young Men Ought to Travell into Forraine Countryes, and All Those That Desire the Praise of Learning and Atchieving Worthy Actions Both at Home and Abroad.," in *Coryat's Crudities*, ed. Thomas Coryate (London: 1611), C2.

This knowledge was then put *into the readers' hands*. Readers overcame spatial, temporal, and financial constraint by surrogate travel. As the codex made a script more manipulable than a scroll, so the atlas and a book of views made maps manipulable.⁹⁰ The distinctive cultural ethos of a city, that a traveller absorbed by walking through it, was distilled into a folio-sized page. A book of views gave the reader the ability to select a city by turning a page, to return to a city by returning to a page. The hazards and exigencies of travel were reduced to the turn of a page.

More than just knowledge, Braun wanted to draw his readers into a surrogate perambulatory experience. He desired 'towns to be drawn in such a manner that the view can look into all the roads and streets, and see also all the buildings and open spaces'.⁹¹ The purpose of such views is not just to represent the geography of the land but to permit readers to imagine themselves walking its streets, exploring its built environment, and participating in its distinctive customs. Robert Burton recommends it as one of his antidotes to melancholy: 'what greater pleasure can there be then ... to peruse those books of citties, put out by Braunus and Hogenbergius'.⁹² In effect, the city view attempts to defy the two-dimensionality of the page to produce the three-dimensionality of the urban experience through the evocation of its internal and external spaces.

It was only at the expense of truthfulness that the practice of graphic chorography produced its pleasurable effects. Geographical manuals issue admonitory warnings to geographers to steer clear of pictorial language and stick to the straight and narrow path of geometry. Though pleasurable, Carpenter's scenographic vision could only be produced by a form of fiction that boded ill for the truth-telling geographer. Leon Battista

⁹⁰ Peter Stallybrass, "Books and Scrolls: Navigating the Bible," in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England: Material Studies*, ed. Jennifer Lotte Anderson and Elizabeth Sauer (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2002).

⁹¹ Braun, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum 1572-1618*, 28.

⁹² Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (London: 1621).

Alberti writes thus: ‘Whereas the architect, without any regard to the Shades, makes his Relieves from the Design of his Platform, as one that would have his work valued, *not by the apparent Perspective*, but by the real Compartments, founded upon Reason’ (my italics).⁹³ Perspective reproduces the effect of natural vision of which there was deep distrust. Treatises on optics speak of the ‘deception’ of the eye.⁹⁴ Johannes Kepler in *Ad Vitellionem Paralipomena* writes of the ‘deception of vision’ from the ‘artifice of observing’ and compared sight to a picture – ‘ut pictura, ita visio’.⁹⁵ John Dee wonders ‘why so sundry ways our eye is deceived, and abused: as, while the eye weeneth a round Globe or Spheare (being far off) to be a flat and plain Circle’.⁹⁶ Sometimes a map places perspectival vignettes against abstract cartographic forms in the same positions that we have seen narrative vignettes occupy.⁹⁷ Perspective needed the witness of overtly geometric space to establish veracity. These discussions of education, surrogacy, pleasure, and truth are critical to the rhetoric of material culture that subtly underlies and undermines Satan’s rhetoric in Book 4.

⁹³ Leone Battista Alberti, *The Architecture of Leon Batista Alberti. In Ten Books. Of Painting. In Three Books. And of Statuary. In One Book*, trans. James Leoni (London: 1755), 22.

⁹⁴ There was much suspicion of lenses, Satan’s ‘parallax’. For the place of the telescope and microscope within culture and scientific theory and practice, and a history of early modern experimentation with lenses, see Edward G. Ruestow, *The Microscope in the Dutch Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2-4, 6-36. Catherine Wilson traces how the lack of complete assimilation of new instrumentation led to the invocation of the demonic in Catherine Wilson, *The Invisible World: Early Modern Philosophy and the Invention of the Microscope* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). See also Margaret Cavendish’s description of lenses as ‘false informers’ in Margaret Cavendish, *Observations Upon Experimental Philosophy. To Which Is Added, the Description of a New Blazing World* (London: 1666), 28-30. For an analysis of maps’ self-consciousness as optical tricks in words like ‘mirror’ and ‘speculum’, see Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland*, 91.

⁹⁵ Johannes Kepler published *Dioptrice* in 1611 and acknowledged his debt to Galileo’s *Sidereus Nuncius*, or *The Starry Messenger* published in 1610. For a discussion on the uses of the word ‘perspective’ including such contrary meanings as imperfect or distorting vision and insight, see Adam Max Cohen, *Technology and the Early Modern Self* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 137-43.

⁹⁶ Dee, *Euclides Elements of Geometry*, F3.

⁹⁷ See Blaeu’s map of Europe in Joan Blaeu, *The Grand Atlas of the 17th Century World* (London: Studio Editions, 1997), 69.

Musing on the fact that Christ has spent little time outside Jerusalem and Galilee, Satan concludes that he needs a sound dose of worldly experience: ‘The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory, / Empires, and Monarchs, and their radiant courts, / Best school of best experience’ (PR3.236-238). So he whisks Christ to the summit of a nearby mountain for a sequence of geographical pageantry. It is indeed as if Satan had unpacked his stash of maps, atlases, and views in an educational drive. But the aesthetics and pragmatics of the city book give the lie to Satan’s claim to educate.

First, while representing the accumulation of knowledge, atlases also represent its incompleteness. Unlike schematic maps which assimilate all known knowledge at a moment of time into a complete system, atlases were an accumulation of knowledge still in the process of accumulating itself. In his introductions to each book, Braun invited his readers to contribute views promising due acknowledgement. This discourse of knowledge was one that was known for its contingency, its incompleteness, and its basis on first-hand, sometimes unverified experience. Unlike a totalising plan, the form undermines claims to omniscience and omnipotence.

The related second point is that such knowledge may have been first-hand to the acquirer but is only second-hand to the consumer of it.⁹⁸ While such atlases emphasize the intrepidity of their traveller-contributors, they also emphasize the possibility of safe, easy, surrogate adventures for their readers. Thomas Elyot describes perusing books of maps and views thus:

⁹⁸ Lesley Cormack analyses the web of characters and enterprise necessary to bring knowledge from the travellers’ world to the academic one in Cormack, *Charting an Empire: Geography at the English Universities 1580-1620*, 26. He analyses the role of geography in paving the way for a new engaged approach to natural enquiry in Lesley B. Cormack, "'Good Fences Make Good Neighbors': Geography as Self-Definition in Early Modern England," *Isis* 82, no. 4 (December 1991): 639-40. Thomas Coryate urges his readers to travel in Thomas Coryate, *Coryates Crudities* (London: 1607), 'The Epistle Dedicatorie'.

In one hour to behold those realms, cities, seas, rivers, and mountains that uneth in an old man's life cannot be journeyed and pursued ... to know the sundry manners and conditions of people, and the variety of their natures, and that in a warm study or parlour, without peril of the sea or danger of long and painful journeys: I cannot tell what more pleasure should happen to a gentle wit, than to behold in his own house everything that within all the world is contained.⁹⁹

Elyot is struck by the textual translation of distant places to the immediacy and safety of an English library. While city-views were eagerly perused, contemporary writing also suggests a wry consciousness of its shortcut attractions. For Braun, one of the primary uses of his atlas was the safety of travel without fear of danger and disease.¹⁰⁰ But paradoxically, while evaluating his own atlas as better than a textbook, he also urges real travel over armchair travelling.¹⁰¹ Robert Herrick writes disparagingly of the one 'at home without or tyde or gale'. He who could 'in [his] Map securely saile ... Buy'st Travell at the lowest price'.¹⁰² Though views valorised the practice of first-hand experience and equated it with truth, the viewer is forced into a position of second-hand experience. Though Satan supplies Christ with geographical knowledge, he cannot give him 'best school of best experience'.

Cartographical and chorographical conventions illumine second-handedness through much of Satan's discourse. Satan's prospect of Rome highlights the second-handedness of the representation by referring to the work of the Architect: 'and there Mount *Palatine*, / The Imperial Palace, compass huge, and high / The Structure, skill of noblest Architects' (*PR*4.50-52). Though the word 'compass' here means 'expanse', it raises Alberti's dichotomy between the architect's work of reason and the artist's work which is presented to dupe the eye. This resonant word also recalls Christ's geometric creation of the world and makes Satan's city views profoundly untruthful and derivative.

⁹⁹ Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London: 1531).

¹⁰⁰ Braun, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum 1572-1618*, III, Preface.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, I, 'Praefatio', D2-E2.

¹⁰² Robert Herrick, *A Country-Life*, ll. 79-84.

Christ's geometrical circumscribing in *Paradise Lost* renders him the original architect of space and cities, while Satan's eye-pleasing creations show him up as a profferer of things he has not created and pretender to power he does not have.

This discernment of Satan is furthered by city book conventions which recall the iconography of cosmographies and atlases. We have compared the costumed figures in Milton's Rome to Hoefnagel's *Civitates* to notice its foregrounded martial and diplomatic figures. Making their way to Rome are Asian kings with 'dusk faces with white silken Turbants wreath'd' (*PR4.76*), and other ambassadorial visitors from Europe and Africa. Only America is not specifically mentioned, but 'all Nations now to *Rome* obedience pay' (*PR4.80*). Yet this is rather more like the title page of Heylyn's *Cosmographie*, whose title page bears military and diplomatic representatives. The swarthy countenances of those from Asia and Africa have turbans above their heads. In Heylyn's titlepage, these figures look towards the tetragrammaton; in *Paradise Regained*, they look towards Rome. The idolatrousness of this image derives from the typicality of these diverse representatives on the title page of an atlas or a cosmographical work. Christ's refusal of Satan's gift of all his kingdoms recognizes the second-hand nature of the idolatrous gift. 'Wert thou so void of fear or shame, / As offer them to me the Son of God, / To me my own' (*PR4.189-191*), Christ asks outraged. The conventions of cartography and city books then combine to reveal not just the second-handedness and falseness of Satan's education, but of the very enterprise to endow the Creator with the knowledge of things.

The enticement of Athens continues to be presented against the grain of city book conventions. Satan offers Christ the philosophy of Athens as an alternative to the spectacle of kingdoms but the form of the spectacle still governs the offer as it locates discourse at sites within the city – the house of Socrates, the Lyceum, the school of sages. He has not really foregone show for discourse, or philosophy for materiality. He suggests

Christ 'extend [his] mind o'er all the world, / In knowledge, all things in it comprehend' (PR4.223-224). This is not unlike the city book's hope of an extensive armchair education. Athens's city book conventions materialise the emptiness of Satan's offer. This discernment is articulated by Christ when he speaks of the futility of accumulating knowledge without discernment like one 'collecting toys / And trifles for choice matters ... As Children gathering pibles on the shore' (PR4.328-330). A collection of views presented precisely the same: the experience of hard-won knowledge was reduced to a collectible toy. The rhetoric of city views then gives the lie to Satan's promise, 'The Kingdoms of the world to thee I give ... No trifle' (PR4.163-165). The power of gift is clearly possible with the object held in the hand, but the quality of that gift is secondary and derivative, a trifle.

We can now make sense of the discordant note some critics have heard in the asymmetry of Athen's pageantry and her offer of 'non-material good',¹⁰³ for there is greater continuity between the visual display of Athens and its representation of knowledge than is commonly supposed. The pageantry of its city book conventions identify the second-handed and impoverished nature of the knowledge it offers.

City book conventions in fact provide a hermeneutic by which to read all of Satan's offers in Book 4. Schematic interpretations of Christ's temptations usually conceive of them as tests of kingship, learning, and serene security, as revealing his prophetic, kingly and priestly role, his relationship with the self, the community, and with God.¹⁰⁴ In some way, these are seen to inflect St. Paul's three temptations: the lust of the

¹⁰³ Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic: The Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained*, 281-81.

¹⁰⁴ These standard accounts are drawn from Ibid, John T. Shawcross, *Paradise Regain'd: Worthy T'have Not Remained So Long Unsung* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1988).

flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life.¹⁰⁵ The common denominator in all of these is acquisitiveness. Acquisitiveness has also been considered the motivation of the prospect or view. The idea was expressed by Michel de Certeau when he describes the experience of a rooftop view as the ‘lust to be a viewpoint’ and connects the ‘scopic drive’ with the ‘gnostic drive’. On the rooftop, the ‘urban *fact*’ becomes the ‘*concept* of a city’ and can therefore be more easily mastered at least by the mind.¹⁰⁶ The city view magnifies this in its drive to possess and collect. The genre then convicts the city views of Book 4 of the same acquisitiveness as the geographical and militaristic views that went before. The offer of the kingdoms is then not ended when Christ refuses it but in fact pervades the whole of the fourth book.

Satan’s authority as cartographer or chorographer is tested when Satan takes Christ to his last view and places him at the top of the highest pinnacle. There it is Satan who ‘with amazement fell’ (*PR*4.562). Here the story of the man on the hill comes full circle from Adam in *Paradise Lost*. This last survey proves falsehood by the loss of the chorographer’s authoritative stance. It is appropriate that Christ remains standing on the pinnacle in Jerusalem for in this surveying position he links typographically, not just to the first Adam, but to the Son of *Paradise Lost* who rode out of Heaven with a pair of golden compasses.

The difference between the two Christs, with a pair of compasses and on a hill, marks Milton’s consciousness of the divine givenness of space and the formats by which it is mapped on the page and materially packaged for different ends. In Milton’s various geographical surveys, we witness his critical experimentation with how space and

¹⁰⁵ This was fairly common to the exegesis of the early Church Fathers and during the period. Elizabeth Pope, *Paradise Regained: The Tradition and the Poem* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1947).

¹⁰⁶ Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*. For more on the seventeenth-century practice of vantage points, see Christine Stevenson, "Vantage Points in the Seventeenth-Century City," *The London Journal* 33, no. 3 (2008).

discourse might be made to relate on the page and how those positions might signify. The befuddled postlapsarian vision of the world however offers itself to the manipulation of crafty salesmanship. Ultimately these reflect on fallen human perception and fallen cartographical imagination itself.

Restoration can be effected, Milton hopes, when he stands on the hill to address the other nations with the English example of godliness. About the time Milton was thinking through *Paradise Lost*, he wrote *The Second Defence* (1654). There he imagines himself at a high point viewing the nations of the world. Unlike the project to educate through an exposure to nations, Milton educates the nations himself. It is worth quoting the passage at length for the exuberant joy.

It has excited such general and such ardent expectation, that I imagine myself not in the forum or on the rostra, surrounded only by the people of Athens or of Rome; but ... the wide expanse of anxious and listening Europe. I seem to survey as from a towering height, the far extended tracts of sea and land, and innumerable crowds of spectators, betraying in their looks the liveliest interest, and sensations the most congenial with my own. Here I behold the stout and manly prowess of the Germans, disdainful servitude; there the generous and lively impetuosity of the French; on this side, the calm and stately valour of the Spaniard; on that, the composed and wary magnanimity of the Italian.
(CPWA:1.554-555)

This vision parallels and extends the vision with which *Paradise Lost* concludes. It suggests a movement like Adam and Eve's that extends from the hill-top towards the nations. Instead of a trajectory of spiritual decline, this outward movement is regenerative. Instead of collecting attributes from other cultures, Milton evangelises them with truth and liberty. This redemptive survey of the nations is the least cartographic and the most affective and relational in its appreciative pleasure in diverse nationalities. In Lefebvre's terms, Milton is absorbed into lived representational space. For him here place is constituted by people.

5: ARMS AND THE MAN

“Was it worthwhile leaving earth to find in heaven carriage-works, buildings, artillery, a manual of tactics?” queried Hippolyte Taine, a nineteenth-century critic.¹ This perplexed question has found its way into several studies on Milton not just because it tickles the ears. More importantly it expresses the reader’s discomfort at the apparent misfit of distinctly man-made works in a mythic narrative.² It draws our attention to the muddying of narrative convention by the obtrusiveness of contemporary war-works and to the resultant anachronisms. During the middle years of the seventeenth century when internal strife despoiled the innocence of middle-England, the social narrative of war slid from the relatively peaceful context then occupied by romance or myth towards the unruliness of unpredictable horror. Written after the bloody years of the Civil War, Milton’s battle narratives are indelibly marked by war-weary perspectives. Taine may have been discomfited by accommodation that renders the war anachronistically coloured, but any narrative accommodation would result in some form of anachronism and Milton’s carriage-works and artillery lie on the fine edge between anachronism and typology that seeks to forge a genealogical connection.³

The increased investment in armorial materiality is paralleled by the period’s appreciation of its rhetoric. For the early modern period, arms and armour were loquacious objects. In their polished metal, they saw reflected ideas of mortality, vulnerability, invincibility, and power. They were also a staple component of early

¹ Hippolyte Taine, *History of English Literature*, Vol. 2, trans. H. Van Laun (London: Chatto & Windus, 1872), 449-450.

² James A. Freeman, *Milton and the Martial Muse* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980), 13; Michael Murrin, *History and Warfare in Renaissance Epic* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 136.

³ For more on the kinship between anachronism and typology, see De Grazia, "Anachronism," 25-26.

modern self-fashioning especially in visual art and heraldic practice. The play between their materiality and their rhetoric will be a persistent theme.

The intentional inter-habitation of narratives points to the need to press into such an investigation further, through an analysis in which material culture is central, to ask how Milton's battle narratives were inflected by the material conditions of war.⁴ The following chapter examines the seventeenth century conditions of armour and arms through reports, letters, military manuals, visual art, and the things themselves. Set beside Milton's narratives, I ask how the first-hand or surrogate experience of military things kindled meaning in Milton's works. In the battles of *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, these levels of signification are overlaid upon each other to speak about ideas of obedience, fallenness, and relationship of the creature with the Creator.⁵

Encased in Adamant

Some of the most iconic portraits of the early modern period are military – Charles I gleaming in gold and Oliver Cromwell in austere black. Such portraits give us armour as a favourite means of self-fashioning with rulers, as an 'artistic prop', as Laura Knoppers terms it.⁶ These portraits display curious choices. For the portrait by Robert Walker (1649), Cromwell chose to array himself in chivalric black plate armour of the sixteenth century instead of the later armour of the Civil War. His reluctance to be compromised by allusion to recent battle evidences the conflicted appropriation of

⁴ My work is indebted throughout to similar lines of investigation in Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁵ Seminal studies of the early modern body are Jones, "Of Busks and Bodies"; Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton*; Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn, eds., *Renaissance Bodies: The Human Figure in English Culture C. 1540-1660* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Reaktion Books, 1990).

⁶ Laura Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 32-33.

armour as a rhetorical device that contested its own materiality in favour of its rhetorical possibilities.

The century witnessed many exchanges between the material objects of armour and their rhetorical uses. The developing disaffection for armour in favour of a preference for motion and speed fed a substantially developing material imagination for Pauline spiritual armour. Milton's references to armour begin with this idea that the most secure armour is spiritual but the evidence of material practices that fed the metaphor eventually leads him to change the terms of the metaphor altogether: armour does not make for an appropriate language of virtue. In the end, the functions of armour are found in the power and beauty of the body.

While artists may have delighted in the visual and rhetorical possibilities of imposing armour, decisions on the battlefield were made by negotiating two criteria: protection and mobility, armour and freedom to effectively employ arms, which were usually at odds in England's Civil War experiences. Sir Hesselrigg took full advantage of the cuirassier's robust full-body armour, not far off from the man-at-arms 'complete, with his cuyrasses of prooffe [tested to stand against musket fire], his close helmet with a beuer, a gorget, strong pouldrons, vambraces, gauntlets & taisses' besides his weapons.⁷ His regiment was infamously called the 'regiment of lobsters' for their 'bright iron shells'.⁸ Sir Hesselrigg himself proved notoriously difficult to kill, as Captain Richard Atkyns discovered at the battle of Edgehill. He 'try'd him from the Head to the Saddle, and could not penetrate him, nor do him any hurt', he reported with chagrin. Point blank fire was 'but a flea-biting to him'. Eventually Hesselrigg was persuaded to take quarter.

⁷ Robert Barret, *The Theorike and Practike of Moderne Warres Discoursed in Dialogue Wise*. (London: 1598), 141.

⁸ Edward Hyde Clarendon, Earl of, *Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers Preserved in the Bodleian Library*, 1-5 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1826-1916), Vol. 2, 422.

The story was reported to have induced this response from the King, ‘Had he been victual’ed as well as fortife’d, he might have endur’d a Seidge of Seven Years’.⁹ Atkyns’ account valorised the impenetrability of complete armour and made Hesselrigg’s endurance legendary. Hesselrigg came very near to entirely inhabiting the ideal of ‘perfect and impermeable masculinity’, of physical tenacity that complete armorial accoutrements could assure.¹⁰ They guaranteed him a nearly solitary self-sufficiency. But, as Diane Purkiss asks when writing of the military masculine ideal of hardness, ‘how is it possible to go on being hard, day after day?’¹¹ Hesselrigg embodied both the perfection of solitary hardness and the impossibility of longevity. Though Hesselrigg’s regiment was the first that made any impression upon the King’s horse, some historians consider their armour a handicap contributing to Hesselrigg’s defeat at Roundway Down.¹²

In any case, soldiers quickly discovered that so superb a defence came at the price of weight and decreased mobility. Only light horse, dragoons and musketeers could assemble a ‘flying’ army leaving heavily armed horse and foot to follow after.¹³ James Turner reflects on the solidity and stolidity of armour:

Vegetius will tell him, that the heavy armed are like an Iron wall, which can neither run away from a Victorious enemy, nor pursue a flying one, for that is left to the Horse and light armed Foot ... As to Skirmishes it will be easily granted him, that neither the heavy armed Footman, who should be the Pikeman, nor the heavy armed Horseman, who is the Cuirassier, are proper for them. These services were performed in ancient times by the *Velites*, and now by Musquets, Fusees, Fire-locks, and light Horsemen; the heavy armed standing ready to sustain them, and either to give or receive the Charge.¹⁴

Heavy plate armour stooped the human figure, diminishing it even while enhancing its impenetrability. Some protested that armour ‘cannot be but wonderfull burthensome, and

⁹ Ibid., VII:105, Richard Atkyns, *The Vindication of Richard Atkyns Esquire* (London: 1669), 38-40.

¹⁰ Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics*, 51.

¹¹ Ibid., 48.

¹² Philip J. Haythornthwaite, *The English Civil War, 1642-1651: An Illustrated Military History* (London: Arms and Armour, 1994), 28-29.

¹³ James Turner, *Pallas Armata* (London: 1683), 168.

¹⁴ Ibid., 180.

the more by reason of the excessive heat which [a soldier] is forced to suffer, being (as I may so say) imprison'd in his Armes'.¹⁵ It was therefore that Sir Edmund Verney writes to his son Ralph in 1639, 'It will kill a man to serve in a whole curass. I am resolved to use nothing but back, breast, and gauntlet'.¹⁶ Sir Edmund's attitude was more typical of the majority of Civil War soldiers in the exchange between speed and vulnerability, swiftness and weight. In contrast, the fleetness of Prince Rupert made a deep impression on Lucy Hutchinson who writes repetitively, 'Prince Rupert flew about the counties and plundered and did many barbarous things with his flying body of horse'.¹⁷ His cavalry gave him wings.

As firearms acquired greater purchase and mobility prioritised from the late sixteenth century onwards a deep scepticism about the function of armour became pervasive. A cavalryman usually favoured an open helmet and a back and breast, while the pikeman had the sole addition of a buff-coat beneath similar armour. Complete armour fell out of use and trained mobility enabled by lighter armour was considered a far better defence than the ponderous encumbrance of weighted armour.¹⁸ The approach to victory shifted from the hardness of consolidated materiality to the agency of swift bodily movement and reflexes.

¹⁵ Lupton, 106-107. He added 'whereas the Musquetier marches with a great deale of liberty, and is free and open to the aire, which is no small benefit and happinesse to him upon such occasions'.

¹⁶ John Bruce, ed., *Letters and Papers of the Verney Family Down to the End of the Year 1639* (London: Camden Society, 1853), 227.

¹⁷ Lucy Hutchinson, *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (London: Dent, 1995), 83.

¹⁸ 'Soldiers should take a pleasure in beareing them, but they should not be burthened under them: Hereupon tis thought that Buffe-coats came so much in request, because they are so easie and comely, and (if good) as fit for defence as common Corslets', wrote Lupton in Donald Lupton, *A Warre-Like Treatise of the Pike* (London: 1647), 42. Also see Haythornthwaite, *English Civil War*, 28-29, A.V.B. and G.M. Wilson Norman, *Treasures from the Tower of London: An Exhibition of Arms and Armour* (London: Lund Humphries, 1982), 23; Charles John Ffoulkes, *The Craft of the Armourer* (London: 1912), 38-39.

However, experiences of the battlefield gave the Pauline spiritual armour of Ephesians 6 an experiential dimension that writers were quick to seize on.¹⁹ Some like *The Christian Souldiers Magazine of Spirituall Weapons* (1644) preached that fear could be overcome through a dimension beyond the material: by setting hearts right with God instead of merely being trained in the use of weapons.²⁰ This rhetoric was based on the idea that spiritual armour superseded material armour and that conversely, material armour was a coarse figure for the virtues of Christian character. Yet the entrenched material discourse within which these ideas found expression worked against the grain of the intended spiritualization.²¹ John Downname writes of ‘armour [of] high prooffe’ and of the discipline of bearing complete armour: ‘Neither is it enough that wee put on one peece of the armour, and like young souldiers leaue off the rest for lightnes sake’.²² Interestingly, the discourse of spiritual armour still favoured the old-fashioned values of complete sets of accoutrements quite contrary to much prevalent practice. So both battlefield and sermon could divest armour of material importance, but the sermon often accomplishes this by rehearsing armorial practices for its own logic to be propped up. However Downname also sounds a cautionary note on the limits of material symmetries: ‘For it was not the Apostles purpose so exactly to fit the similitudes, as may appeare I Thess.5.8. where he indifferently ascribeth the name of breast-plate both to faith and charitie ... but onely briefly and generally to shew what vertues and graces of Gods spirit

¹⁹ These titles underwent more than one edition during the middle decades of the century: William Gouge, *The Whole Armour of God* (1615); Paul Baynes, *The Spirituall Armour* (London: 1620); *The Christian Souldiers Magazine of Spirituall Weapons*, (London: 1644). Some general works with titles about armour could be generic warnings against keeping evil company and made no reference to Ephesians’ text, 6:11-17, such as Richard Younge, *Armour of Proof, or a Sovereign Antidote, against the Contagion of Evil Company* (London: 1655). It might take a sacramental aspect by teaching the catechism as in William Slayter, *The Compleat Christian, and Compleat Armour and Armoury of a Christian* (London: 1643).

²⁰ *The Christian Souldiers Magazine of Spirituall Weapons*.

²¹ J. R. Hale writes, “the language is so concrete that the image of real warfare is present with a modish insistence that runs the risk of occluding the image of spiritual warfare,” in J. R. Hale, “Incitement to Violence? English Divines on the Theme of War, 1578 to 1631,” in *Renaissance War Studies* (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 509.

²² John Downname, *The Christian Warfare* (London: 1652), 45.

are most necessarie for a Christian'.²³ Fixing allegory too rigidly to material culture could inhibit or change its meaning.

The turn from material to symbolic object was not new to this material domain. Armour had *spoken* through visual iconography and through the practice of heraldry, a language that intermittently surfaces at select moments in *Paradise Lost*. By the early modern period, heraldry had drifted far from its use on the battlefield towards a system of familial representation.²⁴ The sixteenth century had a few publications explaining the practice of heraldry. Explaining the aristocratic way of life, Sir John Ferne's *The Blazon of Gentry* (1586) describes the practice of heraldry and the conduct of the gentry.²⁵ During the seventeenth century, the nearly sole publication was John Guillim's *A Display of Heraldrie* which went through several editions before the Civil War and resumed publication after the Restoration.²⁶ The Restoration saw the publication of new manuals, and old encyclopaedic manuals were worked into *précis* such as Morgan Sylvanus's *Armilogia, Sive, Ars chromocritica: The Language of Arms by the Colours & Metals* (1666), Sir George Mackenzie's *The Science of Heraldry* (1680), and John Seller's *Heraldry Epitomized containing a short and easie way to attain that art* (1682), amongst others.²⁷ The popularization of heraldry is evidenced by the reduction of Guillim-esque

²³ Ibid., 49.

²⁴ J. P. Brooke-Little, *Boutell's Heraldry*, Revised ed. (London; New York: Frederick Warne & Co. , 1973), 10.

²⁵ The first section treated of the 'glorie of generositie' and the second of the 'beginning, parts, and degrees of gentleness, with her laws: of the bearing, and blazon of cote-armors: of the laws of armes, and of combats'. Sir John Ferne, *The Blazon of Gentry* (London: 1586).

²⁶ It was published in 1610, 1611, 1632, 1638, 1640. Post-Restoration editions were 1660, 1664, 1666, 1679. St. John Hope states the practice remained steady during the Protectorate in W. H. St. John Hope, *A Grammar of English Heraldry*, 2nd ed. (London: 1953), 90.

²⁷ Morgan Sylvanus, *Armilogia, Sive, Ars Chromocritica: The Language of Arms by the Colours & Metals* (London: 1666); Sir George Mackenzie, *The Science of Heraldry, Treated as Part of the Civil Law, and Law of Nations* (Edinburgh: 1680); John Seller, *Heraldry Epitomized Containing a Short and Easie Way to Attain That Art* (London: 1682); Richard Blome, *An Essay to Heraldry in Two Parts* (London: 1684).

encyclopaedic volumes to single-sheet guides.²⁸ Milton's Restoration readers were likely to recognize this popularized language in his epics.

In this language, the possession of arms indicates present and ancestral qualities, usually of power and intrepidity. Arms, as one writer put it, are 'tokens or resemblances signifying some act or qualitie of the Bearer ... of Nobility and of *Worthy* prowessfull exploits performed in Marshall services, especially if they be ancient, and bestowed by a *Noble* and renowned *Prince*'.²⁹ Virtuous character is expressed in military motions and measured by military successes. These ideas persisted into the eighteenth century when Humphry Bland writes that the inspiration of military men must be 'a noble and generous inclination since they sacrifice their ease and their lives in the defence of their country'.³⁰

But as aristocratic hierarchy was questioned, so was the practice of heraldry. Though heraldic practices were hardly new in the seventeenth century, the distance between the sign and the inherited quality it purported to represent began to be felt at the time. It registered in the profession of a new attitude towards nobility, one that Roger Manning terms the 're-chivalrization of English aristocratic and gentry culture' which sought to 'validate ... honour upon the field of battle'.³¹ Writing of heraldry, Matthew Carter distinguished three types of honour: 'the first by Blood, the second by Merit, the third by Blood and Merit; which last, without doubt, must receive the estimation of the most honourable'. Honour, in these terms, is ideally inherited *and* earned. Carter stated specific views on the best way it was to be earned: 'by learning', 'discovering the secrets of Heaven', but 'to atchieve it by service in his Sovereign's Wars, the defence of the

²⁸ Robert Wiseman, *Le Blazon or a Short and Easie Way to Attain to the Art of Heraldry* (London: 1678); Seller, *Heraldry Epitomized*.

²⁹ John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (London: 1638), 3.

³⁰ Humphry Bland, *A Treatise of Military Discipline* (London: 1727), 117.

³¹ Roger Burrow Manning, *Swordsmen: The Martial Ethos in the Three Kingdoms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 19.

Church, King, and Country, is of all most excellent and worthy'.³² Milton himself looks nostalgically back towards the purity of titles 'not hereditary, not empty and vain ... but names of trust and office' (CPW3.220). Underlying these statements is the realization that though armorial language remained the same, it no longer referenced the same material practices of virtue that arms and armour should be contiguous with. This ironizing self-reflexivity results in Restoration apologies for heraldic practice.³³

Heraldic practice is not interesting merely for its consciousness that things could be rhetoric, but because it provided a way by which to filter things through a classificatory sieve. The practice emblematises proliferous objects. Thus the family 'Delaluna' might bear a moon on their shield and the family 'Shelley' might bear escallops on theirs.³⁴ Guillim divides all things by their form, matter, and form of life, through a complex Raman diagram. Natural things could be formal (spirits such as angels), or material. Material things could be simple (the heavens and stars) or mixed. Stars are fixed or wandering (like the sun, moon, and comets). Unlike the constancy of celestial objects, topographical features were inconstant. In similar fashion, living objects could be broken into kinds of life forms – minerals or metals, plants and vegetables, and sensitive creatures.³⁵ No wonder Randle Holme's exhaustive *Blazon* is a trove of reference for students of early modern material culture. In addition, things were thought through in a biblical context. Guillim often quotes occurrences of his objects in the Bible. This genre of thingly thought ripened into Sylvanus's approach: to conflate classifications with the days of creation. He writes first of '*praexistent Matter without Form*' and then

³² Matthew Carter, *Honor Redivivus [Sic] or an Analysis of Honor and Armory* (London: 1660), 5, 10. See also Ferne, *Blazon*, 37.

³³ Thomas Philipot, *A Brief Historical Discourse of the Original and Growth of Heraldry* (London: 1674), Morgan Sylvanus; *Heraldry Epitomiz'd and Its Reason Essay'd* (London: 1679). Commensurate with these attitudes was the loss of the flat heraldic body in visual art. See Ellen Chirelstein, *Lady Elizabeth Pope: The Heraldic Body* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990).

³⁴ Guillim, *Display*, 84, 157.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 104.

came to the ‘*Works of the Creation*’. He uses the days of creation as classificatory categories through which to analyse armorial charges. So the ‘*Shield of the fourth Days Work*’ analyses the golden shield and representations of the sun.³⁶ Heraldry then simultaneously developed the rhetoric of things, appreciated their proliferous materiality, and measured them Biblically when possible.

Milton’s negotiation of armour and virtue first occurs symbolically in *A Masque* where the Lady’s chastity is professed and rehearsed in military terms.³⁷ Her elder brother has confidence in ‘the arms of Chastity,’ the second brother fears ‘th’unarmed weakness of one Virgin,’ and the attendant Spirit declares that resistance to Comus’s charms required ‘farr other arms, and other weapons’ (ll.440, 582, 612). Her defence, as one critic notes, was ‘dispositional armour’ willed from within, not the virtue of military courage. Social vulnerability is protected internally by the regulation of desire rather than by the external conditioning necessary to bearing armour and arms.³⁸ Military strength comes from a willed occupation of virtuous personhood, Milton suggests, not an occupation of armour.³⁹ This metaphorization of virtue as arms or armour relies on discourses of spiritual armour which made the material object a coarse version of the real thing. *Paradise Lost*, written after the years of the Civil War, finds a rather different figuration of the relationship of virtue to armour.

The battles of *Paradise Lost* all follow a fairly similar narrative. Duelling with Abdiel, Satan is ‘enclosed / With flaming cherubim, and golden shields’ and stands

³⁶ Sylvanus, *Armilogia*, 86, 139.

³⁷ For a discussion of chastity figured in military terms see Kathryn Schwarz, "Chastity, Militant and Married: Cavendish's Romance, Milton's Masque," *PMLA* 118, no. 2 (March 2003): 274.

³⁸ William Shullenberger, "The Profession of Virginitie in *a Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*," in *Milton and Gender*, ed. Catherine Gimelli Martin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 79.

³⁹ Schwartz, *Remembering and Repeating*, 274.

‘armed in adamant and gold’ (*PL6.101-102, 110*). Yet Abdiel’s sword stroke falls harshly against the solidity of Satan’s armour:

... a noble stroke he lifted high,
Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell
On the proud Crest of Satan, that no sight,
Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield
Such ruin intercept ...
(*PL6.189-193*)

The pendant phrase ‘Which hung not’ yields to the swift momentum of the enjambment as the sword falls. Michael’s battle with Satan is resolved in the same gesture of hard sword edge smartly slicing through a massy shield. Michael’s celestially tempered sword ‘met / The sword of Satan with steep force to smite / Descending, and in half cut sheer, nor staid, / But with swift wheel reverse, deep entering shar’d, / All his right side’. Similarly Gabriel ‘pierc’d the deep array / Of Moloc furious King’ while Uriel and Raphael face and conquer Adramalec and Asmadai who are armed ‘in a rock of diamond’ (*PL6.323-327, 356-357, 363-365*). Perhaps it is the seventeenth-century despair of ever achieving perfect hardness that characterizes fallen angels. This military ideal fails in the test of ‘prooffe’ and the fallen angels, like Hesselrigg, enact its failure. The angels instead triumph through action swifter than ‘motion of swift thought’. Fallen and unfallen strength, for Milton, are no longer modelled in terms of armour and its symbolic functions but in terms of the opposition of armour to the movement.

Though the angels are not immune to the weight of the armour they bear, there is a clear difference in the narrator’s perspective when he describes fallen and angelic responses to crushing armour. Buried under projectile mountains, Satan’s angels are ‘crushed in and bruised / Into their substance pent’ (*PL6.656-67*). The anguish of bruised bodies is narrated differently for God’s angels: ‘by thousands, Angel on Arch-angel rowl’d / The sooner for thir arms, unarm’d they might / Have easily as Spirits evaded

swift / By quick contraction or remove' (*PL*6.593-96). Even in defeat, almost every line is energized by a verb of movement. In *Paradise Lost* then, the shift in the values of military encounter that the Civil War mobilized, become an opportunity to differentially characterise angelic encounters. The new value for kinesis in military encounter gives Milton more fitting symmetries through which to figure virtuous will. In each encounter, the hardness of invincibility is transformed into the passivity of a recipient surface. The Civil War showed that the armoured body, standing still, in fact becomes feminized by being both passive and penetrable. The figure of chastity moves then from the stance of receptive passivity that rose from the experience of armour to the swiftness of the agile body on the battlefield.

This figure entirely pulls down the careful architecture of spiritual armour.

However, this is another instance where the effects of Milton's material imagination are at odds with his avowals. Later in *Paradise Lost*, Michael teaches Adam that the Spirit would 'arme / With spiritual Armour, able to resist / *Satans* assaults' (*PL*12.490-492). Clearly, at the discursive level, Milton finds the doctrine of spiritual armour persuasive. Yet his imaginative instinct has perceived its contradictions and the result would later be the gloriously unarmoured body of Samson:

He all their ammunition
 And feats of war defeats
 With plain heroic magnitude of mind
 And celestial vigour armed,
 Their armories and magazines condemns,
 Renders them useless, while
 With winged expedition
 Swift as the lightning glance he executes
 His errand on the wicked ...
 (*SA*1277-1285)

Accumulating armorial nouns appear with increasing frequency within the lines suggest a fearful cache of ammunition. Unmoved however, Samson confounds his adversaries with 'plain' rectitude, with 'celestial vigour'. The language of swift efficacy

recalls the first epic's images of immobile armoured bodies and swift angelic reflexes. The mutually reinforcing 'expedition' and 'executes' recall the descent of the angelic sword even without it. The sword's movement is now located in the body. For Milton, natural bodily reflex and agency function as a correlate for an inner state of godliness that needed no extraneous prop.

If the language of armour has been rendered inadequate to communicate virtue, then what is to be done with the rhetorical use of armour in heraldry? Destabilizing the links between militarization and virtue becomes a consistent theme of the heraldic language on angelic and fallen shields.

Milton tests the heraldic measurement of nobility in *Paradise Lost* by stretching it elastically in the juxtaposition of battle and creation. There, armoury finds expression in the language of nature and nature finds expression in the language of heraldry. Bearings on armorial shields often derived from the natural world. The possibilities for the convergence and mutual reflection of nature and heraldry upon each other undermine the military test of honour and lead away from a code of self-disclosure towards a code that discloses the glory of God, from narcissism to worship.

Heraldry is not explicitly evoked during the battle in Heaven. But as the massy shields of warring angels loom large on the battle-scene, the language of similitudes conjures up these shields in terms of stock armorial bearings – planets, the moon, the sun. Without referring to codified heraldic practice, they perform similarly. Satan's shield 'hung on his shoulders like the Moon, whose orb / Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views' (*PL*1.287-288). In the standard heraldic account of the century, the moon was commonly perceived to be 'the Mistresse by which all *moist, mutable and unconstant*

things are ruled'.⁴⁰ It suggests ingrained changeability in the Satanic identity.

Astronomical language appears again during the war: 'two broad suns their shields / Blazed opposite' (*PL*6.305-306). Though heavenly spheres were considered fit for 'men of ethereall or heavenly spirits' they also biblically declare the glory of God and by contrast call to mind 'the perversitie of *Man*, which never keeps the course that God prescribeth, whereas those bodies though void of sense, yet from their first *creation* never faltered in their endlesse journeies'.⁴¹ While the language of heraldry accrues magnitude and nobility to the warring angels, it also provides a contrapuntal natural discourse. The codes by which it measured things call for a similarly critical measurement of things in a Biblical context. The meanings it assigned to celestial objects suggests that identity might be measured by fidelity and constancy rather than physical prowess. Their rhetorical function undermines the material one.

The idea that virtue should be measured not by birth but by the sword and that the shield should bear its testimony is Satan's challenge to the Son. Wilfully choosing to believe himself 'self-begot, self-raised', Satan declares, 'our own right hand / Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try / Who is our equal' (*PL*5.860, 864-866). Such assertion seeks an independence from the creator which is fundamentally opposite to the Son, the effluence of the Creator.⁴² Strangely deconstructing the birth-merit opposition, the Son assumes his filial position by merit. Though he proves his merit in military terms, he does so more vitally through self-sacrifice: 'By merit more than birthright Son of God, / Found worthiest to be so by being good, / Far more than great or high; because in thee / Love hath abounded more than glory abounds' (*PL*3.309-312). For Milton, military success must be an effect rather than resulting in the acquisition of merit as it did for Satan.

⁴⁰ Guillim, *Display*, 122.

⁴¹ The sun bore the usual associations of light dispelling darkness in *Ibid.*, 110, 19-21.

⁴² Jonathan Sawday writes of the likeness to an automaton in believing one can exist independently of God in *Sawday, Engines of the Imagination: Renaissance Culture and the Rise of the Machine*, 288.

A little before he wrote *Paradise Lost*, Milton published *A Defence of the People of England* in which armorial language transforms the classical trope that compares excess paper to a fish-wrapper. Salmasius's publications, rhymes Milton in a little poetic interlude, will clothe the fish that shiver in the sea with 'chartaceous jackets'. He then extends the metaphor into heraldry: 'Jackets resplendent with his arms and fame / Exultingly parade the fishy mart, / And sing his praise with checquered livery' (*CPW4*:1.580-51).⁴³ These heraldic testaments to Salmasius's work fittingly clothe only the limp forms of dead fish. The dead natural world contrasts with the speaking forms of heraldry, to speak here by its silence of the absence of virtue.

This soured heraldic image may have simmered in Milton's mind during the decade for it turns up in a similar form in *Paradise Lost*. This time however it is freshened and revived. When God creates the creatures of the sea, Milton paints a beautiful scene of heraldry in motion. Schools of fish –

Show to the Sun their wav'd coats dropt with Gold,
Or in their Pearlie shells at ease, attend
Moist nutriment, or under Rocks their food
In jointed Armour watch: on smooth the Seale,
And bended Dolphins play:
(*PL6*.406-410)

The language of armoury is pervasive in this description in the images of coats 'dropped' or spotted with gold, of 'bended' dolphins. Dolphins were to fish as lions to animals and eagles to birds in the language of armoury, chief of their kind. They were often seen on a *bend*, a diagonal strip across the shield, as on the shield of the Franklins of Hertfordshire: Argent, on a bend azure three dolphins of the field; crest, a dolphin embowed proper, pierced through the sides with two fishing spears in saltier or.⁴⁴ Shells

⁴³ See Karen Edwards's discussion of the economic models at work here in Karen Edwards, "Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary, M-O," *Milton Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (2008): 114-15.

⁴⁴ Guillim, *Display*, 68; Thomas Moule, *Heraldry of Fish* (London: John Van Voorst, 1892), 15, 25.

too were a common armorial conceit.⁴⁵ These commonplace heraldic creatures inhabit the first two lines of the passage.

This piscean heraldry does not speak fiercely. Like the Edenic lion, they are most rampant when most gentle.⁴⁶ For Milton, the artifices surrounding the body, that fashion an identity from a display of military excellence, have to be restored to a natural condition where protection is only for those who cower. Only armoured creatures that skulk behind rocks and occupy a position of subordination are preyed on by gloriously coloured creatures of uncovered skin. This reverses the idea that, as one writer put it, ‘*Nakedness* cannot stand before armed strength’ and reinforces the sufficiency of natural created ability.⁴⁷ But their bravery lies in the joy with which they thrive in the ‘show’ of natural beauty.

There were parallel developments in contemporary portraiture. For Charles I and Cromwell to some extent attempted to portray the ‘personalization of power’ in their portraits.⁴⁸ By divesting themselves of the symbolic objects of rulership, they attempted to *embody* authority. This was commensurate with the period’s scepticism of heraldic language speaking truly. Milton closes the gap perceived to be developing between the terms of the sign through heraldic embodiment. By converting language of explicit comparison to implicit metaphors, extraneous artifice is restored to its natural place in the unfallen world. These signs only disclose the self as the handiwork of God. The representation of armour then strikes at the heart of self-fashioning, critically making evident the self-absorbent nature of such a project.

⁴⁵ ‘He beareth, Argent, ten *Escallops*, 4.3.2.1. Sable, on a *Canton*, Gules, a *Mullet pierced*, Or’; ‘He beareth Azure, a *Moone decessant*, Proper, by the name of *Delaluna*’ from Guillim, *Display*, 243, 122.

⁴⁶ Karen Edwards, “Milton’s Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary, L,” *Milton Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (2007).

⁴⁷ Richard Venner, *Panoplia, or, the Whole Armour of God* (London: 1662), 41.

⁴⁸ Kevin Sharpe, *Image Wars* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2010), 203.

So the prevalent distrust in armour as military object and as language motivates a systemic change in Milton's military metaphors for virtue. Virtue which revels in created being is the most potent empowerment and its signs speak most truly.

Upright Beams and Conflicting Fire

Of the range of weapons available to the English Civil War, multi-form swords, elongated points of pike and halberd, conflagratory cannon and musket, almost every category is summoned into being in *Paradise Lost*. Connected in narrative lineage to ancient weapons and their uses, reflective of and reflecting on textual documentation, these objects open to the contestations of quotation and imitation. This section discusses how Milton's weapons enter these contrapuntal discourses to narrate character, inventive action, and return to the theme of the creature's relation to the Creator. Through their discussion of imitation and invention, they lay bare the logic of pretension and the significance of material culture to the mythic imagination.

Like the relation between armour and mobility, developing military technology pitted pike warfare against fire power. Each required a different set of skills and bodily attributes. Originally 16 inches high, the pike required a distinctive physical robustness from its bearer as the condition of its mastery. Donald Lupton bemoans the absorption of the ablest men into pike regiments for 'officers make choice of the tallest, and, to all likelihood, of the strongest men to be for Pike-men'.⁴⁹ James Turner, on the other hand, recommends the practice: 'Without all question, the tallest, biggest, and strongest should be order'd to carry Pikes, that they may the better endure the weight of their defensive Arms'. Though this was not rigorously practised, Turner recommends a weighty

⁴⁹ Lupton, *Treatise of the Pike*, 67.

complement of back and breast plate, belly-piece, tassets for the thighs, greaves for the arms.⁵⁰

To a writer like James Turner who advanced the genealogical project by measuring contemporary martial conditions by classical ones, military discipline requires bearing armour through inclement conditions on uneven terrain. Ideally, the pikeman's body therefore was marked by strength and discipline. The lack of endurance was conversely made visible in the enervation of the contemporary pikeman's body who quarrelled with his armour. 'When we see Battalions of Pikes', Turner despairs, 'we see them every where naked'. He hoped soldiers would be 'habituated' to their armour through frequent drilling and 'accustom'd twice a week to march a good many miles in Arms'.⁵¹ Literary ideals valorised the disciplined body of the pikeman, but in practice their military nudity displayed weakened will.

The key to pike action was displaying resolution in the face of vicious assault. While the cavalry was prized for its mobility, a pike regiment was trained to withstand the enemy, to form a 'stand of pikes'. Riding up a steep incline, Richard Atkyns was first dismayed to find soldiers running away in fear and then delighted to discover 'Sir Bevill Grinvill's stand of Pikes, which certainly preserved our Army from a Total rout'.⁵² His description of them paints a picture of war-time virtue: 'They stood as upon the Eaves of an House for steepness, but as unmovable as a Rock'. Their steadfastness is dramatically highlighted by the precarious slope on which they are perched. Pikemen were armed with swords for individual combat, but ideally a stand of pikes were collectively impenetrable to charging cavalry: 'The pike and corselet is of most estimation with footmen, for being

⁵⁰ Turner, *Pallas Armata*, 169. Turner adds, 'there hath been, and are at this day Arms made that are proof, and of no considerable weight'.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 168-69.

⁵² Atkyns, *The Vindication*, 32.

a weapon of most firmenesse in the field ... a most sure defence against the fury of horsemen'.⁵³

Such resolution required the exertion of disciplined will over the body. Military manuals detail the 'postures' in which a pikeman mastered his body. Soldiers learned to master their pikes with finesse of motion, to 'more gracefully ... shoulder the Pike' or 'more easily ... raise y^e sharpe end'.⁵⁴ The drilled body did not lean on a pike but was to *advance, order, check, port, charge* or *trail* his pike in the body's least effortless posture.⁵⁵ Balance was critical to the postures of both pike and musket. Instructions negotiated the various manoeuvres with moving the body's weight to the left or right foot.⁵⁶ Richard Elton satirically describes the pikeman's '*Lazie Posture*' when the pikeman let '*slip his Pike from the shoulder, untill the Butt end rest[ed] upon the ground, then laying his right arme over it, he stands in an il-favour'd lazie way*'.⁵⁷ The ease with which an instrument of empowerment might become a prop to compensate for weakness suggested the fragility of human strength. The docilely disciplined body is here empowered. Like Turner's expostulations, Elton's ideals have a textual life that may have been far more difficult to practice consistently on the field.

The word, *posture*, thus came to signify militarily.⁵⁸ It denoted readiness in preparation for war or a seige as in these titles: *An ordinance of the Lords and Commons ... that all persons may be in a readinesse and fitting posture for defence thereof* (1643)

⁵³ Barret, *Theorike and Practike*, 12.

⁵⁴ The pikeman had to 'hold the pike iust before his right foot, gouerning it against y^e thumbe' or he had to 'gouerne it against the [right] arm', *The Military Discipline* (London: 1623), n.p. The same language is used for the musketeer.

⁵⁵ *The Military Discipline*, (London: 1642), 3. This edition contains only a list of commands. The 1623 edition quoted above contains illustrations for pike and musket postures.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Richard Elton, *The Compleat Body of the Art Military* (London: 1650), 5.

⁵⁸ It might also belong to the language of ceremonial as in *A Discourse Concerning the Finesse of the Posture, Necessary to Be Used, in Taking the Bread and Wine at the Sacrament* (London: 1642).

or *Englands sad posture; or, A true description of the present estate of poore distressed England ... since the beginning of this civill, and unnaturall warr* (1644). The more sophisticated term specifically referred to the bodily positions maintained while manipulating the pike and the gun. A manual might show ‘*the order for driling the musket and pike: set forth in postures with ye words of*’.⁵⁹ They manifested the body obedient to language.

In the textual lives of weapons, genealogy and historicity were perennial analytical reflexes. Value for weapons of antiquity would conflict with technological developments which made their temporality poignant. These debates are manifest in the conversation between Donald Lupton’s *A warre-like treatise of the pike* (1647) and James Turner’s riposte in *Pallas Armata* (1683). Lupton develops a modernist argument for the expiring utility of pikes. James Turner’s genealogical account of weapons from classical Greece to contemporary England separates ahistorical value from temporal arguments. He writes of Lupton, ‘This Author doth not seem to condemn the use of the Pike before the invention of Fire guns, but only since’. Effectively, pikes were distrusted and valued for the same reason: distrusted for their obsolescence, they were valued for their antiquity.⁶⁰ Comparing the pike to the musket, Richard Elton notes, ‘it is [more honourable] in respect of its antiquity, for there hath been the use of the Pike and the Spear, many hundred years before there was any knowledge of the Musket, as in many Histories you shall find’.⁶¹ These arguments variously answer the question of how material practices and their textual records should fit.

These conversations caused reflection on the nature of war and the function of weapons within it. A close analysis of Lupton and Turner’s advocacy reveals quite

⁵⁹ *The Military Discipline*, titlepage.

⁶⁰ Turner, *Pallas Armata*, 178.

⁶¹ Elton, *The Compleat Body of the Art Military*, 2.

divergent foundations. Turner's army fought on the principle of division and supplementation of offence and defence; Lupton had the individual soldier completely equipped for both.⁶² Turner could therefore favour the employment of pike regiments despite adequate self-defence. Core to the structuring of a pike regiment was the acceptance of human insufficiency. Its offensive power lay in accumulation and secure defence lay in compensatory supplementation: 'Pikemen ... should be armed so that they may appear to an Enemy (when they come to the shock) as a Brazen or Iron Wall'.⁶³ Supplementation would lead to a material singularity. Its collective supplementation of power predicated on a condition of vulnerability made ever present the possibility of dissolution. Every situation in battle had to be secured against dissolution for if pikemen fell they jeopardized the ranks behind them. They could be plagued by the 'terror of the Alarme, the confusion of Rankes by the death of some, the time of night when the Enemy may fall on, the hazard of wounding in their thrust their own Commanders or Comrades'.⁶⁴ Each of these threaten confusion, loss of group cohesion and solidity.

As Turner notices, pikes were being discarded for firepower. Parliament passed an act in 1654 to ensure adequate production of salt-petre.⁶⁵ The Civil War experience of fire was of a temperamental force, unsteady, difficult to manage and predict, at once diffuse, imprecise, and devastating. Incidents involving accidental discharge were ubiquitous. In one recorded incident, 'the King's side wanted powder, and going to one wagon for powder that was blown up, and so a second, with the losse of many men; and one piece of ordnance, a greate one, a murderer, &c., at the first shoote, burst in many pieces, and hurt many of their owne, &c. These made him resolve a departure from that side ...'⁶⁶

⁶² The half-pike embodied this completeness in its ability to perform dually as a musket and a pike.

⁶³ Turner, *Pallas Armata*, 168.

⁶⁴ Lupton, *Treatise of the Pike*, 52-53.

⁶⁵ Rait, ed., *Acts and Ordinances*, 2.699-702.

⁶⁶ Mary Anne Everett Green, ed., *Diary of John Rous*, vol. 66 (London: Camden Society, 1961), 130.

Gunpowder seemed to represent an alien inexplicable other that continuously bewildered by its irrational capriciousness and left no defence to human vulnerability. On the other hand, canons were terrifying but notoriously inaccurate. As one reported, ‘The Cannon play’d upon us, but did us no harm’.⁶⁷ A Parliamentarian commander reported five hours of battle in which ‘they playd full upon us with their Cannon, but without any successe at all’.⁶⁸ Canons chiefly contributed to the exchange of bluster that preceded the melee of battle and rarely contributed to clinching a victory.

Artillery was clearly a still developing technology. All the more, it required artful precision for it to have effect: ‘in the exercise of other engines, the speciall thing required is strength and labour, rather than any great Art or Skill. Whereas in the vse and exercise of Artillerie, the principall thing required is Art and Skill how to direct and bend the same vnto the assigned seruice’.⁶⁹ The discourse of artful projectiles governs other Civil War stories of crude projectiles, primitive artillery. For instance, the people of Coventry resisted Royalist forces by resorting to ingenious projectiles. One report read: ‘But the streetes were strowed with harrowes, covered with strawe, also with frames of tables, buffet stooles, &c.; and the houses on both sides flanked with muskatiers, the women being readie prepared with great stones, brick-battes, on the top of the houses to kill or make disturbance; ... the horse-men fell among the harrowes ... Pieces were discharged upon them, the flankers and women played theire partes, so that the company fled ...’⁷⁰ The sophisticated and the primitive are contrasted in this description.

⁶⁷ Atkyns, *The Vindication*, 33-34, 22.

⁶⁸ Arthur Goodwin, *Two Letters of Great Consequence to the House of Commons* (London: 1643), 4. For a military analysis of the role of artillery in Civil War battles, see Malcolm Wanklyn and Frank Jones, *Military History of the English Civil War, 1642-1646* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005), 265-66.

⁶⁹ Robert Norton, *The Gunner* (London: 1635), 36.

⁷⁰ Green, ed., *Diary of John Rous*, 122.

An object of recent development, firepower reinforced the genealogical reflex by making writers account for how it fit into the timeline of military technology. Writers measured ancient weapons against their modern counterparts. The utility of even the antique bow to modern warfare was contested in literature as late as the sixteen eighties. Norton notes in his *Practice of Artillery*, ‘there are some who bring reasons, for bringing the Bow again into use’. He discovers its significance in the memory of the post-diluvial rainbow in the Biblical story of Noah. The proverbial English adeptness in the art of the bow was taken as a reassuring sign of their spiritual descent from Old Testament Israel who also used the bow.⁷¹ Writers also located artillery in genealogies of nature. Norton smugly writes, ‘And indeed if we shall consider the nature and effect of Powder and Ordnance, we shall finde them to come so neere vnto naturall thunder and lightning, that I thinke we may well say, that as Nature hath long time had her Thunder and Lightning, so Art hath now hers’.⁷² These genealogical construals secures specific versions of national selfhood and accounts of technological sophistication or nostalgia.

These shifts in technology gave Milton material objects with which to fashion fallen and unfallen power. Despite the general equivalence of celestial and diabolic arsenals, martial iconography materialises divergent countenances of war. Consider these martial panorama. As Abdiel draws within heaven’s ambit, he encounters the sight of glinting armies ranged in preparation: the plain ‘covered with thick embattled squadrons bright, / Chariots and flaming Arms, and fiery steeds / Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view’ (*PL*6.16-18). The view syntactically reflects Hell’s armies, ‘stretcht / In battailous aspect, and nearer view / Bristl’d with upright beams innumerable / Of rigid spears, and helmets throng’d, and shields’ (*PL*6.80-84). The kinship of verse formation

⁷¹ Norton, *The Gunner*, 174.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 36.

marks the kinship of battle formation and frames the differences. Heaven's countenance is marked by fire, Hell's by a fearsome multitude of spears and shields.

As 'bristling' menace distinguishes hellish armies, so portrait-like vignettes of martial Satan frequently arm him with a spear: Satan striding towards the shore supported by his spear high as the 'tallest pine / Hewn on Norwegian hills' (*PL1.293*); armies forbiddingly amassed glinting with spears. These images distinctly summon the elongation and sharp points of seventeenth-century pike formations whose ordered squares and phalanxes were associated with the bristles of a hedgehog. It is not a leap to notice the spear's resemblance to the pike; they were after all genealogically connected. Contextualized against the uses of the Civil War, Satan's spear emits a double discourse constituting Satan at once in monumentalism and impotence, in compromised invincibility and vulnerability.

From tempestuous sea to sea-shore, Satan's movement is an exercise in managing connotations of empowerment and discipline.

He scarce had ceas't when the superiour Fiend
 Was moving toward the shoar; his ponderous shield
 Ethereal temper, massy, large and round,
 Behind him cast; the broad circumference
 Hung on his shoulders like the Moons, whose Orb
 Through Optic Glass the *Tuscan* Artist views
 At Ev'ning from the top of *Fesole*,
 Or in *Valdarno*, to descry new Lands,
 Rivers or Mountains in her spotty Globe.
 His Spear, to equal which the tallest Pine
 Hewn on *Norwegian* hills, to be the Mast
 Of some great Ammiral, were but a wand,
 He walkt with to support uneasie steps
 Over the burning Marle, not like those steps
 On Heavens Azure, and the torrid Clime
 Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with Fire;
 Nathless he so endur'd, till on the Beach
 Of that inflamed Sea, he stood and call'd
 His Legions, Angel Forms ...
 (*PL1.283-301*)

The verse yields to a weighted expressionism as it shifts from narrative to description of shield and spear. By rendering an orbicular object in two dimensions through the framed perspective of a telescopic lens, globularity is flattened. Conversely, comparing a circular object to the flattening of orbicularity suggests hidden mass in the tenor of the comparison. By losing depth within the simile, the object of comparison gains solidity. The verse itself registers the materiality of *massy* armour. Organized by the subject of Satan's shield, excessive syllables burden the lines (*PL1.284-286*) and nouns and adjectives accumulate to dominate the disempowered verbs 'moving' and 'cast'. Satan's flight to dry land is ridden with a similar burden: 'Aloft, incumbent on the dusky Air / That felt unusual weight, till on dry Land / He lights' (*PL1.226-228*). The contrastive promotion and demotion of the 'on's suggest burden and release. These metrical and metaphoric effects shape a versification of solidity and encumbrance.

Encumbered lethargy and alacrity are visible in Satan's postural motions. The consciousness of postural signification imbues Satan's exhortation, 'Have ye chos'n this place / After the toyl of Battel to repose / Your wearied virtue ... Or in this abject posture have ye sworn / To adore the Conqueror?' (*PL1.318-323*). Throughout the first book, his postures reveal the struggle of will against material weight. Turner would have been pleased with Satan's disciplined endurance over the burning marle, his army's 'painful steps o're the burnt soyle' (*PL1.562*). But language continually suggests painful effort. Our first glimpse of Satan is of an 'abject posture', prone body. His 'head up-lift' and the verbs *heave* and *rear* imbue the description with the suggestion of weight (*PL1.193, 211, 221*). Yet Satan moves when Belial had 'scarce ceas't', the clipped contraction of the verb marking sprightly motion. A rhythm of inert discourse and sudden movement modulate the verse to suggest movement against the grain of encumbered weight.

Satan's ability to move and manoeuvre his spear with alacrity and agility as a wand or a tall pine disclose easy mastery of a monumental object. Yet these postures of authority are beset by the ambiguity of his spear's function, as signifier of authority and as supportive prop. The *leaning* body is a recurrent posture; his spear upholds him a second time in his fight with Abdiel (*PL6.195*). Considered in relation to the baton of command in political portraits, the spear could allude to authority.⁷³ In *Paradise Lost* however, the character of the spear as a physical prop upholding the body turns the command of the disciplined body into a sign of the theatricality of kingship propped up. The object signifies authority and infirmity.

Vulnerable strength was integral to the pikeman's affective effect and might be understood as integral to affective responses to Satan like those of the Romantics. Yet these effects are dismantled by an ironizing distance released by the play of postural signification which would have been available to a generation whose memory encompassed the Civil War.

The material irony in making a weapon of *steadfastness*, a weapon used to *withstand* attack, the iconic prop by which to uphold the fallen Satanic identity is obvious for *standing fast* is the epic's language for resistance to temptation. Discoursing with himself in a moment of soul-searching, Satan remembers other powers who 'fell not, but stand unshaken ... to all temptations arm'd' and asks himself 'Hadst thou the same free will and power to stand?' (*PL4.64-66*). Standing fast is the bodily posture correlating to the virtuous exercise of will. Before he departs, Raphael reminds Adam to 'stand fast; to stand or fall / Free in thine own arbitrement it lies' (*PL7.640-641*).⁷⁴ Satan's determination to stand corrupts the exercise of military virtue to stubborn sin. Fixity

⁷³ For a discussion of portraits of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell in this light see Sharpe, *Image Wars*, 199, 494-96.

⁷⁴ See also *PL5.520-522, 539-540, 8.640-641*.

becomes the enactment of the rebellious will as ‘in stead of rage / Deliberate valour breath’d, firm and unmov’d ... Thus they / Breathing united force with fixed thought / Mov’d on’ (*PL1.553-554, 559-561*). As the alliteration indicates, their *force* lies in their *firmness*, their *fixedness*.

The pike’s iconography distinguishes the collectivism of fallen and unfallen armies. The re-energizing of Satan’s forces through the collectivity of a pike regiment: ‘A Forrest huge of Spears: and thronging Helms / Appear’d, and serried Shields in thick array’. In the verse, a fairly strict metre regiments the list of nouns. Satan’s army is often evoked in the language of material singularity: ‘a horrid Front / Of dreadful length and dazzling Arms’, or later, a singular ‘battailous aspect’. Pride in this material singularity solidifies, making Satan ‘harden in his strength.’ As Satan speaks ‘thir doubl’d Ranks they bend / From wing to wing, and half enclose him round / With all his Peers’ (*PL1.546-618*). When he concludes his call to war swords are brandished in unison generating a glow of light.

These facades of unified light and metal contrast with the less regimented consolidation of angelic martial array: ‘Coverd with thick embattled Squadrons bright, / Chariots and flaming Armes, and fierie Steeds’. (*PL6.16-17*). Staggered by the weight of initial stresses which gravitate towards noun-objects in the line, the verse flow is less anxious. When foregrounded, angelic collectivism is predicated on individual competence. Each angel contributes but by individual perfection: ‘in strength each armed hand / A Legion; led in fight, yet Leader seemd / Each Warriour single as in Chief, expert’ (*PL6.231-233*). Their inviolability is figured in the preservation of cubic phalanxes (*PL6.71-73, 399*). Fallen power is figured through supplementation but angelic power rises from individual perfections. These differences reflect contemporary martial priorities even while antiquating them in a mythic tale.

In the context of the civil war, these textual-material ironies that figure Satan and the fallen armies re-align irony with orthodoxy. The Civil War released a relay of ironies at the site of armed and armoured portraits. By re-configuring the visual grammar of royalty in the search for its own language, Cromwellian portraiture rendered its iconography ‘especially vulnerable to parody and irony’ through the constant recall of Caroline imagery.⁷⁵ One satirical print by Clement Walker in 1649, unusual for being published during the Protectorate, portrayed Cromwell in Caroline armour with a baton of command in his hand, surrounded by text pegging him like a usurper.⁷⁶ Referentiality, as any form of derivative discourse, was prone to subversion.⁷⁷ As heavenly armies are saved from pike-like associations, Milton’s ironies direct the derivative relationship towards the realm of human experience. He secures God from disrespect and ties Satan securely to postlapsarian experience. As a result, Satan is instead vulnerable to the ironies that rise from the contrast between military ideals and practice. Instead of being an agent of dissent, irony becomes the language of an upraising gaze which reinforces orthodoxy.

A relationship of imitation is however present in representations of fire. Its mercurial volatility became a suitable material by which to work through ideas of control and steadfastness and distinguish God from Satan. To start with, fiery experiences of war appear metaphoric of fallen instability. Perhaps the most startling metaphor occurs within the quiet recesses of Eden when Ithuriel surprises Satan with his spear:

... As when a spark
Lights on a heap of nitrous Powder, laid
Fit for the Tun som Magazin to store
Against a rumord Warr, the Smuttie graine
With sudden blaze diffus’d, inflames the Aire:
So started up in his own shape the Fiend.
(PL4.814-819)

⁷⁵Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait, and Print*, 39.

⁷⁶The print precedes the inside title-page in Clement Walker, *Anarchia Anglicana* (London: 1649).

⁷⁷Linda Hutcheon, *Irony's Edge: The Theory and Politics of Irony* (London: Routledge, 1994), 143.

The touch of Ithuriel's spear restores Satan to his original shape. Though discovery reveals form, the simile suggests Satan's form is inherently unstable. The suddenness of lawless action becomes a metaphor in *Animadversions* where the misinterpretation of a text is compared to 'a harquebuzer shot over a file of words twelve deep, without authority to bid them stoop' (CPW1.708). This volatility is a feature of his 'Godless crew,' remembered as those 'rebellious, them with fire and hostile arms.' Later, 'inextinguishable rage' fuels the war and all of heaven is subsumed under a canopy of fire (PL6.102, 212-214). Fiery unpredictability is continuous with Satan's changeability and is a vehicle for the wars escalating bewilderment. Canon shot of the war's second day is a threat to steadfastness: 'Chained thunderbolts and hail / Of iron-globes ... with such impetuous furie smote, / That whom they hit none on their feet may stand' (PL6.584-585, 589-592). In the first instance then, fiery weapons are material correlates for instability of rage and rebellion, as well as the resultant fear and discombobulation that assault the ability to stand.

The rehearsal of identifiable battle narratives is disrupted by the entrance of the Son who decisively supersedes the human terms of these encounters. In contrast to the disruption and confusion of fallen fire, modelled on contemporary experience, filial fire is characterized by precision and originality. As the return to non-human war technology reminds us, God himself is the original 'thunderer'. The development of early modern military technology from sharp short-range weapons to fiery weapons of distant reach, reflected in the first two days of the war, are measured against this narrative of origins. The Son's deployment of fire occurs with astounding accuracy: 'Yet half his strength he put not forth, but checked / His thunder in mid volie, for he meant / Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven' (PL6.853-855). His ability to exactly will the extent of fiery

expression is a powerful metaphor in the context of the early modern experience of artillery and unlocks the subtext of impotence in Satan's martial action.

The narrative of origins gives the mimetic aspirations of Nisroc and Satan astounding audacity. Nisroc calls for 'He who therefore can invent / With what more forcible we may offend / Our yet unwounded Enemies' just as Satan hopes to prove they 'have disarmed / The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt' (*PL*6.490-91). For Milton, militaristic invention is not just 'expressive of the Fall' or that it was the 'direct result of a catastrophic act of transgression' as Jonathan Sawday perceives it. More significantly, it expressed hubris, the desire to be like God.⁷⁸ To return to Taine's question, it was important for Milton to bring the heavenly war to earth and to resource celestial spaces with the known objects of the sublunary world because it was by their juxtaposition that he could restore a heavenly orientation. At each turn, distinctions between divine, celestial, and fallen beings are refracted through objects of self-fashioning, repeatedly turning them towards and measuring them against their Creator.

By relating the technologies of war within a genealogical frame, Milton considers the nature of mimesis and the mythic imagination. He experiments with protrusion of the past into the present and the present into the past. Bristling spears render past objects in terms of present objects but the cannon intrudes present materialities in the past. Several mechanisms are at work here: a typological hermeneutic that reads the past as a shadow of the present, anachronism which inserts the present (perhaps unduly) into the past, and the underlying principle of mimesis whether between time periods or persons. Satan's spears suggest a typological perspective and cannon fire an anachronistic one that discomfited Taine.

⁷⁸ Sawday, *Engines of the Imagination: Renaissance Culture and the Rise of the Machine*, 275.

In meeting the spear with the cannon, Milton encapsulates human history within the battle narrative by joining the ends of its timeline. An early awareness of this circularity emerges in *Animadversions* when he parallels the use of weapons with the use of the liturgy when he condemns the imagination of the past determined by the present: ‘The ancients used pikes and targets, and therefore guns and great ordnance, because we use both’ (CPW1.683). We might accuse the whole thesis of this determinism. But in *Paradise Lost*, when he makes the ancients use cannon fire, Milton recognises that it is both inevitable and an opportunity for imaginative play. Mirrored contrastively and asymmetrically in Satan’s hubristic mimesis, mythic imagination emerges as a guiltless enterprise that is nevertheless inherently audacious and infinitely limited.

CONCLUSION

After a compendium of this length, a short conclusion is in order. Over the next few pages, I will briefly reflect on the poetics of material culture we have witnessed so far and what that poetics tells us to do with it. Of the various historicisms practised so far, some have squinted into the past far more than they have engaged with the present.¹ A study of material culture might be seen to belong to one of those. While there are methodological inheritances, Milton's poetics of material culture suggests that critical appreciation for it should be accompanied by its incarnation in our present.

Sharon Achinstein has written of the culture of dissent positioned between the future and the present. The hope for the apocalyptic moment is reined back to the question of how to live in the meantime.² It is perhaps this concerned living in the routines of the meantime that causes Milton to be drawn to and draw on contemporary material practices. We can make Achinstein's argument at the level of material culture. Criticism has so far been perceptive to the Biblical typologies that bring form to Milton's writing and placed English Protestantism within a cosmic frame of meaning.³ Extending the argument, practices of material culture are ways to cultivate typological living in the meantime. It makes looking backward *and* forward the mode by which to live in the present. After all, Eden was the past and it was the future fulfilment of reformation. So certain situations and actions can repeat through time. Embedding typology in material

¹ For recent criticism of these perspectives, see Ewan Fernie, "Shakespeare and the Prospect of Presentism," in *Shakespeare Survey Volume 58: Writing About Shakespeare*, ed. Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Sharon Achinstein, "Cold War Milton," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 77, no. 3 (2008); ———, "'Cloudless Thunder': Milton and History" *Milton Studies* XLVIII (2008).

² Sharon Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), ch. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 27, David Loewenstein, *Milton and the Drama of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 123; Lewalski, *Milton's Brief Epic: The Genre, Meaning, and Art of Paradise Regained*, 164-82.

culture makes it resonate (to use Bachelard's term) endlessly in the lived space through which people move.

In his examination of narrative time, Paul Ricoeur discussed repetition as oppositional to mythic time. The latter progresses through episodes towards the sense of an ending. Narrative time, as in travel writing, retards mythic time but it eventually ruptures in a process of becoming.⁴ The practices of material culture merge with narrative time in Milton's poetry towards a mythic end. So works the typology of material culture. It incorporates the meantime into a process of becoming.

But if these material typologies undergirded Milton's writing, deliberately or surreptitiously, he nevertheless chooses words that are not as specific as those of Du Bartas or Pordage. We have already studied this in his natural kind naming. Being context-dependent, they point to very specific objects and therefore offer greater transparency for a study of Milton's curatorial intent. We have witnessed his sure-footed cultivation of words that indeterminately hover between adjective and noun, between spaces. We have witnessed him kindling specificity while holding it at bay.

These tactics, Stanley Fish would say, rose from a sensitivity to the lostness of ideal correspondence between words and things.⁵ In *Paradise Lost*, Adam and Eve are granted sufficient reason to name things with more correspondence to their essence than we do now.⁶ Adam says, 'I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and understood / Thir Nature, with such knowledge God endu'd / My sudden apprehension' (*PL*8.351-354).

Presumably, something of this spirit imbues Eve's naming her plants even if her practice

⁴ Paul Ricoeur, "Narrative Time," *Critical Inquiry* 7, no. 1 (Autumn, 1980): 85.

⁵ This is part of the thesis of Stanley Fish, *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971).

⁶ For a discussion of theories of language and naming in the seventeenth century, see Leonard, *Naming in Paradise*, Introduction.

had more affect than nomenclature (*PL*11.277). Their ability to name reflected with stark difference against murkier naming practices in England where the discovery of new species and the recording of old ones led to nominal obfuscation.⁷ We have seen too how names changed under religious and political pressures. Perhaps the consciousness of the chasm between pre- and postlapsarian naming made Milton a cautious namer. Certainly in my own study, Milton's natural kind naming sublimates material culture into less specific colouring.

But Fish comes to a different conclusion. Milton, he says, brings his readers to the mirror of language where they can view their own fallenness. He writes, 'If ambiguity and metaphor are the enemies because they are the basis of all distortion, the enemies live within him, for it is beyond his power to withhold the metaphorical or ambiguous meaning'.⁸ Though ambiguity may be a postlapsarian effect, Milton makes ambiguity his friend. While students of Milton's naming tend to focus on their pre- and postlapsarian modalities, Milton's open-armed words also serve the positive purpose of typological becoming since their aptitude for generality relates people and places across time and space. A similar sublimation is at work in urban loci like the bridge and suburb. The generality of their reference permits the timeless and universal to be evoked as Simmel's loci of human action. Yet simultaneously, these words are instinct with awareness of their locations as the material anchor for certain political and social debates. The specific material culture accidentals pose no limit to reading but they do add another dimension to the words. These sublimations of material culture in the generic permit Milton to release signification from the prison of corrupt correspondences. He can speak to the crowd of many cultures and generations he envisages for himself in *The Second Defense* as well as

⁷ William Turner's difficulties in tracing plants and determining their names are discussed in Knight, *Of Books and Botany in Early Modern England*, 58-62.

⁸ Fish, *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost*, 128.

whisper to the knowing few. The amplitude of mythic narratives is invigorated but not limited to the temporal and geographical locations of their writer and readers. These material typologies are subtle. Yet these material practices are also fallen and as we have seen, the typologies of material culture are not always an uncomplicatedly happy process of becoming but can turn unruly.

So Milton carefully manages how his words deliver us to things, but precisely because he is aware of his postlapsarian location. This is most accentuated in his curatorship of arms and armour when he fights free of spatio-temporal fixtures by deliberate anachronisms. Here the open-armedness of his denotation functions at the level of the *mise-en-scène* rather than the individual word. This sense of location infuses the corpus of his poetry and acquires accumulated poignancy in his rhetorical pointing. Eve's 'here' in *Paradise Lost* differentiates between the Continent and England, England and Eden, and gives us the limits and possibilities of place. Satan's 'here' and 'there' marks how aspirations to such things as power, wealth, or learning, might be tied down emblematically to specific places. Theological narratives are staged within the specific givens of spaces and material cultures. Yet an appreciation for the here would inevitably suggest that the reader's here is quite different. His open-armed words seem motivated by carefulness for this point, but it is a carefulness that rises from an appreciation of specificity.

Such appreciation makes Milton's poetics of material culture belong as much to a poetics of incarnation as to typology. As David Brown puts it, 'The incarnation reveals a God who took with maximum seriousness the limitations of a specific cultural context'. He conceives of the incarnation as a 'lived narrative of accommodation to the human condition, within which imagination played an indispensable part'. In God's exposing himself to a specific culture and its assumptions at his point of greatest contact with

humanity, there is divine sanction for people appropriating Christ himself and the biblical tradition to the cultures of subsequent centuries.⁹ At one level, the incarnational is an aesthetic of reading and re-writing, through the inescapable limits of a writer's location. There, studying the epistemological formation of a writer's work opens up dimensions of his thought. At another level, the incarnational aesthetic provides space for imaginative play for the author and for the reader.

Milton may not have articulated it in so many words, but he certainly intuited, performed and fought this incarnational aesthetic, so that his work would be available profusely to readers close to him in location, and available to readers abroad in time and space. This is both the reason why a reading of material culture in Milton's work is at once inessential and vital. It is this doubleness in the incarnational aesthetic that takes us beyond a criticism bound by the past, for the material culture poetic works to maintain that fine balance between apocalypse and the meantime by typologically repeating through the present. Therefore, through our present too. As Ewan Fernie writes, 'historicism and presentism are oddly at one'.¹⁰ Its odd unity is manifest in the incarnational poetics of material culture. It is this point that I want to finally land on. A study of material culture addresses the detail of historical circumstances but it can and should use that move typologically to address its present.

There is much yet to uncover in a fuller study of material culture. Despite Karen Edwards's extensive work on the natural world, the domains of trees and animals still offer opportunity. Woodlands were simultaneously a space of religious and intellectual retreat and political strife, and the two resolve uneasily in Milton's work. There still remains too some reserves of the popular practices around animals which invite

⁹ David Brown, *Tradition and Imagination: Revelation and Change* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 1-3, 320.

¹⁰ Fernie, "Shakespeare and the Prospect of Presentism," 173.

exploration. Studies relating the urban world continue to proliferate as historical work does. Milton's prose contains rich mercantile imagery that I have not had the chance to explore here. There remains the material values of the prose pamphlet to be more fully investigated. Milton's consciousness of its symbolic potential is evident in his prose tracts and their para-textual conventions should offer a rich and extensive study in their own right.

The study of the body and its objects too presents more possibilities. I have examined the postures of Eve's hand and of the bodies of fallen angels but a fuller study awaits. A study of clothes and priestly vestments would prove interesting as an extension of the armorial idea of an object yielding up its materiality to rhetoric. Clothes as clothes barely figure in Milton's writing. Most often, they appear as repudiations of excessive material investment.¹¹ They make an interesting case through which to examine whether the material has managed to offer any resistance. These continue to interrogate how spatial practices and disciplines of the body shape thought. To make the incarnational aesthetic bear out would be to ask how the present can be thought through these things. They offer reflections on the enculturation of spatial practice and consumption, of the relations of the transcendent, material, and emotional within church practice. These debates are still writ large in contemporary social and ecclesial practice.

To return then to *On Time* with which this thesis opened, Milton's clock is not just emblematic of a material poetic but of a material poetic that is also timely.

¹¹ For a study of clothes in early modern culture see Jones, ed., *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*. For a study of clothes from a material culture perspective see Susanne Küchler and Daniel Miller, ed., *Clothing as Material Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2005).

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