CONCEPTUALISING PARADISE: GENRE AND ECOLOGY IN THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

by

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Abstract

This thesis adopts a combined interdisciplinary approach to the established practice of reading John Milton ecocritically, arguing that there is a distinct 'longing for paradise' in Milton's works that is inextricably bound up in a sense of ecological awareness. It takes as its chief focus Milton's re-working of the paradise trope, arguing that approaching Milton's works from the dual perspectives of both genre studies and ecocritical studies provides new interpretations about Milton's overall portrayal of the Garden of Eden. It proposes a reconsideration of some of the more traditionally associated genres, such as the pastoral and the Hexameron, and argues for the inclusion of other, understudied genres, including the burgeoning discipline of early modern geography and the medieval dream vision genre. I argue that this more traditional exploration of genre is ultimately heavily informed by Milton's historical environmental context. I assert that Milton's use of this context is evidence of a burgeoning ecological awareness on his part that manifests itself particularly through his use of nationalistic language and expression. Approaching the concept of a longing for paradise in Milton's works from this binary approach, I demonstrate that there are still new ways of thinking about Milton's representation of Paradise in an ecocritical light, bringing something new to Milton studies.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my dear brother, James, who passed away suddenly during the course of this PhD.

Everything I do, I do for you. I hope you have found Paradise.

James Robert Geoffrey Cook, 15.12.93 - 16.03.17.

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Contents

List of Abbreviations

ODNB – Oxford Dictionary of National Biography <www.oxforddnb.com>

OED – Oxford English Dictionary (online) <www.oed.com>

HTOED – Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary <www.oed.com/thesaurus>

CPB – Milton's *Commonplace Book*

PL – Paradise Lost

EEBO – Early English Books Online <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>

SEL – Studies in English Literature 1500-1700

MS – Milton Studies

MQ – Milton Quarterly

SHGDL – Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes

JHI – Journal of the History of Ideas

GH – Garden History

PMLA – Publications of the Modern Language Association

ELH – English Literary History

SQ – Shakespeare Quarterly

A note on use of editions

I have elected to use Barbara K. Lewalski's 2007 Wiley-Blackwell edition of *Paradise Lost* as my main source for Milton's epic as the retention of the old spelling better serves my linguistic analysis of certain passages of the poem.

For the sake of consistency, I have used the Wiley-Blackwell editions of Milton's shorter poems and major prose for the same reasons: Stella P. Revard's edition of the *Complete Shorter Poems*, and David Loewenstein's edition of the major prose.

I refer to other editions throughout for ease of comparison and in reference to the editor's notes, namely Alastair Fowler's Longman (2nd) edition of *Paradise Lost* and John Carey's edition of the *Shorter Poems.*

Other works, such as Milton's prose, I cite individually with full details in the respective footnotes and the bibliography.

All quotations taken from Bible refer to the Authorised King James Version (modernised spelling).

I have followed the MHRA referencing style throughout.

Introduction: Representing Paradise

> That Earth now
> Seemd like to Heav'n, a seat where Gods might dwell
> Or wander with delight, and love to haunt
> Her sacred shades…[1]

This thesis takes as its chief focus Milton's literary representation of Paradise. It argues that this representation is, more than has hitherto been realised, heavily informed by Milton's use of historical environmental context, and furthermore that this use of this context is inextricably bound up in his use of certain genres and their associated rhetorical conventions. There is, this thesis argues, a sense of 'longing' for Paradise that permeates Milton's *Paradise Lost* and indeed some of his earlier works that is profoundly shaped by his engagement with seventeenth-century debates about the natural world and the changing environment. This sense of longing for a lost place and lost spiritual state, a longing that is distinctly Christianised, forms a close connection with concerns about the despoliation of the environment, a sentiment that this thesis argues constitutes a key underlying theme in Milton's work. Both of these elements relate closely to a central feature of the human condition: a longing for what has been lost, and concern and trepidation about what the future may hold, which, in Milton's day, is closely related to the idea of the fallenness of humankind. This sense of longing manifests itself, I argue, not only through textual references and allusions to early modern ecological debates, but in expressions of

[1] All quotations taken from *Paradise Lost*, unless otherwise stated, are taken from the following edition: John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. by Barbara K. Lewalski (Malden: Blackwell, 2007), p.185, (VII.328-331). All further references to be cited according to line number within the body of the thesis.

nationalism, and the national hope that England, as an elect nation, could pave the way in the quest to regain Paradise and to achieve humankind's redemption.

This thesis departs from more traditional and well-trodden debates about the political and religious ingredients of Milton's re-telling of Genesis, demonstrating that there are still new approaches to reading a work with such a long and profound history of influence. More importantly, it argues that there are new ways of analysing Milton's depiction of Paradise, which, in itself, represents the model cultural and literary image of the Garden of Eden – of what it was, and, indeed, how it was lost. Ultimately, understanding the significance of Milton's ecological thinking in his portrayal of Paradise contributes to our collective understanding of the long history of our culture's changing attitudes towards nature and the environment.

In combining two main critical approaches – namely, ecocriticism and genre studies, this thesis provides a new lens through which to examine and draw interpretations from Milton's works. I begin with a selection of his earlier texts before moving on to his opus maximum *Paradise Lost,* charting the development of the paradise trope through to its pinnacle. In this thesis, my chief aim has been to demonstrate that there are still new ways of thinking, analysing and interpreting Milton's poetry both 'greenly' and in the field of Milton genre studies, chiefly by combining the two fields of study together to create a reading based on the interdependence, or intertwining, of the two approaches. A great deal of scholarship already exists relating both to genre studies of Milton and 'green' Milton studies, the latter of which in particular continues to go from strength to strength. Though I adopt two seemingly (and perhaps traditionally) very distinct critical approaches here, I demonstrate that the two in fact work to inform one another when analysed in conjunction, and provide greater scope for an interdisciplinary approach, in turn revealing new readings about *Paradise Lost* and Milton's earlier poetry. There are, I argue, hitherto understudied elements of Milton's historical

environmental context, such as his use of early modern cosmographies, that, when explored in conjunction with his use of genre, produce new and enlightening interpretations of Milton's most analysed work.

Ultimately, the two main questions this thesis sets out to address are:

1. To what extent and in what ways is Milton's depiction of Paradise informed by contemporary seventeenth-century debates about the natural world and environment?

2. In particular, how is Milton's use of conventional tropes, images, or motifs associated with particular literary or biblical genres (such as pastoral elegy, hexaemeron, and dream vision poetry) and disciplines (such as geography) inflected by his awareness of such debates?

In attempting to answer these questions I have brought together insights and methods from two fields of study not usually found in conjunction with one another – ecocritical studies and genre studies. Essentially, this thesis presents an original contribution to Milton scholarship through its identification and exploration of new links between Milton's work and key ecological debates of the period as they are informed by Milton's use of various genres. It also re-examines existing identified contextual links through the lens of genre studies in order to build upon and further contribute to existing scholarship, particularly in the area of Milton ecocriticism, arguing that a consideration of genre sheds new light on these previously identified and studied areas. As previously stated, I argue that the concept of a longing for paradise is infinitely bound up in a sense of ecological consciousness that pervades Milton's works, and, furthermore, that this ecological awareness manifests itself in the form of nationalistic expression. The identification of an ecological awareness on Milton's part is not

in itself new: Ken Hiltner has previously described the early modern as period of burgeoning, or emerging, ecological awareness, and the wealth of existing scholarship on ecological approaches to the early modern period and its literature is testament to that.[2]

Before I continue I must first briefly address the issue of anachronism, given the modernity of the terms I am engaging with throughout this thesis. Anachronism is of course a natural risk when imposing such decidedly modern terms on historical texts so removed from our own present historical context. Words and phrases such as 'ecology', 'ecological awareness' and 'environment' along with more specific terms such as 'pollution' are used here for ease of discussion, but also in lieu of direct or exact early modern semantic equivalents. There are, however, early modern words with similar or connected meanings – less direct equivalents, we might argue – which I shall discuss presently.

The first use of the word 'ecology' in what we might describe as the modern sense is listed in the *OED* as 1875, under the definition of 'the branch of biology that deals with the relationships between living organisms and their environment.'[3] The word 'environment' in the modern sense – that is, 'the physical surroundings or conditions in which a person or other organism lives, develops etc, or in which a thing exists' hails from a similar time period, listed as being first used in 1855 by H. Spencer, in a description of the environment of a plant, 'into two halves, soil and air.' It had been used in the following, similar sense in 1725: 'the area surrounding a place or thing; the environs, surroundings, or physical context.' In perhaps the closest sense to the concept I am discussing, in the context of 'the natural world or physical surroundings in general, either as a whole or within a particular area, esp. as affected by human activity,' does not come into use until the mid-twentieth century. [4] Several of these words, however, do have semi-equivalent early modern terms, according to

[2] Ken Hiltner, *What Else is Pastoral? Renaissance Literature and the Environment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011) p.16.
[3] 'Ecology' *OED Online*, Oxford University Press <www.oed.com> [Accessed 25 November 2018].
[4] 'Environment' *OED Online*, Oxford University Press <www.oed.com> [Accessed 25 November 2018].

the *Oxford Historical Thesaurus*. The *Historical Thesaurus* defines 'encompassure' as a similar equivalent for environment in 1600, relating to 'that which encompasses; environment,' with the following example being provided: 'Fogs, damps, trees, stones, their sole encompassure,' from C. Tourneur.

'Pollution', for example, was originally sometimes used under the definition of 'desecration of that which is sacred; the condition of being desecrated' and the *OED* notes that this is rare after the seventeenth century. Interestingly, *Paradise Lost* is cited as one such example: the line 'Thir strife pollution brings Upon the Temple,' is taken from Book XII. One of the first, more recognisably modern uses of the word occurs in an 1828 *The Times* article – 'we submit to the disgrace of drinking the water of that very river, in a state of pollution,' – indeed, a great majority of the examples are related to rivers. [5] The *Oxford Historical Thesaurus* lists 'poisoning' as one semi-synonym for 'pollution'. Francis Bacon refers to it as 'poisoning' – 'poisoning of the air is no less dangerous than poisoning of water' in his 1626 *Sylua Syuarum*.[6] The connection between the two words, 'pollute' and 'poison' is relatively clear in that both describe the contamination of a substance, person, animal or thing. The word 'conservation' has a decidedly older history: the first use of the word is recorded as 1398, in the context of 'the action or process of conserving; preservation of life, health, perfection etc; (also) preservation from destructive influences, natural decay or waste.' In 1682, an entry into the *Philosophical Collections of the Royal Society* (edited by R. Hooke) describes 'a Universal Balsamation, or Conservation of all things Animal, or Vegetable.' The *OED* notes that the word was often used to connote the 'practice of taking care of and looking after domestic animals,' (all provided examples date from the mid-seventeenth century), but that this use is now obsolete: one of the examples comes from Edward Topsell's *A History of Four.footed Beasts*. The use of this term and the definition in

[5] 'Pollution' *OED Online*, Oxford University Press <www.oed.com> [Accessed 26 November 2018].
[6] 'Poisoning' *OED Historical Thesaurus*, Oxford University Press <www.oed.com/thesaurus> [Accessed 26 November 2018].

the mid-seventeenth century is highly significant in itself, for it supports the proposition that this was a period in which early modern society was becoming more aware of the need for proper treatment and care of non-human animals (which forms a key part of the wider sense of ecological awareness), which I explore in greater detail in my third chapter. The modern sense of the term – 'preservation, protection, or restoration of the natural environment […] preventing the wasteful use of a resource,' is listed as first occurring in 1875.[7] Though the more 'modern' definitions of these terms outdate Milton's work by as much as several hundred years in some cases, there are these semi-equivalents that are suggestive of a similar sentiment: words that support the notion of environmental or ecological awareness. The existence of these words and their particular meanings is a testament to the burgeoning ecological awareness in the early modern period. For ease, however, I will refer to these ideas in modern terms throughout this thesis: I similarly adopt the terms 'human and non-human animals' from contemporary animal studies scholarship, for these terms serve to provide a constant reminder of the shared nature of all animals, whether human or non-human, which is one of the chief themes of my discussion in Chapter Three.

This ecological awareness, as I define it in relation to this thesis, can be described as language evocative of, or relating to, contextual environmental issues. This may range from passages relating to contemporary changing land use to nostalgic phrases or language that evoke a longing for a return to a paradisal state as a form of recognition of current environmental decay. When I discuss ecology, I refer not only to the natural environment but also to the creatures that inhabit it, hence my exploration of Milton's depiction of non-human animals as part of this thesis in my third chapter.

I posit that this ecological awareness is tied to the concept of early modern nationhood for Milton: that the ecology of Eden is intimately connected to, and representative of, the

[7] 'Conservation' *OED Online*, Oxford University Press <www.oed.com> [Accessed 26 November 2018].

ecological issues of early modern England. In my first and second chapters I place particular emphasis on the idea of nationhood in relation to Milton's use of genre and ecology, arguing that Milton's ecology is distinctly nationalised. This is in part due to the texts I cover in my first chapter: *Lycidas*, *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*, and the *Epitaphium Damonis*, each of which refers to England (and Britain) in an overt manner through visual imagery and description. I argue that in each of these texts, there is a distinctly nationalised strand of ecological awareness that informs Milton's representation of the natural world and of Paradise. My third chapter diverges from this thematic strand slightly, as it concentrates primarily on Milton's depictions of human-animal relationships in Eden as opposed to depictions of Eden in relation to England, but it engages with early modern philosophical thought on the value of non-human animals that were current in England at the time, arguing that these are firmly represented in Milton's depiction of Paradise. My final chapter, which discusses early modern English land use, both agricultural and domestic, in conjunction with the medieval dream vision genre, brings the discussion of nationhood – and the concept of a 'nationalised' Eden – full circle.

Reviewing the (Green) Field

Ecocriticism of Milton's works has gone from strength to strength in recent years. The inception of green Milton studies can be attributed to the late Diane K. McColley, whose landmark monograph *A Gust for Paradise* (1993), along with Karen L. Edwards' *Milton and the Natural World*: *Science and Poetry in Paradise Lost* (1999), revolutionised the way Milton scholars thought about Milton and his portrayal of the natural world in his poetry. Without wishing to repeat what has already been said about both genre studies of Milton's work and ecocritical approaches to Milton, I must first acknowledge the established store of knowledge and fuel for critical debate upon which my thesis builds. The aforementioned

monographs, along with the collected works of Ken Hiltner (most particularly his 2003 *Milton and Ecology)*, all of which I discovered during my undergraduate degree have been the driving inspiration behind this thesis and sparked my wider interest in the ecocritical reading of literature. I am hugely indebted to these pioneers of ecocriticism of Milton's works, along with countless other scholars whose work has greatly influenced my thinking and writing over a number of years. My undergraduate dissertation focussed on Spenser's portrayal of animals in his *Faerie Queene*, whilst my Masters dissertation on stewardship and anthropocentrism in Milton's *Paradise Lost* served as the point of departure for this thesis.

The last twenty years or so, and particularly the last decade, have seen a significant increase in scholarship dedicated to reading Milton ecocritically, as well as a surge in interest in early modern ecostudies more broadly: Robert Wilcher addresses this phenomenon in Milton studies in his seminal article, 'The Greening of Milton Criticism'.[8] This thesis is therefore richly informed by these recent, broader explorations of early modern ecocritical studies as well as those studies devoted to Milton. This includes edited collections of essays, such as *Early Modern Ecostudies: From the Florentine Codex to Shakespeare* and *Ecological Approaches to Early Modern English Texts*, as well as monographs including Robert N. Watson's *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* and Todd A. Borlik's *Ecocriticism and Early Modern English Literature: Green Pastures*, as well as journal articles such as Karen Raber's 'Recent Ecocritical Studies of English Literature,' along with numerous others that I refer to throughout the course of thesis.[9] The number of studies devoted to early modern gardening practices has also risen in conjunction with the

[8] Robert Wilcher, 'The Greening of Milton Criticism', *Literature Compass*, 7.11 (2010), 1020-1034.
[9] *Early Modern Ecostudies: From the Florentine Codex to Shakespeare*, ed. by Thomas Hallock, Ivo Camps and Karen L. Raber (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); *Ecological Approaches to Early Modern English Texts* ed. by Jennifer Munroe, Edward J. Geisweidt and Lynne Bruckner (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Robert N. Watson, *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Todd A. Borlik, *Ecocriticism and Early Modern English Literature: Green Pastures*, (New York: Routledge, 2011); Karen L. Raber, 'Recent Ecocritical Studies of English Literature,' *English Literary Renaissance* 37 (2007) 151-71. See also Jennifer Munroe, 'Shakespeare and Ecocriticism Reconsidered' *Literature Compass* 12 (2015) 461-470.

rise in interest in early modern ecostudies. Scholarly interest in literary representations of early modern gardens and gardening practices saw a notable rise in interest in the 1970s and 1980s with the publication of key influential works such as John D. Hunt and Peter Willis' *The Genius of the Place*, Roy Strong's *The Renaissance Garden in England* and Terry Comito's *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance.*[10] At around the same time, the first studies on Milton's literary treatment of real gardens began to emerge. Charlotte Otten's groundbreaking 1973 article 'Milton's Paradise and English Gardens,' is perhaps the first study to explore directly and explicitly the connection between Milton's portrayal of Paradise and early modern English gardening practices and features. Otten's article draws parallels between horticultural features portrayed by Milton and explores their origins in English gardening, citing direct examples such as the presence of walks and alleys, an arbour or bower, and the presence of 'furnishings' such as turfed seats.[11] Similarly, John Dixon Hunt's 1981 article 'Milton and the Making of the English Landscape Garden,' discusses Milton's indebtedness to numerous features of the gardens of the Italian Renaissance in his portrayal of Eden, and also explores Milton's apparent role as 'patron' of the English landscape garden in the eighteenth century.[12]

Recent scholarship on the subject does more to link garden history with ecocritical thought in line with the overall rise in interest in the discipline of early modern ecostudies, driven by the continuing popularity of interdisciplinary approaches over the last decade or so. A good example is Amy L. Tigner's *Literature and the Renaissance Garden,* which combines an in depth-discussion of early modern ecological issues with literary representations of gardens, including in *Paradise Lost*, exploring the 'symbiotic relationship

[10] John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden 1629-1820* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1988); Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1978); Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England Reconsidered* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979).
[11] Charlotte F. Otten, 'Milton's Paradise and English Gardens' *MS* 5 (1973) 249-6.
[12] John Dixon Hunt, 'Milton and the Making of the English Landscape Garden' *MS* 15 (1981) 81-105.

between physical gardens and their literary representations.'[13] Kristina Taylor's recent 'Earliest Wildernesses' follows a similar approach to Charlotte F. Otten's 1970s article by exploring the use of the term 'wilderness' in relation to seventeenth-century gardening practices, using real examples, and their representations in literature.[14] Margaret Willes *The Making of the English Gardener* and Jill Francis' *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England* are both excellent recent studies that focus more widely on historic gardening practices.[15]

Green Milton studies continues to be an ever-popular area of scholarship, with new readings of Milton's works and new critical interpretations emerging all the time. The danger, of course, with an area of such prolific production, is that new studies in the same field risk repeating what others have already said, or echoing them too closely. More recently, then, ecocritical approaches have begun work to identify gaps in the current debate to address the more understudied areas of green Milton scholarship. Leah Marcus' 2015 essay 'Ecocritical Milton' in the aforementioned collection *Ecological Approaches* addresses what she perceives as the current gaps in the field, taking as her chief example the lack of scholarly discussion concerning vitalism in Milton's works in relation to ecocritical thought (though she names Karen L. Edwards as one of few 'important exceptions').[16] Other scholars have elected to combine older topics of debate with an ecocritical approach: Sarah Smith's 2017 article takes an ecocritical approach to Milton's Chaos as its chief subject, 'revisiting an older

[13] Amy L. Tigner, *Literature and the Renaissance Garden from Elizabeth I to Charles II* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p.2.
[14] Kristina Taylor, 'The Earliest Wildernesses: Their Meanings and Developments' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 28 (2008), 237-251.
[15] Margaret Willes, *The Making of the English Gardener: Plants, Books and Inspiration, 1560-1660* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2011); Jill Francis, *Gardens and Gardening in Early Modern England and Wales* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2018).

[16]Leah S. Marcus, 'Ecocritical Milton,' in *Ecological Approaches to Early Modern English Texts: A Field Guide to Reading and Teaching,* ed. by Jennifer Munroe, Edward J. Geisweidt and Lynne Bruckner (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015) pp.131-141 (p.135).

critical debate, that of the moral status of chaos,' in light of ecocritical thought.[17] Smith's approach is something akin to what I hope to achieve in this thesis: the creation of something new from older Milton scholarship debates and in particular from older fields of study, such as genre studies, by imbuing it with an ecocritical light. It is through a combined and interdisciplinary approach that this thesis produces an original argument about Milton's conceptualisation of Paradise.

The Paradise Trope

Milton's re-adaptation of the Paradise trope is, I argue, heavily characterised by his engagement with early modern environmental debate and in turn by his use of certain genres to frame these debates. The notion of Paradise reaches full fruition in Milton's Garden of Eden, an Eden that is Christian, but very much furnished by both classical and medieval tropes, though Milton omits some key elements. In order to understand Milton's achievement, then, it is necessary to briefly consider the Paradise trope's long and varied cultural, historical and religious history. The generic Latin term *locus amoenus* is often used in association with paradisiacal locations: meaning 'pleasant place,' it refers to a location of beauty, contentment and safety. Such locations in classical and later literature typically contain three vital elements: a stream, spring or brook, a grassy area such as a clearing, lawn or meadow, and a variety of trees. These three elements form the core topoi. The classical pagan concept of Elysium, also sometimes known as the Elysian Fields, is perhaps the earliest *named* example of the paradise trope in recorded existence. Derived from Greco-Roman mythology and described in the works of Virgil and Homer, Elysium is located at the western edge of the world beyond the ocean and is a refuge for those who have passed into the afterlife. Also hailing from Greek mythology is the Hesiodic concept of the Golden Age,

[17] Sarah Smith, 'The Ecology of Chaos in *Paradise Lost' MS* 59 (2017) 31-56, p.31.

the first (and also the fourth) of the five ages of man in the history of the world. The first Golden Age differs somewhat in that it refers to a state of living more akin to Adam and Eve's earthly existence in Paradise, overseen by Cronos, Zeus' father, rather than a pagan version of a heavenly afterlife like the Elysian Fields. In his *Works and Days*, Hesiod describes the first Golden Age as follows:

> The race of men that the immortals who dwell on Olympus made first of all was gold. They were in the time of Kronos, when he was king in heaven; and they lived like gods, with carefree heart, remote from toil and misery. Wretched old age did not affect them either, but with hands and feet ever unchanged they enjoyed themselves in feasting, beyond all ills, and they died as if overcome by sleep. All good things were theirs, and the grain-giving soil bore fruits of its own accord in unstinted plenty, while they at their leisure harvested their fields in contentment amid abundance. Since the earth covered up that race, they have been divine spirits by great Zeus' design, good spirits on the face of the earth, watchers over mortal men, bestowers of health: such is the kingly honour that they received.
>
> (109-120)[18]

In the fourth age, the age of Heroes, the heroes reside under Kronos in another Golden Age existence, which Homer describes as being located in the same place as Elysium – 'in the Isles of the Blessed Ones,' located 'at the end of the earth' where the 'grain-giving soil bears

[18] Hesiod, *Theogeny* and *Works and Days*, trans, ed. by Martin L. West, Penguin World Classics Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.40.

its honey-sweet fruits thrice a year.'[19] As Angelo Bartlett Giamatti states, 'the seeds for the identification of the Golden Age existence with Elysium, or the Elysian Fields, so important for later Christian earthly paradises, are here planted.'[20] The major difference between Hesiod's description of the Golden Age here and the Christian Eden is the absence of death in prelapsarian Eden. In prelapsarian Eden, Adam and Eve are immortal and become mortal following the Fall, whereas Hesiod specifies that the first race of men created during the Golden Age were mortal beings. Aside from this, the basic premise of existence is largely the same: an abundance of food due to the rich fecundity of the place, an existence akin to that of gods, a toil-less and joyful life. The concept of the Golden Age is thought to be partially derived from or at least influenced by Homer's descriptions of the Elysian Fields in the *Odyssey*, for it contains many of the same tropes and motifs.[21] In his second *Ode* Pindar similarly talks of blessed isles or Happy Isles, also derived from Greek tradition, and in Latin literature, Virgil and Ovid perpetuated the same *locus amoenus* trope: in his *Metamorphoses* Ovid describes a golden age of everlasting spring, of fecundity and simple contentment. Arcadia in Greek mythology was the supposed utopian pastoral domain of the god Pan and falls under the same umbrella of pagan paradises. The Arcadia trope, made popular by Virgil's *Eclogues*, enjoyed a revival in the medieval and Renaissance periods, most famously perhaps in Jacopo Sannazaro's *Arcadia* (c.1504) and in Philip Sidney's work *Arcadia* (both the *Old* and *New Arcadia*) (1580s). The Garden of the Hesperides of Hesiod's *Theogeny*, and the Garden of Alcinous of Homer's *Odyssey* introduce the concept of a garden within the wider blessed place or blessed isles, often an enclosed space, with a perimeter of shrubbery or trees. The garden theme, Delumeau asserts, thus became intertwined with the wider *locus*

[19] Hesiod, pp.41-42.
[20] A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p.19.
[21] Giamatti, p.16.

amoenus tropes including the Blessed Isles and the Golden Age.'[22] This combination of tropes and traditions, he continues, resulted in three key 'types of description of the earthly paradise: a landscape arranged as a garden; nature in a wild state but wonderfully blessed by the gods; and as a pastoral setting for love': the last of these is typified by Theocritus in his *Idylls.* [23]

These themes and tropes are not derived entirely from Greco-Roman origin: Jenny Strauss Clay notes that Hesiod's account of the Golden Age may 'ultimately derive from Near Eastern or Indo-European traditions.'[24] Hebrew narratives also play a crucial part in the overall construction of the paradise trope, as I explore further in my third chapter on hexaemeric literature.[25] The Christianization of these myths began roughly around the second century, and Giamatti claims that 'it would not be unfair to say that Christian poets plundered Elysium to decorate the earthly paradise.'[26] The genre of Hexaemeron emerged from the teachings and homilies of Basil, which in turn informed the works of Augustine, St Thomas Aquinas, Bede and Pseudo-Basil, the last of which Delumeau argues 'exerted a major historical influence on the combining of the garden of Eden in Genesis with pagan descriptions of the golden age and the Happy Isles.' It is at this point, he continues, that the 'topos, or motif, was fully established.'[27]

The word 'Paradise' itself stems from the Old Persian word 'pairidaēza', which, by definition, refers to an enclosed garden or park.[28] The etymology then progresses (or rather, divides) into two 'branches' – the Hebrew term 'pardēs', which was 'adapted by the Greek'

[22] Jean Delumeau, *History of Paradise: The Garden of Eden in Myth and Tradition*, trans. by Matthew O'Connell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), p.10.
[23] Delumeau, p.11.
[24] Jenny Strauss Clay, *Hesiod's Cosmos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.81.
[25] The *OED* defines hexaemeric as 'pertaining to the six days of creation' and defines hexaemeral as 'consisting of six parts or divisions.' I therefore refer to 'hexaemeric literature' throughout this thesis as this term seems more appropriate. 'hexaemeric; hexaemeral' *OED* <www.oed.com> [Accessed 12 November 2018].
[26] Giamatti, p.15.
[27] Delumeau, p.12.
[28] Barbara K. Lewalski, 'Milton's Paradises', in *Renaissance Ecology: Imagining Eden in Milton's England*, ed. by Ken Hiltner (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2008), pp. 15-30 (p.16).

and became ‘paradeisos’: subsequently, ‘through Latin, French, and Middle English,’ the word ‘paradise’ is formed.[29] In the Middle Ages, classical topoi became further enmeshed with biblical imagery from the Song of Songs, including the notion of the *hortus conclusus* (enclosed garden) which were enriched further by the French *paradys d’amours* medieval romance tradition.

Milton omits some of the more unnatural or extravagant elements associated with medieval literary natural worlds (such as the dream vision garden in *Pearl*) that Ernst Curtius has argued ‘are not meant to represent reality.’[30] There is, for example, a distinct lack of bejewelled river-beds, or trees with indigo trunks in Milton’s Eden. Though Milton does include such phenomena as ‘fruits burnisht with Golden Rinde,’ (based on the fruit of the Garden of the Hesperides) he omits such unearthly details as the bejewelled river-bed, and all of the trees in his catalogue are distinctly earthly in that they are recognisable species. He also includes elements that are distinctly Christian: the inclusion of the forbidden fruit, for example, as well as the division of the waters into four channels (Euphrates, Tigris, Pishon and Gihon) are ‘specifically Christian’ elements.[31] Milton adopts, adapts, and rejects certain elements from the amalgamation of classical and medieval tropes he inherits, and inserts Christian aspects where necessary. Joseph E. Duncan has claimed that the classical gardens from which Milton drew most richly were the Hesperides of Hesiod’s *Theogeny*.[32] Milton makes several references to these island gardens throughout *Paradise Lost,* firstly in reference to the plains of Heaven, which appear as ‘Happy Iles, / Like those Hesperian Gardens fam’d of old / Fortunate Fields, and flourie Vales,’ (3.567-9). Satan says ‘farewell

[29] Giamatti, pp.11-12.
[30] Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages,* trans. by Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973), p.183.
[31] Giamatti, p.73.
[32] Joseph E. Duncan, *Milton’s Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), p.23.

happy Fields' (1.249) to Heaven and later refers to 'Elisian flours' in Book III (359). The following quotation is taken from Book IV and refers to the earthly Paradise:

> Thus was this place:
> A happy rural seat of various view;
> Groves whose rich Trees wept odorous Gumms and Balme,
> Others whose fruit burnisht with Golden Rinde
> Hung amiable, *Hesperian* Fables true,
> If true, here only, and of delicious taste:
>
> (IV, 246-251)

The final line of the above excerpt, 'if true, here only,' captures the essence of Milton's Garden of Eden. Each and every topos, every tradition, every image pertaining to the paradise trope – the *locus amoenus*, the *hortus conclusus*, the *paradys d'amours* – reaches its pinnacle here, in Milton's paradisal garden. Here, Milton combines the classical topoi of the *locus amoneus* with elements of the pastoral and the dream vision genre, which, combined, produce a picture of Eden against which all false paradises pale in comparison. The sense of nostalgia, and of loss, is palpable in these lines: if Paradise is real, Milton wonders aloud, and if the fabled classical gardens of the Hesperides have any hint of truth in their origin, then it is found here only, in this Christianised Paradise. 'Thus' he claims, 'was this place.' In Milton's Paradise, all genres, all topoi, all tropes meet and enmesh: 'the paradises of classical myth,' Lewalski states, 'are presented as fictional and wholly inadequate versions of the beauty and bliss of Eden.' [33] Where, then, does environmental consciousness play into this trope? How does genre inform these topoi? It is through Milton's exploration of both genre and ecology, this thesis argues, that the paradise trope become fully and truly informed and realised, here in Milton's Garden of Eden. Furthermore, his use of historical context imbues his writing with an urgency that reflects changing thought about humankind's relationship with the natural world during the period. In this way, we as modern readers are invited to find

[33] Lewalski, pp. 15-30 (p.16).

connections between seventeenth-century experiences of ecological issues and find analogies with those we face in today's world, and in doing so, Milton reminds us of our own longing for paradise, and our concerns and hope for the future, his *Paradise Lost* continuing to exert its hold through this decidedly modern message.

Environmental Change in the Early Modern Period – An Overview

The seventeenth century was a period of significant ecological change, ranging from wider global issues such as climate change under the 'Little Ice Age' to localised ones such as the controversial draining of the Bedford Level fens. Fuel production, consumption, and rates of deforestation were hotly debated topics, as were air quality, pollution, resource management and land use. As human productivity intensified, at great detriment and cost to natural resources, the effect on the natural world was profound, swift and long-lasting.[34] John F. Richards *The Unending Frontier* is perhaps the most exhaustive account to date of the environmental history of the early modern period: he places the 'massive taxonomical exercise' of exploring, identifying, naming, claiming and classifying new places and people and creatures in direct correlation with environmental change.[35] This led to a rise in interest in the disciplines (and genres) of cartography, geography and travel writing (which I explore in my second chapter), but empirical expansion came at great cost to the natural environment. I explore in far greater detail some of the particulars of ecological change in England in the main body of my thesis, chiefly with regard to fenland drainage, the enclosure debate and deforestation in relation to Milton's representation of Paradise, drawing analogies between early modern issues and practices and Milton's depiction of life in Eden. Anxieties about early modern ecological issues are reflected in Paradise, and this includes changes in attitudes

[34] John F. Richards, *The Unending Frontier: An Environmental History of the Early Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p.22.
[35] Richards, p.19.

towards the treatment of non-human animals. The non-human animal body, much like the early modern woman's body, Suzanne Walker claims, 'can be considered ambiguous and socially marginal, and therefore particularly eligible for the partitioning that counters a potentially unified subject.'[36] Though Walker is discussing this in relation to the practice of 'breaking the stag,' in early modern hunting treatises, the sentiment has a wider overall relevance with regard to the position of both women and non-human animals in early modern society. The division of the hunted animal into parts as detailed in the hunting treatise, Walker continues, 'satisfies the human desire for intellectual, physical, and social dominance.' The rise in popularity of Cartesianism, with its notion of animals as auto-machina, also plays a key part in this perception of animals.

Yet attitudes were not entirely confined to biblical misinterpretations of overwhelming dominance and Cartesian philosophy, for the seventeenth century also witnessed a backlash against Descartes, and saw an incremental change (though small) in eating habits with regards to vegetarianism. Proper care of one's animals was increasingly emphasised and there were any number of herbals and 'veterinary' treatises available advising people how best to treat their animals. Louise Hill Curth asserts that twentieth-century scholarship claiming that early modern animal-owners 'ignored the existence of moral arguments about the care of animals,' is incredibly outdated, arguing that this was highly unlikely: veterinary care in early modern England, she states, has until recently been largely misunderstood.[37] Whether concern for welfare was entirely selfish and based on economic motivations or not – for a healthier animal makes for a stronger working animal with a greater lifespan – it can be argued that animal husbandry, and early modern thinking about the status of animals, was

[36] Suzanne J. Walker, 'Making and Breaking the Stag: The Construction of the Animal in the Early Modern Hunting Treatise,' in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, ed.by Karl A. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp.317-337 (p.336).
[37] Louise Hill Curth, '"A Remedy for his Beast": Popular Veterinary Texts in Early Modern England' in *Early Modern Zoology: The Construction of Animals in Science, Literature and the Visual Arts*, ed. by Karl A. Enenkel and Paul J. Smith, 2 vols, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp.361-380 (p.361).

certainly changing for the better. In *Paradise Lost*, we observe both sides: prelapsarian existence is characterised by vegetarianism and harmonious co-existence between human and non-human animal, and in the postlapsarian world, we witness the breakdown of this relationship and the beginning of humankind's anthropocentric domination over the rest of the natural world. This thesis examines the portrayal of these elements in *Paradise Lost*, arguing that these elements are refined by Milton's use of specific genres in a manner that serves to further illuminate Milton's method of composition.

Many Miltonists have explored the parallels between Milton's descriptions of the natural world in *Paradise Lost* and early modern ecological issues. Representations of air pollution in Hell in particular have drawn a great deal of critical attention in the last decade or so, perhaps most succinctly described by Ken Hiltner in his article '"Belch'd Fire and Rowling Smoke': Air Pollution in *Paradise Lost*,' and more recently by Amy L. Tigner.[38] I do not focus upon Hell in this study, namely because my chief concern is Milton's depiction of Paradise; I do refer to it somewhat briefly, though, in my first chapter, in relation to my discussion of nationhood, and again in my final chapter in relation to enclosure polemics and Satan's 'invasion' of Eden. Karen Edwards has previously discussed Milton's decision to list 'waste' as part of the terrain in the Garden of Eden, arguing that the term waste 'invokes social relations' and therefore constitutes a direct reference to seventeenth-century land usage, discussing the implications of Milton's use of this term in light of waste ground use in the period.[39] Indeed, Ken Hiltner's entire edited collection of essays, from which Edwards' aforementioned essay is taken, addresses a wealth of early modern environmental issues in

[38] Ken Hiltner, '"Belch'd Fire and Rowling Smoke': Air Pollution in *Paradise Lost'*, in *Milton, Rights and Liberties: Essays from the Eighth International Milton Conference,* ed. by Christopher Tournu and Neil Forsyth (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), pp.293-302. See also Jayne E. Lewis, *Airs Appearance: Literary Atmosphere in British Fiction, 1660-1794* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Carole Rawcliffe, '"Delectable Sightes and Fragrant Smelles:" Gardens and Health in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', *Garden History* 36 (2008), 3-21.

[39] Karen L. Edwards, 'Eden Raised: Waste in Milton's Garden' in *Renaissance Ecology: Imagining Eden in Milton's England*, ed. by Ken Hiltner (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2008), pp. 259-271 (p.260).

relation to Milton's Eden. There is similarly a great deal of scholarship dedicated to empirical expansion and the desire to find Paradise, or to re-create it at home. Luke Morgan's 'Early Modern Edens: The Landscape and Language of Paradise,' discusses the 'language of the garden' and of Eden alongside a consideration of the history of empirical efforts to discover Eden in the New World.[40] The aforementioned articles constitute only a small portion of the wealth of existing studies that take ecocritical readings of Milton as their main topic. This thesis contributes something new to these existing studies through its adoption of a combined approach, by exploring Milton's engagement with ecological debates as they are framed and informed by the rhetorical conventions associated with specific genres.

Milton's Many Genres

Given that I have adopted a two-pronged approach to this thesis, I am also therefore indebted to the key figures of Milton genre studies, most notably, John R. Knott and the late Barbara K. Lewalski and Stella P. Revard. In this thesis, I attempt to shed new light on Milton genre studies by arguing that Milton's use of genre is directly connected to the sense of ecological awareness that pervades his work. For example, there already exists a great deal of scholarship focusing on Milton's use of the pastoral mode mostly in reference to *Paradise Lost* and to *Lycidas.* In my first chapter, I explore Milton's use of the pastoral elegy in relation to the concept of early modern nationhood, arguing that Milton's expression of nationhood is rooted in his description of English sites and historical events. This in turn, I argue, constitutes ecological awareness, for the patriotic enthusiasm and sense of nostalgia with which they are described suggests an awareness of the vulnerability of and desire to preserve these sites, and to maintain them as Edenic, idealised, nationalised spaces and

[40] Luke Morgan, 'Early Modern Edens: The Landscape and Language of Paradise' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 27 (2007) 142-148

places. In this thesis I address four main genres, or generic areas. Pastoral, as mentioned, is perhaps one of the most frequently studied of Milton's genres. It remains important, however, because studies of Milton's pastoral have, over time, become transmuted into early modern ecocritical studies. As Ken Hiltner has previously stated in his landmark monograph *What Else is Pastoral? Renaissance Literature and the Environment,* 'Renaissance pastoral poetry is more often a form of nature writing than one might think.'[41] There are, one can argue, still original interpretations to be made about Milton's use of the pastoral and the elegiac modes, and particularly with regard to the combination of the two, the pastoral elegy. Milton's use of the elegiac mode can be directly linked to early modern environmental concerns, I argue, and in this way his use of the pastoral is also transformed, as Milton discards the tired notions of pastoral.

I address the genre of geography or 'cosmographie,' the rapidly growing discipline of Milton's day, arguing that it forms a major contribution to the conceptualisation of Milton's Paradise. I discuss the genre of Hexameron and more particularly Milton's use of rabbinical commentary in relation to the treatment of non-human animals in Paradise, then finally, I turn to the medieval dream-vision genre, perhaps one of the lesser studied genres in Milton criticism. Laura L. Howes has previously argued that in Chaucer's gardens, the multitude of 'topoi do not mesh'; that Chaucer's readers would have sensed 'discord' in his representation of the garden, and that he defies literary traditions of the time by including such an amalgamation of topoi.[42] In Milton's Paradise, however, these topoi are reconciled, and, I argue, this is achieved specifically through Milton's blending of conventions from certain genres in a manner that complements his use of traditional topoi. Each chapter in turn addresses a different genre along with a different ecological issue or portrayal of the environment as it appears in Milton's work, with the exception of the enclosure movement,

[41] Ken Hiltner, *What Else is Pastoral,* p.1.
[42] Laura L. Howes, *Chaucer's Gardens and the Language of Convention* (Gainesville: Florida University Press, 1997), p.62.

which I discuss in both chapters two and four. I will now discuss in greater detail the subjects of each of my chapters.

This thesis is divided into four chapters. I decided on four as this has allowed me to cover each of my chosen genres in sufficient breadth and depth. Each chapter has subheadings both to add a clearer sense of development and direction and to aid the reader by separating it into smaller, more manageable sections. The first chapter, titled Nationalising Paradise, Dramatising Britain: Nationhood and Mourning in the Elegiac and Dramatic Modes, is dedicated to Milton's use of the elegiac mode with particular reference to his use of the pastoral elegy in *Lycidas.* This chapter effectively sets the tone for the rest of the thesis by analysing Milton's exploration of and depiction of nationhood, arguing that Milton's expressions of nationalism here are inextricably connected to his representation of landscape in the poems. Beginning with a selection of Milton's earlier works, *Lycidas, A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* and the *Epitaphium Damonis*, it charts the development of Milton's literary representations of nationhood and/or nationalistic sentiment through to the construction of *Paradise Lost*, thus paving the way for greater exploration of Milton's epic in later chapters. I do so by analysing Milton's use of the pastoral elegy and the pastoral dramatic mode in *Lycidas* and *A Maske* respectively, considering these texts in specific relation to Shakespeare's late play *Cymbeline* to provide a comparative angle through which to examine Milton's participation in the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century vogue for nationalist literature. In particular, I draw comparisons between the two authors' descriptions of landscape and the ways in which they create nationalised representations of certain key locations.

My second chapter, "This Assyrian Garden": The Geography of Paradise moves a little away from more constructed traditional literary genres towards a more interdisciplinary one by focusing on Milton's use of the burgeoning early modern genres of geography and

cosmography. In this chapter, I introduce a link between Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the work of the noted geographer and travel writer Peter Heylyn. I argue that some of the more particular details of Heylyn's descriptions of the bible lands – above those of other geographers such as Samuel Purchas and Richard Hakluyt – inform key aspects of Milton's depiction of the Holy Lands and the Creation. I specifically focus on Milton's descriptions of rivers and marsh fenland ecosystems, drawing on the significance of Milton's apparent use of Heylyn's geographical accounts for these portrayals. I then move on to discuss the same passages in light of early modern fenland drainage schemes, asserting that Milton's depiction of Eden is in fact doubly significant in terms of geographical and ecological concerns. I then go on to discuss Milton's portrayal of the wooded areas of Eden and Adam and Eve's pre- and post-lapsarian relationships with their woody surroundings, demonstrating that it bears particular significance in relation to early modern deforestation concerns and forestry management.

My third chapter, The Human and Non-Human Animal in Milton's Hexaemeron, takes the genre of Hexaemeron as its principal focus, exploring the various sources and traditions from which Milton is working for the construction of his own version of the Creation story. It explores Milton's representation of human and non-human animals in Eden in conjunction with his use of the hexameric genre. I have adopted the following terms, 'human animals' and 'non-human animals' from modern animal studies theory for my discussion of Milton's portrayal of the relationship between humans and animals. I do so because I believe these terms work particularly well to highlight the essential similarities between the two (historically and traditionally) distinct categories of 'humans' and 'animals.'[43] In her seminal

[43] See Laurie Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal: Cosmopolity in Shakespearean Locales* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Andreas Höfele, *Stage, Stake and Scaffold: Humans and Animals in Shakespeare's Theatre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Erica Fudge, *Animals, Rationality, and Humanity in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Bruce T. Boehrer, *Shakespeare Among the Animals: Nature and Society in the Drama of Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

monograph *The Accommodated Animal*, Laurie Shannon discussed the place of the non-human animal in the seventeenth century in relation to both the genre of Hexameron and to natural history, concentrating on the reflection of these in the works of Shakespeare. She mentions Milton only in passing, though she notes that *Paradise Lost* 'continues the practice of synthesising hexaemeric and natural-historical/scientific material,' exemplified by Du Bartas in his *La Sepmaine* (*Divine Weeks*) and Walter Raleigh in his *History of the World* (1578 and 1614 respectively).[44] In my exploration of Milton's use of hexameric literature and commentaries, I focus in particular upon Milton's use of pre-Socratic sources, including the work of early church fathers Ambrose and Basil, arguing that these works directly influenced Milton's depiction of non-human animals. I also make a new case for Milton's extensive use of rabbinical commentaries on the Torah along with his own knowledge of Hebraism, arguing that these commentaries exert a profound influence on Milton's work. Milton's representation of animals is, ultimately, the product of his engagement with hexaemeric literature, rabbinical commentary and biblical commentaries. I also conduct a close analysis on Milton's representation of a particular non-human animal case study, the mythical phoenix, in relation to his use of rabbinical commentary.

My final chapter, "To the Garden of bliss, thy seat prepar'd": Milton and the Medieval Dream Vision takes the medieval dream vision as its generic focus, combining this with a discussion of early modern gardening practices as well as returning once more to the enclosure debate previously visited in my second chapter. For this chapter I was particularly inspired by the parallels between Chaucer's representation of literary gardens in his medieval dream vision gardens and Milton's Eden. I refer to Chaucer's own dream vision narratives and to his translation of the the *Romaunt de la Rose*, the French medieval romance that set the precedent for all other dream vision narratives. I posit that the dream vision genre has a

[44] Laurie Shannon, *The Accommodated Animal: Cosmopolity in Shakespearean Locales* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013) p.37.

crucial influence on Milton's representation of Edenic life, claiming that the conventions of the genre form a key aspect of Milton's depiction of Eden. Furthermore, the concept of life in Eden as a dream vision narrative, I argue, naturally lends itself to the notion or practice of attempting to recover, or recreate, Eden in England and indeed abroad, a phenomenon that has been noted by various early modern ecocritics. This manifests itself in Milton's text through his references to early modern gardening practices and to the enclosure debate and wider land use. This desire to re-create Paradise is in itself linked to ecological awareness, for the desire to return to a perfect state means the undoing of all of the various ills early modern humanity had imposed upon the earth. This final chapter serves to conclude the thesis by equating Paradise and a paradisal state with dreaming and dream visions, and therefore in turn the dream vision narrative, arguing that Milton's use of the dream vision represents this longing for paradise. Gardens, Terry Comito argued decades ago, are 'places in which men come home again.'[45] This desire to return to a dream-state, to return 'home' to return to Eden, similarly represents a desire to undo the ecological disasters that the early modern English had wreaked upon their once-Edenic country. It also, therefore, represents a dream for the national collective future, looking forward to the prospective Paradise.

In analysing Milton's engagement with early modern environmental debates in his work, I explore the presence of an early modern nostalgia for, and a longing for a return to, a Paradisal state akin to the prelapsarian state of Adam and Eve, arguing that this longing is inextricably bound up in a sense of ecological consciousness and informed by genre. This longing encompasses not only the Paradise of Genesis but also the prospective, promised, heavenly Paradise of Revelation, looking both backwards and forwards in its treatment of the paradisal state. Altogether, this thesis argues that genre and ecology can be effectively combined as a literary approach to Milton's texts, and, more importantly, that a combined

[45] Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1978), p.xii.

approach to Milton's texts can reveal new interpretations. It argues for the recognition of new literary and historical sources that inform Milton's depiction of Paradise, and draws key links between these sources and Milton's engagement with the conventions of genre, arguing that they are essentially interdependent. In the pages that follow, I build upon and add to the rapidly growing field of Milton ecocriticism, contributing something new to the field by returning to Paradise once again, this time by a different door.

Chapter One: Nationalising Paradise, Dramatising Britain: Nationhood and Mourning in the Elegiac and Dramatic Modes

Samuel Johnson's infamously damning response to Milton's *Lycidas* specifically bemoans the use of so artificial a poetic form by an otherwise great poet, deriding his decision to adopt the pastoral mode for his elegy:

> […] In this poem there is no nature, for there is no truth; there is no art, for there is nothing new. Its form is that of a pastoral, easy, vulgar, and therefore disgusting: whatever images it can supply are long ago exhausted; and its inherent improbability always forces dissatisfaction on the mind...[1]

So great was Johnson's dislike of the poem that he stated that 'Surely no man could have fancied that he read *Lycidas* with pleasure had he not known its author'.[2] Johnson's disgust at Milton's decision to employ what he perceives as an 'impersonal' form for a commemorative poem is not entirely surprising: the pastoral elegy was considered the most lowly and unfashionable of all popular genres in the Renaissance period.[3] Yet it was Milton's decision to employ the pastoral mode that critics agree effectively ensured its enduring resonance and popularity – unlike the other poems of the *Justa Edouardo King Naufrago*, the volume within which it was produced.[4]

The volume was published in 1638 as a commemorative collection lamenting the untimely death of Milton's fellow Cambridge scholar Edward King the previous year. Milton, Gordon Campbell has noted, shunned the vogueish metaphysical form and the associated 'wittily

[1] Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English Poets (1779-81);* ed. by George Birkbeck Hill, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905) pp.190-1.
[2] Johnson, p.191
[3] William C. Watterson, 'Nation and History: The Emergence of the English Pastoral Elegy' in *The Oxford Handbook of the Elegy*, ed. by Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.135-152 (p.136).
[4] Barbara A. Johnson, 'Fiction and Grief: The Pastoral Idiom of Milton's Lycidas' *Milton Quarterly* 18 (1984) 69-76 (p.75).

expressed grief' favoured by the majority of the contributors to the volume, instead choosing to adopt the highly traditional, if somewhat 'tired' pastoral elegy. It was this decision which allowed him to 'transcend his ostensible subject and produce a meditation on human mortality'. [5] It is also, arguably, the versatility and malleability of the pastoral mode which affords Milton such freedom of expression in *Lycidas*, and which allows for such a complex exploration of religious, political and personal matters. Johnson was, it seems, particularly incensed by Milton's decision to employ a mode traditionally characterised by its artificiality and thus, he concludes, its insincerity – all the more inappropriate for a commemorative poem.

Yet Milton, it would appear, intentionally chose this mode specifically because of its suitability for the occasion. J.M. Evans has claimed that it is difficult for us as humans to express our grief in a way that is not inarticulate, and, as such, a 'completely articulate expression of grief […] is bound to be 'artificial' simply by virtue of the fact that it is articulate;' noting that 'traditional forms such as the pastoral elegy thus fulfil a deep human need'.[6] On an immediate surface level, the poem is a commemorative public grieving for the death of Edward King; yet it also provides an opportunity for Milton to present a thinly veiled attack on Archbishop Laud's oppressive regime, and thus also reads as a mournful tale for the state of the Church. Critics including Stella P. Revard have also noted the presence of Milton's own late mother in the poem, resplendent in the 'nurturing mother' figure of the Sicilian Muse.[7] Yet crucially *Lycidas* also serves as an outlet for the young Milton's own anxieties about his life, future career choices, the power of poetry and indeed the possibility that he too may die prematurely. How does a person successfully communicate such a range and depth of content and meaning without, as Evans claims, producing a work that is either

[5] Gordon Campbell, 'Milton, John (1608–1674)', *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 1 Feb 2015].
[6] J. Martin Evans, 'Lycidas' in *The Cambridge Companion to Milton*, ed. by Dennis Danielson, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.39-53 (p.41).
[7] Stella P. Revard, 'Lycidas', in *A Companion to Milton*, ed. by Thomas N. Corns (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp.246-260 (p.257).

inarticulate or, conversely, seemingly artificial? The pastoral mode instead allows Milton to gesture toward political, religious and personal matters without transparently or explicitly limiting himself to a single issue. Though pastoral is derided as a seemingly artificial mode, particularly given that it is based upon recurring motifs and images, William Watterson argues that these motifs are 'primitivistic rather than primitive' - a key distinction.[8] He goes on to state that Renaissance pastoral, and by association, Renaissance pastoral elegy, was altogether 'more self-consciously historical than its Hellenistic prototypes'.[9]

In this chapter I argue that this historical self-consciousness extends beyond the immediate religious and political context that forms much of the critical debate surrounding *Lycidas* to encompass Milton's immediate environmental-historical context. This environmental-historical consciousness is infinitely bound up in Milton's use of the elegiac mode in *Lycidas* and manifests itself through Milton's combined use of nationalistic, mythological storytelling and his use of nature symbolism. Personal and environmental loss, mourning, and pride are all distinctly nationalised in *Lycidas*, and indeed also in *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*, the *Epitaphium Damonis* and *Paradise Lost*, all of which I consider comparatively briefly in this chapter in order to further illustrate my argument. Considering *Lycidas* in relation to these other texts allows the reader to chart the differences in Milton's use of nationalistic symbolism and language across his career as they relate to on-going political, religious and monarchical upheaval. Milton, Willy Maley has recently claimed, is one of a number of early modern writers who have been recently revisited in light of new critical debates about the presence and extent of British nationalism, or national identity, in his works.[10] Yet in her own discussion of the 'origin' of nationalism and the expression of nationalistic sentiment, Anna Suranyi has stressed the risk of anachronism surrounding the use of these terms. She similarly

[8] Watterson, pp.135-152 (p.135).
[9] Watterson, pp.135-152 (p.135).
[10] Willy Maley, 'The English Renaissance, the British Problem, and the Early Modern Archipelago,' *Critical Quarterly* 52:4 (2010) 23-36, p.26.

notes that many critics are sceptical as to whether an 'early modern identity,' – as in, a national identity – even existed in the period, but claims that it was in fact a burgeoning sentiment.[11]

Before I enter into any further discussion, I will clarify exactly what I mean by these terms myself. When I use the terms 'nationalism/istic' or refer to 'nationhood', I refer to writing that is specifically imbued with the following: patriotic language and / or use of British history and/or mythology to provide material or symbolic value for story-telling. Secondly, I define the pastoral elegy as a lament for a lost soul or beloved characterised by the use of classical allusions to Golden Age literature (for example, to the works of Virgil and Theocritus) that specifically refers to, or focuses on, the minutiae and humdrum pleasantry of shepherding life. I will begin with an exploration of the more traditional pastoral elegy elements in *Lycidas* and how these elements specifically relate to the overall conceptualisation of a nationalised paradise in the poem. Ken Hiltner has observed that many critics speculate about whether Renaissance pastoral poetry is in fact inspired by or displays any anxiety about the environment at all.[12] Furthermore, he states, Renaissance writers concerned about how best to represent accurately a landscape in a constant state of flux often chose instead to abandon attempts to produce mimetic representations, focusing instead on 'what lies outside of the work.'[13] Plato originally expressed this anxiety over the accurate representation of nature, and therefore during the Renaissance the notion particularly resonated with the philosophers and writers of the period.[14] If we are to apply this concept to *Lycidas*, then, is it possible that we can also assign concerns over truthful representation as

[11] Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp.38-39. Suranyi lists Benedict Anderson, Ernest Gellner and Eric Hobsbawm among those critics sceptical as to the existence of a national identity and / or believe the term nationalism to be inapplicable to pre-eighteenth century texts.
[12] Hiltner, *What Else is Pastoral?,* p.5.
[13] Hiltner, *What Else is Pastoral?,* p.5.
[14] Hiltner, *What Else is Pastoral?,* p.6. See also Robert N. Watson, *Back to Nature: The Green and the Real in the Late Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

one of reasons prompting Milton to adopt a supposedly 'artificial' form, so replete with 'exhausted' images of shepherds and sheep, as Johnson lamented?

Nature, the life-cycle and more importantly a sense of awe and respect of nature becomes one of the very tropes or issues hidden in the multi-layered classical complexity of Milton's pastoral elegy. Drawing heavily upon classical literature, Milton richly imbues *Lycidas* with multiple traditions pertaining to the classical 'paradise' trope – the Golden Age, Arcadia, and the *locus amoenus*, for example, and, of course, the Christian notion of Eden. The occasion of King's death provides a perfect context within which to explore these tropes, and thus serves as a trigger for the development of Milton's own ideas, thoughts and fears relating to eternal life. Ultimately, however, this retrospective Eden and prospective heaven are informed by the nationalistic tone of the poem: the imagined Paradise is, to all intents and purposes, an idealised England, complete with mythological figures as an ode to a past age.

A sense of nostalgia for or longing for a previous golden age is fulfilled by the elegiac elements, then, whilst simultaneously looking forward to events of Revelation and the promised kingdom: in turn, these events are imbued with nationalistic sentiment by Milton's use of British history and mythology. The paradise trope is inextricably related to the environmental context of the period and, as such, to the idea of a flourishing 'ecological consciousness', as Ken Hiltner has termed it.[15] I posit that this awareness or concern is often explored in these texts through nationalist rhetoric or symbolism that expresses both pride in and simultaneously concern for the state of the country. Paradise is ultimately a *locus amoenus* in Edenic stasis, unspoiled by decay, rot or pollutants: the landscapes represented in these works both correlate and go against these features. *Lycidas*, *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* and the *Epitaphium Damonis*, in their respective explorations of the poet's historical, geographical and mythological England, exhibit an ecological awareness that

[15] Hiltner, *What Else is Pastoral?*, p.12.

forms part of a wider focus on nationhood in Milton's writing, as detailed in my Introduction. Ken Hiltner has previously described the Renaissance-era pastoral elegy as a 'form of nature writing,' whilst Timothy Morton has claimed that 'whether or not it is explicitly ecological, elegy's formal topics and tropes are environmental.' [16] In Milton's hands, the pastoral elegy further transcends these notions to constitute a political commentary on the state of the nation, both in terms of environmental change and in political and religious terms. The pastoral elegy and dramatic modes respectively provide a generic lens for these explorations of nationhood and contemporary environmental change.

Though *Lycidas* portrays an Arcadian England, unmarred and untouched by contemporary environmental issues, it is still very recognisable as Milton's England, albeit an idealised one. The land is peaceful; it is not torn apart by protests against the draining of marshland, by changing land use and the enclosures; it is not blighted by the 'presumptuous Smoake', the 'Evill […] so Epidemicall' of the city of London that John Evelyn describes, writing to King Charles II and Parliament.[17] The environmental issues of the period thrust the English countryside into the spotlight and into the literature, which in turn 'gave rise to an environmental consciousness' that this literature 'helped facilitate.'[18] Though these issues are not explored in depth in the same way they are in his later works, such as in Milton's construction of Hell in *Paradise Lost*, in his earlier works there remains a burgeoning sense of an ecological awareness. Before I continue, however, it is necessary to briefly explore further the collective cultural memory or body of history that I and indeed Milton is referring to when I discuss Milton's use of national history, and how this in turn is inextricably linked

[16]Timothy Morton, 'The Dark Ecology of Elegy' in *The Oxford Handbook for the Elegy*, ed. by Karen Weisman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.251-271 (p.252).
[17] John Evelyn, *Fumifugium*, (London: W. Godbid, 1661) in *Early English Books Online*, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [accessed 25 September 2014].
[18] Hiltner, *What Else is Pastoral?*, pp. 9; 12.

to the conceptualisation of a distinctly nationalised Paradise, both retrospective and prospective.

A Collective Cultural Nationalism

These references to a collective nationhood or nationalistic sentiments are predominantly reliant on what by Milton's time came to be regarded as largely mythological as opposed to strictly historical sources. In the Renaissance period, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* was still by and large regarded as one of the chief authorities on British history, though indeed, by the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century, his credibility had largely begun to wane, and certainly by the time Milton was writing. At this point, his historical accounts had been downgraded to largely mythological status due to widespread disbelief about their credibility.[19] Philip Schwyzer credits the failure of James I's unionist dream as 'evidence of the strength of a distinctly English nationalism in this period;' noting that in general, expressions of nationalism or nationhood were on the whole more English than British 'than in the Tudor era,' however he also claims that 'there was simply a good deal less nationalist expression of any kind.'[20] The lessening popularity of texts with strong themes of nationalistic expression may therefore correlate with Milton's eventual decision to produce a biblical epic as opposed to a national epic. On return from his European travels in 1639 Milton did make provisional notes on ideas for a total of 38 British history plays, all of which are recorded in the Trinity Manuscript, but, as William Poole confirms, the chronicle play was almost all but history by the time James I came to throne.[21] Though he composed drafts of dramas on the tale of Macbeth and on Harold II, these never came to fruition, and

[19] Erin Murphy, 'Sabrina and the Making of English History in *Poly-Olbion* and *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle'*, *SEL* 51:1 (2011), 87-100 (p.95).
[20] Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004) p.173.
[21] William Poole, *Milton and the Making of* Paradise Lost (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2017), pp.105-106.

indeed he moved away from both the nationalist subject matter and the dramatic mode when he came to write his epic.[22]

Yet Milton's decision to compose a *History of Britain* does suggest a lingering interest in or dedication to the establishment of a proper record of British history (as opposed to English history, we can assume from the title). Interestingly, Milton's *History of Britain* appears to be fairly reliant on Geoffrey's examples, despite his documented scepticism towards the author's accounts of early British history.[23] In 1576 William Lambard argued against the discrediting of Geoffrey's text on the charge that the man who does "shall […] both deprive this Nation of all manner of knowledge of their first beginning."[24] Andrew Escobedo describes this as a 'need for an origin' that supersedes the necessity for historical accuracy: both Spenser and Milton, he notes, are 'alert to the value of fiction to promote continuity.'[25]

Ultimately Geoffrey's *Historia* provided a main source for a plethora of semi-historical tales of ancient, legendary Britons with which playwrights and writers could furnish their work. But Milton's nationalistic sentiment is not limited solely to his poetic and dramatic works – indeed, far from it. Willy Maley has described 'the margins of British culture' as 'impinging upon Milton's work at every turn.'[26] Milton's *History of Britain* was the lengthiest of all his prose works, and his prose tracts *Areopagitica* and *The Readie and Easie Way* express decidedly nationalistic sentiments that have been noted by innumerable Milton scholars.[27] In *Areopagitica*, Milton describes English as "the language of men ever famous and foremost in the achievement of liberty," and England herself as "a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep and shaking her invincible locks," whilst

[22] Poole, p.111.
[23] Andrew Escobedo, *Nationalism and Historical Loss in Renaissance England: Foxe, Dee, Spenser, Milton* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), p.191.
[24] William Lambard, *The Perambulation of Kent* (London, 1576), p.69.
[25] Escobedo, p.143.
[26] Maley, p.27.
[27] Maley, p.26.

London is referred to as "the mansion-house of liberty."[28]

Ultimately, Milton and many of his contemporaries, as Krishan Kumar and others have claimed, believed England to be the 'elect nation,' and that the country was 'chosen to head the fight against the Antichrist and lead the way into the millennium.'[29] This coincided with the increasing awareness and popularity of millenarianism, or, the belief that the Second Coming of Christ and a subsequent thousand-year-long utopian period was imminent. It was thought by some that England might play a crucial role in this act of providence.[30] William Poole notes that Milton attended Cambridge at the same time as and in the same college as Joseph Mede, whom Poole describes as 'the prominent English millenarian of his day' and a 'famous exponent of the biblical apocalypse,' who considered Revelation both an accurate history account and a source of prophecy.[31] Bruce McLeod describes Milton as having a 'millenarian mindset,' and a 'protagonist in the historical effort to protect members of an elect nation' against the threat of various evils, both religious and political, which in his writing is achieved by 'remembering, reconstituting a history' that points to England's elects status.[32] Critics are divided as to whether Milton was a millenarian, but Milton expresses millenarian (or least apocalyptic) prayers and language in several of his prose works, including *Animadversions, Of Reformation* and *De Doctrina Christiana*, as well as making fairly frequent use of apocalyptic language in *Paradise Lost* that suggests, Poole notes, the possibility of forthcoming religious change and hope, perhaps in the form of the Messiah.[33] The most crucial aspect of this providential future, though, was the belief or hope that England would be the site of the new Paradise, the new eternal Jerusalem of heaven upon

[28] John Milton, 'Areopagitica: A Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing to the Parliament of England' in *Areopagitica and other Prose Works* ed.by Jim Miller (New York: Dover Publications, 2016) pp.17; 33; 34.
[29] Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.108.
[30] Escobedo, p.23.
[31] Poole, p.27.
[32] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature,* 1580-1745 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.121.
[33] Poole, p.163.

earth, as God's chosen nation. Indeed, in *Animadversions*, Milton calls to his 'true Brittaines' claiming that God "hath yet ever had this Iland under the special indulgent eye of his providence; and pittying us the first of all other Nations."[34] In Milton's eyes, England, the promised nation of Revelation, had been elected for the role of seeing in the Reformation by God:

> How it should come to passe that England having had this *grace* and *honour* from GOD to bee the first that should set up a Standard for the recovery of *lost Truth*, and blow the first *Evangelick Trumpet* to the *Nations*, holding up, as from a Hill, the new Lampe of saving light to all Christendome…[35]

This is evidence, Escobedo argues, that Milton regularly 'links national privilege with the coming end,' in his prose works: indeed, Milton's apocalyptic language only reinforces this sentiment.[36] Linda Gregorson notes that nation constitutes an 'interim measure, a means of structuring hope and performing fidelity between the two comings […for] the conceptual and practical problem, both before and after the Restoration, was how to inhabit the meantime.'[37] The passage quoted above, with its evangelical trumpeting, appears Revelation-like in itself, and is suggestive of Milton's belief in England's elect superiority and in turn its key place in the Second Coming. The concept of England as concurrent with, or destined to become one with, the heavenly paradise is very much alive in Milton's prose texts, and this is greatly reinforced by the nationalistic and apocalyptic themes and language in his poetic works.[38]

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[34] John Milton, *Animadversions upon the remonstrants defence against Smectymnuus* (London: Printed for Thomas Underhill, 1641) p.36. Sourced from EEBO: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [Accessed 13 July 2015].

[35] John Milton, *Of reformation touching church-discipline in England and the causes that hitherto have hindred it* (London: Printed for Thomas Underhill, 1641), p.6. Sourced from EEBO: <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [Accessed 13 July 2015].

[36] Escobedo, p.228.

[37] Linda Gregerson, 'Colonials Write the Nation: Spenser, Milton, and England on the Margins,' in *Edmund Spenser: Essays on Culture and Allegory*, ed. by Jennifer Klein Morrison and Matthew Greenfeld (Burlington: Ashgate, 2000), pp.89-106 (p.102).

[38] Walter H. Lim discusses these themes in relation to the apocalyptic imagery in the works of 'self-styled prophetess' Anna Trapnel: Milton's writing, he claims is decidedly less openly apocalyptic in tone. I argue that it is characterised by a toned-down version of apocalypticism that reads as nationalism. See Walter S.H. Lim,

These nationalistic themes are perhaps most evident when Milton refers to the British landscape, as I shall now explore in relation to *Lycidas.*

Landscaping Nationhood

Lycidas is predominantly a poem of mourning and commemoration, and this mourning is explicitly reflected in the natural imagery of the elegy, for the premature death of Lycidas is echoed by reverberations within the natural world that mimic the collapse of the natural order. Milton reinforces this connection between mourning and natural imagery by employing the image of the classical figure of Orpheus, whose death 'universal nature did lament', to parallel Lycidas' own death. [39] The landscape mourns the death of Lycidas, and this sense of total loss mirrored in the depiction of the natural world is established right from Milton's opening description:

> Yet once more, O ye Laurels, and once more
> Ye Myrtles brown, with Ivy never-sear,
> I come to pluck your Berries harsh and crude,
> And with forc'd fingers rude,
> Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.
>
> (*Lycidas*, 1-5)

Milton comes to pluck the unripe fruits of his poetic resources prematurely from their mother earth, echoing the premature death of Lycidas: the 'forc'd fingers' rip the fruit from the vine and the life-giving soil that provides their nutrition as Lycidas is torn from the earthly plain. Each plant lends itself to classical allusion, and each plant possesses symbolic resonance in

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John Milton, Radical Politics, and Biblical Republicanism (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), p.175.

[39] All references to *Lycidas* are taken from the following edition: John Milton, *Lycidas* in *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems*, ed.by Stella P. Revard (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp.74-80. Subsequent references to the poem will be cited according to line number within the body of the essay.

that they are traditionally associated with death and funeral rites. [40] In *Lycidas*, the laurel is first and foremost symbolic in that it refers to the laureate crown of the classical god of poetry, Apollo-Phoebus. Milton reluctantly plucks the laurel before it is fully ripe, expressing his insecurity and lack of confidence in his poetic talents and ambitions. Laurel is, however, an evergreen plant, as is ivy ('never-sear') and the myrtle shrub too, and Milton's use of these plants for an elegy fulfils tradition. Each of these plants possesses strong traditional associations with funereal rites and eternal life as befitting the circumstances of the poem's composition. In his encyclopaedic article 'A Milton Herbal', James Patrick McHenry discusses an Arabic myth that reveals further symbolic significance for this discussion. This particular myth, he claims, states that myrtle was 'the chief aromatic plant in Eden, one of the three things that God allowed Adam and Eve to take from the garden into the fallen world'.[41] Whether or not Milton was aware of this myth, this information provides greater scope for interpretation of Milton's use of the plant. The myth portrays myrtle as a plant that features in both pre- and post-lapsarian life – it is a plant that has, effectively, 'known Eden' and also known the fallen world and thus death. This would appear to further emphasise the myrtle shrub's symbolic status as a plant associated with eternal life, and thus in turn the paradise trope. Ultimately these references to the evergreen are significant in that they immediately establish a sense of enduring hope and a reminder of the forthcoming Revelation whilst simultaneously reminding the reader of their Creation and Edenic existence at the very beginning. They form the beginning of this recurring theme of eternal life that continues throughout the poem, thus creating a cyclical structure to the poem in the form of an eternity motif.

This is further developed in the form of the flower catalogue throughout the poem. Henry Hitch Adams notes that it has long been thought that the 'probable antecedent' of Milton's

[40] James Patrick McHenry, 'A Milton Herbal', *MQ* 30 (1996), 45-110, p.79.
[41] McHenry, p.83.

famous flower catalogue in *Lycidas* is Perdita's speech in Act IV Scene 4 of Shakespeare's late play *The Winter's Tale*.[42] Milton's indebtedness to Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* in relation to the composition of his floral catalogue remains undisputed by scholars. The Trinity Manuscript version of *Lycidas* possesses uncanny similarities to Perdita's speech, similarities bordering on exact regurgitation which H.H. Adams calls an 'unconscious echoing,' before Milton altered his lines.[43] The passage in *Lycidas* reads as follows:

> Bring the rathe Primrose that forsaken dies,
> The tufted Crow-toe, and pale Gessamine,
> The white pink, and the pansy freaked 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 laureate hearse where *Lycid* lies.
>
> (142-151)

The Shakespearean passage (partial excerpt) reads:

> From Dis's wagon! – daffodils,
> That come before the swallow dares, and take
> The winds of March with beauty; violets, dim,
> But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes
> Or Cytherea's breath; pale primroses,
> That die umarried ere they can behold
> Bright Phoebus in his strength…[44]
>
> (IV.118-124)

[42] Henry Hitch Adams, 'The Development of the Flower Passage in "Lycidas"', *Modern Language Notes*, 65 (1950), 468-472 (p.468).
[43] Adams, p.468.
[44] All references to *The Winter's Tale* refer to *The Oxford Shakespeare*: Complete Works, ed. by John Jowett and others, 2nd edn, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005) pp.1125-1152. References to be cited according to line number within the body of the thesis.

Violets, primroses and daffodils all feature in both catalogues. Numerous critics have noted the importance of the dual symbolism of the spring flowers that feature in both Perdita's speech and in the *Lycidas* flower catalogue. They carry symbolic connotations of both of romantic love and youth, yet are also widely used as funeral flowers and are thus associated with death. Milton, Henry H. Adams claims, had the latter symbolic association in mind when he employed these flowers for *Lycidas*, as does Florizel, who questions Perdita's choice of flowers, asking, 'What, like a corse?' (IV.iv.129).[45] Throughout the poem, great emphasis is placed on the injustice of the prematurity of King's death, thus fulfilling the association of the 'unripe' flowers Milton's swain plucks with untimely death. Yet in their association with spring, the season of new birth, of youth and love, they also work to reinforce the ever-present theme of re-birth and the life cycle. Yet another of Shakespeare's late plays, the tragicomedy and romance *Cymbeline* – thought to have been written around the year 1610, the same time as *The Winter's Tale*, also appears to share certain nationalistic thematic and linguistic similarities to *Lycidas* upon reflection.[46]

Cymbeline is by nature a heavily nationalistic play, produced as it was against the contextual background of the 1610 investiture of James I's son Prince Henry Frederick as the Prince of Wales. Yet Philip Schwyzer has claimed that 'by the time *Cymbeline* was performed in 1609 or 1610, the unionist campaign had stuttered to a halt, and patriotic history plays were as firmly out of fashion as Petrarchan sonnets.'[47] Yet *Cymbeline* is very much a play that centres on constructions of nationhood and British identity, though Schwyzer argues that the play is characterised by the 'divorce of historical and ideological content.'[48] This corresponds with Escobedo's discussion of the 'fictionalisation' of historical and

[45] Adams, p.468.
[46] William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. by Martin Butler (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.4-5.
[47] Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory in Early Modern England and Wales* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.173.
[48] Schwyzer, p.173.

mythological sources as previously discussed, for here Shakespeare makes use of ancient British history and legend in a manner that allows for creative license and serves the key themes of the play. In *Lycidas*, the combined pastoral and nationalistic imagery together constitute an expression for - a *longing* for - a golden age: Milton creates a perfect fiction that serves nostalgic purposes, expressing a desire to return to an uncorrupted environmental and spiritual state and to the Golden Age of British legend whilst simultaneously looking forward to the prospective Paradise in its millenarianism.

In both *Cymbeline* and *Lycidas* the respective authors combine nationalistic imagery and themes with the familiar style of the pastoral mode, and both do so in specific relation to their exploration of the life cycle and of funeral practices: in each, the tale and fate of the protagonist is similarly rooted in the British landscape. These themes can also be considered in relation to Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*, the poem produced alongside *Lycidas* in the 1645 edition of Milton's *Poems* and which can be roughly dated to 1639, two years after *Lycidas* was written, and finally *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*, the earliest of the trio, first performed in 1634.[49] In all three of these texts, death and particularly funeral rites and practices are tied to ideas of nationalism and to the immediate landscape. Nationalism, and a sense of respect and love for the physical landscape itself, are closely bound up in Milton's exploration of life and death, in his representation of a nostalgic longing for a Golden Age and for a Paradise to come. This is expressed in Milton's geographical and topographical representation of the British landscape in relation to death and nostalgia: nostalgia both for a past age, and a mourning for the loss of friends and for time spent together in British locations. In particular, it is the depiction of the corporeal self, the body of the deceased, in relation to the British landscape, that fully expresses this combined sense of respect for and 'belonging to' nature and national pride – a concept echoed in *Cymbeline*.

[49] Philip Dust, 'Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* and *Lycidas*', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 32 (1983), 342-346 (p.342).

Shakespeare also drew significantly from the tradition of Hellenistic romance in his composition of *Cymbeline*, including, perhaps most importantly, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe,* a key work in the literary tradition of the pastoral elegy. Of the numerous and varied literary sources to which Shakespeare is indebted in *Cymbeline,* it is his indebtedness to Edmund Spenser's epic *The Faerie Queene* that is of crucial significance. In his recent edition of *Cymbeline* Martin Butler notes that Spenser's influence or 'presence' is most notable in the Welsh scenes of the play: those 'which explore the antithesis between court and country in a manner very reminiscent of *The Faerie Queene* Book 6, the legend of courtesy'.[50] Spenser employs elements of the pastoral mode to explore the contrast between court and country, a trope Shakespeare employs to similar effect in *Cymbeline*. Milford Haven, Ronald Boling argues, is sometimes seen as a 'timeless pastoral or symbolic location', and Butler notes that Shakespeare's adaptation of the pastoral mode is distinctive in regard to his depiction of the geographical features of the landscape itself.[51] The princes' dispositions, Butler maintains, are shaped and characterised by their 'austere' landscape: it is a 'hard pastoral of the mountains rather than a soft pastoral of fields' – more akin to the landscape in *The Faerie Queene* - that shapes their temperaments, and it is in complete antithesis to the relative luxury of courtly life depicted in the early acts of the play.[52] It is this depiction of 'hard' pastoral and a specific focus on the British landscape, informed by nationalistic overtones that characterises Shakespeare's adaptation of the pastoral mode and of Spenser's 'court vs country' trope – an idea that is paralleled in *Lycidas*.

In terms of purely linguistic similarities, it is the mock-funeral of Fidele-Innogen in Act IV, Scene 2 that forms the closest parallel with Milton's own depiction of Lycidas' 'laureate hearse'. As Martin Butler notes, the passage in question similarly belongs to the flower

[50] William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. by Martin Butler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.12.
[51] Ronald J. Boling, 'Anglo-Welsh Relations in Cymbeline,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 51:1 (2000), 33-66 (p.33).
[52] Butler, 2005, p.12.

catalogue tradition, as does Perdita's *Winter's Tale* speech and of course the *Lycidas* passage.[53] These flowers – the primrose, the violet, the cowslip, (amongst others) are part of the stock elements of the pastoral flower catalogue in literary tradition, and their contradictory associations – with spring and love, and with funeral rites, are fully explored by Shakespeare. Both Shakespeare and Milton employ these flowers in relation to their established associations as funeral flowers, drawing on pastoral and romance tradition in a manner typical of the period:

Arviragus:

> With fairest flowers
> Whilst summer lasts and I live here, Fidele,
> I'll sweeten thy sad grave. Thou shalt not lack
> The flower that's like thy face, pale primrose, nor
> The azured harebell, like thy veins; no, nor
> The leaf of eglantine, whom not to slander
> Outsweetened not thy breath. The Ruddock would
> With charitable bill – O bill, sore shaming
> Those rich-left heirs that let their fathers lie
> Without a monument! – Bring thee all this,
> Yea, and furred moss besides, when flowers are none,
> To winter-ground thy corpse.
>
> (*Cymbeline*, IV.4.218-228)[54]

And, once again, Milton's flower catalogue:

> 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:

[53] Butler, 2005, p.10.
[54] William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. by Martin Butler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.81-249: IV.4.218-228 (All subsequent references to be cited according to line number in the body of the essay).

> Bid *Amaranthus* all his beauty shed,
> And daffadillies fill their cups with tears,
> To strew the Laureat Herse where *Lycid* lies.
>
> (*Lycidas*, 142-151)

The *Cymbeline* passage, like Perdita's speech from *The Winter's Tale* and in turn *Lycidas*, pays homage to the tradition of the flower catalogue. The primrose takes precedence as the first of the flowers cited in the catalogue, as in *Lycidas* – in contrast to that in Perdita's speech, where it comes last. Milton similarly names the 'musk-rose', as Shakespeare does the 'eglantine', both members of the rose family and carrying very British connotations: the cult of Elizabeth Tudor was heavily linked to the eglantine rose.[55] In Act I, Scene 5 of *Cymbeline* Shakespeare's Queen is seen to be concocting a deadly draught with which she intends to poison Innogen. Having consulted the apothecary, she orders her servants to gather 'violets, cowslips and primroses' to 'bear to [her] closet' (83). Each of these flowers is referred to by Milton in his own flower catalogue for the purpose of adorning the laureate hearse of Lycidas: the 'rathe primrose', the 'glowing violet' and 'cowslips wan'. For Shakespeare to cite these specific funeral flowers as ingredients for a poison, he creates a sense of perverse irony – yet this also in turn serves to create a statement about the nature of life and death and specifically, life-in-death and after-death. This notion is further extended in Belarius' speech, which follows on from Arviragus':

> Here's a few flowers, but 'bout midnight more;
> The herbs that have on them cold dew o'th' night
> Are strewings fitt'st for graves upon th'earth's face.
> You were as flowers, now withered; even so
> These herblets shall, which we upon you strow.
> Come on, away, apart upon our knees –

[55] See, for example, Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabeth Portraiture and Pageantry* (Hampshire: Thames and Hudson, 1977).

(*Cymbeline*, IV.4.282-287)

In Act 1, Scene 5 the Queen orders her servants to gather the symbolic flowers 'whiles yet the dew's on ground' (l.1). This foreshadows Belarius' speech about the 'herbs that have on them cold dew o'th' night' that are 'strewings fitt'st for graves upon th'earth's face' (l.284). The flowers are fitting both because of their symbolic nature as funeral flowers, and doubly significant here in that they are ingredients in the Queen's poisonous draught – or so she believes. In fact, Cornelius the apothecary fears the queen's true intentions and so instead of giving her a 'drug of such damn'd nature', he instead gives her those which 'will stupefy and full the sense awhile' for 'there is / No danger in what show of death it makes, / More than locking up the spirits a time, / To be more fresh, reviving.' (VI.II 36-42). The flowers she bids Pisanio bear to her closet, then, are not part of the deathly draught. Instead, these funeral flowers become ingredients in a sleeping draught which will not cause death, but, on the contrary, make a mockery of death: causing a death-like sleep to the victim yet imbuing them with renewed life, so they awaken 'more fresh, reviving'. It thus appears that Shakespeare inverts and subverts the symbolism of these flowers, playing with and reinventing their traditional associations to suggest instead that they are, to an extent, also symbolic of renewed life – or, perhaps, the afterlife, echoed in Fidele-Innogen's 'resurrection'. His later use of the very same flowers in the mock-burial scene is thus in this light almost perverse in its nature, yet it serves to emphasise the concept of the life cycle itself: these funeral flowers are laid upon Fidele-Innogen's apparently lifeless body, constituting a mockery of the burial rite. This shifting of symbolic association is also mirrored in Shakespeare's description of first the Queen gathering dew-covered flowers, and later Belarius doing the same for the 'strewings'. Further to this, the image of the dew-covered flowers and the subsequent association with the coming of the dawn and the re-opening of the flowers, 'fresh, reviving'

from the dew and the night, mirrors the effect of the poison on Innogen – her death-sleep, from which she awakes, as Cornelius prophesied, 'more fresh, reviving' (VI.II,42).

> The ground that gave them first has them again.
> Their pleasures here are past, so is their pain.
>
> (*Cymbeline*, IV.4.288-9)

Crucially, Innogen-Fidele's funeral burial is open-air: like Lycidas, she is left exposed to the elements and does not receive a 'traditional' burial. Instead, the 'sad grave' is 'sweetened' with flowers to 'gown thy corpse' – as Milton similarly imagines 'strewing the Laureat Herse where Lycid lies' (151). In both cases the dead are absorbed into and become a part of their landscape – or seascape, in the case of Lycidas, and the elaborate stages upon which these performative acts are conducted are depicted as explicitly British sites. Lycidas is entrusted to 'rule the shore', becoming patron of the stretch of the Irish Sea in which he perished, embodying and becoming one with the seascape. Similarly, Belarius describes Fidele-Innogen and Cloten 'as flowers, now withered', concluding that 'the ground that gave them first has them again. / Their pleasures here are past, so is their pain' (IV.228-89). The dead are absorbed into the landscape, returning to the mother earth – and of course, the concluding couplet carries strong biblical and Christian overtones, echoing Genesis: 'In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return.'[56] As Joan Fitzpatrick has previously stated, Innogen-Fidele appears to 'experience a kind of spiritual connection with the Welsh landscape,' and in being left above ground there is a similar 'suggestion that she becomes part of the air itself.'[57] The idea of becoming one with the earth is hugely significant from an ecocritical perspective: it represents the establishment of a harmony between humans and the

[56] Genesis 3. 19 (AKJV).
[57] Joan Fitzpatrick, Shakespeare, *Spenser and the Contours of Britain: Re-Shaping the Atlantic Archipelago* (Hertfordshire: Hertfordshire Uni Press, 2004), pp. 101-102.

rest of the natural world. In both *Cymbeline* and *Lycidas*, as well as *A Maske*, the natural world is distinctly nationalised. In *Cymbeline,* the funeral scene, and indeed a large proportion of the play, is set in or on the border of the Wales of Ancient Britain – and is as such based on and refers to various legends and locations pertaining to the 'Matter of Britain.'[58] Indeed, as Fitzpatrick asserts:

> The expectation that Innogen will be absorbed into the earth is only conceptual, a fantasy, for she is not really dead. The burial scene carries political and ideological significance in prefiguring the transformation that will occur in the final scene of the play. When Jupiter's prophecy is fulfilled it is clear that Innogen will not become synonymous with Britain as its ruler just as earlier she did not become synonymous with Britain by becoming part of the landscape.[59]

In Lycidas's case, however, the deceased does become part of the landscape, for the 'prophecy' is fulfilled. Nationalism is at the deep heart of Milton's depiction of the landscape, for by nature of the pastoral mode and the pastoral elegy as a genre it is presented as an Arcadian landscape, but it is most definitely British, and this nationalistic undercurrent injects a further symbolic resonance into the nature of King's cause of death, and his final resting place. Lawrence Lipking has previously discussed the concept of Milton's nationalism with specific regard to *Lycidas*. He leads his discussion with the following opening statement:

> When Milton appointed Lycidas "the Genius of the shore," he was staking a claim for his nation as well as his poem. The spirit who guards the coast will cast a long shadow of British influence across the Irish Sea, translating the martyrdom of one poor soul into an opportunity for a new English poet to tame the flood and take his rightful place.[60]

[58] The 'Matter of Britain' as described in Holinshed's *Chronicles* and derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth's twelfth-century account *Historia Regum Britanniae*.
[59] Fitzpatrick, p.103.
[60] Lawrence Lipking, 'The Genius of the Shore: Lycidas, Adamastor, and the Poetics of Nationalism' *PMLA*, 111 (1996), 205-221 (p.205).

Lipking situates Milton within the contemporary literary fashion of 'redrawing the map' amongst the many Renaissance writers who expressed 'territorial interests' in response to ongoing empirical expansion and religious upheaval.[61] It is important, of course, that we note that ideas of nationhood will have altered somewhat in the twenty-seven years or so that pass between Shakespeare's play and Milton's elegy. In his discussion of Spenser and Milton's nationalism, Andrew Escobedo has stressed that 'what Spenser can claim about the historical existence of Arthur in 1590 differs substantially from what Milton can say in 1640.'[62] The same therefore applies for Shakespeare and Milton, yet both are working and drawing from the same collective origin history, despite the monumental political shift from Elizabethan nationalism, to early Jacobean unionism, to a nationalism devoid of monarchical resonance or value altogether. As Escobedo describes it, these writers 'meditate on ancient British origins in relation to national heterogeneity in the present.'[63] For each of these writers, nationalist expression means something slightly different, yet they largely work from the same common source, altering it to suit their motives and ideals. Lipking maintains that Milton's nationalism in *Lycidas,* though subtle, remains a crucial element of the composition of the poem in that it works to 'blend personal grief with a sense of how much the country has lost' and that in doing so 'Milton puts himself on the map by mourning for Britain'.[64] Lipking's article explores nationalism in relation to the colonisation of the Irish, and he confirms that it is a 'militant, nationalistic reading'.[65] Yet these nationalistic undertones are not entirely limited to ideas about domination and colonisation, for Milton's nationalistic themes and metaphors also serve as exemplars of a national pride – an attempt to recover the country from the corruption of the Laudian clergy and too from the 'grim wolf with privy paw' (the Roman Catholic church) (128). Edward King, who had been due to enter the church, is in

[61] Lipking, p.205.
[62] Escobedo, pp.22-23.
[63] Escobedo, p.23.
[64] Lipking, p.205.
[65] Lipking, p.205.

death the ‘genius of the shore’, the spiritual protector and redeemer of the corrupted church, and thus the lifeblood of the nation. Ultimately, nationalism manifests itself in the form of mourning and remembrance, but also in the idea of re-birth, of life after death and therefore in Milton’s construction of an imagined heavenly paradise of sorts. The heavy emphasis on British historical sites, rivers and cultural institutions constitutes a re-working of the classical Arcadian world within which the poem is set: the golden world becomes nationalised, familiar, as well as dotted with British mythology. The ‘mourning for Britain’ Lipking describes transcends its militant associations; it is a personal and emotional expression of national pride and of patriotism, which in turn can be identified as an awareness of the need for ecological preservation of these sacred sites.

Several British locations – each in their own way heavily linked to the idea of nationalism and to Milton’s personal memories – are cited in Milton’s poem. There is the River Cam, or ‘Camus, reverend sire’ (103), representing Cambridge University, where the two men ‘were nurst upon the self-same hill’ and sang for ‘old Damoetas’ (23;36). Their friendship finds its roots in the depths, the origins of British institutionalised learning and culture – and it is personified by the river that courses through the grounds. This river, and several others, effectively become the British equivalents to the classical and pastoral examples: the Arethuse and the Mincius, of Sicilian and Roman pastoral respectively, are superseded by the Dee (Deva), and the Cam. The sedges and reeds of the Mincius in Vigil’s *Eclogues VII* give way to the ‘Bonnet sedge’ of Camus (103). The ‘swift Hebrus’ that bore Orpheus’ head down to ‘the Lesbian shore’ (63) is matched later in the poem:

> Whilst thee the shores, and sounding Seas
> Wash far away, where ere thy bones are hurld,
> Whether beyond the stormy *Hebrides*
>
> (154-56)

One might perhaps argue that 'thee the shores' possesses twofold meaning; Milton conjectures as to the whereabouts of his friend, asking where the shores have carried him, yet 'thee the shores' also suggests that he is addressing Lycidas directly – as part *of* the shore, the guardian of the shore. Each of the bodies of water Milton describes is thematically significant, serving to associate Lycidas with British history and legend. Milton's imagining of King's final destination takes into account the entirety of the British Isles, from St Michael's Mount and Land's End in Cornwall to the Hebrides off Scotland. Lycidas is appointed as ruler of these shores – the entire length of the British coastline that faces Ireland. Crucially, this is also inclusive of the Welsh coast – and Milton makes specific, explicit reference to the pagan Wales of Ancient Britain, the supposed origin of the true Britons:

> Where were ye, Nymphs, when the remorseless deep
> Clos'd o're the head of your lov'd Lycidas?
> For neither were ye playing on the steep
> Where your old *Bards*, the famous *Druids*, ly,
> Nor on the shaggy top of *Mona* high,
> Nor yet where *Deva* spreads her wisard stream.
>
> (50-55)

He lambasts the 'nymphs' of the shore for not rescuing King, questioning their whereabouts; they were not to be found 'on the steep', meaning the Welsh island of Bardsey, where the 'famous Druids' lie, supposed burial place of 20,000 saints according to Camden's *Britannia*.[66] Nor were they to be found 'on the shaggy top of Mona high' (shaggy meaning heavily wooded), Mona being a hamlet on the Welsh island of Anglesey. As Carey notes, in Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Anglesey and Mona are depicted as the home of the Celtic Druids.[67]

These nymphs of the Welsh coast have failed Lycidas, and so now he will become

[66] *Milton: The Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. by John Carey, rev. 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), pp.237-256, 52-3n.
[67] Carey, n.54.

guardian of this shore, absorbing the symbolic connections with the Druids and Ancient Britain as he replaces and supersedes the nymph-guardians. In Theocritus' *Idylls I*, Thyrsis similarly questions the nymphs as to their whereabouts whilst Daphnis was dying. Milton adopts this trope, yet in his hands the classical image of the nymphs of pastoral tradition is reinvented as part of his generic transformation. With an injection of contemporary cultural and political context, Milton has these nymphs superseded by a new, explicitly British patron. Nor, Milton continues, were the nymphs to be found 'where Deva spreads her wizard stream', Deva being the River Dee that flows through both Wales and England, and passes through Chester – King's destination. The Dee itself forms part of the traditional border between Wales and England and has done for many, many centuries. In *Cymbeline*, Shakespeare places similar symbolic importance upon historic Welsh sites – namely Milford Haven, Innogen's destination. Again, Milford Haven is historically symbolic: it is depicted in the court masque *Tethys' Festival* (produced in celebration of Henry's 1610 investiture) as 'the happy port of union, which gave way / To that great hero Henry and his fleet'.[68] Milford Haven is recognised in the masque as the symbolic site of the birth of Tudor imperialism; the very place where Henry VII landed to do battle with Richard III – culminating in the union of Lancaster and York, and thus – many generations later – the union of England and Scotland under James I. *Cymbeline* is very loosely historical, but the amalgamation of key legendary British figures – Cymbeline, Arviragus and Guiderius dating from the first century AD, Innogen from the legend of Brutus, and Cadwal from the seventh century AD – serves its purpose in celebrating the 'novelty' of Britishness.[69] This is also true of the sea-nymph Sabrina in Milton's *A Maske*.

Milton continues his catalogue of historic and mythological British sites by continuing to conjecture as to the possibility of Lycidas' whereabouts:

[68] David. Lindley, *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments 1605-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press ,1995), p.59
[69] Butler, 2005, pp.39-40.

Whilst thee the shores and sounding Seas
Wash far away, where ere thy bones are hurl'd,
Whether beyond the stormy *Hebrides,*
Where thou perhaps under the whelming tide
Visit'st the bottom of the monstrous world,
Or whether thou, to our moist vows deny'd,
Sleep'st by the fable of *Bellerus* old,
Where the great vision of the guarded Mount
Looks toward *Namancos* and *Bayona's* hold;
Look homeward Angel now, and melt with ruth.
And, O ye *Dolphins,* waft the haples youth.

(154-165)

Has the body instead been washed south, near where the watchful angel Michael stands? Or to Land's End, where maybe he 'Sleep'st by the fable of Bellerus old'? Bellerus, Carey confirms, in fact appears to be 'an eponymous hero invented by Milton to explain the name Bellerium (Latin for Land's End)'.[70] Similarly Carey notes that in the Trinity manuscript Milton originally spoke of 'the fable of Corineus old' but this was later changed to 'Bellerus old'. Corineus was, he notes, 'one of the legendary warriors who came to Britain with Brutus, Aeneas' great-grandson, and ruled over Cornwall'.[71] The idea of sleeping 'by the fable' reinforces this sense of legend, of mythical origin and, more importantly, the connection of Lycidas with the very land itself, the historical site – a sense of oneness with the British landscape. This image harks back to Innogen's death-sleep of in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*. This is further strengthened by the fact that Milton's original choice was Coroneus – a warrior of Brutus, or Brute'. Brutus' wife was, supposedly, the legendary Innogen/Imogen, 'mother of the Britons' (both variations of the same name) – the same Innogen reimagined by Shakespeare instead as a princess, daughter of the king Cymbeline or Cunobelinus, in

[70] Carey, 160n.
[71] Carey, 160n.

Shakespeare's play. [72] Whether Lycidas is imagined to lie beside Coroneus, or Bellarus, the symbolic connotations still remain unwaveringly clear: in death, Lycidas is re-imagined a spirit, a guardian figure that both embodies and is embodied by the British land-and-seascape. He is imagined resting beside either one of these mythical ancient British figures, figures that the land was subsequently named after, and indeed King becomes the landscape, or seascape, in his death. The very landscape mourns his passing, a classical trope seen in the *Lament for Bion* and also in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* upon the death of Orpheus[73]:

> Thee Shepherd, thee the Woods, and desert Caves,
> With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'regrown,
> And all their echoes mourn.
> The Willows and the Hazle copses green,
> Shall now no more be seen,
> Fanning their joyous Leaves to thy soft lays.
> As killing as the Canker to the Rose,
> Or Taint-worm to the weanling Herds that graze,
> Or Frost to Flowers, that their gay wardrop wear,
> When first the White thorn blows;
>
> (39-48)

Lycidas' fate is thus presented as existing in direct correlation with the state of the natural world as in Milton's classical sources. Nature grieves for the loss of one so young; the 'echoes mourn' across the land as the previously 'joyous leaves' deteriorate, the worms devouring the rotting plants, the frost stripping the flowers of their colours. Yet Milton transcends the classical trope, extending the symbolic meaning by further developing the idea of the symbiotic relationship between Lycidas and the British landscape. There is a sense of unity, of becoming 'one' with the British landscape in *Lycidas* that I argue further strengthens the connections between *Cymbeline* and *Lycidas*.

There is a definite theme of frustration throughout *Lycidas* as the speaker attempts to place

[72] In the First Folio, the character is consistently listed as Imogen. 'The Oxford editors argue that Imogen must be a consistent error of transcription in the Folio text of Cymbeline,' and as such, the character is sometimes listed as Innogen depending on edition. Ros King, *Cymbeline: Constructions of Britain* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2005), p.70.
[73] Carey, 39-44n.

blame upon some force or another in an attempt to come to terms with King's death. The speaker rails against the nymphs and the elements, even citing supernatural intervention as a potential cause of the shipwreck. Ultimately, no pagan deity or the Christian God could have prevented this disaster. Lipking concludes that 'in the neglectful and bitter world of the poem, only an act of poetic will can salvage any hope of protecting the good'.[74] It is only through the 'performative speech act' – Milton's depiction of Lycidas' ascension to heaven, and portrayal of him in the heavenly afterlife, that the frustration and grief that characterises the poem can be dispelled, or reconciled in some way. Lipking's 'militant' reading of the nationalism in the poem is suggestive of dominance; of the subjugation of the nation, of the very landscape itself, as opposed to a reverence for or respect for it based upon what we might today term an 'ecological awareness'. I would argue rather that any 'frustration' directed towards the power of nature and the elements is counteracted by the resplendent sorrow of the landscape, the mourning of Lycidas by the natural world.

Furthermore, this is harnessed and reproduced in the symbolism bound up in Milton's decision to appoint King 'genius of the shore'. Though King is restored and his soul ascends to heaven, his corporeal self remains sea-bound; Lycidas has made his transition, his return to the sea and is now at one with the elements. He is, quite literally, grounded in this sense. Milton's 'performative speech act' reunites the soul with heaven, whilst his physical self, his corpse, is reunited with his native sea, his native earth as he comes to rest on the sea-bed.[75] Milton cannot deny that King's body is irretrievably lost, but in designating him guardian 'genius' spirit of the shore, he effectively makes peace with this unchangeable outcome: he resolves this conflict, accepting King's death, and the tribulations and remonstrations that characterise the early lines of the poem reach a peaceful conclusion, paralleling King's final manifestation as the genius of the shore; part spirit, part shore. King's role as genius, as

[74] Lipking, p.207.
[75] Lipking, p.205.

protectorate or deity of the shore is ultimately cemented by the fact that he is himself part of the shore; Milton 'finds' King's lost body in declaring him guardian of the shore, of the very shore he is now a part of. King cannot be physically recovered, so Milton instead has King become one with the very seascape in a decidedly eco-symbolic move.

The same is also true of the nymph Sabrina in Milton's *A Maske at Ludlow Castle*. In a similar manner to *Lycidas* the masque has a classical and seemingly pagan setting: Jove replaces God in a fashion not unlike the presentation of Jupiter in *Cymbeline*.[76] Despite being a dramatic production, *A Maske* contains strongly elegiac and ecological/nationalistic elements that make for rich comparison with both *Lycidas* and *Cymbeline.* Ken Hiltner has previously discussed Sabrina's position as the genius loci, positioning her 'in a traditional British founding myth to tell the story of how humanity might restore the Human-Earth bond.'[77] He describes her as a 'daughter to Eve [who] takes up the mother of humanity's postlapsarian task of 're-rooting' humankind in a new place on earth.'[78] Here, I add to this discussion of Sabrina by examining her dual role as mythical genius loci and elegiac subject and considering her in relation to Lycidas. In *A Maske*, it is Sabrina who provides the elegiac subject, for it is Sabrina who is the original victim, the nymph that comes to the aid of the secondary victim, the Lady – though not to rescue her from drowning, but from Comus' curse. Sabrina's story alone provides rich material for an elegy in itself, and the manner of her description is decidedly elegiac in tone too, bearing the same formal woefulness and elaborate language as Milton's account of Lycidas' drowning. There is also a definite mirroring of elegiac floral imagery: in *A Maske*, shepherds 'throw sweet garland wreaths into her stream,' offering her 'pancies, pinks, and gaudy Daffadils.'(l.850-1) This description mirrors the flower catalogue of Lycidas' hearse, with its' 'pansy freaked with jeat,' and

[76] John Milton, *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle* in *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems,* ed.by Stella P. Revard (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp.81-120. All further references to be cited according to line number within the body of the text.
[77] Hiltner, *Milton and Ecology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p.4.
[78] Hiltner, *Milton and Ecology*, p.4.

‘daffadillies [that] fill their cups with tears:’ the shepherds, like the mourners in both *Lycidas* and *Cymbeline*, strew the ‘dead’ with flowers. In *A Maske* Sabrina represents the ultimate manifestation of the victim reborn into the role of saviour: she is both victim and protector, lamented soul and deity in Milton’s re-imagining of the mythological tale. In much the same way as Lycidas, Sabrina, as the anointed deity of the Severn, is magically reborn into an immortal state once she becomes one with the British landscape:

> There is a gentle Nymph not farr from hence,
> That with moist curb sways the smooth Severn stream,
> *Sabrina* is her name, a Virgin pure,
> Whilom she was the daughter of *Locrine,*
> That had the Scepter from his father Brute.
> The guiltless damsell flying the mad pursuit
> Of her enraged stepdam *Guendolen,*
> Commended her innocence to the flood,
> That stay’d her flight with his cross-flowing course,
> The water Nymphs that in the bottom plaid,
> Held up their pearled wrists and took her in,
> Bearing her straight to aged Nereus Hall,
> Who piteous of her woes, rear’d her lank head,
> And gave her to his daughters to imbathe
> In nectar’d lavers strew’d with Asphodil,
> And through the porch and inlet of each sense
> Dropt in Ambrosial Oils till she reviv’d,
> And underwent a quick immortal change
> Made Goddess of the River…
>
> (824-842)

Sabrina, having suffered an untimely death by drowning, much like Lycidas, is pitied by the nymphs of the river and is magically restored, ‘dropt in Ambrosial,’ immortalising oils, becoming goddess of the river, which then assumes her name, Sabrina being the Latin name of the River Severn, which further emphasises her oneness with the landscape. Sabrina herself, as ‘daughter of Locrine,’ is of ancient British stock, further cementing her mythological status as river-goddess of an ancient site. Yet Milton’s Sabrina is but one

manifestation of innumerable, semi-mythological tales of the saving of a virgin maid from the flooded River Severn.[79] In 1607, Philip Schwyzer notes, news pamphlets documenting a particularly violent flood on the lower banks of the Severn recalled a similar story of a woman miraculously saved from untimely death: the tale exists in several versions.[80] Milton's version, however, is somewhat different: prior to Milton's incarnation of her, there are no records of the goddess as a local myth or legend; furthermore, the account of Sabrina (or Habren, a variation on the Welsh name for the Severn, Hafren, as she is named in this account) in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannaiae* emphasises her bastard origin (daughter of Locrine, ancient king) and grisly fate.[81] In Milton's own *History of Britain*, Sabrina is mentioned briefly, and the account is largely based on Geoffrey's re-telling of Sabrina's story, though Erin Murphy notes that Milton appears to have derived some of his material on Sabrina from William Camden, most likely through Drayton's *Poly-Olbion,* one of the most explicits exponents of British nationalism of the period.[82]

Milton describes how Locrine's wife "throws [her] into a River, and to leave a Monument of Revenge, proclaims, that the stream be thenceforth call'd after the Damsels name; which by length of time is chang'd now to Sabrina, or Severn."[83] In *A Maske*, Sabrina is transformed and the dual mythologies of the Sabrina of Monmouth's creation and the 'maiden-in-the-flood' lore are combined.[84] Courtly masques in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Ros King has argued, 'ubiquitously' featured a 'collapsing of past and present, myth and history.'[85]' The greatest such example, she continues, can be found in Samuel Daniel's *Tethys Festival,* a masque performed for the 1610 investiture, and in which

[79] Schwyzer, 'Purity and Danger on the West Bank of the Severn: The Cultural Geography of *A Masque Presented at Ludlow Castle*, 1634,' *Representations* 60 (1997) 22-48 (p.22).
[80] Schwyzer, 'Purity and Danger' 22-48 (p.22).
[81] Schwyzer, 'Purity and Danger' 22-48 (p.23).
[82] Erin Murphy, 87-100 (pp.88-90).
[83] Milton, 'The History of Britain' in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton,* ed. Don M. Wolfe et al., 9 vols (New Haven: Yale Univ Press, 1953-82, (5:1-403) (18).
[84] Schwyzer, 'Purity and Danger' 22-48, p.23
[85] Ros King, *Cymbeline: Constructions of Britain* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2005), p.56.

the nymphs of the rivers of Britain are called upon by Tethys, Queen of the Ocean to meet at the legendary site Milford Haven. Milford Haven holds great ancestral significance for James I as the place his ancestor Henry Tudor arrived prior to his defeat of Richard III and is therefore a key component of the so-called 'Tudor myth.'[86] *A Maske*, or *Comus*, as it is often known, contains a great deal of thematic similarity to both *Tethys* and *Cymbeline*, and Erin Murphy, too, notes that the masque genre 'connects myth to the local, temporal setting of its performance.[87] This returns us once again to the idea of historical myth providing a useful fiction for writers: indeed, Murphy notes that Geoffrey's tales, for Milton, 'despite their inadequacy as history, […] still have value as poetry.'[88] McLeod argues that 'it is telling that Sabrina, a Welsh border-spirit of justice, is reformed by Milton into a protectoress of young (English) virgins,' and that 'the spirit of Wales is recruited to serve English claims to domination.'[89]

Ultimately, Milton's Sabrina is recruited to serve a common purpose for the Ludlow family, a feat previously described by Murphy. Murphy describes how the decision to cast the Earl of Ludlow's young daughter as the Lady 'points to a potential synchronic connection between myth and history.'[90] The location of the masque's performance, Ludlow Castle, stands in relative proximity to the Welsh border and the Severn, and the Ludlow family are directly recruited to play a part in this masque, which takes on a transformative element whereupon Sabrina, and the British mythological past she represents, become a 'resource' for the Ludlow dynasty.[91] Milton's Sabrina, Murphy continues, 'is dislocated from her own ancestry' and is also 'removed from the chain connecting ancient Britain to the Stuart dynasty.' In Milton's masque, Sabrina is transformed into a deity that not only serves to

[86] King, p.53.
[87] Murphy, p.99.
[88] Murphy, p.90.
[89] McLeod, p.127.
[90] Murphy, p.99.
[91] Murphy, p.103.

flatter and align with the interests of the Ludlows but that similarly aligns with Milton's own anti-monarchical agenda.

It is also possible to read Sabrina in a directly ecofeminist light: as a river-goddess, she is characterised by her role as healer of creatures, 'helping all urchin blasts', as rescuer of maidens and protector of her natural environment. Sabrina dwells within and by the river: she and the river are one. In Shakespeare's *The Tempest*, Mentz argues, the 'sea-change' Ariel sings of works to 'imagine the combined physical-and-magical powers of the ocean transfiguring human bodies'.[92] Sabrina represents one manifestation of a body of water imbuing a human body with transformative magical power. Water and the ocean more specifically constitute a representation of the unconscious human psyche and the innermost fears that pervade the psyche, for the underwater world is the metaphorical manifestation of the ultimate human fear – the fear of the unknown. In *The Tempest*, Mentz argues, 'death by drowning is always a threat, rarely a fact' but that the ocean, when it 'appears, even in metaphor [...] wrenches us out of our land-based perspectives'.[93] In *Lycidas* however this threat transcends metaphor and is instead the very reason for the poem's composition: so too in *A Maske* does it form a crucial thematic strand and plot component.

Milton's decision to appoint Lycidas as the guardian of the shore constitutes an attempt to rectify this 'wrenching away' from the familiarity and relative comfort of the terrestrial sphere we inhabit. Moreover, it is an attempt to remedy the matter of King's burial: again, mourners have been robbed of the familiarity and the comfort that the funeral and burial rites provide, as well as the sense of finality, closure and remembrance these occasions serve to mark. This lack of closure emphasises the sense of loss to an even greater extent, and, coupled with the fear of the unknown, epitomised by the faceless mass that is the ocean itself, leaves the mourners and the readers floundering for a definitive answer, an anchoring

[92] Steve Mentz, *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2009) p.x
[93] Mentz, pp.2-3.

conclusion. The ocean analogy perfectly encapsulates the struggle of the narrator, the voice that permeates the poem throughout, seeking answers and redemption, and seeking to recover King's body and return it to the corporeal, the physical, terrestrial domain familiar to ourselves. *Lycidas* is a poem that many have argued is more about Milton's own hopes and fears for his poetic ambitions than it is about the loss of King. The fear surrounding the idea of premature death, and of dreams unfulfilled, is magnified by this background, this uncontrollable, unstoppable force that serves to remind us of our ultimate inferiority, but also of our own place within nature. Milton's appointment of Lycidas as genius of the shore represents an attempt to wrest back some control over the situation and works to incorporate King into this catalogue of coastal mythology. This is also mirrored in the transformation of Sabrina in *A Maske*. The attendant spirit describes how the 'daughter of Locrine' was 'dropt in Ambrosial Oils til she reviv'd, / And underwent a quick immortal change / Made Goddess of the River,' (827; 840-2). The virginal innocent is, like Lycidas, transformed into an immortal, mythological being, with both of them absorbing new nationalistic and ecological symbolic qualities. The patriotically titled Sabrina becomes protector of virgins, national myth and healer of the herds, and Lycidas becomes watcher over the water, patron of the traveller.

Shumaker argues that the recurring water imagery in the poem 'prevents the reader' from forgetting that King drowned.[94] Whilst this seems undoubtedly Milton's intention, the imagery has a further significance in the sense that water carries symbolic connotations in relation to rebirth and new life. The many rivers of the poem serve to remind the reader that all rivers run to the sea, and are thus all interconnected and interdependent, and the ebbing and flowing of the streams reflects the endless cycle of life. Furthermore, the reference to Jesus in the description of 'him that walked the waves' (173) serves to reinforce this

[94] Wayne Shumaker, 'Flowerets and Sounding Seas: A Study in the Affective Structure of "Lycidas"', *Modern Language Association*, 66 (1951), 485-494p.489.

connotation yet again; for Jesus is the ultimate representation of re-birth, of resurrection and salvation.

> For *Lycidas*, your sorrow, is not dead,
> Sunk though he be beneath the watry floar.
> So sinks the day-star in the Ocean bed,
> And yet anon repairs his drooping head…
>
> (166-69)

This image further reinforces the idea of resurrection and also of life after death: King is not dead, Milton argues; he has merely dipped below the waves, as does the sun, before rising once again. In line with this imagery, King is 're-born' as spirit of the shore and so the ocean is momentarily transformed from faceless, dangerous mass into a 'tamed' sea underneath King's guardianship. 'The association of water and death […] has remained constant' Shumaker argues.[95] Yet so too, one may argue, has the association of water and life. The complexity of the human attitude towards water and the sea in particular is reflected in Milton's poem, and the life-giving nature of water is heavily emphasised.

Milton's attempt to rectify his loss and to calm these fears manifests itself in his appointment of Lycidas as 'genius of the shore'. It serves as Milton's attempt to salvage some sort of dignity, of respect. But it also constitutes a unification – a unification of man and nature, and an acceptance of Lycidas' fate. It might also be viewed as a conquering of or a final attempt at rectification of the situation and the circumstances around the death. It also constitutes an acceptance of and perhaps a respect for the power of nature – which we might thus interpret as an ecological awareness of sorts. In the same way that 'the ground that gave them [Innogen and Cloten] first has them again' (IV.iv.288-9) so too does King make a return, swallowed up 'beneath the watry floar' as is 'the day-star in the ocean bed' (167-8). In *Cymbeline*, Innogen is 'resurrected'; in *Lycidas*, so too is Lycidas through the performative

[95] Shumaker, p.491.

speech act Lipking describes: Lycidas may have 'sunk low, but mounted high' to walk the 'other groves, and other streams' (172-74). Milton seeks to recover Lycidas from the depths of the unknown, a feat that can only be realised or achieved through the 'performative speech act' of Lycidas' ascension that Lipking speaks of.[96] There is a sense of acceptance, of mutual understanding as the poem reaches its conclusion, and Milton's clear sense of national pride and love for his homeland, resplendent in his frequent references to the rivers of England, work to present a sense of an 'ecological harmony' between man and nature. The tribulations and remonstrations that characterise the early lines of the poem reach a peaceful conclusion, paralleling King's final manifestation as the genius of the shore. King's role as protector or deity of the shore is ultimately cemented by the fact that his physical body is a part of the shore, for Milton also 'finds' or recovers King's lost body in declaring him guardian of the shore, for they are now one and united. King cannot be physically recovered, so Milton instead has King become one with the very seascape that saw his death. In this way, King becomes assumed into this mythological past and present, joining Bellerus and Corineus to preside and watch over his own stretch of coastline, a spirit guide and mythological legend in his own right. Sabrina, too, is absorbed into the landscape: she becomes the goddess of the river, which assumes her name.

Lycidas, Sabrina and Innogen are all portrayed as nationalistic figures, figures associated with British or English mythology (with Lycidas possessing a dual symbolic resonance as a classical figure translated and combined with a new British mythology in King's manifestation of guardian of the shore. Crucially, each of the three texts focus almost entirely upon Wales, the supposed true origin of the ancient Britons according to Geoffrey of Monmouth, though, it has been noted, Geoffrey's influence was beginning to wane by the

[96] Lipking, p.205.

early seventeenth century.[97] Each of the characters is presented in an elegiac format: whether specifically in the elegiac mode, as in *Lycidas*, or more subtly, through elegiac language and symbolism, as in *A Maske* and *Cymbeline*. Each of the characters has died, or appeared to have died, very young and in a virginal state. Jodi Michalachki claims that 'Innogen alone remains as a possible icon of pure Britishness in the complex of gender, sexuality and nationalism.'[98] In much the same way, so does Sabrina, in a much more overtly symbolic manner.

It is also worth noting that in both *Cymbeline* and in *Lycidas* the authors make specific use of animal guardians or 'rescuers', charging them with the care of the deceased. These instances, though based on established concepts originating from other literary or cultural heritages – the dolphins, for example, are based on the legend of Arion - transcend these heritages and serve to create an additional connecting dynamic between the deceased – specifically, the corpse – and nature:

> The Ruddock would
> With charitable bill – O bill sore shaming
> Those rich-left heirs that let their fathers lie
> Without a monument! – bring thee all this,
> Yea, and furred moss besides, when flowers are none,
> To winter-ground thy corpse.
>
> *Cymbeline* (IV.2.223-228)

> Look homeward Angel now, and melt with ruth.
> And, O ye *Dolphins*, waft the hapless youth. *Lycidas* (163-64)

[97] Murphy, pp.95; 98.
[98] Jodi Mikalachki, The Masculine Romance of Roman Britain: *Cymbeline* and Early Modern English Nationalism' *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No.3 (Autumn, 1995), 301-322 (p.316).

There are several classical sources from which Milton may have drawn his image of the dolphins 'wafting' King to safety, and indeed he may have had all of them in mind when he came to write *Lycidas*. There is the 'wafting' of Hesiod by dolphins in Plutarch; the rescue of Icadius by Apollo, or Delphinus, in the form of a dolphin; and Palaemon, whose body was recovered by a dolphin and brought ashore to name a few.[99] Carey similarly notes that other scholars, including J. Creaser, have attributed Milton's use of the image as simply a nod or 'general reference to dolphins' widely-known responsiveness to man'.[100] Indeed, dolphins were traditionally seen as symbolic of good portent, an emblem of luck by sailors. The dolphins are entrusted with the safe return of the corpse, as in *Cymbeline* the 'ruddock', otherwise known as the robin redbreast, is entrusted with the 'charitable' task of strewing flowers upon the dead body of Innogen-Fidele when her mourners are otherwise occupied. He is also her guard during winter, bringing moss to shield the body from the harsh cold. The robin, who takes this task upon himself freely, 'shames' the heirs of those who 'let their fathers lie / Without a monument'. The concept of the guardian robin covering and watching over the dead was, Carey notes, 'taken as an emblem of natural charity'. The image similarly features in Drayton's *The Owl*, as well as in Webster's *The White Devil*, ("call for the robin redbreast and the wren / Since o'er shady groves they hover, / And with leaves and flow'rs do cover / The friendless bodies of unburied men,') (5.4.94-7)[101] and is understood to have derived from the old children's tale *Babes in the Wood*. In *The Owl*, the robin similarly lays moss upon the deceased in an act of charity. These animals, then, are emblematic of good luck and charity respectively. Though animal guardians are a stock feature in classical elegies, the animals referred to in these texts are notable in that they are common to Britain. The robin redbreast remains perhaps the most widespread and familiar of all birds found in the British Isles; the *Animal-Lore of Shakespeare's Time* describes the bird as 'ever holding

[99] Carey, p.255.
[100] Carey, p.255.
[101] John Webster, *The White Devil*, ed.by John R. Brown (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1977)

first place in the affections of man.'[102] Similarly, numerous species of dolphins and porpoise frequent the shoreline Lycidas is entrusted with guarding – particularly, the Welsh coastline and islands and of course the Hebrides, all of which have been historically frequented by larger marine wildlife. The extent to which Milton's decision to employ this image is based upon an element of familiarity or British association is of course questionable: as a stock classical pastoral feature, it is likely that the predominant reason for his inclusion of this image is to pay homage to tradition. Yet the connection of the image to the British seascape may comprise part of Milton's reason for employing such a trope. Ultimately, the conscious decision of each author to include these symbolic images – though perhaps initially based upon literary or cultural tradition - further strengthens the connection between the deceased and the natural world: depicting a relationship based on harmony, trust and even a reversal of roles – the animal guardian assuming the role of stewardship, the human figure becoming the beneficiary of this care. In *A Maske,* Sabrina, as half-human, half-immortal nymph

> Visits the herds along the twilight meadows,
> Helping all urchin blasts, and ill luck signes
> That the shrewd medling Elfe delights to make,
> Which she with pretious viold liquors heals. (844-47)

Sabrina is protectorate of the local wildlife, assuming the role of the dolphin or robin here: she also 'will be swift / To aid a Virgin, such as was herself,' (885-6). These associations are above all emblematic of faith and trust: the animals and the semi-divine are entrusted with the care of the deceased after they pass out of the human realm. In particular, one might conclude, it constitutes yet further evidence of the continuing overall importance of nature in specific relation to human lives in Milton's adaptation of the pastoral mode, and of the funeral elegy as a genre.

As I have attempted to demonstrate, it is the emphasis on the British landscape in relation

[102] Emma Phipson, *The Animal-Lore of Shakespeare's Time* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co, 1883), p.80.

to the deceased in each text that ties *Lycidas* to *Cymbeline* and to *A Maske*. Both texts can thus be placed within the cultural, historical and literary movement that pervaded the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth century: the 'Tudor myth' and the celebration of Queen Elizabeth I and the Golden Age; the unification of two countries in James' ascension to the throne, and Prince Henry's investiture. I would argue that *Lycidas* is most definitely a product of, or is at least somewhat influenced by, this prolonged revival of interest in the history of Britain and in turn the idea of nationhood itself. In regard to political context, *Lycidas* in part constitutes an attack on the clergy, on the Laudian regime that corrupted the church. The sheer amount of British symbolism within *Lycidas* is evidence of the importance of the 'Matter of Britain' to Milton's work, and it is further echoed to an even greater extent in his Latin *Epitaphium Damonis.*

John Kerrigan's exploration of nationalism and British literature in the seventeenth century proves invaluable to our understanding of the context of Milton's writing. In his discussion of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, he notes that Milton, too, had 'proposed a series of "Scotch [hi]stories – or rather brittish of the north parts"' in response to the '"brittish" problem – which, as his early prose works show, Milton was fully aware of'.[103] In particular, Kerrigan notes that Milton was considering this as a subject for a play between the years of 1639 and 1642 – along with another idea about the Fall of Adam. These dates would thus situate *Epitaphium Damonis* within this period of planning and thought, and *Lycidas* just prior to it.[104] The poem was produced alongside *Lycidas* in the 1645 edition of Milton's *Poems.* Milton explores nationalism in a far more overt manner in his *Epitaphium Damonis,* making explicit reference to British history and legend as his speaker, Thrysis, discusses his plans for an epic on the subject of the Matter of Britain. It is within *Epitaphium Damonis* that Milton lays clear his possible thoughts for an epic based on British history. The *Epitaphium*

[103] John Kerrigan, *Archipelagic English: Literature, History and Politics 1603-1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) (pp.92-93).
[104] Kerrigan, (pp.92-93).

Damonis, or *Damon's Epitaph*, combines the traditional pastoral theme and imagery resplendent in *Lycidas* with further classical and nationalistic British imagery and themes.

The poem was written in commemoration of Milton's close friend, Charles Diodati, who died whilst Milton was away on a tour of Europe. Though it does not take the form of an elegy, like *Lycidas*, the *Epitaphium* follows a similar mould: once again, Milton adopts the pastoral mode; he, as the speaker, adopts the guise of Thyrsis – the same Thyrsis who laments the death of Daphnis in Theocritus' *Idylls* – and Charles Diodati, the friend he is mourning, becomes Damon. The premise is similar to *Lycidas*: it details the relationship between two shepherds, and documents the utter sorrow at the untimely death of one by the other. Milton's use of the refrain, 'Go home unfed: your master has no time, my lambs,' is thought to be modelled upon Virgil's similar use of a refrain in his *Eclogues 7*: it is seen elsewhere in Theocritus' *Idyll 1* and in Bion's *Lament.*[105] Yet once again in the *Epitaphium Damonis* Milton continues to place great emphasis on the importance of British sites over classical ones, and the significance of their role as symbolic reminders of the relationship he shared with the deceased. Lamenting his decision to travel to foreign shores, Thyrsis cries; 'Heu, what fool delusion dragged me to foreign shores to travel past the towering cliffs and snowy Alps? Why was it so essential to see the buried Rome?' (114-116). Diodati himself was of Tuscan heritage, and Milton does not hesitate to speak warmly of their time spent overseas together, of the leisurely hours spent lying by the Tuscan River Arno, of literary pursuits and learning; yet it is to Britain, and to British rivers, that Milton returns to and favours. It is to the comforts and familiarity of home that he returns – particularly to his 'chief, my Thames'. Milton's expressions of national pride are bound up in the same sense of loss and mourning that pervades *Lycidas*: Britain is portrayed as a great symbol, the great Britannia, symbolic of home, of friendship, of love and life. Had he stayed, he laments, 'surely I'd have been able to

[105] John Milton, *Epitaphium Damonis* (Damon's Epitaph) in *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems,* ed.by Stella P. Revard (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp.267-283. All further references to be cited within the body of the text. (113-5).

touch your right hand at the end, to close your eyes for you, peacefully dying,' (22-23).

Thyrsis addresses his deceased friend directly:

> *Heus*, my friend, what are you up to? If by chance nothing
> stops you, shall we go rest a while in that nice shade -
> by Colne's waters or on Cassivelaunus' ridges?
> You will run through all your medicines and herbs for me:
> hellebore, low-lying crocus, leaf of hyacinth,
> each herb your marsh keeps, and the healer's skills and plants
> since none of them have helped their master…
>
> (148-55)

Thyrsis expresses a wish to learn more about Damon's profession as a physician and of the healing qualities of certain flowers and herbs. Once again, we see the use of symbolic flowers such as the hyacinth, synonymous with the legend of Hyacinthus and Apollo, perhaps a reference to Diodati's untimely death. Thyrsis expresses a wish to spend this precious time by the River Colne, tributary of the Thames, and in 'Cassivelaunus' ridges' – the floodplain area of the Colne and supposed territory of the ancient British chieftain Cassivellanus. Milton then continues to make references to ancient British history mid-way through the poem as he announces his epic intentions. This is a major digression from the otherwise mournful tone and pastoral mode of the poem, but one that serves to reinforce this sense of nationalism to a great extent. Milton's Thyrsis denounces the pastoral mode; crying 'Silvan songs, give way!' and repeatedly stresses his continuing neglect of his sheep – indicative of his incompetency and lack of care in his shepherding role – a serious matter in the pastoral world.

> I will tell of Dardanian ships on the Rutupian sea
> and the ancient rule of Innogene, daughter of Pandarus,
> of leaders Brennus, Arviragus, and old Belinus,
> of Amoric settlers under British rule at last,
> of Igraine pregnant with Arthur by a deadly fraud -
> the counterfeited face and stolen arms of Gorlois,
> Merlin's ruse. O, if I have life left over then,
> my pipe, you will hang forgotten on an old pine far off,

> or, adapted to native muses, will sing a British theme -
> and what of that? No one is permitted everything,
> much less allowed to hope for it. Granted I may
> be unknown for ages, wholly obscure to the rest of the world,
> but I have enough reward, great honor, even, if
> only blond Ouse should be read, and he who drinks the Alne,
> the Humber full of whirlpools, every grove in Trent,
> above all my Thames, the Tamar dark with minerals,
> and if by the Orkney's distant waters they learn of me.
>
> (163-179)

This catalogue of ancient British rulers and notable rivers (and lastly the island of Orkney) respectively constitutes the most outright display of nationalism in both the *Epitaphium Damonis* and in *Lycidas*, and ultimately serves to mark Milton's transition from the pastoral mode to epic ambition. Interestingly, Milton lists two figures that feature in *Cymbeline*: 'Inogene,' 'Britain's mistress' (Cymbeline, (V.1.19-20)) and Arviragus, her princely brother. He lists key figures from the Arthurian legend, including Igraine, Merlin, and Arthur himself, before professing his wish to find literary fame within the British Isles if nowhere else. Milton's ambition is rooted in the British landscape, in the history and culture as well as the geography: he ranges from the Severn, to the wood, of the Trent; to Cornwall and the River Tamar, the Orkney archipelago and, of course, his own Thames. This single digression covers the entire length and breadth of the British Isles and the colourful history. The poem explores the 'Matter of Britain' to a greater extent than all of Milton's early poems put together, and exemplifies his transformation of the pastoral genre as informed by his contemporary context.

Milton expresses similar affection for his homeland in his *Elegia Prima*, incidentally addressed to Diodati and written approximately eight years prior to the *Epitaphium*, possibly in the spring of 1626 whilst the young Milton was still at Cambridge. He expresses his joy at receiving Diodati's letter, 'the telling pages carried forth your words, carried clear from the

western shore of Dee by Chester where the stream falls headlong to the Irish Sea.'[106] He continues: 'That city keeps me which the tides of Thames lap at. This sweet homeland holds me – not unwillingly. Now I've no care to revisit reedy Cam, nor am I pained by a love for a hearth long denied' (9-12). The places Milton frequents, those of great importance to him, are referred to exclusively by the rivers that run through them, in itself indicative of their importance to him. The very details of Milton's movements are characterised by the geography of the landscape, the course of each river, which once again culminates to produce an overwhelming sense of national pride and great affection for the natural world. In particular, Milton's description of the 'war-pipes' of Britain within the wider description of the English landscape and the catalogue of rivers is of crucial significance here. This description, nestled in between Milton's directory of famous British names and his catalogue of the rivers works to emphasise a sense of fear and of loss that assumes both a nationalised and ecological tone. There is a clear sense of fear: fear that the landscape is under threat from the ravages of war, and that national history is under threat from the usurping monarchy.

The *Epitaphium* concludes in a similar manner to *Lycidas*, with a vision of Damon 'among the souls of heroes and immortal gods, / he drains ethereal waters, drinks joys with sacred lips.' (206-7). In each of the poems the deceased is pictured residing in the heavenly afterlife, with the speaker left to return to their pastoral life. In the *Epitaphium*, however, Thyrsis makes a defiant statement re-connecting Damon to the earthly pastures of England: 'however you are called, whether you will be my Damon or hear more readily "Diodatus," by which holy name all the heavenly dwellers will know you – though still called Damon in the woods' (209-12). In a nod to the pastoral element of the epitaph, Thyrsis declares that to all shepherds, Diodati will still be known as Damon in the realm he once frequented. His

[106] John Milton, 'Elegy 1 to Charles Diodati' in *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems*, ed.by Stella P. Revard (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p.145, (2-5).

pastoral 'background' is not forgotten in death, and in memory, in 'our woods', he remains this pastoral figure, absorbed into the landscape and becoming synonymous with it – much like Lycidas in his role as genius of the shore. In death, both Damon and Lycidas retire to heavenly paradises – but their underlying connection to, and fusion with the geographical landscape of Britain is not forgotten. These heavenly paradises are themselves informed by the nationalistic undertones of the poems; they are, in fact, representations of an idealised Britain, untouched and unmarred.

The irregularity of the structure of *Lycidas* continues to be the subject of ongoing debate. Indeed, the overall structure of the poem as a whole appears, as James Rutherford notes, 'designed to provoke uncertainty', and Milton apparently 'deliberately undermines the reader's expectations' in a manner that works to highlight the complexity and range of meanings existing within the poem.[107] As such, the complexity and irregularity of the overall structure of *Lycidas* has divided critical opinion for centuries. Rutherford argues that the rhythmic irregularity of the poem mirrors a 'progression from disorder to order, represented by the initial chaos of *Lycidas*'s opening, and the security of iambic pentameter and ottava rima at its close'.[108] I have previously suggested that Milton's natural imagery contributes to an underlying cyclical structure, a cycle that reaches full circle in the final lines of the poem. Milton leaves us with a portrait of King 'in the blest kingdoms meek of joy and love' (177), having depicted his journey to the promised Kingdom and the new paradise: like the sun, Lycidas will rise above the waves, heralding the new day and new life after the deathly darkness of the ocean depths; he rises 'flames in the forehead of the morning sky' (171). The specific meaning of the final line of the poem, however, remains the subject of debate.[109] I would like to suggest that the final line, 'tomorrow to fresh Woods and Pastures new' (193)

[107] James Rutherford, 'The Experimental Form of *Lycidas*' *MS*, 53 (2012) 17-37 (p.17).
[108] Rutherford, p.23.
[109] Stella P. Revard, 'Lycidas', pp.246-360 (p.260).

actually represents Lycidas' 'new tomorrow' in the fresh pastures of heaven; that Milton leaves us with a final portrait of the heavenly plains that the new day will bring, and ultimately a sense of prospective longing and hope. Revard claims that Milton 'brings us down from the apocalyptic heights' in his final stanza.[110] Yet I have argued that he rather presents to us the post-apocalyptic heavenly kingdom – a final reference, and a final expression of longing, for redemption, salvation, and ultimately the heavenly Paradise. In this way, Milton's classical pastoral shepherd rises as the sun sets and turns not only towards the Arcadian woods and pastures of the new tomorrow, but backwards to an Edenic Arcadian past. With each new reading of the poem, the reader once again embarks on a cyclical journey that ultimately comprises a reflection on eternal life, and of course, of heavenly paradise. Rather than journeying from disorder to order, the specificity of the symbolism Milton employs works to establish a constantly recurring motif: that of the evergreen, of renewal, of re-birth and ultimately a green paradise.

Milton's Arcadian pastoral world may be based on his classical sources, yet it is the infusion of nationalism, a nationalism characterised by Milton's own personal relationships with the deceased, that marks his departure from and significant adaptation of the pastoral mode for his elegy and poem. This personal connection to the landscape is linked to a deep sense of national pride, perhaps originating in contemporary religious and political debate; Milton's pride at England's position as country to lead the Reformation; the short-lived hopes of a Republic; but which is fully realised and expressed in Milton's adoption of the 'Matter of Britain' as a key theme within these texts – which, in turn, is what links his work to *Cymbeline* and also to many of Shakespeare's history plays. I have attempted to demonstrate that in each of these texts, the concepts of rebirth, new life and of life after death are altogether bound up in the idea of nationalism and pride rooted in the British landscape.

[110] Revard, 'Lycidas,' pp.246-260 (p.260).

Milton's transformation of the pastoral elegy breathes new life into the 'exhausted' pastoral images Johnson so vehemently scorns, revealing new interpretations on every level. William Watterson has argued that pastoral is also 'the nostalgic product of sophisticated urban writers whose vision of the countryside and its inhabitants is informed by their own self-conscious alienation from both'.[111] Pastoral is indeed a mode steeped in a sense of nostalgia. But this nostalgia does not necessarily constitute a product of 'self-conscious alienation' from reality, and so I am inclined to disagree with Watterson's statement - particularly in the case of *Lycidas* and Milton himself. Upon leaving Cambridge in 1631, Milton joined his family who had taken up residence in Hammersmith (at this time, merely a hamlet in Fulham parish) for several years as he continued his private study. In 1636 the family retired to a more rural retreat in Horton in Buckinghamshire following his father's resignation from the Company of Scriveners.[112]

Very sadly, however, Milton's mother Sara died in April 1637, and August marked the death of Edward King, with *Lycidas* being produced in November and appearing in *Justa Edouardo King naufrago* in 1638, also the year Milton left England for the 'pastures new' of the continent.[113] To thus relegate Milton to a category of poets 'alienated' from the reality of rural life, then, would be inaccurate, for Milton had spent several years living in the countryside upon writing *Lycidas*, and the warmth and sincerity with which he refers to the rivers of the country also suggest otherwise.[114] Milton's representation of Britain does not constitute a removed and ultimately false expression of pastoral life. Rather, it is an expression of a longing for an idealised existence, of a lost Golden Age. *Lycidas,* then, both hearkens back to this golden age of pastoral bliss and looks forward to Revelation and the plains of the heavenly paradise King now inhabits. This sorrow for the loss of the Golden

[111] Watterson, 'Nation and History', pp. 135-152 (p.135).
[112] Gordon Campbell, 'Milton, John (1608–1674)', *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 1 February 2015]
[113] Campbell, 'Milton, John (1608-1674)', *ODNB.*
[114] Campbell, 'Milton, John (1608-1674)' *ODNB.*

Age and image of an idealised Britain is not inseparable from the emerging ecological consciousness that Hiltner argues characterises the Renaissance period, and these ideas reach full fruition and maturity in Milton's later epic, *Paradise Lost*.

Milton's changing attitudes towards nationhood are also of importance. Milton, Escobedo argues, appears favourable about the potential of a national epic, but by the time we reach *Paradise Lost*, Arthur and his knights have been reduced to a 'fable'.[115] Milton's early works are often characterised by nationalistic sentiment, then, and though by the time we reach *Paradise Lost*, this has somewhat waned there remains an implicit patriotic, or nationalistic edge to Milton's descriptions of the natural world: a strong sense of a nationalised pastoral that, through its descriptions of loss, becomes elegised.

Elegising *Paradise Lost*

There exists a wealth of scholarship surrounding Milton's use of the pastoral and georgic modes more widely in *Paradise Lost*: Barbara Lewalski and John R. Knott, amongst many others, have written extensively about Milton's use of pastoral in his epic.[116] Yet are there aspects of the pastoral *elegy* – or least, a combination or fusion of the two modes of pastoral and elegy – to be found in Milton's depictions of postlapsarian life? I am going to move now to briefly consider the presence of elegiac and nationalistic overtones in Milton's epic, particularly in Book IX of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which combines strongly elegiac elements and language and a definite sense of ecological or environmental loss. The most obvious episode for comparison surely seems to be Eve's monody for the loss of paradise:

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[115] Escobedo, p.187.

[116] See Barbara K. Lewalski, 'Paradise Lost' *and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms* (Princeton: New Jersey, 1985), pp.196-198; Lewalski, 'Genre,' in *A Companion to Milton*, ed.by Thomas N. Corns (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), pp.3-21; Lewalski, 'The Genres of *Paradise Lost'* in *The Cambridge Companion to Milton*, ed.by Dennis Danielson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp.79-96. See also John R. Knott Jr., *Milton's Pastoral Vision: An Approach to* Paradise Lost (London, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).

> Must I leave thee Paradise? thus leave
> Thee Native Soile, these happie Walks and Shades,
> Fit haunt of Gods? Where I had hope to spend,
> Quiet though sad, the respit of that day
> That must be mortal to us both. Oh flours,
> That never will in other Climate grow,
> My early visitation, and my last
> At Eev'n, which I bred up with tender hand
> From the first op'ning bud, and gave ye Names.
> Who shall now reare ye to the sun, or ranke
> Your Tribes, and water from th' ambrosial Fount?
>
> (XI: 269-79)

Eve expresses great sadness and distress at the prospect of leaving Paradise and particularly at leaving the flowers she has tended: though she does not describe a flower catalogue as such, the use of flowers to illustrate despair and sorrow is commonplace in pastoral elegy. Without her care, Eve fears that the flowers will die: she knows she cannot take them with her, for they are native to Paradise and created solely for the ever-temperate climate and perfect stasis of the Garden environment. She mourns the loss of the flowers as though they were her children - children she had named, raised, cared for, and loved. Where Eve is forced to leave her flowers, so too is the uncouth swain of Milton's *Lycidas* forced to pluck the berries of the unripe plants: both express great regret and sorrow, and both of these descriptions represent devastating loss, a loss that 'shatters [the] leaves' of their respective worlds, clearly indicative of the negative environmental impact these losses result in. In both poems, the earth 'feels the wound' of human intervention, and the subsequent effect upon the natural world is described in elegiac language and terms. Milton makes use of the elegiac trope of the suffering of the natural world as representative of or as a response to great loss in *Paradise Lost*, as expressed in *Lycidas* (see p.17 for full quotation):

> thee, Shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves,
> With wild thyme and the gadding vine o'ergrown,
> And all their echoes mourn.

> The willows and the hazel copses green
> Shall now no more be seen.
>
> (*Lycidas*, 39-43)

In *Paradise Lost*, at the very moment the loss occurs, the loss of innocence, the earth trembles:

> Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat
> Sighing through all her Works gave signs of woe,
> That all was lost.
>
> (IX, 781-3)

So too when Adam eats of the fruit:

> Earth trembl'd from her entrails, as again
> In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,
> Sky lowr'd and muttering Thunder, som sad drops
> Wept at completing of the mortal Sin
> Original...
>
> (IX, 1000-04).

Milton's language adopts an elegiac tone appropriate to the loss of innocence and the loss of Paradise itself, making use of the same tropes in his epic poem as he does in the pastoral elegy *Lycidas*. Furthermore, Eve's elegiac monody is also 'nationalised,' or, at least, rooted in the notion of a deep connection between home and place of birth. Eve specifically describes Paradise as 'thee, native soil' (XI, l.270), expressing her innate connection to the place she not only knows as her home but as the very source of her physical being, the earth, the soil that she, through Adam, was created from. Eden itself is distinctly nationalised: it is, for all intents and purposes, an idealised England, an idea that I develop in far greater detail in the final chapter of this thesis. Adam, conversely, registers the change in the world around him and views it only with fear, which, again, mirrors contemporary environmental concerns such as the increasing threat of pollution, the rapidly diminishing woodland, and perhaps

most relevantly, the enclosure movement. To Adam, postlapsarian paradise, with its 'wild woods forlorn,' represents only threat, the threat of danger and death. These lines mimic the opening scene of *A Maske*, which opens into a scene in 'a wilde Wood,' with a 'attendant spirit descend[ing].'[117] So, too, in *Paradise Lost* do Adam and Eve find themselves, quite suddenly, in a wild wood before being escorted out by the archangel Michael. The language used by the Lady of *A Maske* recall the landscape of *Lycidas* as well as postlapsarian Paradise: she travels through 'the blind mazes of this tangl'd Wood' (181). The Lady resolves that Jove, 'the Supreme good,' would 'send a glistring Guardian if need were / To keep my life and honour unassail'd' (217-220). This guardian takes the form of both the attendant spirit and of the nymph-goddess Sabrina. On arrival the attendant spirit, clad in 'pure Ambrosial weeds' (l.16), immediately launches into a description of the heavenly paradise from which it hails:

> Before the starry threshold of *Joves* Court
> My mansion is, where those immortal shapes
> Of bright aëreal Spirits live insphear'd
> In Regions milde of calm and serene Ayr,
> Above the smoak and stir of this dim spot,
> Which men call Earth…
>
> (*A Maske,* 1-6)

The spirit's language is not unlike the elegiac tone of Satan's description of Heaven and lamentation on Hell. Satan, too adopts an elegiac tone – specifically with reference to the beauty of the Heavenly environment and his anger at the loveliness of Paradise, denied to him by God. He and his fellow fallen angels all lament the loss of their 'native seat.' (1.76) The loss of heavenly paradise is as much bemoaned by the angels as the loss of earthly paradise is by Adam and Eve, though they were ejected in a decidedly less gracious manner, 'from eternal splendours flung' (1.610). They were, Moloch regales, 'driven out from bliss,' forced

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to leave 'Heaven's azure,' for the 'torrid clime' of Hell' (1.86; 297). Milton uses the words 'native seat' three times across Books I and II to describe the angels' former home, and also refers to it as their 'ancient seat' at another point. Similarly to Adam and Eve, they express a strong sense of belonging – and indeed, longing and pride – towards their Heavenly home, a sentiment we might perhaps extend to 'nationalism' or patriotism, as they are part of Heaven's host. This sense of belonging is, for Adam and Eve, rooted in the earthly garden: the 'native soil,' itself, as Eve terms it: but for the fallen angels, it is more the overall state of existence, that of bliss, of being surrounded by 'soft delicious airs' (II, 398) and warm light as well as physical beauty – by the 'opal towers and battlements adorned / Of living sapphire (II, 1049-1050). Much like the attendant spirit of *A Maske*, who craves to leave the 'smoak and stir of this dim spot' (5) they too crave to be able to 're-enter Heaven; or else in some mild zone / Dwell, not unvisited of Heaven's fair light, / Secure, and at the brightening orient beam / Purge off this gloom: the soft delicious air, / To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,' (II.397-401). The devils' destruction of their 'mother earth' and their construction of the Hellish Pandaemonium similarly contains ecological elegiac overtones that Ken Hiltner has previously linked to the early modern sea-coal pollution problem that plagued London.[118]

The language used to describe the fallen angels is decidedly emotive, much like the language used to describe Adam and Eve in their fallen state, which is mournful, pitying: Milton likens the fallen angels to the 'Memphian chivalry;' 'their floating carcasses / And broken chariot wheels, so thick bestrewn / Abject and lost lay these, covering the flood,' (I.307-12). Adam and Eve are described as 'sad', 'shamed' God 'pities' them, for they are a 'hapless pair / Sat in their sad discourse,' (X.342-3). The angels, too, express a great sorrow and longing for the heavenly and/or earthly paradise, and resolve that they 'give not Heaven for lost,' it being their 'native seat.' (I.14;76). Ecological loss is distinctly nationalised in

[118] See Ken Hiltner, "'Belch'd fire and rowling smoke': Air Pollution in *Paradise Lost*" in Christopher Tournu and Neil Forsyth, eds, Milton, Rights and Liberties: Essays from the Eighth International Milton Conference, (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007).

each and every one of these texts: similarly, in each there is an overwhelming sense of regret, loss and hopelessness, of longing for a former state or for a new Paradise. Each of the texts I have discussed in this chapter can be characterised by three key themes: an elegiac element, whether specifically through the set use of the genre itself, as in *Lycidas,* or through elegiac language or thematic qualities, as in the comparative *Cymbelin*e, as well as in 'A Maske' and the *Epitaphium Damonis,* and lastly in *Paradise Lost,* Milton's epic of many genres. Secondly, each of them expresses this elegiac sentiment through an exploration of loss that directly relates to the natural world of the poem. Lastly, I have explored the nationalistic qualities or tropes that imbue Milton's depiction of the natural world in these texts.

Though this chapter has not delved deeply into the environmental concerns of Milton's day, it has, I hope, set the foundation for the greater exploration of this topic as this thesis progresses. I have aimed to first create a notion of ecological awareness that primarily encapsulates a nationalistic element – the nationalising of the Paradise trope through the use of British cultural geography and mythology in order to pave the way for a more considered exploration of the specific issues that are reflected in Milton's works. The versatility and indeed the artificiality of the pastoral mode allows Milton to create a richly detailed expression of nostalgic longing for a lost landscape, a lost 'Golden Age' – and allows him to look forwards to the promise of redemption and restoration of that landscape – whether in life or in heaven. Crucially, both of these possibilities are bound up in the idea of penitence, redemption and purposeful change – which may manifest itself in efforts to protect the physical landscape – as those expressed in the environmental protest literature of the period exemplify – the act of which will in turn serve as penitence for sins and open up the soul for salvation, and thus heavenly paradise. As Stella P. Revard states, 'the poem glances backward in time to the mythic pastoral past and forward to the promised fulfilment of all

time in the biblical heaven of Revelation'. [119] This 'mythic pastoral past' represents the idealised state, the idealised historic England, punctuated with heavily nationalised mythology, yet it also looks forward to and represents the heavenly ideal. This 'mythic pastoral past', and, more importantly - the classical motifs of this past - constitute a key component in Milton's overall construction of the Paradise trope which comes to fruition some twenty years later in the epic poem *Paradise Lost*. These earlier poems form the basis for concepts which are fully realised or expressed in *Paradise Lost*, the definitive work of Milton's poetic career.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that Milton's exploration of both the pastoral elegy and the epitaph as literary forms are to an extent characterised by the vogue for nationalist literature that pervaded the latter half of the sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth.[120] There is a connection between this environmental context and subsequent ecological consciousness, and Milton's portrayal of and development of the concept of Paradise in his life's works, and *Lycidas* is no exception. Though these ideas reach full fruition in Milton's later works, the early poems are informed by a sense of nationalism that is heavily linked to Milton's own experience of his England: the rivers, the fields, and his beloved London. My next chapter discusses Milton's use of geography, both as an emerging early modern genre and in the more modern term as an applied discipline, as vehicle through which to further explore Milton's ecology and the overriding matter of his literary journey towards the creation of the ultimate Paradise.

[119] Revard, 'Lycidas', (p.246).
[120] Philip Schwyzer, *Literature, Nationalism and Memory,* Introduction, pp.1-12.

Chapter Two: 'This Assyrian garden': The Geographies of the Biblical and the British Paradise

> THE study of Geography is both profitable and delightfull; but the Writers thereof, though some of them exact enough in setting down Longitudes and Latitudes, yet in those other relations of Manners, Religion, Government and such like, accounted Geographical, have for the most part miss'd their proportions.
>
> - from the preface to Milton's *A Brief History of Moscovia*[1]

A fully comprehensive, properly developed geographical account, Milton argues, should contain not only a detailed exploration of the physical geography of a region or land mass, but should also encompass that which we might today term human geography or possibly anthropology. For Milton, geography is not merely the study of the topography but the study of the people within the geographical locale, taking into account all manner of history, government, religion, trade and customs. In his own attempt at a geographical history, his *A Brief History of Moscovia,* he strived to produce a comprehensive and richly detailed account of 'the Empire of Moscovia, or, as others call it, Russia.'[2] As in all of his prose and poetry, Milton's foray into cosmography writing is thoroughly researched and well-sourced, which is evidence of his wide reading in the disciplines of geography, cosmography and travel writing. Milton's account is, he claims, 'gather'd from the writings of several eye-witnesses,' – in other words, travel writers, amongst which he includes notable geographers Samuel Purchas

[1] John Milton *A brief history of Moscovia and of other less-known countries lying eastward of Russia as far as Cathay, gather'd from the writings of several eye-witnesses* (London: Printed by M. Flesher for Brabazon Alymer at the Three Pigeons against the Royal Exchange, 1682), (Preface: not paginated).

[2] Milton, *A Brief History of Moscovia* p.1.

and Thomas Hakluyt, but they are also pieced together from the letters, journals and notes of certain educated gentlemen. These include the journals of Sir Hugh Willowby and other learned diplomats and ambassadors; the notes of civil servants; the 'several voiages of Jenkinson'; and also the 'discourse' of Richard Chancellor and his servants, to name but a few of the sources he lists in the appendix.[3]

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw an unprecedented rise in interest in the disciplines of 'cosmographie' (cosmography) and geography, a trend that was fuelled in part by the increasing prevalence and popularity of the genre of travel writing. This spike in interest in the genres resounded across Europe and subsequently led to the production and circulation of a spate of associated publications, largely in the form of lengthy travel geographies and cosmographical tracts, the most well-known of these perhaps being Richard Hakluyt's enormously popular *The Principall Navigations* and Samuel Purchas' *Hakluytus Posthumus*, a continuation of the former. This rise in interest similarly corresponded with a correlative rise in the production, circulation and ownership of maps and atlases, largely of Dutch origin and production, such as those produced by the famous cartographers Gerard Mercator, Abraham Ortelius and Willem Blaeu amongst others. This rise in interest correlated, of course, with rapidly increasing colonial expansion, and the rise in production of these maps, texts and tracts can be directly linked to this. It also consequentially resulted in greater interest in the disciplines of geography and cosmography as academic subjects. Harris Francis Fletcher has previously asserted the popularity and importance of geography as an academic subject during the period, noting that it had reached an all-time peak by the turn of the sixteenth century, however he is unsure as to how widely it was taught as part of university syllabi. He further notes that early modern geography was, much like modern

[3] Milton, *A Brief History of Moscovia,* pp.108-109.

geography, divided into categories, such as 'mathematical, physical, and political.'[4] Interestingly, however, Fletcher also notes that in Milton's time, and indeed for some time afterwards, 'many a well-educated Englishman knew more about the geography of the ancient world – Greece, Rome and the Holy Land – than he did about that of his own country or any other part of the earth's surface.'[5] As an educated man, we can readily assume that Milton possesses this same knowledge base, and, given his extensive reading habits and clear interest in the discipline, we can naturally assume that his geographical learning plays a crucial part in his conceptualisation of Paradise and the newly created world in *Paradise Lost.*

In my previous chapter I briefly explored the cultural geography of Milton's earlier works, most notably in *Lycidas*, the *Epitaphium Damonis* and *A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle*. In this chapter, I build upon this foundation to conduct a more detailed exploration of Milton's use of the genres of geography and cosmography to inform his construction of Paradise in his epic *Paradise Lost.* I also explored Milton's representation of nationalism in these texts and how this nationalism was linked to, and manifested itself in, representations of the British environment. This sense of nationalism, I argue henceforth, can be extended to include Milton's use of geography and the associated geographical and ecological features of the regions he discusses. Many of the place names Milton refers to in his *Brief History*, Elizabeth Sauer has asserted, are 'exported' from the tract to Milton's 'national English Protestant epic, *Paradise Lost*,' in which they 'lose any neutrality or purely descriptive function they may have had in Milton's geographical writing.'[6] Sauer is fervent in her insistence on the importance of geography to Milton's literary expression of nationalism, asserting that geography, to Milton, was a chief component in the true 'fashioning of English

[4] Harris Francis Fletcher, *The Intellectual Development of John Milton*, 2 vols (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961), p.338.
[5] Fletcher, p.338.
[6] Elizabeth Sauer, *Milton, Toleration and Nationhood* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p.123.

nationhood.' She also argues that *A Brief History* is 'the product of Milton's nationalist vision, geographical and poetic imagination, and historical investigative methods.'[7] It seems therefore relevant and appropriate to note that in Milton's preface to the *Brief History* he describes the text as 'Relations of Moscovia, As far as hath been discovered by English VOYAGES.'[8] Milton's specific mention of English authors suggests at the very least a belief in the superiority of English travel writing and expeditions and at most constitutes an expression of patriotism and pride at the colonial exploits and globe-wandering adventures of his fellow Englishmen. Sauer has previously stated that it was this interest in and desire for excellence in the field Geography that amongst the well-educated that 'sanctioned the identification of the dominant Protestant nation as distinct from other nations, thereby generating both a national and imperial sentiment' of superiority.[9] Milton's disclaimer in *A Brief History* though brief, adheres to this concept of the fashioning of nationhood by situating England as superior to other nation states: it situates England as the Protestant light in the Catholic darkness of Europe, the leading nation. It certainly aligns with Sauer's observation of *A Brief History* as the 'product of Milton's nationalist vision.'[10] This nationalist vision, then, extends its reach beyond Milton's prose work as discussed in my previous chapter. Nowhere, I argue, is it more resplendent than in Milton's portrayal of the geography of the Garden and the wider Eden, which, I posit, are in turn heavily informed by the geographical and ecological features (and debates) of early modern Britain in his *Paradise Lost.*

Both more dated and recent critical attention to Milton's use of geography, such as that by Robert Cawley and Elizabeth Sauer has largely focused on the geographical context of Books 11 and 12 of *Paradise Lost,* particularly with regard to Milton's description of Michael's

[7] Sauer, p.122.
[8] Milton, *A Brief History of Moscovia, p.1.*
[9] Sauer, p.116.
[10] Sauer, p.122.

discussion with Adam about the future of the postlapsarian world. As Milton's portrayal of Paradise is the chief concern of this thesis, I begin by considering Milton's conceptualisation of Paradise in relation to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cosmographies and geographies of the Mesopotamian region, with particular reference to the work of Peter Heylyn. Heylyn's *Cosmographie* was perhaps the most extensive and long-lived publication of its kind during the early modern period: published originally as *Microcosmos* in 1621, it saw eight editions by 1630, and the revised extended version, *Cosmographie*, saw six editions between 1652 and 1670.

In the first part of this chapter I argue for a greater consideration of Milton's use of Heylyn's texts as a key source for his re-telling of the Creation and an instrumental component in his construction of Paradise. Leading on from my discussion of Heylyn, I then go on to draw parallels between the particular passages of *Paradise Lost* that I argue are indebted to Heylyn and Milton's own English geographical and ecological context. In doing so, I strive to present a multi-faceted and interdisciplinary reading of Milton's portrayal of the Creation episode and of Eden. I draw parallels between Milton's depiction of this specific region in *Paradise Lost* in relation to his references to the geography of Britain in the poem, in turn exploring and arguing for the hitherto underestimated or unexplored significance of certain passages in light of Milton's contemporary British environmental context. By nature of this use of context, Milton's Eden is also distinctly nationalised. Ultimately I argue that Milton combines both local and global historic and present geographical accounts to produce a grounded, real-world, geographically informed Eden that transcends the purely allegorical or merely decorative *locus amoenus*. In turn, this historical-geographical consciousness lends itself more specifically and directly to the ecological context and content of the poem. Milton's portrayal of Eden is derived from a complex mix of biblical sources, classical mythology and contemporary cosmographical and geographical knowledge, including the

travel writing genre, but contemporary environmental issues also play a key part in this portrayal, and they are, I shall argue, inextricably linked to Milton's use of geographical tracts, in particular the work of Peter Heylyn. It is through this combined exploration of geography and ecology that I attempt to draw new interpretations from Milton's text about his overall construction of Paradise and the rich literary and historical contexts that together inform his writing. I do so chiefly in the form of a discussion about Milton's use of Heylyn's *Cosmographie* in relation to his description of the Creation, exploring in turn how this description is linked to ecological debates about fenland drainage in early modern England. Milton's use of the burgeoning discipline of geography is, I assert, heavily inflected by his use of historical environmental context.

Educating Milton

Milton's earlier, shorter poetic works are chiefly influenced by his classical education and extensive biblical knowledge and, as such, only contain relatively minor amounts of contemporary geographical knowledge in comparison with the encyclopaedic behemoth that is *Paradise Lost*. His enthusiasm for the discipline is evident in both his early and later works, which Fletcher claims suggests a thorough understanding of both British and classical geography that was not solely gleaned from Spenser, as sometimes assumed, but indeed from a far wider range of texts.[11] As Milton grew older and his poetic career progressed so did the spatiality of his poetics. Authors such as Sandys and Purchas, Cawley notes, were 'gradually replacing the authorities which had been accepted for centuries,' and Milton's later works reflect this shift towards the contemporary accordingly.[12] Elbert Thompson has even claimed that Milton's enthusiasm for and interest in the field of geography greatly outweighed that of

[11] Fletcher, *Intellectual Development,* p.350.
[12] Robert R. Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951) p.4.

any of his scholarly contemporaries.[13] Indeed, Milton does advocate the study of geography, as well as the study of 'the Globes, and all the maps first with the old names; and then with the new,' as a key component of any syllabus in his prose tract *Of Education*, evidence of his belief in the great importance of the subject as a crucial subject element of a well-rounded education.[14] In 1656, several years after losing his sight completely, Milton wrote to his friend Peter Heimbach asking him to enquire about both the accuracy and prices of atlases by Willem Blaeu and Jan Jansson (or 'Jansen' as Milton calls him).[15] This oft-quoted letter has been long touted by scholars (including both Thompson and Cawley) as evidence of Milton's particular interest in atlases and in the field of cartography as a whole.[16]

George Wesley Whiting claimed that Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1606) was Milton's 'favourite atlas,' arguing that Milton would surely have appreciated the 'legibility' of his maps, his inclusion of ancient place names as well modern versions, and the brief histories printed on the reverse.[17] Whiting then goes on to compare these histories with Milton's own geographical descriptions in *Paradise Lost*, noting the similarity of the lines and claiming that certain maps were 'indispensable illustrations of the geographical passages in Milton's poetry.'[18] Yet when working from geographical or historical accounts, Cawley has argued, Milton 'so altered his original as to make it virtually his own' much to the 'despair of source hunters.'[19] In *A Brief History of Moscovia* Milton's notes are unusually detailed: he provides a bibliography and makes extensive notes in the margins, even going so far as to include the page numbers of the works he has drawn from, which, incidentally,

[13] Thompson, 148-171 (p.149).
[14] John Milton, *Of Education: To Master Samuel Hartlib (*London: For Thomas Underhill, 1644), p.4. Reproduced courtesy of EEBO. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [Accessed 15 May 2016].
[15] Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel*, p.3.
[16] Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel*, p.3 see also G. W. Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu* 1939; Elizabeth Sauer, *Milton, Toleration and Nationhood*, 2014 for example).
[17] George Wesley Whiting, *Milton's Literary Milieu* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), pp.97-98.
[18] Whiting, p. 94.
[19] Cawley, 1941, p.3.

include the works of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas.[20] Milton's decision to include these page references (a relatively unusual practice in the period) provides us with valuable information about his reading habits and his adaptation and condensation of these sources.[21]

Jackson Campbell Boswell's 1975 *Milton's Library*, though now somewhat dated, remains the most extensive and comprehensive account of Milton's library shelves and of his proposed or assumed reading habits. Boswell's 'annotated reconstruction' of Milton's library and readings (derived in part from Milton's Commonplace Book) presents crucial evidence regarding Milton's knowledge of geography, providing a more concrete indication of the possible sources Milton used for works such as *Paradise Lost* and *A Brief History of Moscovia*. These include, crucially, Heylyn's *Cosmographie* and Hakluyt's *The Principall Navigations of the English Nation*. Boswell's classification system is as follows: a [V] for a text either proven to have existed in Milton's library, verified to have been read by him, or otherwise listed in his Commonplace Book; [*] for texts Boswell classifies as 'possible or likely candidates for inclusion'; and lastly [?] for works he considers doubtful inclusions. Texts such as these, he states, are present on the list 'for Milton alludes to some works in such a manner as to make positive identification possible.'[22] Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, for example, is included in Boswell's catalogue under the premise that Milton cites "The Papers of Mr Hakluyt" as a source in the bibliography of his *Brief History of Moscovia*.[23] Fletcher, too, notes that it is highly likely that Milton was indeed acquainted with Purchas, and even suggests that the two had met.[24] Boswell therefore assumes that Milton is referring to *Principall Navigations,* although Hakluyt's list of historical and geographical publications is extensive. Anthony Payne has further lauded Milton's working knowledge of

[20] Cawley, 1941, p.4.
[21] Cawley, 1951, p.12.
[22] Jackson Campbell Boswell, *Milton's Library: A Catalogue of the Remains of John Milton's Library and an Annotated Reconstruction of Milton's Library and Ancillary Readings* (New York: Garland, 1975)
[23] Boswell, pp.120-121.
[24] Fletcher, p.348.

Hakluyt's travel literature, claiming that Milton's 'marginal notes' in his *Brief History* 'clearly indicate when he has used Hakluyt as a source.'[25] He does not, however, speculate as to the specific text of Hakluyt's that Milton might be using, unlike Boswell.

Both Heylyn's *Microcosmos* and *Cosmographie* are included in Boswell's catalogue under the [*] classification and are therefore texts considered 'possible or likely candidates for inclusion', thought either to have been in Milton's library at some point or at least included in his reading repertoire. Incidentally, in the brief description underneath the entry for *Cosmographie,* Boswell directs the reader to Robert R. Cawley's *Milton and the Literature of Travel* but not to any other works of scholarship, further underlining the lack of scholarship pertaining to Milton's readership of Heylyn, at least until relatively recently. There are four titles authored by Heylyn included in Boswell's catalogue: *Microcosmos* and *Cosmographie,* his *History of that Most Famous Saynt and Souldier of Christ Jesus, St George of Cappadocia,* and lastly his *Rebells Catechisme.* Boswell considers the lattermost entry a 'doubtful' text for inclusion and he accordingly classifies it [?], but notes that he has included it, as he does several other texts, because scholars he deems superior in knowledge to himself have argued for its inclusion.[26] Boswell's decision to include four of Heylyn's works, though one only tentatively so, is in itself a good indication of the likelihood of Milton having read and drawn from Heylyn, and knowing Milton's appetite for literature and the impressive publication history of *Microcosmos* and *Cosmographie,* the possibility is only strengthened.

Existing studies focusing on Milton's geographical knowledge and usage have largely focussed on the works Hakluyt and Purchas in relation to Milton's texts, and as such there is

[25] Anthony Payne, '"Strange, remote, and farre distant countryes": the travel books of Richard Hakluyt' in Robin Myers and Michael Harris, eds, *Journeys Through the Market: Travel, Travellers and the Book Trade* (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 1999), pp.1-38 (p.22).
[26] Boswell, p.ix.

a distinct lack of scholarship exploring the links between Heylyn's and Milton's works.[27] There is mounting evidence to suggest that Milton made considerable use of Heylyn's *Cosmographie* in the composition of both his poetic works and in his own *Brief History.* At present, critical study of Milton's work in relation to the writings of Peter Heylyn is limited to several scholarly articles and one or two seminal monographs. Of these few, fewer still take Heylyn's work and influence upon Milton as the main or sole focus of their study.

Robert R. Cawley's *Milton and the Literature of Travel* (1951) is one of the earlier and indeed most renowned comprehensive studies of Milton's geographical sources. Though dated, current scholars are unanimous in their recognition of Cawley's monograph as the leading existing reference work with regard to Milton's readership of the geographical works of Peter Heylyn.[28] Where Heylyn is mentioned in more recent scholarship, whether in footnotes to scholarly editions of Milton's poetry or in stand-alone critical scholarship such as Elizabeth Sauer's *Milton, Toleration, and Nationhood,* Cawley is, without fail, cited as the leading authority – indeed, one of the only authorities – on Milton's assumed readership of Heylyn. He also pays particular attention to the textual relationship between Heylyn's *Cosmographie* and Milton's poetical and prose tracts. Cawley's earlier monograph, *Milton's Literary Craftmanship* (1941) similarly takes as its focus 'the habits of Milton's mind' through study of Milton's *A Brief History of Moscovia*.[29] Elbert N.S. Thompson's highly influential 1919 article 'Milton's Knowledge of Geography' also discusses Heylyn's work at length, and George W. Whiting devotes a section of his 1939 monograph to Milton's use of Heylyn. There is, then, a significant lack of post 1955 scholarship focusing on the links

[27] See, for example, Anna Suranyi's *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 33; 40-50; Walter S.H. Lim's *John Milton, Radical Politics and Bibilical Republicanism* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006) pp.85; 221-225; 246; *Literature of Travel and Exploration: An Encyclopedia*, ed. by Jennifer Speake (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003), p.984.
[28] Sauer, p.123.
[29] Robert Ralston Cawley, *Milton's Literary Craftsmanship: A Study of 'A Brief History of Moscovia' (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941), p.vii.

between Heylyn's and Milton's work, despite Heylyn's reputation as one of England's 'most noted geographers' of the period.[30] It is for this reason that I have decided to pursue in particular the links between the works of Heylyn and Milton that have been tentatively established by scholars thus far in an attempt to produce an original reading of certain passages of Milton's epic. In drawing links between Heylyn's work and certain passages of *Paradise Lost* I demonstrate that Milton's representation of Paradise is heavily informed by his engagement with the discipline of geography to an extent previously unrecognised by Milton scholarship.

Heylyn began to lecture on geography at Oxford at the age of seventeen, and published the first edition of his *Microcosmos*, a work comprised largely of said lectures, a few years later in 1621.[31] Milton drew heavily from the works of Heylyn's contemporaries, including Samuel Purchas, George Sandys and Richard Knowlles, as both Robert Cawley and Elbert Thompson assert, but also, arguably, from Heylyn's *Cosmographie*.[32] Specifically, I make a case for the significance of several important parallels that exist between Heylyn's geographical account of the Mesopotamian region (widely agreed at the time as the supposed location of the ancient Eden) and Milton's own depiction of the region and in turn of Eden and the Garden in *Paradise Lost*.

Fletcher argues that despite their monumental political differences, Heylyn 'wrote much that concerned Milton,' and that Milton would certainly have come to know Heylyn through his works and would have been familiar with them.[33] During the 1640s, Fletcher notes, the two authors were even using the same publisher, and in fact Heylyn, like Milton, went completely blind around a similar time to Milton himself.[34] Furthermore, Cawley notes

[30] Elbert N.S. Thompson, 'Milton's Knowledge of Geography', *Studies in Philology* 16:2 (1919), 148-171 (p.148).
[31] Anthony Milton, 'Heylyn, Peter (1599-1662)' *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [Accessed 03/06/2019].
[32] Thompson, 148-171 (p.155); Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel* pp.9-41.
[33] Fletcher, *Intellectual Development,* p.343.
[34] Fletcher, *Intellectual Development,* p.344.

Milton's lamentations about the expense of atlases, and, given his blindness, make it far more likely that his preferred atlas would have been Heylyn's *Cosmographie,* one of the altogether less expensive atlases available on the market. A lower price, he claims, would perhaps be preferable given 'his [visual] deprivation.'[35] Milton's visual impairment appears to have had little to no impact whatsoever as to the extent of his understanding and wider research of the discipline. This is evidenced in the depth and breadth of detail both in his geographical tract and in his wider poetic works, as well as in his unfinished *A History of Britain,* which, like *A Brief History,* contains an absolute wealth of geographical knowledge.

In recent years, several scholars have drawn upon Robert Cawley's studies to forge their own new observations concerning Milton's geographical sources. One of the most recent and relatively extensive studies is Elizabeth Sauer's chapter 'Geography and Spatial Poetics' in her 2014 monograph *Milton, Toleration and Nationhood*. Sauer confirms that Milton's 'descriptive geography and poeticised cartography' is evidence of his heavy reliance on both classical and early modern geographies and cosmographies.[36] Sauer acknowledges the somewhat tenuous nature of proposed links between *Cosmographie* and *Paradise Lost* but confirms that Heylyn's work 'supplies a model for reading the relationship of history, geography and religion' that 'could have served Milton's needs here.'[37] It is not, however, Heylyn's overall model that I am chiefly concerned with here: rather, it is the specific details of Heylyn's geographical passages on the Holy Lands that appear to strongly correlate with Milton's descriptions. Despite Heylyn's royalist stance, Sauer continues, several studies and commentaries on the topic have similarly suggested that Milton's geography was very likely influenced by Heylyn's writing. Other critics, however, are more assured in their treatment of the relationship between the texts. Travel writing, Anna Suranyi notes, was evidently a highly popular genre in the early modern period with a very wide readership, yet she

[35] Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel*, p.21.
[36] Sauer, p.116.
[37] Sauer, p.129.

acknowledges that information concerning the specifics of the audience is 'tantalizingly scarce.'[38] Taking her cue from Boswell's *Milton's Library* (to whom she directs the reader) she lists Milton's sources, which include Hakluyt, Samuel Purchas, George Sandys and Heylyn. Suranyi does not explore the particulars of the link between Heylyn's and Milton's work: rather, she speaks briefly, stating merely that Milton used these works as a reference and read the works of those authors listed, and asserting that they influenced his poetry a great deal.'[39] She also notes that individual travel writers or geographers regularly read and made use of each other's material, but that they rarely referenced the writing of others in their own publications: she cites John Evelyn, famous diarist and founding member of the Royal Society, as one such reader and author of travel literature.[40]

Scholarship concerned with Milton's supposed use of Heylyn's *Cosmographie* varies in its depth of analysis and in its estimation of the likelihood of Milton's use of Heylyn as a source. There is evidence enough to suggest that it is highly likely, indeed almost definite, that Milton read, worked from and perhaps even owned or had in his possession at one point or another several of Heylyn's publications, according to Boswell's catalogue of Milton's library. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the impressive publication history alone would surely have been enough to warrant Milton's attention as a man of learning and a meticulous scholar. Crucially, the six editions of *Cosmographie* were all published in the period immediately following the onset of Milton's total blindness in 1652, also recognised generally as the period within which Milton is thought to have begun writing *Paradise Lost*. The 'encyclopedic' nature of this vast work of chorography may have afforded the blind Milton a chance to mentally reconstruct the atlas as the work was read aloud to him.[41]

[38] Anna Suranyi, *The Genius of the English Nation: Travel Writing and National Identity in Early Modern England* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2008), pp. 32-33.
[39] Suranyi, p.33.
[40] Suranyi, p.34.
[41] Sauer, p.129.

Cawley's in-depth analysis of passages of *Paradise Lost* Book XI and *Paradise Regained* Book III in comparison with passages from Heylyn's *Cosmographie* makes a very convincing case for plausibility, providing what Cawley calls 'ample proof of the nature and extent of Heylyn's influence' on Book XI.[42] Decades later, in his entry for *A Milton Encyclopedia,* Cawley still maintained that Heylyn's *Cosmographie* was Milton's 'favourite of all' and that it was his main contemporary geographical source for these key geographical passages: Book XI, lines 385-411 of *Paradise Lost*, and Book III, lines 269-321 of *Paradise Regained*.[43] It seems therefore entirely plausible that Milton did read and therefore did draw from Heylyn's *Cosmographie* in the writing of *Paradise Lost,* and perhaps too in his *Brief History of Moscovia*. Though scholarship is limited, the general consensus appears to be one of mutual agreement: that Heylyn's works were known and used by Milton, to varying degrees, alongside the works of other geographers such as Samuel Purchas, George Sandys and Richard Hakluyt, as well as the cartography of Ortelius.

Study of relevant passages of *Cosmographie* alongside *Paradise Lost* is, as mentioned, limited to Books XI and XII, and particularly so to the prophetic vision that Michael shows Adam. Building upon Cawley's method of analysis and Sauer's more recent similar observations, I suggest that Milton makes use of specific descriptive details that he draws from *Cosmographie* not only in his composition of the later books, but also with regard to his portrayal of the biblical Eden and the ancient Holy Lands. Thompson stated that Knolles' and Sandys' works may have contributed significantly to Milton's depiction of the Holy Lands in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained.* Milton had to 'fix, more or less definitely, the boundaries of Eden' in order to write with a degree of accuracy, but, Thompson continues, he 'took the theory that seemed most plausible but used only so much of it as was needed for the

[42] Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel*, p.12.
[43] Robert R. Cawley, 'Geography and Milton' in *A Milton Encyclopedia Volume III* ed. by William B. Hunter, 9 vols (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press) pp. 123-125 (p.124).

poet's work.'[44] Whiting argues that Milton's description of Eden and the Holy Land was largely based on the maps and descriptions of the regions in Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.*[45] Yet Thompson also remarks upon the marked similarities in the spelling of place names in Heylyn's work and Milton's, which in many cases are exactly the same. Conversely, Whiting acknowledges the numerous differences between Milton's spellings and those on Ortelius' maps –such as his spelling 'Accaron' where Ortelius writes 'Ecron' - but maintains that the differences are down to Milton's 'preference for certain forms.'[46]

It is Milton's inclusion of specific details, however, that I am interested in: those which would appear to link Heylyn's and Milton's work even more strongly. It is the descriptions within Heylyn's texts, as opposed to the images on maps, that I am chiefly concerned with here. The majority of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century geographical descriptions of the Holy Lands are, to a great extent, interchangeable: the catalogues of place names; the hydrological features of the region; the descriptions of the fecundity of the Eden region; the conjecture as to the location of Paradise.[47] Much like these cosmographies and chorographies, Milton's chorographical writing style is also characterised by its brevity and emphasis on hard fact as opposed to longer, rambling entries. In his historical and political writing, Milton strove to avoid what he perceived as the two crucial mistakes of his contemporaries. There were the rambling geographies he denounced as a 'wood of words': those that proved so 'voluminous and impertinent' that they 'cloy and weary out the Reader.' Conversely, there were those he found 'too brief and deficient' – geographies that were lacking, for they neglected important facts and therefore failed to 'satisfy' the reader.[48] In Milton's poetic works, however, there is a substantial amount of extraneous detail – not only for poetic effect,

[44] Thompson, pp.148-171 (p.158).
[45] Cawley, 'Geography and Milton,' pp. 123-125 (p.124).
[46] Whiting, p.112.

[48] John Milton, *A Brief History of Moscovia*, in Robert R. Cawley, ed, *Milton's Literary Craftsmanship: A Study of a Brief History of Moscovia*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941) pp.41-105 (p.41).

as one would generally assume, but also in a manner that further points to Milton's use of Heylyn's *Cosmographie* as a key source. It is to these details, and to the potential ramifications they possess in terms of Milton's exploration of contemporary ecological issues, that I now turn.

'Exceeding fruitfull:' The Geography of the Creation

The Creation story Raphael delivers to Adam and Eve in Book VII is littered with extensive imagery alluding to fertility, gestation and to water or hydrological systems. In Raphael's account of the Creation, the Earth is depicted in its early stages as an embryonic entity, a fledgling life-form encased in the protective waters covering the entire globe; it is the 'Embryon imature' 'form'd but in the Womb as yet / of Waters' (VII.276-77). The spirit of God, as described in Book I, 'sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss / And mad'st it pregnant' (I.,21-22), planting the seed of life into the generative waters, a womb-like environment capable of enabling life. The first offspring to emerge from the fertile waters is the physical, corporeal earth: the continental land masses. As later on the 'Waters generate / Reptil with Spawn abundant, living Soule' (VII.387-8), so too does the earth's crust first emerge from the generative waters, spawned, 'fermented [by] the great Mother to conceave, / Satiate with genial moisture' (VII, 281-82). The spirit and the waters combine to produce the earth's crust, which rises up out of the generative womb of the ocean to form dry land. Synonymous with new life, with regeneration and replenishment, the profusion of aquatic imagery throughout the Creation account serves to emphasise God's primary role as benevolent Creator. These descriptions are in accordance with the known and established descriptions of the topography and hydrological features of the Holy Lands in the seventeenth century, but, as I shall demonstrate, there are particular details that appear to be linked exclusively to Heylyn's geographical writings.

Before we turn to analysis of Milton's poetic description of the Mesopotamian region, it is necessary to establish a basic sense of the geography and riverine features of the area in ancient times. The Greek name 'Mesopotamia' roughly translates as 'land between rivers' or 'land of rivers', a reference to its location between the 'twin' rivers of Tigris and Euphrates, rivers that supposedly originated from the Garden of Eden. Though now admittedly dated, the works of acclaimed biblical scholar Denis Baly, which include his *Geographical Companion to the Bible* (1963) and *The Geography of the Bible* (1974) remain the leading authority on the particulars of the specific topographical, geological and hydrological features of the region. Where the majority of Bible atlases and geographical companions approach the study of biblical geography from a more historical-geographical angle, Baly's works are renowned for their in-depth discussion of the physical geography of the region.

In the region of ancient Mesopotamia, Baly writes, there was greater and more frequent rainfall than in the more southerly, neighbouring Egypt, which in turn made for 'good steppe-land rather than desert.'[49] The location of Mesopotamia, nestled in between the 'twin' rivers of the Euphrates and the Tigris meant the annual threat of the 'treacherous dual floods' that came toward the end of winter, 'burst[ing] with a sudden unpredictable fury upon a terrified plain': 'everything about Mesopotamia', he states, 'was different.'[50] Baly describes the Mesopotamian plains as 'richly irrigated lands' capable of supporting 'dense and prosperous agricultural communities.'[51] Ancient riverine civilisations had to contend with the ferocity and unpredictability of the dual floods which periodically inundated settlements. One particular group that settled in the fifth millennium B.C.E., known by neighbouring regions as the 'Sumerians', developed such knowledge and practice that in the mythologies of the

[49] Denis Baly, *Geographical Companion to the Bible* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1963) p.28.
[50] Baly, (1963) pp.103-105.
[51] Denis Baly, *The Geography of the Bible* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1974), p.54.

region they are referred to as 'men of dikes and canals'.[52] It was through careful management of the river systems, then, that the communities of ancient Mesopotamia were able to sustain such sophisticated irrigation systems and thus transform the plains into land fit for growing crops and feeding livestock.[53]

The third book of Heylyn's *Cosmographie*, which discusses the 'Chorographie and Historie of the Lesser and Greater Asia' begins with the 'kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles' of the ancient regions of Chaldaea, Assyria, and Mesopotamia. The chorography of these three, Heylyn states, is grouped together for these regions originally constituted the Assyrian Empire (hence Milton's reference to Eden as the 'Assyrian Garden') and are 'united in the story.'[54] The fluidity of the 'bounds', he claims, meant that parts of Mesopotamia 'which lay next unto Assyria […] is included under the name of Chaldaea,' which he asks the reader 'to take notice of.'[55] Today, the area known then as the 'Assyrian Empire' encompasses parts of Iraq, North-Eastern Syria, South-Eastern Turkey and the North-Western fringes of Iran:

> The Countrey very plain, and levell, exceeding fruitfull, and abounding in Rivers. For besides Tigris, which washeth one whole side thereof, Ptolomy assigneth to this Countrey the Rivers of Lyc… , Cuprus and Gorgos, all of good note, and all of them increasing, with their tributarie streams, the greatness of Tigris.[56]

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[52] Daniel Hillel, *The Natural History of the Bible: An Environmental Exploration of the Hebrew Scriptures* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), pp. 40-41.
[53] Hillel, p.41.
[54] Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in four bookes : containing the chorographie and historie of the whole vvorld, and all the principall kingdomes, provinces, seas and isles thereof*, (London: Printed for Henry Seile, St Dunstans Church, Fleet Street, 1652), p.127. *EEBO* <<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [accessed 01 April 2016]

[55] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p.127.
[56] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p.131.

It is in this region, Heylyn argues, 'that Paradise, by men both skilled in Divinity, and Geography, is assumed to have stood'.[57] Heylyn describes the region as 'some part hereof for the terrestrial Paradise or Garden of Eden' wherein God 'placed our Father Adam, at his first creation'. Heylyn takes into account various theories concerning the actual existence and tangibility of a real 'paradise', or region for paradise and conversely the concept of the four Rivers as the 'Cardinal Vertues' but ultimately rejects them, branding them 'so vain a foppery, that I will not honour [them] with a confutation' and 'Allegories on the Scripture' that 'are not warrantable'.[58]

Samuel Purchas somewhat sceptically discusses the proposed location of Paradise, stating that it is thought to have stood 'in the straighter limits of Syria, Arabia and Mesopotamia,' but quickly quashes such vague propositions: 'as if Adam had beene so courteous […] or labourious as to husband so large Countries.'[59] Purchas closes the matter by saying that 'it is more than Probable, that here in these parts Paradise was, although now deformed by the Floud and by Time consumed and become a stage of Barbarisme.'[60]

Those skilled in 'Divinity and Geography', Heylyn concedes, are 'of the soundest judgement', for they agree that the location of Paradise was within 'an Iland which is made by the Rivers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, and some branches running from them both'. Purchas similarly states that 'Mesopotamia is so called, and in the Scripture *Aram or Syria of the waters*, because it is situate betweene Euphrates and Tygris.'[61] Samuel Purchas and Richard Hakluyt similarly describe the Assyrian-Mesopotamian region as 'a great plaine betwixt the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris,'[62] and both attest to the 'miraculous fertilitie' of the region.[63]

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[57] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p.127.
[58] Heylyn, *Cosmographie*, p. 127.
[59] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his pilgrimage: or Relations of the world and the religions observed in all ages and places discovered, from the creation unto this present. In foure parts* (London: Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, 1614), p.18.
[60] Purchas, p.18.
[61] Purchas, p.75.
[62] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, Vol. VIII,* (London: Printed by George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 1589) p.23.

As is the custom in early modern works of cosmography, each of these texts – Purchas' *Purchas his Pigrimes* (*Hakluytus Posthumus*), Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* and Heylyn's *Cosmographie* – contain extensive descriptions of the political and religious histories of the region. Peter Heylyn's account of Chaldaea-Assyria-Mesopotamia is far more descriptive in terms of geological and hydrological specificities than either Purchas or Hakluyt, however. His accounts of the region span over thirty pages – a considerably greater number than the accounts of his contemporaries Purchas and Hakluyt. Furthermore, Heylyn devotes individual sub-sections to discussion of the hydrological systems and riverine features of each area, reviewing the characteristics of the rivers, of the flooding and the features of the different floodplains.

Some of these particular details are not Heylyn's own observations or those of his contemporaries but are derived from the observations of the ancient Greek historian Herotodus (a key historical source for early modern geographers and historians). One such example is Heylyn's description of the legendary fertility of the Chaldaean region. The region, Heylyn states, was reputed for its 'natural fruitfulness'; indeed, he notes, Herotodus claimed that it was 'so fruitful that it yielded ordinarily *two hundred* and in some places three hundred fold, the blades of wheat and barley being (as he assirmeth) four fingers broad.'[64]

If we are to compare the two following passages, it is clear to see that Heylyn has almost directly lifted this description of a place called Ait and the volcanic activity of the area from Richard Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*. The first is taken from Hakluyt:

> By the River Euphrates two days journey from Babylon at a place called Ait, in a fielde neere vnto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throwe forth against the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy smoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great field which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great

[63] Purchas, p.19.
[64] Heylyn, p.127.

> quantitie of it, the men of that country doe pitch their boates two or three inches thicke on the outside, so that no water doth enter them.[65]

And the following, from Heylyn:

> Some also tell of a cliff which opening sendeth out such a stink that it killeth birds as they flie over it: and others of a like open place near a Town called Ait, which continually throweth out boyling pitch (named therefore H{…} –mouth by the Moores) filling therewith the adjoining fields; and that herewith the people use to pitch their boats. But in some places onely, the Countrey generally being both healthy and delightfull, as before was said.[66]

Heylyn has evidently sourced some of his information from Hakluyt's work, paraphrasing and in some places almost reproducing Hakluyt's description word-for-word. Heylyn adds several details, such as the harmful effect of the 'stink' sent out by the mud pool upon the wildlife, and omits the word 'Hell', but his account is largely identical to Hakluyt's, if slightly condensed. Immediately preceding this statement, however, are the following lines:

> But though in generall the Countrey was extremely fruitfull; yet in some places was it covered with a slimy matter, which the overflowings of the waters, and the nature of the soyl together, did bring forth abundantly. [It was] used by them in their buildings instead of morter, than which more durable and binding.[67]

[65] Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations Vol. VIII*, p.23.
[66] Heylyn, p.128.
[67] Heylyn, p.128.

It is this particular passage, that I posit bears particular significance in relation to one of Milton's descriptions of the newly formed Earth. Once again, it is helpful to look to modern geographical accounts of the area in order to gain a better insight. One of the defining features of the 'rich' Mesopotamian plain, Denis Baly notes, is the effect of the River Karun, last tributary of the River Tigris, on the entirety of the river basin area. Karun has its confluence with the Tigris very near to the delta, and it is this particular river, Baly notes, that carries with it vast quantities of silt along its course from the mountains.[68] This excess of sediment 'clogs the course' of the 'slower moving major rivers […] they are ponded up behind it and deposit their own sediment in the vast and desolate marshes which form in the southern part of the country.'[69] Hillel similarly describes the country as being 'interspersed with swamps' and groves in ancient times.[70] It seems perfectly reasonable therefore to assume that the 'slimy matter' and 'overflowings of the waters' that Heylyn describes are indeed meant to be representative of the silt carried by the rivers which deposit their 'overflowings', leaving the plains covered in 'slimy matter', or sediment, as we call it today. There is no such description of silt or sediment, of this 'slimy matter' in Hakluyt's description: Heylyn's additional lines, which precede the passage on Ait, appear to be entirely his own. There are no descriptions of this kind to be found in Samuel Purchas' account, either: it is a description unique to Heylyn's *Cosmographie*.

The following passage is taken from the Creation episode of Book VII of *Paradise Lost*:

> Wave rowling after Wave, where way they found,
> If steep, with torrent rapture, if through Plaine,
> Soft-ebbing; nor withstood them Rock or Hill,
> But they, or under ground, or circuit wide

[68] Baly, *Geographical Companion*, p.105.
[69] Baly, *Geographical Companion*, p.105.
[70] Hillel, p.41.

> With Serpent errour wandring, found thir way,
> And on the washie Oose deep Channels wore… (VII.298-303)

In this passage, Milton describes how the Earth's seas fall away to leave behind rivers as the mountains rise, creating 'oozey' channels. 'Oose' translates as the mud or slime of the riverbanks and channels, including the highly fertile silt that is carried by the river. This description of the 'oozing' silt, richly fertile and abundant, conjures images of the 'spawning' of life from the sediment, thus continuing the thematic imagery of reproduction and new life. In particular, Milton's description is resplendent of a river delta: the depiction of the 'washie Oose' of the sediment and the creation of deep channels as the river splits into many branches, 'with Serpent errour wandring'…'through Plaine, / Soft ebbing'. The description of the many winding, slow-moving channels in a landscape of 'washie Oose' appears to be akin to that of a river delta area. If we are to consider the following statement of Heylyn's, then, the connection between Milton's portrayal and Heylyn's account becomes even more apparent:

> Euphrates, by the Turks called Frat, by the Hebrews, Perah, famous in Scripture for its watering the garden of Eden, hath its fountain in the hills which they call Niphates, as is said by Strabo. A River of great length and swiftness. For having forced it self a passage through the Mountains of Taurus, it runneth in the West of Mesopotamia, with a stream so violent […]
> At Apamia, a City of Chaldaea it is joined with Tigris, with which the greatest branch of it passeth thorow the City of Babylon, and so into the Persian Gulf: the rest of it being cut into many Channels, for fear it should over-flow and drown the Countrey, are quite lost in the Lakes of Chaldaea.[71]

[71] Heylyn, p. 143.

Here, Heylyn describes the confluence of the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates and the subsequent journey through the city of Babylon, ending at the delta flowing out into the Persian Gulf, with other delta channels emptying into the 'Lakes of Chaldaea'. Heylyn is keen to remind the reader of the significance of the River Euphrates as the river that 'waters the garden of Eden', as Milton describes in Book IX, 'Where Tigris at the foot of Paradise / Into a Gulf shot under ground' (IX.71-2) and that is purported to originate from Mount Niphates, the same 'Assyrian mount' that Satan alights on when he reaches the edge of 'delicious Paradise', looking down upon the 'neather Empire' (VI. 126; 132; 145). This reference to the 'neather Empire', to the world outside of the garden of Eden and Adam's future domain, possesses a secondary meaning in that it also carries a subtle reference to the former Assyrian Empire, following on from Milton's description of Mount Niphates. It is Heylyn's narrative of the river deltas that is of particular significance here, however. If we are to assume that Milton's portrayal of the 'washie Oose' and the 'deep Channels' are indeed inspired by Heylyn's account of the 'slimy matter' and 'overflowings of water' – the only contemporary geographical account that contains such a description of the region – then this latter statement would appear to strengthen this connection yet further still. Milton's portrayal of the creation of the rivers undoubtedly refers to the Scriptural account of the creation of the four great rivers described at Genesis 2:1-12:

> And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. The name of the first is Pison: that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah […] the name of the second river is Gihon: the same is it that compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia. And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the east of Assyria. And the fourth river is Euphrates.

It is in between the rivers of Euphrates and Hiddekel (Tigris) that Eden was purportedly located, as Heylyn stresses, and it is in the lower course that the two 'do here join their streams' before they 'fall together […] in the Gulf of Persia.'[72] It is important to note that it is immediately after this description of the lower courses of the rivers that Heylyn then goes on to discuss the 'slimy matter' brought forth by the waters. Furthermore, Milton describes the rivers as not withstanding 'Rock or Hill, / But they, or under ground, or circuit wide […] found thir way' (VII, 300-01) – a description which mirrors the course of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris as described by Heylyn in his discussion of the Taurus range of mountains. The Euphrates, he states, 'forceth it self a way thorow' the mountains, which, he notes, are known both as Taurus and as Niphates depending on the side (as Milton alludes to it) and that 'after the River Tigris hath also cut them asunder, they continue the name of Niphates altogether.'[73] This account of the twin rivers and the Niphates appears to mirror Milton's depiction of the newly created rivers that cut through 'Rock or Hill' in their course before levelling out onto the plain, onto the 'washie Oose' and forming many delta channels in the lower river basin. Heylyn's account of the lower course of the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, of the issuing of the water in the Persian Gulf and the splitting of the river into many channels constitutes an accurate representation of the delta at the mouth of the joined rivers.

I therefore argue that Milton's description of the 'deep Channels wore' upon the 'Washie Oose' is in fact a reference to the river delta of the Euphrates-Tigris confluence that Heylyn describes. The specificity of Milton's description of the sediment in particular - geographical information found only in the *Cosmographie* and not in the works of any other early modern geographers – but also his portrayal of the rivers forcing their way through the mountains, as Heylyn describes, are evidence enough of the profound influence of Heylyn's particular brand of geography upon Milton's poetic portrayal. These particular details are of great

[72] Heylyn, p.140.
[73] Heylyn, p.140.

significance, I assert, and serve to further strengthen the existing links between Heylyn's *Cosmographie* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Robert Cawley and Elbert Thompson have previously discussed Milton's use of Heylyn with respect to Book 11, lines 388-411 of *Paradise Lost*, but there are no existing studies that explore Heylyn's account in relation to the other books. I therefore argue that Heylyn's descriptions of the Chaldaean-Assryian-Mesopotamian region – the proposed location of former Eden – also deserve to be read alongside the creation episode of Book VII, lines 295-310 on account of the details Milton includes in his portrayal of the rivers. The following quotation from Cawley's *Milton and the Literature of Travel* supports my argument entirely:

> As in practically everything Milton wrote, there is in the passage a considerable amount of what most people knew. Any educated person knew about Assyria, the Caspian Sea, the Indus and Euphrates Rivers; he had read about the about Babylon and Cyrus and the Parthians. But Milton was never satisfied to leave matters there. He was always bringing his material into focus by mention of some vivifying detail which was not so well known […] these are the additions which regularly keep Milton's verse from becoming commonplace.[74]

Yet Milton's use of language in relation to riverine features in the Creation episodes is doubly significant, for there are elements of this portrayal that appear specifically to concern British geography and by association certain ecological issues of Milton's day. Here, I depart from Heylyn's descriptions of the Holy Lands and move instead towards a consideration of Milton's nationalised and localised geographical knowledge, focusing on certain aspects that lend themselves to Milton's description of the Creation.

[74] Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel*, p.25.

Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens: Draining Paradise

The 1600 General Draining Act, which called for 'the recovering of many hundred thousands Acres of marshes' was introduced to tackle the problems of a growing population and increased demand for agricultural land, as well as to reduce the flooding that periodically deluged low-lying coastal fenland.[75] The subsequent drainage efforts, the most 'heavily capitalised' of which occurred in the fenland of East Anglia, led to an ongoing struggle between developer and protester which would last the entire century.[76] Lords were encouraged to give up sections of the land they owned for enclosure and development, a practice which in turn yielded far richer profit through rent and farming than the marshland ever could. The draining of said fenland, and the subsequent enclosure of the newly 'recovered' land, is reflected both in Milton's portrayal both of the Creation and later in Adam and Eve's subsequent exile. The term 'recovering' is used to describe the practice of draining by Sir William Dugdale, author of an historical tract on the practice.[77] To use the word 'recover' suggests reclamation and by association a sense of ownership or rightful belonging. In this case, Sir Dugdale is referring to the reclamation of the land from the processes of time and geography. Yet his use of this term possesses further significance, for the word 'recover' appears to suggest that the object, in this case land, must first have been lost or taken from the 'rightful' user or inhabitant. Thus, this is of great significance in relation to our discussion of the loss of Paradise and the concept of working towards a recreation or recovery of a national Paradise, a British Paradise. The following description is taken from the passage detailing the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden and

[75] Richards, p.214.
[76] Richards, p.214.
[77] Sir William Dugdale *The history of imbanking and drayning of divers fenns and marshes, both in forein parts and in this kingdom, and of the improvements thereby extracted from records, manuscripts, and other authentick testimonies* (London: Printed by Alice Warren, 1662) Reproduced courtesy of EEBO: *(*London: For Thomas Underhill, 1644), p.4. Reproduced courtesy of EEBO. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [Accessed 17 August 2016].

directly refers both to fenland and, I argue, the draining project. They are escorted from the premises by angels who descend

> …on the ground
> Gliding meterorous, as Ev'ning Mist
> Ris'n from a River o're the marish glides,
> And gathers ground fast at the Labourers heel
> Homeward returning. High in Front advanc't,
> The brandish Sword of God before them blaz'd
> Fierce as a Comet; which with torrid heat,
> And vapour as the Libyan Air adust,
> Began to parch that temperate Clime; whereat
> In either hand the hastning Angel caught
> Our lingring Parents, and to th'Eastern Gate
> Led them direct.
>
> (XII.628-639)

Milton's description of the angels as the mist that spreads across the marshes, signalling the end of the workday for labourers, represents the end of Adam and Eve's time in Eden, their former home and workspace, as the 'mist' or the angels guide the 'lingring' pair towards the exit. Yet Milton's description echoes not only the image of the labourers leaving their workspace, but also echoes the eviction of fenland communities from the marshes for drainage purposes so to make the land fit for agricultural use. Milton employs fenland imagery in his simile, describing the angels moving like the 'Ev'ning Mist / Ris'n from a River o're the marish glides,' and appears to refer to the 'Labourers,' the marsh-workers employed to recover and drain the land, returning for home as the conditions deteriorate. The subsequent description of the 'torrid heat' and 'vapour as the Libyan air', though not exactly directly analogous to early modern fenland drainage techniques, arguably achieves the same ends: it is, to all intents and purposes, the sped-up, celestial version of marsh labour and drainage processes. It nonetheless achieves the same end: the drying out of the marshland, or,

in the case of Eden, the 'parching' of 'that temperate Clime.' But in this case, the process is more extreme: rather than rendering the land arable and manageable, it is rendered parched, unusable, utterly destroyed. The 'hastning' angels then hurry to lead the fallen pair away from the site – perhaps, one might argue – so they may not linger so long as to cause a commotion. Adam and Eve, as people of the marshes, are swiftly and forcefully evicted from their home, much like the fen-dwelling communities. These communities, marginalised in much the same way as Adam and Eve are in their postlapsarian state, are unceremoniously evicted (albeit agreeably and peacefully, unlike their poor early modern counterparts). One might also suggest that Adam and Eve are evicted with such speed so to make it more difficult for them to make any attempt at taking notes of landmarks or features that might enable them to return to this place – and to recover it. Early modern explorers, philosophers and writers then attempted to recover paradise in colonial expeditions, and when these failed, to recreate Paradise at home in Britain.[78] Adam and Eve do not appear to live in close proximity to the marshy region: it lies, perhaps, outside the main walks of the Garden and, from Milton's description, we can conjecture that it lies in the East, for the pair encounter it only when being ejected from Eden, from the Eastern gate. This would suggest that even in Eden, fenny areas are less desirable than open land or woodland, hence their location on the borders. But their presence is notable, and they represent an identifying landmark (much like the Bedford Levels, for example) near the Eastern gate – which is perhaps why the angels seek to destroy it.

The fenlands were, John Richards notes, a veritable hotbed of disease due to annually recurring bouts of malaria caused by visiting mosquitoes that inhabited the marshes. These diseases were variably known as 'marsh fever', 'agues' or 'quartan fever', and it was thought that the illness was caused by the stagnant water and stinking mud that issued from the

[78] Amy L. Tigner, *Literature and the Renaissance Garden from Elizabeth I to Charles II* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p.1.

fenland.[79] The illness and death caused by this disease, endemic to these areas, was considered yet another reason to extend drainage plans where possible; the reality, however, was that fen communities relied on the fenland for their livelihoods, and as such these communities protested heavily against any proposed plans. It is possible, then, to draw another parallel between this historical context and Milton's description of Adam and Eve being exiled from Eden. One might argue that a parallel exists between the 'draining' or cleansing of the fenland, and God's expulsion of Adam and Eve from Eden. Adam and Eve, no longer pure, are 'diseased', and furthermore, they have 'infected' the Garden, and as such must be evicted: the land they tilled is to be 'drained' by means of 'torrid heat' produced by the angels and then sealed off forever by means of permanent enclosure. This action mirrors the drainage of the fenlands by lords who owned the common land, who divided it up between developers, drained and enclosed the land for agricultural purposes. This practice greatly increased the value of the land, and so once again we return to matters of value, and of Eden's superior value to the rest of the world, made so by nature of its veritable loss.

The aquatic imagery of the Creation episode, the 'genial moisture' covering the earth and later the richly fertile 'oose', the meandering river channels conjures up a picture of a delta; of a marshy, muddy plain. This also resplendent of the marshy fenland that contemporary debates centred on. Milton is well known for his richly imbued lines and for the abundance of connotations that even a single line of his poetry can produce upon analysis, and this description yields many readings. I suggest that if we consider Milton's description of the 'washie Oose that deep Channels wore' in the newly formed earth alongside the account of the description of the marshland in postlapsarian Book XII, we can draw a parallel between the descriptions that assumes further meaning in relation to the fenland drainage debate.

[79] Richards, p.216.

As Richards states, the most intensely re-developed fenland region of England was East Anglia. One of the largest and most controversial drainage projects was the reclamation of 162,000 hectares of fenland stretching across five counties in an extensive operation known as the Bedford Level. Beginning in 1631 with the formation of the Bedford Level Corporation, founded by the Earl of Bedford, and ending in 1652, the mammoth project was halted during the civil war and in the period prior as anti-drainage protests increased. The project was prompted in part by the increasingly problematic silting of river mouths in coastal marshland areas, and as such, developers worked to create numerous diversion channels to lessen the impact of the silt upon the coastal areas.[80] The first river to have diversions installed along its course was the great River Ouse, a river renowned for its flooding and characterised by its slow-flowing, meandering course – and, of course, the vast quantities of silt it carries. The Ouse flows through the fenland before reaching the bay area known as The Wash, or The Washe, as it was known in Milton's era. As discussed previously, 'oose' translates as mud or silt, and Milton's description of the channels worn into the 'oose' by the meandering river I argued was reflective of a river delta. I suggest that this description also carries a further meaning, one that is ultimately a reference to the Bedford Level project and to the River Ouse: that the 'washie Oose' simultaneously refers to the silt itself and to the 'Oose', the 'Ouse' river which flows into the 'Wash(i)e:'

> And on the washie Oose deep Channels wore;
> Easie, e're God had bid the ground be drie,
> All but within thoser banks, where Rivers now
> Stream, and perpetual draw thir humid traine.
>
> (VII.303-306)

One of the great rivers of Britain mentioned by Milton in his *Epitaphium Damonis*, the Ouse is, furthermore, the river which Milton's beloved Cam, made famous in *Lycidas*, joins at a

[80] Richards, p.219.

confluence as a tributary. Some one hundred lines later, Milton begins another description of the newly created earth that:

> on smooth the Seale,
> And bended Dolphins play: part huge of bulk
> Wallowing unweildie, enormous in thir Gate
> Tempest the Ocean: there Leviathan
> Hugest of living Creatures, on the Deep
> Stretcht like a Promontorie sleeps of swimmes,
> And seems a moving Land, and at his Gilles
> Draws in, and at his Trunck spouts out a Sea.
> Mean while the tepid Caves, and Fens and shoares
> Thir Brood as numerous hatch, from the Egg that soon
> Bursting with kindly rupture forth disclos'd
> Thir callow young, but featherd soon and fledge…
>
> (VII.409-420)

Milton mentions here the 'tepid Fens and shoares' that 'burst' with nesting birds, thus appearing to display some knowledge or awareness about both the fenland ecosystem and perhaps of the coastal marshes. Given the relative proximity of these lines to the passage concerning the 'Washie Oose,' and the particular details of this passage, it could be suggested that this passage is based upon, or at least alludes to, the fenland and coastal environments of the British Isles. The description of the 'tepid Caves, and Fens and shoares,' and the nesting habits of the birds could arguably be based upon observations of or accounts of British wildlife. The description of seals and dolphins would suggest this also, and furthermore it is reminiscent of Milton's description of the marine wildlife of the British Isles in *Lycidas*. Milton was well acquainted with the 'reedy Cam,' and the surrounding marshy land.

Sir William Dugdale's lengthy and impressive 1662 account 'The history of imbaking and drayning of divers fenns and marshes, both in forein parts and in this kingdom, and of the

improvements thereby extracted from records, manuscripts and other authentick testimonies,' constitutes both a geographical and an ecological survey as well as an historical account of fenland treatment both in Britain and abroad that stretches back to ancient times (including, notably, Babylon and the Euphrates). Dugdale describes the Great Level fens as 'affording little benefit to the Realm, other than Fish or Fowl,' evidence of the plentiful amount of both.[81] He describes how it is a well-known fact that 'Timber-Trees will not grow and thrive where water, for the most part, stands;' and therefore claims that he can 'prove' that these trees have existed 'and prospered in sundry parts of this now Fenny Country.' His proof, he claims, is based on the hypothesis that the Levell was initially 'a firm, dry land,' and he asserts that excavation has shown that initially 'great numbers of such Trees, of several kinds, have been found; most of Oak and Firr, and a few of them severed from their Roots,' indicative of a change in climate.[82] He also notes that many feet down:

> divers Furze bushes, as also Nut-trees, pressed flat down, with Nuts sound and firm lying by them; the bushes and Trees standing in solid earth, below the silt, which hath been brought up by the inundations of the Sea, and in time raised to that great thicknesse. Add hereunto what I have already observed […] touching the Trees of Oak and Firr found in such great numbers, at the making of those Ditches and Sewers for drayning of that Fenn: which, though it lye not contiguous to this, out of all doubt is on the like levell, and was apparently a woody Country at the first.[83]

[81] Dugdale, p.171.
[82] Dugdale, pp.171-172.
[83] Dugdale, pp.171-172.

He claims that to 'give farther instance […] to demonstrate so evident a truth, there will be no need,' apparently assured that these excavations represent sufficient proof.[84]

The presence of a great multitude of tree species, and, more crucially, of nut trees, is suggestive of a greatly different climate to that of early modern Britain; indeed, one more akin to a Mediterranean climate: a temperate climate, 'exceeding fruitfull,' not unlike that of Eden. Most interesting then is the description of the area given by Duke of Bedford (the draining project being so named after and overseen by him) in his 1653 pamphlet; 'A particular of the ninety five thousand acres of fenny and low surrounded grounds, lying within the great level of the fens. Which by an act of Parliament of the 29 of May, 1649, were allotted to William Earle of Bedford, his participants and adventurers for dreyning of the same.'[85] In the opening sentence, Bedford refers to 'this great Level of the Fennes' as 'sometimes accounted the Paradise of England, if we may believe History.' He notes that the late Earl of Bedford's initial project to drain the Fens was so 'famous and Publick,' that a geographical depiction of the fens themselves alongside a history of their usage and the many historical attempts at draining them are included in an atlas printed by the 'Netherlander Hondius', in Amsterdam in 1636.[86] Bedford goes on to discuss the recent history of the draining project and the various setbacks his predecessor endured before Parliament called upon him to re-attempt the Level project in 1649 before describing the geographical location and size of the fens in some detail. The River Ouse is mentioned some eighteen times throughout. Is it indeed possible that Milton was aware of the association of the Levels with a former Paradise? The notion of reconceptualising, and the practice of attempting to recover or

[84] Dugdale, p.172.
[85] William Russell, Duke of Bedford, *A particular of the ninety five thousand acres of fenny and low surrounded grounds, lying within the great level of the fens. Which by an act of Parliament of the 29 of May, 1649, were allotted to William Earle of Bedford, his participants and adventurers for dreyning of the same* (London: Printed for Richard Baddeley within the middle Temple-gate, 1653) EEBO, p.2.
[86] Bedford, p.2.

return to a paradisal state in early modern England would assume great significance in this light.

Samuel Purchas, in his discussion of the ancient location of Paradise, states that 'it is more than Probable, that here in these parts Paradise was, although now deformed by the Floud and by Time consumed and become a stage of Barbarisme.'[87] It is the great biblical Flood, Purchas appears to suggest, that consumed the area where Paradise once lay. Sir William similarly proposes that the overflowing or overwhelming of the land by the sea unto the Levels was the result of 'some great Earthquake, for such dreadful accidents have occasioned the like.' This is how, he asserts, 'the violent breach and inundation of the Sea was first made into this country.'[88] Sir William appears to be hypothesising that a terrible event, seemingly of biblical magnitude and not unlike the Great Flood led to the flooding of this part of the country in an event that echoes an act of divine providence. Dugdale goes on to make use of geographical case studies in order to support his hypothesis, describing how according to another tract on ancient history, that 'in the time of the Consullship of Valentinian and Valens, was an Earthquake, which not only overthrew divers Cities, but altred the very bounds of the Sea; which so flowed in some parts, that men might sayl in those places, where before they did walk; and forsook other, that they became dry land.'[89] This description similarly reads like an act of divine providence. In each case the flood brings disruption and the inhabitants are forced to leave the former Paradise, which then, according to Purchas and Dugdale, becomes overrun by 'Barbarisme.' This 'Barbarisme' that Purchas claims typifies the early modern Holy Lands in their post-Flood state similarly forms a parallel with the generally agreed early modern view that fenland communities were similarly disagreeable folk: uncivilised, marginalised - even diseased. The draining of the fens, then,

[87] Purchas, p.18.
[88] Dugdale, p.172
[89] Dugdale, p.172.

removes this threat and affords the drainers the possibility to recover the land – and to potentially recover Paradise. Though the original Paradise has been lost, there is yet hope in the act of attempting to recover or recreate Eden, a notion I explore further in my final chapter in relation to early modern gardening practices.

The apparently overwhelming fecundity of the Bedford Level region is correlative with Milton's accounts of the Creation and of life in Eden itself, and, combined with the description of the 'Washie Oose,' appears altogether reminiscent of the East Anglian fenlands. Whether this is Milton's intention is debatable, but the parallels are certainly interesting to note, especially given the description of the area as Paradise. Is it possible that Milton too knew of this association between the great fenlands and Paradise, and was he aware of the ecological actualities of the region with regard to the discoveries made beneath the silt during the excavation work that continued throughout his lifetime? As a Cambridge student, it is indeed possible, given the geographical location of the city in relation to the Bedford project, which began in 1631, whilst Milton was studying at the University.

Dugdale also gives the following description of the fenland region which similarly corresponds with Milton's description of the ornithological wildlife in the fenlands:

> As for the decay of Fish and Fowl, which hath been no small objestion against this publick work, there is not much likelyhood thereof: for notwithstanding this general Drayning, there are so many great Meeres and Lakes, still continuing, which be indeed the principal harbours for them, that there will be no want of either; for in the vast spreading waters they seldom abide, the Rivers, Chanels, and Meeres being their principal Receptacles; which being now increased, will rather augment than diminish their store. And that both Fish and Fowl are with much more ease taken by this restraint of the waters within such bounds, we daily see; forasmuch as all Netts for Fishing, are better made use of in the Rivers and Meeres, than when the waters are out of those narrower limits: And that *Decoys* are now planted upon many

> drayned Levels, whereby greater numbers of Fowl are caught, than by any other Engins formerly used; which could not at all be made there, did the waters, as formerly, overspread the whole Countrey.[90]

Dugdale's description appears to indicate that the fenlands were heavily populated by marsh-dwelling fish and fowl and assumes that these species prefer the rivers and channels the fenlands have now been converted into as opposed to the open marshland. This has also, he notes, improved hunting practices and yield.

Dugdale's description of the abundant wildlife corresponds appropriately with Milton's description of the 'Brood as numerous hatch, from the Egg that soon / Bursting with kindly rupture forth disclos'd / Thir callow young, but featherd soon and fledge / They summed their pens; and, soaring on the air sublime, / With clang despised the ground.' (VII, 418-422) These birds inhabit the 'tepid caves, and fens, and shores,' (VII, 417) of the newly created Paradise. We might hypothesise that Milton draws his descriptions from fenlands he himself has seen or had described to him. As ever it is clear that Milton's Eden is the product of continuing contextual influence in the form of his early modern environment.

There are, then, remnants of Milton's Eden to be found in the geographical and ecological accounts of early modern Britain, and in particular in the Great Levels area. In cultural and biblical history, Eden, and the many equivalent classical Paradises contained all manner of trees, (and indeed nut trees) as Milton describes in his lengthy tree catalogue in Book IX. Milton's work is so often littered with numerous and wide-ranging meanings, and in this particular case, his description is as profoundly influenced by contemporary geography as it is rooted in contemporary environmental issues. This description from the Creation is later revisited in postlapsarian Eden as Adam and Eve are exiled from the Garden. Their exile,

[90] Dugdale, p.1.

coinciding with the ‘parching’ of the ‘temperate Clime’ of Eden reflects the eviction of the fen dwellers and the subsequent draining of the marshes, of the ‘washie Oose’, or, as the River Ouse and the fenland surrounding it is similarly drained, diverted, and enclosed. Milton here combines the geographical features of Heylyn’s (and others’) accounts of the Holy Land with British geographical features and in turn the pressing ecological issue of fenland drainage along the mouth of the River Ouse. Milton’s Eden is analogous to both geographical descriptions of Mesopotamia and the ancient Middle East and also to early modern Britain: a Paradise that is made up of and gestures to innumerable sources.

Enclosing the Garden and Deforesting Eden

The ecological issues of early modern England reflected in Milton’s Paradise are not only limited to fenland drainage. Both enclosure and deforestation concerns constitute a key part of Milton’s portrayal of a Paradise that is, to all extents and purposes, an analogy of Milton’s England. Karen L. Edwards has previously discussed notions of space and place in relation to Milton’s portrayal of Paradise in light of the enclosure debates of the seventeenth century. Whereas the notion of the enclosed garden had for many centuries (and indeed in classical mythology) been a symbol of ‘safeguarded fertility, spiritual refreshment, the secret pleasures of love (chaste or erotic), the emblematic language of flowers and herbs,’ Edwards notes, the onset of the enclosure movement saw a gradual shift in the way the garden space was perceived.[91] Though the implicit associations the symbolic locus amoenus or paradisal garden held still remained, the concept of the ‘enclosed garden’ soon began to be ‘increasingly identified with exclusive property’ and came to symbolise ‘exclusion from – or at best a

[91] Karen L. Edwards, ‘The Natural World’ in Stephen B. Dobranksi, ed, *Milton in Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2010) pp.406-417 (p.407).

contested right to – such a space.'[92] This shift in stasis is evident in Milton's portrayal of a Paradise with 'verdurous' wall, Edwards argues; for 'in the demarcation of property, a wall […] is the supreme sign of actual and figurative place and, in the case of the enclosure movement, of actual and figurative displacement.'[93] It is first necessary to briefly explore the history of enclosure, which by definition varies according to time period for, enclosure varied by nature and extent from century to century, decade to decade:

> Enclosure itself could involve several processes: the establishment of leasehold, the removal of common property rights, changes in farm layouts and field boundaries, the amalgamation or engrossing of farms, and a radical change in land use. […].[94]
>
> Historians have long been interested in the processes by which customary tenants disappeared and were replaced by leaseholders […] one view sees the decline of customary tenants through illegal manipulations of entry fines and forcible evictions by lords who replaced their customary tenants with leaseholders paying rack rents or turned arable commonfields over to sheep walks. Another view argues that customary tenants received the full support of the law without any illegal activities by their lords, and the transition to leasehold is seen as an equitable process owing more to the vagaries of the economics of farming than to landlord coercion.[95]

Scholarly study of the enclosure movement in relation to Milton's paradise is largely limited to these descriptions of Satan's approach to Paradise in Book IV and to the wall of trees he is faced with – or, as Joan Thirsk notes, 'the outward and visible signs of enclosure,' of common land, manifested in the form of hedges and fences in the period, and the subsequent anger and protests directed towards this physical symbolisation of division.[96] Satan's trespass, then, is a reflective of this anger and represents an act of protest. Yet it is God's

[92] Edwards, 'The Natural World' pp.406-417 (p.407).
[93] Edwards, 'The Natural World' pp.406-417 (pp.407-408).
[94] Mark Overton, *Agricultural Revolution in England: The Transformation of the Agrarian Economy 1500-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) p.148.
[95] Overton, p.154.
[96] Joan Thirsk, *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, Vol. IV: 1500-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p.200.

final act, the stationing of the hyper-vigilant angelic guard outside of the gates of Eden, however, that most fully represents the enactment of enclosure:

> And on the East side of the Garden place,
> Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbes,
> Cherubic watch, and of a Sword the flame
> Wide waving, all approach farr off to fright,
> And guard all passage to the Tree of Life:
>
> (XI.118-121)

God specifically orders the angels to form the strongest barrier where 'entrance […] easiest climbes,' in order to prevent re-entry. Milton describes the 'Cohort bright / Of watchful Cherubim' (XI. 128) descending to Earth to take up their guard, angels

> Spangl'd with eyes more numerous then those
> Of *Argus*, and more wakeful than to drouze,
> Charm'd with Arcadian Pipe, the Pastoral Reed
> Of *Hermes*, or his opiate Rod. Mean while
>
> To resalute the World with sacred Light
> *Leucothea* wak'd, and with fresh dews imbalmd
> The Earth…
>
> (XI.130-135)

The angels are hyper-vigilant enforcers of God's law. Unlike Adam and Eve, they are seemingly immune to the pastoral delights of Eden: they are 'wakeful' and cannot be 'charm'd with Arcadian Pipe' or 'Pastoral Reed.' This notion of sleep-inducing music forms an analogy with Satan's seduction of Eve. Unlike Eve, lulled into false hope and security by Satan's song, they remain wakeful, vigilant. Fresh dew now covers the earth, symbolic of rebirth and also of the cleansing of the garden – the cleansing of the garden from the sinful

Adam and Eve. Adam and Eve, once inhabitants, now become unwelcome. In addition, Milton's use of stock pastoral features in reference to the angelic guard – the 'Arcadian Pipe, the Pastoral Reed' – reflects the shifting symbolism of the Garden in the early modern period. The idealised, Arcadian space of safety and beauty now lost through fault of man, locked away behind green walls and guarded by 'fierie armes' (XII.644), mirrors the shifting stasis of the concept of the enclosed garden brought about by the enclosure movement. In this way, God becomes the landowner: Adam and Eve become the commoners denied the right to till the common land. The exclusive space, the beautiful garden they had come to recognise as their own to keep and till, is now denied them by the landowner, who has placed 'verdurous' trees and hedges and a gate to bar entry. Milton's God claims sole ownership of the Garden. In the prelapsarian world, Adam and Eve effectively existed as tenants: God assumed the role of lord of the manor. Though Milton's God is sure to place borders around his land, their effectiveness is tested and proved inadequate, and, after his tenants breach the conditions of their contract and lose the right to live and keep the land in Eden, God takes further measures to ensure that the entrance to Paradise is blocked, lest Adam and Eve take 'all my Trees thir prey.' (XI.125)

Todd Borlik writes that 'as deforestation grew more widespread in the seventeenth century, writers continued to find solace and a weapon of protest in Arcadian pastoral.'[97] In this particular case, it appears that Milton uses the pastoral not in order to find solace but to actually reflect upon the loss of green space, of gardens and of Eden, in light of the enclosure movement. Milton creates an analogy between early modern methods of land management and land ownership and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the enclosed garden belonging to God. Milton's analogy is not necessarily a protest against such practices as enclosure, but

[97] Todd A. Borlik, 'Mute Timber? Fiscal Forestry and Environmental Stichomythia in the Old Arcadia' in Ivo Kamps, Thomas Hallock and Karen Raber, eds, *Early Modern Ecostudies: From the Florentine Codex to Shakespeare* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp.31-53 (p.46). See also Hiltner's chapter *in Ecological Approaches to Early Modern English Texts: A Field Guide to Reading and Teaching*, ed.by Jennifer Munroe, Edward J. Geisweidt and Lynne Brucker (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

is instead reflective in its analogy, an analogy that serves as a commentary on blurring of the boundaries between the established symbolism of the enclosed garden or *hortus conclusus* with contemporary agricultural practices.

The analogy is removed from its contemporary context in that there are not the same political implications – Adam and Eve are denied because they have sinned, and so God has judged them unfit to remain in the garden. God is not the tyrannical landowner cracking down on subsistence farmers, but a protector. As Katherine Attie describes, enclosure 'made good economic sense' as 'land was simply worth more enclosed than unenclosed,' for it facilitated agricultural improvement: higher rent, selective breeding, improved land quality and therefore efficient farming and increased yield.[98] This idea of value is somewhat reflected in God's decision to banish Adam and Eve from the Garden: it is a space that was to be enjoyed exclusively by the spiritually pure, and it is no place for sinners. Prior to the Fall, the Garden was perceived as exclusive in the sense of being an elite location, the epitomical invitation-only event; of superior beauty, fecundity and goodness to the outside world because the walls surrounding it rendered it so. Milton emphasises this exclusivity and value of the Garden of Eden by giving it an 'enclosure green'; a 'champain head / Of a steep wilderness, whose hairie sides / With thicket overgrown,' the 'insuperable highth of loftiest shade' that make up part of 'the verdurous wall of Paradise upsprung.' (IV.132-143) The 'value' of the enclosed Garden is effectively increased by virtue of Adam and Eve's transgression. In declaring themselves sinners and therefore unfit to reside in and till the Garden, they deny anyone else the right to do so also: the value of the Garden is magnified because it is lost and cannot be regained. The loss of paradise increases its value, for in becoming inaccessible, it is rendered even more exclusive, for it is hidden and therefore of even greater elite status.

[98] Katherine Bootle Attie, 'Enclosure Polemics and the Garden in the 1650s' *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900 (SEL)* 51: 1 (2011) 135-157 (P.135).

As previously mentioned, the angels' destruction of the garden, the fiery 'parch[ing of] that temperate Clime,' upon Adam and Eve's exit forms a sorry parallel with the increasing rate of conversion of open woodland to arable land in early modern England. This emphasis on value is also not dissimilar to the seventeenth-century gardening manuals that advocated the selective pruning and careful maintenance of the garden as akin to, and reflective of, the near-constant human effort to maintain the purity of the soul, such as in Ralph Austen's 'A Treatise of Fruit-Trees', which advocates the planting of trees on the basis that it fulfils God's wishes and serves man's interests. He asks, 'for what particular labour is more honest, more iust, more pure: more lovely: of better Report: what hath more Vertue, what hath more Praise then it? Than the planting of fruit trees?'[99]

The true value of Paradise is only fully realised by the pair after they have committed the original sin, as Michael reminds them: 'this praeeminence thou hast lost, brought down / To dwell on eeven ground,' (XI. 347-8). The final enclosure of Paradise – the stationing of the angelic guards with fiery sword, and the closing of the gate, – renders it totally inaccessible, and Adam and Eve are banished, 'brought down,' both physically from the mount that Eden resides on, and spiritually and morally. The descent from high, from elite and enclosed, to low and base, is symbolic of their status as fallen humans.

Adam and Eve's fall from grace is further reflected in Milton's portrayal of their new experiences in the postlapsarian world prior to their expulsion from Eden: namely, the changing nature of their relationship with plants in the garden. There are further interpretations to be drawn here in relation to the geographical reach of the growing timber-import trade, and it is possible to draw a direct link between this and Eve's description of

[99] Ralph Austen, *A treatise of fruit-trees shewing the manner of grafting, setting, pruning, and ordering of them in all respects: according to divers new and easy rules of experience; gathered in ye space of twenty yeares. Whereby the value of lands may be much improued, in a shorttime [sic], by small cost, and little labour. Also discovering some dangerous errors, both in ye theory and practise of ye art of planting fruit-trees. With the alimentall and physicall vse of fruits. Togeather with the spirituall vse of an orchard: held-forth [sic] in divers similitudes betweene naturall & spirituall fruit-trees: according to Scripture & experie[n]ce.* (Oxford: Printed by Hen Hall, Printer to the University, for Tho Robinson, 1657).

wood preferable for burning.

Scholars have previously discussed Milton's references to seventeenth-century fuel shortages, to deforestation and the use of sea-coal in his depiction of Hell in Books I and II of *Paradise Lost.* Ken Hiltner in particular has written extensively on the matter of the mining practices, air pollution and burning of sea-coal in relation to Milton's Hell; Karen L. Edwards has similarly discussed the correlation between air pollution and mental wellbeing in Milton's epic.[100] The on-going widespread deforestation of English woodland in the seventeenth century, already severely depleted by the Tudor period, led to dire shortage in firewood and subsequently led to soaring timber costs as governments were forced to turn to importation, and costs more than tripled from the beginning to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Government woodland conservation initiatives were often short-lived, and changing land ownership and usage due to enclosure meant that efforts to practice good forestry management ultimately failed. The government was forced to import timber, in particular pine, spruce and fir on a massively increasing scale between 1601 and 1649 from the Baltic region and from Norway: Scottish stocks had already dwindled considerably due to demand.[101] Ireland suffered similarly heavy deforestation at the hands of the English in order to meet the ever-growing demand for fuel; though, as Richards states, deforestation in Ireland served more than one purpose.[102] The English believed that these forests harboured both dangerous rebels and wolves and the clearing of these forests thus removed these threats: Richards describes it as part of the English 'civilizing mission.'[103] This association of civilising with clearing – effectively, cleansing – returns us once again to the association of

[100] See Ken Hiltner,'"Belch'd fire and rowling smoke": Air Pollution in *Paradise Lost'* in *Milton, Rights and Liberties*, ed.by Christophe Tournu and Neil Forsyth (Bern; Oxford: Peter Lang, 2007), pp.293-302; Ken Hiltner, *Milton and Ecology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Ken Hiltner, ed, *Renaissance Ecology: Imagining Eden in Milton's England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2008); Karen Edwards, *Milton and the Natural World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).
[101] Richards, p.221.
[102] Richards, p.221.
[103] Richards, p. 224.

landscaping, or maintenance, of one's environment with the pruning of the soul to maintain spiritual purity, though on a far larger scale. Indeed, in this instance, it seems to be on what was perhaps perceived as a divinely ordained scale as part of the colonial effort.

Fir and pine were particularly sought after for shipbuilding purposes where oak was unavailable, as their relative lightness and resin content as opposed to sap meant they could be dried and therefore treated and used far more quickly.[104] Eve's suggestion to Adam, then, assumes a particular significance in light of this information:

> Som better shroud, some better warmth to cherish
> Our Limbs benumm'd, ere this diurnal Starr
> Leave cold the Night, how we his gather'd beams
> Reflected, may with matter sere foment,
> Or by collision of two bodies grinde
> The Air attrite to Fire, as late the Clouds
> Justling or pusht with Winds ryde in thir shock
> Tine the slant Lightning, whose thwart flame driv'n down
> Kindles the gummie bark of Firr or Pine,
> And sends a comfortable heat from farr,
> Which might supplie the Sun: such Fire to use,
> And what may else be remedie or cure…
>
> (X. 1068-1079)

In this cold and cruel postlapsarian existence, Adam and Eve are forced to seek out ways of making shelter and keeping warm, and Eve therefore suggests they cut down trees to make a fire 'by collision of two bodies grinde.' Crucially, she suggests the bark of 'Firr or Pine,' a wood that 'sends a comfortable heart from farr.' Eve's short monologue on fuel types reveals a wealth of information about the geography of the British timber import trade and in turn the ecological significance attached to this. Eve's preference for these particular species appears to be reflective of the huge demand and preference for these species in Milton's England. Milton reflects upon the near-eradication of the fir and pine supplies of the British Isles by

[104] Richards, p.225.

selecting these species as Eve's choice of firewood: the first trees to be cut down by the postlapsarian couple are those the seventeenth-century British so desperately desire. Milton thus reflects upon the insatiable human appetite for firewood in this passage and in particular the ecological problem of overconsumption and increasing deforestation. He also reflects upon the geographical aspect of this problem: in heavily decimating one particular area of Europe, timber from other countries is imported to meet demand. Geographical spatiality with regard to resource availability therefore assumes importance in relation to the environmental issue here. Milton's portrayal of Eve's suggestion assumes yet further significance when we refer back to the prelapsarian Eden, in particular, the 'verdurous wall' of the Garden, which is composed of trees of 'Insuperable highth of lostiest shade, / Cedar, and Pine, and Firr, and branching Palm.' (IV.138-9) In a twisted sense of irony, Eve's choice of firewood happens to be two of the very species so designed to protect the Garden and its inhabitants from evil. They are also trees that were preferred by the Navy. Does this constitute a reflection of the lack of shipbuilding supplies – a representation of the burning away of these much-needed wood types for building as opposed to for fuel, as Eve suggests? If we return to God's instructions to the angels, we see that Milton takes care to mention God's specific concern over the Trees of Eden:

> And guard all passage to the Tree of Life:
> Least Paradise a receptacle prove
> To Spirits foule, and all my Trees thir prey,
> With whose stol'n Fruit Man once more to delude.
>
> (XI.122-125)

God's fear that man will take 'all my Trees thir prey' and his subsequent decision to place guards at the entrance of Paradise is evocative of both the enclosure debates and increasing concerns over heavy deforestation in the seventeenth century. Indeed, if we consider Eve's statement in relation to this, then it would appear that God's concerns are well-founded. God is once again depicted as the lord of the manor, the landowner. His fears concerning the deforestation of his Garden mirror seventeenth-century anxieties concerning the enclosure movement and the theft of timber from such estates, as well as the unsolicited felling of royal supplies and the general chaos wreaked upon the woodlands that political instability brought about. Eve effectively sees the trees as 'prey' where before she tended to them and encouraged their growth. This shift is later mirrored in the pursuit of the Hart by 'the Beast that reigns in the woods' toward 'th'Eastern Gate', the entrance and exit of the Garden. This is a metaphorical representation of the end of the idyllic pastoralism that characterised Adam and Eve's life in Eden.

In this chapter I have argued that Milton's portrayal of Eden, and of the Garden of Paradise itself, is fundamentally underpinned by his keen interest in and detailed knowledge of contemporary geographical works, and argued the case for Peter Heylyn's inclusion in the list of Milton's key sources, building upon the work of Cawley and Thompson. Heylyn's position as one of the best and most respected geographers of the period, I have argued, is deserving of recognition in relation to specific aspects of Milton's descriptive work, most notably in his construction of the passage describing the creation of the rivers, and how these descriptions relate to geographical evidence from the associated region. Further to this, I have expanded upon the work of established scholars such as Ken Hiltner and Karen L. Edwards by exploring particular elements of Milton's geography as informed by contemporary ecological issues, (chiefly, the fenland drainage debate) many of which are resplendent in his depiction of certain aspects of post- and pre-lapsarian life. These elements of Milton's epic

are profoundly influenced by the burgeoning genres of geography and of cosmography, which Milton combines to great effect with traditional modes such as pastoral and georgic to paint an Eden richly layered in meaning and significance. Milton's conceptualisation of Eden once again assumes nationalist importance here. As I have argued, Milton's portrayal of the riverine features of Paradise pertain not only to the ancient descriptions and early modern cosmographies of the Holy Lands but simultaneously to early modern Britain. Paradise is both a fictionalised environment and an analogy, an analogy of early modern Britain both in geographical and ecological terms: London is the new Jerusalem, and the Great Levels are a former Paradise set to be recovered from the fenland and restored it to its Edenic status. In my fourth chapter, I delve deeper into this notion, discussing further the practice of re-creating Eden in early modern England in relation to *Paradise Lost* through the generic medium of the medieval dream-vision genre. In my next chapter, I look to Milton's use of the Hexameron building on the discussion of his portrayal of the Creation begun in this chapter, focusing in particular on his representation of the creation of the animals as opposed to the topography of the newly created world.

Chapter Three: The Human and Non-Human Animal in Milton's Hexaemeron

This chapter will discuss Milton's reinterpretation of the genre of the Hexaemeron in relation to his depiction of the relationship that exists between human and non-human animals in the Paradise of *Paradise Lost*. As previously explained in my Introduction, I have adopted the terms 'human animals' and 'non-human animals' from modern animal studies theory for my discussion of Milton's portrayal of the relationship between humans and animals in order to highlight the essential similarities between the two that these terms are designed to encompass. Nonhuman, in modern terms, relates to a being or creature of intelligent, sentient nature considered to possess certain human-like qualities, including, primarily, the capacity to feel pain, to express emotion and cognitive function. Cognitive function is particularly important in relation to the argument expressed in this particular chapter: here, we might argue that cognitive function translates as 'reason,' which, I demonstrate, Milton appears to portray his non-human animals as capable of expressing. The treatment of non-human animals in Milton's period can be considered an ecological issue, for animals comprise a key part of the greater ecosystem or environment and in turn occupy a key space in Milton's portrayal of Paradise. This chapter explores how Milton, through Eve, engages and experiments with early modern philosophical thought in his conceptualisation of non-human animals in *Paradise Lost,* arguing that his representation of the relationship between human and non-human animals constitutes a key theme and a key ecological current in the poem.

Basing my critical approach on a combination of genre and source studies, in this chapter I build upon existing scholarship in this field by demonstrating the hitherto undervalued and underestimated importance of certain sources with regard to Milton's theological

representation of the moral and ethical status of non-human animals. Chiefly, it discusses Milton's use of pre-Socratic sources and rabbinical commentary / midrash against the wider generic background of the works of the early church fathers, including Basil, Ambrose and Augustine. I demonstrate that the relationship presented by Milton between man and beast in the prelapsarian world of *Paradise Lost* is in truth far more nuanced and delicately constructed than the biblical depiction of a relationship entirely based on subservience and dumb adoration on the part of the non-human animals. Instead, I argue that Milton's prelapsarian non-human animals are, through Eve's perspective, presented as fellow earthly creatures of a similar or almost equal moral status to their human animal counterparts. The basis for this argument revolves around Milton's portrayal of the 'appearance' of reason in non-human animals as described by Eve in Book IX. Eve's observation of reason in non-human animals is, I seek to demonstrate, the product of Milton's engagement with pre-Socratic poetry and, it can even be argued, a rejection of the more orthodox anthropocentric Patristic theology and indeed its inheritor or successor, Renaissance Cartesian theology. Eve's engagement with the serpent Satan, I argue, effectively provides Milton with a vehicle through which to explore and dissect these theological trends.

In lieu of an early modern semantic equivalent, I shall continue to use the term 'anthropocentric' trusting that it adequately represents the concept or sentiment I am attempting to describe for which there is no corresponding word. In this context, we would define anthropocentrism or, more specifically, anthropocentric theology as theology that is centred on and places the greatest value on human life and experience, often at the expense or exploitation of non-human animals and indeed the wider biosphere. Ecocentrism, contrastingly, places equal intrinsic value on each and every organism within an ecosystem. In this context, then, it is important to establish that first and foremost, Pre-Socratic poetry and theology places less emphasis and less importance on the human experience than

Patristics, which are generally far more anthropocentric in tone and design.

Due to the sheer amount of secondary material covered here, this chapter is divided into four main strands, each addressing a different question relating to Milton's portrayals of animals in pre- and post-lapsarian Paradise. I begin with a brief discussion of modern animal studies theory and its application to early modern texts, discussing the various approaches so to situate my own argument against this critical background. I then begin my discussion of Milton's representation of animal and human intelligence, using both the works of the early church fathers St Basil, St Augustine and St. Ambrose as points of contention as well as the early modern Cartesian model (which, in essence, holds that humans are superior to non-human animals due to their possession of reason and rationality) as a theoretical and historical framework within which to situate my analysis of Milton's text. I focus largely on the exchange between Eve and the serpent in Book IX, exploring Milton's portrayal of this conversation against the combined backgrounds of Patristic and Cartesian philosophy alongside Milton's various other exegetical sources, including, most notably, the Pre-Socratic poets Homer and Hesiod and rabbinical commentaries by Milton's contemporary John Selden and the medieval rabbi and commentator Rashi.

The reason I focus particularly on the Pre-Socratics (and the associated underlying philosophy/theology, including Pythagoras' natural philosophy) is because it is not defined by or centred on discussions of reason and rationality as the distinguishing factors that separate and elevate human animals above non-human animals. These poets precede this debate. I argue that Milton's Eve's observation of the appearance of reason in non-human animals is more representative and reminiscent of pre-Socratic thought as opposed to the later Patristic and indeed contemporary Cartesian schools of thought that dominated the Renaissance period. I argue that much in the same way as Milton diverged from orthodox theology in his adoption of monism and rejection of mechanism, he potentially departs from,

or at least questions, mainstream opinion in other areas of philosophical debate, including in his natural philosophy and particularly so in his depiction of non-human animals and their mental capacities, which he does through Eve's interactions with the serpent.

I then go on to discuss the notion of 'fallenness' exploring its application to the non-human animals in Milton's sources, before examining Milton's perceived interpretation of the idea of the fallen non-human animal and the subsequent implications of this label with regard to the dynamic that exists between humans and non-human animals in both pre- and postlapsarian Paradise. I position my exploration of this notion of the fallen animal in relation to the sinful human, negotiating the difference between the two and arguing that once again rabbinical commentary is highly influential with regard to Milton's portrayal of the downfall or ruin of the wild animals and the breakdown of the exclusive Edenic community following the Fall. I present as a unique case the legend of the mythical phoenix, arguing that Milton's use of a symbolic phoenix metaphor to describe the angel Raphael is highly significant in that it reveals new potential information about Milton's use of sources (with regard to the few sources that maintain that the phoenix alone remained unfallen after the original sin). I then conclude by demonstrating the hitherto underestimated importance of Milton's rabbinical readings and Hebraic learning in relation to the previous subsections, continuing on from my discussion of Milton's 'rabbinical' phoenix to build a more complete analysis of these sources in relation to Milton's interpretation of the hexaemeric genre. In the final strand, I go on to discuss Milton's portrayal of prelapsarian vegetarianism (on the part of both humans and non-human animals) alongside descriptions and perceptions of vegetarianism in seventeenth-century England, most notably in the works of clergyman and writer Andrew Willet and Scots minister and Hebraic scholar John Weemes.[1] I consider again in this section the influence of the works of the early church fathers upon Milton's writing, before making a

[1] Also spelt 'Wemyss' and 'Weemse'.

case for greater recognition of the degree of influence both rabbinical writings and Pre-Socratic poetry may have had on Milton's portrayal of this particular aspect of life in prelapsarian Paradise. I conduct a thorough examination of Milton's alleged sources, grounding this in rigorous close reading analysis to provide new and conclusive interpretations about the ethical position of non-human animals in Milton's Paradise with regard to vegetarianism.

Ultimately, through exploration of Milton's presentation of reason, I seek to determine the moral and ethical status of the non-human animal in comparison with both the human animal and the angelic being as presented by Milton, considering this representation against the philosophical currents of the period. Reason in this context can be defined as the capacity to exercise choice and is heavily interlinked with rationality, the attribute that supposedly allows humans to exercise better judgment over their base or 'animal' desires and that which allows them to communicate through language, the capacity for which non-human animals supposedly, according to Descartes and to a certain extent, the Stoics, lack. Though Milton does not engage in specific discussion concerning the welfare and treatment of non-human animals in *Paradise Lost*, I maintain that Eve's description of them as 'reasoning' beasts is in itself significant: that Milton's non-human animals are endowed with reason, and the fact that this is not only recognised, but highlighted, is crucial. In an age dominated by Cartesian rhetoric and Baconian philosophy, Milton's representation of non-human animals (through Eve's eyes) is, I argue, both innovative and radical for his time. In assigning non-human animals the capacity for reason, or, as we might describe in modern terms, cognitive function, Milton's Eve places significant emphasis on the intrinsic value attributed to these creatures rather than simply discussing them in terms of their usefulness to human animals. Furthermore, Milton's presentation of Eve and Adam as inherently self-superior only serves to further emphasise this by the power of contrast. Milton's treatment of non-human – human

animal relationships forms a crucial part of any discussion of ecological awareness in Milton studies, and in particular relation to this thesis, it constitutes a key element of Milton's overall conceptualisation of Edenic existence. A closer look at Milton's presentation of reason in non-human animals therefore reveals new interpretations concerning the universe of *Paradise Lost* and, more widely, Milton source studies and Milton's philosophy and theology as a whole. Finally, I propose that this theme, like all other aspects of Milton's portrayal of Paradise, is nationalised in the sense that Milton, by appearing to present new and radically different ideas about the reason capacity and intrinsic value of non-human animals, stakes a national philosophical claim as a major writer, thinker and influencer not only the English stage but also globally.

The 'Crisis of Distinctions' and Identifying Genre

Modern animal studies scholarship centres primarily upon what Bruce T. Boehrer has called 'the emergence of modern attitudes;' that is, Cartesianism and, (though it obviously cannot be applied to earlier texts such as *Paradise Lost*), Darwinianism – in relation to depictions of animals in literary and artistic mediums. Boehrer's 2010 monograph *Animal Characters* approaches animal studies theory through the concept of character study, his argument centring on the discussion of literary character and the application of this concept to non-human animals. Shakespeare 'and his contemporaries,' he argues, 'inherit a crisis of distinctions that expresses itself through a fixation on the human-animal relationship.'[2] This 'crisis of distinctions' refers to the several 'distinguishing factors' we have already discussed, and what we might alternatively term the matter of qualification: whether or not a particular creature can be said to be in possession of reason and can therefore 'qualify' - be considered

[2] Bruce Thomas Boehrer, *Animal Characters: Nonhuman Beings in Early Modern Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010) p.10.

superior and by subsequent association, of human or near-human status. This crisis, Sorabji has previously argued, was incited when Aristotle denied reason to animals; anthropocentrism, along with and influenced by Christianity, can be traced to the philosophies of Aristotle and to the Patristics, such as Ambrose, and Stoics, such as Seneca.[3] We might therefore conclude that this 'crisis' reaches its full height in its Cartesian form. Rationality and the ability to reason are, in accordance with patristic theology and as later refined and delineated by Descartes, the defining qualities that separate human from animal and elevate the former above the latter in the overall hierarchy of life. Milton's Eve, for example, fully engages with this debate during her conversation with the serpent in Milton's retelling of the Temptation.

In her review of Boehrer's monograph Breena D. Schildgen asserts that distinctions of genre 'are neatly tied to the role of creatures as characters,' and notes that Boehrer's monograph 'forces us to re-engage with that reality,' (more on this to follow).[4] The notion that character, and specifically animal character, is inextricable from genre is pertinent to the current discussion of Milton's representation of animals in the Creation story. How might we consider the hexaemeric genre and more specifically Milton's own re-interpretation of the genre in light of such a reading? Hexaemeron is the genre of beginnings, of the creation of the world, and animals are afforded a central position in this narrative – and even more in Milton's elaboration of the basic Genesis story. In Milton's hands, the genre of Hexaemeron is fully realised as an 'umbrella' kind: as the collective multitude of subcategories that together form Milton's overall reinterpretation of the genre. If we are to assume then that representations of animals are indeed inextricable from the genre within which they are located, then the finished product, the resulting amalgamation of genres and sources that

[3] Richard Sorabji, *Animal Minds and Human Morals: The Origins of the Western Debate* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) p.7.
[4] Brenda Deen Schildgen, 'Bruce Thomas Boehrer *Animal Characters: Nonhuman Beings in Early Modern Literature* (Book Review)' *Modern Philology* 111 (2013), 37-40 (p.40).

make up Milton's hexaemeric story yields rich pickings for a study such as this. As Boehrer observes, animals in literature tend to be absolved of any actual materiality, even if they 'derive their meaning from a specific set of agrarian conditions,' instead being 'reconstituted within the realm of the symbolic […] becoming a figurative placeholder for the human soul.'[5] The animals of Milton's Paradise, and, more importantly, their moral and ethical status are the offspring of this fusion of genres, and, as each kind carries its own associations and connotations, I intend to determine the extent to which certain genres may have impacted upon Milton's portrayal of the non-human animals - not simply as 'figurative placeholders,' but as animate beings with the ability to exercise reason and possessing many qualities far superior to man's own.

Central to this chapter on the Hexaemeron, then, is the study of the Hexaemeron as a genre itself, and more importantly, the key teachings established in Milton's source texts. The seventeenth-century vogue for hexaemeric literature coincided with doubts about Scriptural authority and legitimacy in the latter half of the century. Renaissance writers looked to early Christian doctrine and toward classical 'parallels' or equivalents of the creation story for inspiration, and Milton's own use of both classical and Patristic sources is of course well documented by scholars. [6] In his seminal (though now somewhat dated) monograph *Milton's Earthly Paradise,* Joseph E. Duncan presents an exhaustive list of the myriad sources belonging to or related to the hexaemeric tradition from which Milton allegedly worked, including, most importantly, biblical exegetes and commentators. We know for sure that Milton possessed, had access to or is very likely to have read the key works of the major early church fathers, including Sts. Basil, Ambrose, and Augustine. Jackson .C. Boswell lists five of St Basil's works in his catalogue of Milton's library readings as items verified to have been 'owned' by Milton or at least held in his temporary possession. This is the largest

[5] Boehrer, *Animal Characters,* p. 181.
[6] Joseph E. Duncan, *Milton's Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972), pp.22-24.

number of works by the early church fathers of which we have definite evidence of Milton having read and used. Boswell further confirms that Milton owned or at least had in his temporary possession some five of Basil's many works, including his *Homiliae IX in Hexaemeron*; and in her discussion of Milton's hexaemeric sources, Sister Mary Corcoran makes the case for the inclusion of another two.[7] Basil's *Hexaemeron* set a precedent for the commentators and exegetes that followed, teaching that every aspect of the Creation points to the Creator: or, as Duncan states, 'a universe in which even the smallest plant pointed to the goodness, wisdom, and artistry of the Creator.'[8] This is a sentiment that pervades many of the writing of the early church fathers and indeed Milton's own representation of the non-human animals in Paradise: the idea that God's beneficence or power is present in, and can be observed in, all earthly flora and fauna. With regards to the moral and ethical status of animals, the early church fathers are fairly unanimous in their agreement that man's possession of reason, his capacity to think and act rationally, his ability to communicate through language and speech and his upright stature are all indicators of man's ultimate superiority over non-human animals, or 'brute beasts.' The following quotation, taken from St Augustine's *De Genesi ad Litteram,* summarises this perfectly:

> Scripture says that man was made on the same day as the beasts; for they are all alike earthly animals. Yet on account of the excellence of reason, according to which man is made to the image and likeness of God, it speaks of him separately, after it had finished speaking of the other earthly animals…[9]

Several of the early church fathers extol the virtues that non-human animals possess in lengthy dialogues: Basil and Ambrose, for example, assert that animals are in possession of

[7] Boswell, pp.5-6. Boswell states that many of the entries for St. Ambrose and St. Augustine are 'questionable;' he refers the reader to Mary Corcoran's *Milton's Paradise with Reference to the Hexaemeral Background* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1945) for the argument for their inclusion.
[8] Duncan, p.47.
[9] St Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram* in *St Augustine on Genesis: The Fathers of the Church* trans. Roland J. Teske (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1991) pp.182-183.

certain qualities or skills that humans lack, such as their innate knowledge of poisonous plants and ability to seek out and use medicinal plants. The stag may know to eat of the olive tree when he is unwell in order to get better; so too do sheep and goats apply certain herbs to remedy wounds made by poisoned weapons: animals use food as medicine, as Ambrose notes in his discourse on the third day of Creation. This is not, however, indicative of the presence of reason, he maintains. He asks:

> If irrational animals know what herbs may serve as medicine or what methods may bring assistance to them, can man, who is born with the faculty of reason, be ignorant of this? Or, is he such a stranger to truth that he cannot at all perceive what are the uses especially designed for everything? Or is he so ungrateful for the good things provided by nature?'[10]

The expression of innate knowledge and seemingly logical or intelligent behaviour is not, for Ambrose, equivalent in any way to reason. He further states in his ninth Homily that though non-human animals are capable of expressing 'maximum feeling' as humans are, they still lack proper reason and this therefore renders them inferior to humans.[11] In his *De Paradiso* Ambrose goes on to question the presence of non-human animals in Paradise, citing their existence as a 'disturbing' idea for some: he questions why animals have been bestowed 'with the privilege of living there,' in the same manner as man, but unambiguously concludes that, first and foremost, the non-human animals are representative of our irrational senses, base desires and 'diverse emotions,' whilst Paradise itself represents the metaphorical soul. The concept of paradise as both a physical and allegorical or spiritual entity is commonplace in many of the works of the church fathers.

We can, then, be assured that Milton had access to, or owned, some of the key texts

[10] St. Ambrose, 'Homily V', *Hexaemeron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, trans. by John J Savage: (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1961) p.98.
[11] St. Ambrose, 'The Ninth Homily,' in *Hexaemeron, Paradise and Cain and Abel* trans. by John J Savage: (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1961) p.241.

written by the early church fathers: it is indeed possible that some of these views find their way into Milton's Paradise. The views expressed by Aristotle and the early church fathers at times appear to be contradictory in their discussion of humans and non-human animals: more often than not, this is because the author is engaging with and dissecting common thought or popular opinion upon a particular subject, as Aristotle does in his *Politics.* Furthermore, many of the accounts appear to advocate kindness towards animals, or to praise animals for their 'intrinsic' value; but these descriptions are often laced with underlying anthropocentrism.

Whilst several of the church fathers recognise and indeed argue for the general recognition of the qualities non-human animals possess, and indeed their propensity for skills such as self-medication, these values are more often than not still discussed in terms of their relation or benefit to human life. This is made quite evident in Ambrose's statement from the previous page: man, he claims, fails to perceive 'the uses especially designed for everything.' St Augustine similarly embodies this when he addresses the following question in his *De Genesi contra Manichaeos*: 'What need was there for God to make so many living things, either in the waters or on the land, that are not necessary for men? And also many that are harmful and frightening?'[12] Augustine's reply initially appears to place emphasis on the intrinsic value and / or beauty of each and every creature. 'God,' he states, 'governs this universe much better than each of us governs his own house,' and those animals that appear 'harmful or superfluous,' though 'not necessary for our house, nonetheless complete the integrity of this universe,' and 'are beautiful in their kind.'[13] Initially, this appears to be a more bio-centric moral position: a moral position that recognises the value of each and every creature in the universe for what it is. If we delve deeper, however, Augustine goes on to describe how even the harmful animals are useful, for from them 'we draw punishment or training or fear.' Once

[12] St. Augustine of Hippo, *De Genesi contra Manichaeos,* Book I, in *St Augustine on Genesis: Two Books on Genesis against the Manichees and on the Literal Interpretation of Genesis: An Unfinished Book* trans. Ed. By Roland J. Teske (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1991) (pp.72-4).
[13] Augustine, p.74.

more, animals are reduced to the benefits they can provide humans.

The views maintained by Ambrose appear on the surface to place a high value upon non-human animal status in the sense that they recognise unique qualities and skills the non-human animals possess and appear to condemn the ill-treatment of non-human animals. But these views in fact are suggestive of 'indirect duties' towards animals, or, an entirely anthropocentric approach to animal husbandry and welfare not dissimilar to ecologist Arne Naess' theories of 'deep' or true and 'light' or shallow ecology.[14] An example of light or 'shallow' ecology, for example, would be human conservation of fossil fuel resources for the benefit of future human generations: environmentalism that benefits humans first and foremost. In this case, more often than not kindness towards animals is encouraged for several different reasons, and none of them involve genuine concern for the welfare of non-human animals. St Thomas Aquinas, Gary Steiner notes, likely advocated the kind treatment of animals on the grounds that showing cruelty towards animals makes humans in turn more likely to treat their fellow humans with cruelty.

Another example, one which Steiner has previously discussed in relation to metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, argues that several of the Pre-Socratic poets and philosophers, including Pythagoras (famously vegetarian) advocated kindness toward animals only because of the potential ramifications both for the moral standing of the human soul in its human form and for the transmigration of the soul (or reincarnation, as we might call it).[15] The idea that a human might mistreat a fellow creature whose body contains the soul of a human friend is an abhorrent prospect. Empedocles, too, shared this view: the 'continuity of souls' between all living creatures, he argued, whether from human to human or from animal to human or vice versa, is grounds for 'duties' towards animals.[16]

[14] Robert Wilcher, 'The Greening of Milton Criticism', *Literature Compass*, 7.11 (2010), 1020-1034 (p.1021).
[15] Gary Steiner, *Anthropocentrism and its Discontents: The Moral Status of Animals in the History of Western Philosophy (*Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005), p.46.
[16] Steiner, pp.47-48.

Here I have attempted to outline the key teachings relating to non-human animal cognitive function and intrinsic value within the hexaemeric tradition from which Milton is working and responding to: a tradition shaped by anthropocentric theology based upon the description of man's dominion over the Earth as set out in Genesis. Clearly Milton is heavily influenced not only by the early church fathers and their biblical commentaries; Milton's natural philosophy as it is appears in *Paradise Lost* cannot be defined by or limited to one particular school of thought, but is instead influenced and shaped by a myriad of different sources, the major teachings of which I have just outlined.

Paradigms Lost: Diverging from Orthodox Theology

Milton's re-interpretation of the hexaemeric genre, though shaped and influenced by this generic background, ultimately constitutes a rejection, or, at the very least, a challenging of some of the most mainstream natural philosophy of the early modern period. As Gordon Campbell has noted, Milton in his *Artis Logicae* 'adheres to' Aristotle's theory of the 'four causes' of all created things, but he rejects the 'distribution' of Aristotelian causes; furthermore, Milton concludes that the cause of creation is material in nature, and that this material cause is God.[17] Similarly, Milton's view that 'nothing is no cause at all,' is in accordance with the views of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, but the *creatio ex deo* position that he expresses in *De Doctrina Christiana* is based upon an insistence there is a material cause to all things and therefore differs from Augustine and Aquinas in this way.[18] Campbell further notes that Milton's views on the Creation of the Son at first appear consistent 'with Patristic and Reformation views on the subject,' but that ultimately Milton's anti-

[17] Gordon Campbell, 'Milton's Theological and Literary Treatments of the Creation,*' The Journal of Theological Studies*, 30 (1979) 128-137 (p 131).
[18] Campbell, 'Milton's Theological' p.130.

Trinitarianism, made evident in his discussion of the Son as 'secondary' is not in accordance with these views and therefore diverges from them considerably.[19] The resulting monism and animistic materialism we observe in the mature Milton and in his epic is the product of his engagement with pre-Socratic, Patristic and Hebraic thought as well as the influence of contemporary debates of the period surrounding metaphysics or 'first philosophy' as it was alternatively known.[20] There is little reason to doubt that Milton would not have engaged with or at least been aware of current trends concerning one of the century's biggest philosophical debates: indeed, Stephen Fallon goes so far as to assert that the early modern metaphysical debate was the 'indispensable context of Milton's materialism,' though he admits that Milton's materialism 'is best understood as a synthesis of ideas, some of them borrowed from Aristotle and the Neo-Platonists […] which countered the threats to free will and theism posed by the new science and emerging mechanism.'[21] Milton's theology is certainly informed by and shares elements with mainstream contemporary thinking in this respect, but ultimately, Milton's stance is defined by his rejection of Cartesian and Hobbesian mechanism as well as his ultimate rejection of dualism in his later life in favour of monism.

The author of *Paradise Lost* is, theologically speaking, worlds away from the Neoplatonism and dualistic tendencies that characterise the discussion of the body and soul in his 1634 *Comus*. The general consensus among Milton scholars is that Milton moved toward a monistic and materialist-animist philosophical stance around the late 1650s, coinciding with the estimated date of composition of his theological treatise *De Doctrina Christiana* and also roughly with the beginning of his composition of *Paradise Lost.*[22] Milton's materialist animism is most evident, Fallon asserts, in his description of the Creation episode in Book

[19] Campbell, 'Milton's Theological' (p.134).
[20] Stephen M. Fallon, *Milton Among the Philosophers: Poetry and Materialism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), p.3.
[21] Fallon, pp.5; 79.
[22] Fallon, p.79; James Holly Hanford, 'The Date of Milton's *De Doctrina Christiana*,' *Studies in Philology* 17 (1920), 309-19 (p.312).

VII: the vigour with which he describes the 'teeming' earth and emergence of the creatures is testament to his 'unshakeable animist conviction,' so much so, Fallon maintains, that 'we can be certain Milton would have opposed Cartesian mechanism.' [23] I am in agreement with Fallon here: the philosophical position that Milton arrives at is ultimately his own unique form of animist materialism, produced in response to the mechanist theory that pervaded popular thought during the period. It is in his portrayal and treatment of non-human animals that Milton diverges most from Patristic thought and in particular, from Aristotelian and Augustinian teaching that he at other times draws inspiration from. Gary Steiner has previously argued that these philosophers, and in turn St Thomas Aquinas, Descartes and Kant, are all connected by their overriding belief that 'only human beings are worthy of moral consideration, because all and only human beings are rational and endowed with language.'[24] The following quotation is taken from a translation of Descartes' *Discourse on the Methods of Rightly Conducting the Reason, and Seeking Truth in the Sciences:*

> They would never be able to use words or other signs by composing them as we do to declare our thoughts to others […] this does not arise from lack of organs, for we can see that magpies and parrots can utter words as we do, and yet cannot speak like us, that is, showing that they are thinking by what they are saying […] this shows not only that animals have less reason than man, but that they have none at all […] it shows that they have no mental powers whatsoever, and that it is nature which acts in them, according to the disposition of their organs.[25]

In his landmark monograph *Animal Minds and Human Morals*, Richard Sorabji claims (as previously mentioned) that 'a crisis was provoked when Aristotle denied reason to animals […] a crisis both for the philosophy of mind and for theories of morality.'[26] It is this crisis, he asserts, that led to attempts to justify our consumption and treatment of non-human animals; a

[23] Fallon, pp.125-126.
[24] Steiner, p.2.
[25] René Descartes, *Discourse on the Methods of Rightly Conducting the Reason, and Seeking Truth in the Sciences*, in ed, trans Ian Maclean (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), part V paragraphs 58-59 (pp.47-48).
[26] Sorabji, p.2.

crisis that in turn led to the Stoics' argument that animals 'lack syntax,' and that this constituted justification for the killing of animals.[27] Plato's views on non-human animals preceded the 'crisis' invoked by Aristotle, but his hypothesis concerning non-human animal capacity for reason is nonetheless based upon the differentiation between 'animalistic' or 'irrational' tendencies and human rationality. He does not, however, 'make an essential distinction between human beings and animals,' but stresses that humans should not aspire to live a 'base' life focused solely on pleasure, for to do so lowers the human to the status of the animal.[28] There is still, then, a clear hierarchy here, although Plato does assign partial rationality (but not reason proper) to the non-human animal soul and does not deny animals belief, or *doxa*, for belief, he maintained, could be attributed to the 'non-reasoning' soul.[29] This attribution of partial rationality also fits with Plato's belief in metempsychosis. Aristotle denies non-human animals both reason and belief, for, to his mind, belief in itself is manifested of reason; he instead argues that non-human animals merely have 'perception' and 'desire' where human animals have reason, choice, and rationality.[30] Furthermore, animals are inferior to humans because they lack the 'gift' of speech: where humans possess speech, animals merely possess voice.[31]

For fear of getting lost in the 'Lernian bog of fallacies,' that Milton described as the metaphysical debate and so not to stray from the present discussion I will only here consider the consequences of Milton's animism with specific regard to his philosophical position on substance, corporeality and body/soul in relation to the representation of non-human animals in *Paradise Lost* and the wider hexaemeric genre from which Milton is working.[32] I maintain

[27] Sorabji, p.2.
[28] Steiner, pp.54-55.
[29] Sorabji, p.10.
[30] Steiner, p.57
[31] Aristotle, *Politics* in *The Complete Works of Aristotle,* ed.by Jonathan Barnes, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), p.1988.
[32] John Milton, *Prolusions*, in William Kerrigan, John Rumrich and Stephen M. Fallon, eds, *The Complete Poetry and Essential Prose of John Milton*, (New York: Random House, 2007) pp.785-804 (p.801).

that Milton's non-human animals differ from their human animal counterparts only, to use Milton's expression, 'in degree,' though they are 'of kind the same,' much in the same way as Raphael explains is the case between humans and angels:

> Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd
> To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
> To intellectual, give both life and sense,
> Fansie and understanding, whence the Soule
> Reason receives, and reason is her being,
> Discursive, or Intuitive; discourse
> Is oftest yours, the latter most is ours,
> Differing in degree, but of kind the same.
>
> (V.483-90)

Raphael differentiates between the degrees of reason attributed to man and angel respectively: man's reason is defined as discursive, whereas the angels are bestowed with intuitive reason. Though they differ somewhat, both are essentially defined as reason, simply differing in 'degree.' Here I propose that we can extend and apply this theory to Milton's treatment of non-human animals in Paradise, in that it can be demonstrated (through Eve's interactions with the serpent) that Milton's non-human animals possess reason in much the same way as human animals possess reason, and that this therefore establishes a common experience between the two types of animal. If angelic discourse and reason differs in degree from that of man, and, as I shall demonstrate presently, Eve recognises that non-human animals are similarly capable of expressing reason, one might argue that animal reason (both human and non-human), is, at least in Milton's Eden (or in Eve's perception) of the same or similar degree. The fact that Eve is able to observe and understand the expression of reason in animals suggests that the type or degree of reasoning possessed by both human and non-human animals is one and the same; or, if not the exact same, of a similar degree. It is only different in how it is expressed: humans express reason through speech and 'discursive discourse' where non-human animals are incapable of doing so. This does not mean that they

are incapable of expressing reason, however, and Eve is able to observe this. Eve's capacity to observe and understand this suggests that all earthly creatures – that is, both human and non-human animals – possess a reason that is of the same or similar degree: angels, conversely, possess reason of a differing degree, yet it is all reason. It is possible to draw a link between this concept of degree and Sorabji's 'crisis of distinctions.' In Book IX, Eve explicitly makes reference to the 'distinguishing factors,' as we might term them, that the so-called crisis initiated. Confronted by a suddenly articulate serpent, Eve expresses her initial surprise at the snake's ability to communicate before immediately launching into the following address:

> What may this mean? Language of Man pronounc't
> By Tongue of Brute, and human sense exprest?
> The first at least of these I thought deni'd
> To Beasts, whom God on thir Creation-Day
> Created mute to all articulat sound;
> The latter I demurre, for in their looks
> Much reason, and in thir actions oft appeers.
>
> (IX.553-559)

Eve's musings are made up of sets of antitheses that portray the perceived divide between man and animal, between the 'brute' irrationality she perceives the animals to have and the 'human' rationality she believes she and Adam possess: the belief that is the hallmark of Cartesian thought and indeed the widely accepted view of many of the church fathers. Her final line, however, suggest a remarkable divergence from this school of thought: the animals, Eve appears to conclude, are not entirely devoid of reason, for in their 'actions and looks' she perceives them to possess an element of rationality and / or reason in one form or another – or, as we might also argue, one degree or another. This statement is embedded in a far longer segment extolling the superiority of human nature in which Eve repeatedly refers to the non-human animals as 'brutal' and as 'beasts,' and it is therefore quite easily discounted; its

presence is, however, highly significant. Similarly, Satan, speaking as the snake, also underestimates and misunderstands God's newly created world and the unique qualities and values attributed to the animals and crucially the capacity for reason Eve recognises:

> I was at first as other Beasts that graze
> The trodden Herb, of abject thoughts and low,
> As was my food, nor aught but food discern'd
> Or Sex, and apprehended nothing high:
> Till on a day roaving the field, I chanced
> A goodly Tree farr distant to behold…
>
> (IX. 571-576)

Satan's rhetoric is entirely designed to make Eve realise and act upon her own supposedly superior status as a human being, and he is at pains to emphasise the absolute inferiority of non-human animals, with their base thoughts and desires, their prone stature, their thoughts of 'nothing high.' Satan praises Eve as 'queen of this universe,' highlighting her absolute dominion over the rest of creation, which is of course false flattery and untrue, but it is an assumption Adam also makes following the Fall (as I shall explore in further detail later) (IX.684). In extolling Eve as the 'mother of science,' Satan further emphasises the absolute rationality and supposedly infinite capacity for reason and intelligence that humans possess, placing non-human animals at an absolute antithesis. He further emphasises the supposed divide between humans and non-human animals by taunting Eve, 'Shall that be shut to man, which to the beast / Is open?'(IX.691-2). Ironically, Satan's trajectory of the 'rise of the serpent' from that of lowly beast to being of superior status and intelligence can be interpreted as a microcosmic parallel of the story of the Fall itself. Adam and Eve are the 'beasts that graze,' consuming the herb that is their food, engaging in sexual intercourse, and 'apprehending nothing high,' as instructed by Raphael: so, too, does Eve stumble across the Tree of Knowledge 'on a day roving the field,' as the serpent claims to have done.

Satan works to challenge Eve's observation of reason in non-human animals, attempting

to invalidate her judgment by stressing the infinite superiority of human animals over non-human animals. Initially, Eve concurs that the 'language of man', at least, is supposedly denied to non-human animals, but appears hesitant about their supposed inability to express 'human sense.' Language, she acknowledges, she thought denied to the 'brute' beasts – but reason, she affirms, is evidently present in the non-human animals. Human sense, she appears to believe, is an entirely probable feat for non-human animals: the evidence is in their looks and actions, it is apparent even in their muteness, for it resides in their appearance and gaze: she resolves that there can reason be observed. We can attribute great moral and ethical weight to the lines 'in their looks / Much reason, and in their action oft appears.' (IX.558-9). The context within which Milton uses the word 'appear,' and the semantic value of the word in this particular context is of crucial importance. The most probable of the interpretations are twofold. Firstly, we might deduce that Milton is using the word 'appear' in the manner of suggesting the potential presence of reason: 'to be to the mind, or in one's opinion, to be taken as, to seem.'[33] Conversely, and, to the manner of my mind, more probably, Milton may be using the word in the following sense, chiefly, that 'appear' translates as 'clear or evident to the understanding; to be plain, manifest.'[34]

On the surface either interpretation, or both, seem plausible. I would suggest however that Milton's use of the intensifiers much', and 'oft' as in 'much reason […] oft appears' arguably constitutes evidence enough that we can ascribe the latter meaning to this statement. If there was only an appearance of reason in the sense that it was only a possibility, then it seems logical to deduce that it would be unquantifiable; 'much' reason that is 'oft' occurring, however, suggests a quantifiable concept, and indeed that said concept is naturally, principally occurring. The use of these intensifiers suggests that reason is indeed evident for

[33] *OED Online*, Oxford University Press <www.oed.com> [Accessed 12 November 2018].
[34] Interestingly, the sixteenth-century example cited by the *OED* for this particular semantic definition, 'to be clear or evident' is taken from Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Book II: 'Our greatness will appear then most conspicuous.' (l.257). *OED* <www.oed.com> [Accessed 12 November 2018].

not only does it appear, it appears in great quantity or strength. Furthermore, Eve notes that reason is apparent not only in the animals' looks, but in their actions: she observes evidence of their possession of reason in multiple mediums and in great quantity. It does not appear, then, as in Platonic philosophy, to be the 'appearance' of reason (as in the mere suggestion of) or of a capacity similar to reason, but reason itself – differing perhaps in degree, but of the same kind. Steiner has previously noted that the pre-Socratic poets 'acknowledge differences between human beings and animals, but they do not see human reason as the sign of an essential distinction between the two.'[35] I posit that this philosophical stance perfectly encapsulates Milton's portrayal of the non-human animals from Eve's perspective in *Paradise Lost*. Eve makes distinctions between human and non-human animals based on the medium through which reason is transferred – that of speech, or 'language of man,' which she acknowledges is denied to non-human animals. Her distinction is not based upon the presence of reason itself, but rather the medium through which it is expressed. Non-human animals are 'brute' in their inability to use human language: they are not, however, brutal due to a lack of cognitive function. Eve testifies as to the presence of reason in the non-human animals with which she shares the Garden.

In this single sentence, then, Milton's Eve directly engages with the early modern debate surrounding the ethical status of non-human animals, a debate heavily influenced and informed by the writings of the early church fathers and made popular by Descartes. These philosophers remain almost entirely unanimous in their belief that man is superior to beast and that the qualifying element that defines superiority is man's possession of reason. Eve specifically attributes 'reason' to the non-human animals and, furthermore, 'much' reason, suggesting considerable rationality and capacity for reason on the part of the non-human animal. This is evident, she asserts, not only in their actions, evidently referring to displays of

[35] Steiner, p.53.

'rational' behaviour, but in their 'looks' – suggestive, one might argue, of reason in the very soul, of inner reasoning. Some might argue that we could attribute these 'actions' to the displays of perception and/or desire that Aristotle and the Stoics described: actions driven not by reason or belief, but by base desire. But it is absolutely crucial here that Milton specifically has Eve use the word 'reason,' and that he does not attempt to dilute it: it is not something akin to reason, it is not something that appears like reason – it is reason itself. This is fundamental to our discussion of Milton's Eve's stance regarding the moral and ethical status of non-human animals in Paradise, for by explicitly portraying the presence of reason in non-human animals, Milton challenges and engages with centuries of orthodox religious commentary preaching otherwise, suggesting the exact opposite of this. Milton appears to partake in popular philosophical thought in that he recognises lack of language in animals as a differentiating factor between human and non-human animals, but in Eve's monologue he does not use this as grounds for denying reason or rationality to animals, unlike the Stoics and later, in his own period, Descartes. Aristotle may have denied speech to animals and accordingly denied them reason on these grounds, but Milton's exploration of reason in Eve's scenes with the serpent do not appear to follow this trend. Eve's monologues provides a creative medium for Milton to explore different philosophical stances with regards to reason in non-human animals and to present an unorthodox view: whether Milton himself is convinced of these views is another matter, but his exploration of them, through Eve, is a bold statement in itself, and it is concrete evidence of his awareness of and engagement with the philosophical debate.

"Alike Earthly Creatures:" The Shared Edenic Experience

In his annotations on the passage, Alastair Fowler notes that Calvin was of the view that Eve regarded the serpent as one of the domestic beasts as opposed to a truly 'wild' animal, therefore she would not have expressed surprise when the serpent approached her.[36] Lee A. Jacobus in his 1976 *Sudden Apprehension: Aspects of Knowledge in Paradise Lost* cites Calvin's perception of the serpent as a domestic beast as his own reason for considering Eve 'unsurprised' by both the sudden appearance and speech of the serpent.[37] Indeed, Milton's Eve does not initially express surprise at the serpent's approach, for, as Milton states, she is 'used / To such disport before her through the field, / From every beast' (IX, 519-21). Milton's Eve may be accustomed to being surrounded by animals, but I would argue she does not regard the serpent as a 'domestic' and therefore as a tame or semi-tame animal: she admits that she 'knew' the serpent, but that he was 'subtlest beast of all the field,' and she expresses surprise that he is 'so friendly grown above the rest / Of brutal kind, that daily are in sight' (IX.563-5). The serpent is not an animal Eve is accustomed to seeing often, it is not an animal she sees 'daily,' unlike the others, and therefore speech coming from such an elusive animal is indeed a surprise. St John Damascene also stated that prior to the Fall, 'even the serpent was accustomed to man, and approached him more readily than it did the other living creatures, and held intercourse with him with delightful motions.'[38]

J.C. Boswell maintains that St John Damascene's *De Fide Orthodox* is one of the more 'questionable' inclusions for Milton's readings: he considers it doubtful that Milton possessed or indeed read *De Fide,* but nonetheless directs the reader once again to Sister Mary Corcoran's *Milton's Paradise* for further information regarding Milton's possible use of Damascene's work. Corcoran argues that of the late patristic writers, Damascene is the

[36] Fowler, (IX.553-556n).
[37] Lee A. Jacobus, *Sudden Apprehension: Aspects of Knowledge in* Paradise Lost (Mouton: The Hague), 1971 (cited by Fowler in IX.553-556n).
[38] St. John Damascene (John of Damascus), *De Fide Orthodox*, Book II, in *Hilary of Poitiers and John of Damascus: Selected Works*, trans. By E.W.Watson and L. Pullen, from *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, Vol. 9, gen eds P. Schaff and H. Wace (New York: Christian Literature Publishing CO., 1899).

only writer of 'importance' with regard to her discussion of Milton's Paradise, lauding *De Fide Orthodox* for its combination 'of the picturesque and the practical' as well as the 'excellence of his summaries of dogma.' Damascene's work is predominantly influenced by the Cappadocians, most notably, St Basil.[39] I am disinclined to believe that Milton's serpent was, as both first Damascene and later Calvin attest, more accustomed to humans than the other creatures of Paradise, or indeed that the serpent was wont readily to approach humans, for Eve's surprise, as I have discussed, suggests otherwise. Damascene goes on to discuss, however, the shared qualities of humans and animals and the existence of a kind of 'community' between the two:

> Man, it is to be noted, has community with things inanimate, and participates in the life of unreasoning creatures, and shares in the mental processes of those endowed with reason. For the bond of union between man and inanimate things is the body and its composition out of the four elements: and the bond between man and plants consists, in addition to these things, of their powers of nourishment and growth and seeding, that is, by generation; and finally, over and above these links man is connected with unreasoning animals by appetite, that is anger and desire, and sense and impulsive movement.[40]

Indeed, Damascene was not the only one of Milton's assumed sources who intimated that humans and animals shared a universal community of sorts prior to the Fall: Flavius Josephus, first century historian and scholar (37-c.100 AD) makes a similar comment about this shared 'language.' J.C. Boswell confirms that Milton definitely had either permanently or temporarily in his possession (and / or library holdings) a copy of Flavius Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews*, a work which was translated into a folio by Thomas Lodge in 1602 and published in at least nine editions in the seventeenth century due to its enduring

[39] Sister Mary I. Corcoran, *Milton's Paradise with Reference to the Hexameral Background* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1945), p.8.
[40] St. John Damascene (John of Damascus), *De Fide Orthodox,* Book II.

popularity.[41] Corcoran notes that Josephus' work was oft-cited by early modern biblical commentators because it was renowned for containing ideas that did not fit within the general 'trends of hexaemeric thought.'[42] In the first chapter of Book I of the *Antiquities*, 'From the Creation to the Death of Isaac,' Josephus begins by describing the 'Constitution of the World,' noting that 'all the living creatures had one language,' and that 'at that time the serpent, which then lived together with Adam and his wife, showed an envious disposition, at his supposal of their living happily, and in obedience to the commands of God.'[43] Josephus appears to echo Damascene in that he, too, believes the serpent to have been particularly familiar with Adam and Eve – indeed, it could be interpreted that he suggests the serpent even lived in close quarters with them, though we might also simply interpret this proximity as the wider shared Garden itself. William Whitson, in his 1737 edition of *The Works of Flavius Josephus,* glosses these lines accordingly:

> Hence it appears that Josephus thought several, at least, of the brute animals, particularly the serpent, could speak before the Fall. And I think few of the more perfect kinds of those animals want the organs of speech at this day. Many inducements there are also to a notion that the present state they are in is not their original state; and that their capacities have been once much greater than we now see them, and are capable of being restored to their former condition.[44]

This idea of the non-human animals having once possessed far greater abilities and capacities in their prelapsarian state, including the capacity to share community or language with man as perpetuated by Josephus and Damascene appears to be reflected in Eve's discussion of the serpent's ability to speak. The notion of a shared language or understanding – a sense of mutual knowledge and respect – is reflected in both Adam's and Eve's descriptions of knowing and understanding the animals. Adam describes this earlier in the poem when he

[41] Alexandra Halasz, 'Lodge, Thomas (1558–1625)' *ODNB* <http://www.oxforddnb.com> [accessed 26 Sept 2016].
[42] Corcoran, p.13.
[43] William Whitson, *The Works of Flavius Josephus* (London: Routledge, 1890), p.28.
[44] Whitson, p.28.

retells his experience of naming the animals. This shared knowledge or mutual understanding is then further paralleled in Eve's observation of the sense of reason she perceives in the looks and actions of the animals. Importantly, Eve is surprised to learn of the serpent's ability to communicate using human speech, but not at the serpent's ability to reason, as previously discussed. It could be contested that it is only through the serpent's speech that she first becomes acquainted with the idea of a 'reasoning' animal, but this is not the case: her encounter prompts her to reconsider her experience of reason in other 'mute' animals, which she professes to having witnessed. The serpent expresses human reason through the medium of human speech, with a 'tongue made not for speech,'(749) but retains his animal form, defying all theological reason:

> How dies the Serpent? Hee hath eat'n and lives,
> And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns,
> Irrational till then. For us alone
> Was death invented? Or to us denied
> This intellectual food, for beasts reserv'd? (IX.764-68)

Here, Eve appears to contradict her earlier declaration regarding her perception of 'reason' in some form in the mute beasts. These last few lines perfectly summarise the Cartesian mindset: in her self-superiority, she refuses to acknowledge the possibility that she and the serpent may be more alike than unalike, and her indignation is evident. Eve's own sense of self-superiority, which translates as downright ignorance and self-importance is fully realised in this passage, and Milton's use of irony is not lost on the reader here: 'What fear I then, rather what know to fear / Under this ignorance of good and evil' (IX. 773-4). Eve's initial surprise and acknowledgment of the presence of reason in animals recedes to give way to indignation, distrust, and eventually, curiosity and self-entitlement. Adam and Eve, on the brink of temptation, fall into the trap of believing themselves to be vastly superior to the other earthly animals - to being nearer to God and the angels than to the rest of the Created beings.

St. Augustine described man and animal 'as alike earthly animals,' and indeed Milton refers to Adam and Eve (and they refer to themselves as) creatures. In this context, I believe that the word 'creature' encompasses several definitions: a creature as a description of a human; as a description of a non-human animal creature (distinct from humans); and thirdly in the sense of a 'creature' as any element of God's Creation (as defined by the *OED*).[45] Milton's use of the word encompasses all three of these definitions at any given point.

In his discussion of the Hexameron, Milton's contemporary Andrew Willett differentiates between 'sensitive creatures [which are] either unreasonable, as the fish and fowles made the fifth day, the beasts and cattell made the sixth day: or the reasonable creatures, man and woman made the sixth day.'[46] In Milton's depiction man and woman are, to all intents and purposes, still animals in the sense that they are creatures of God like all others, but Adam forgets this when he describes himself and Eve as 'us his prime creatures, (IX.940). Indeed, Raphael warns Adam not to seek knowledge that is beyond his own intellectual capacity and status, advising him in almost reproachful manner to be 'lowly wise,' promising him that one day he and Eve may, 'improved by tract of time […] winged ascend,' but for now to 'enjoy [their] fill what happiness this happy state / Can comprehend, incapable of more' (V.498; 503-504).

Joseph E. Duncan in his *Milton's Earthly Paradise* describes Ambrose's depiction of Adam as 'a kind of angel who lived in a supernatural state of grace, breathed ethereal air, spoke face to face with God.'[47] Milton differs from Ambrose here: his Adam is undeniably a creature, though a human creature, and Raphael is deployed from Heaven for the very task of advising Adam against thoughts of higher pursuits and other worlds. Man's own arrogance and desire to further elevate himself above the other creatures is ultimately his downfall.

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[45] *OED* <www.oed.com> [Accessed 12 December 2017]
[46] Andrew Willet, *Hexapla in Genesim & Exodum* (London: Printed by Haviland & sold by Grismond at the signe of the Gun in Ivie Lane, 1633) Reproduced courtesy of EEBO <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [accessed 29 September 2016], p.1.
[47] Duncan, pp.47-48.

Elsewhere, Ambrose states that the animals were brought to Adam by divine power, not by some kind of natural subjection. Adam may have possessed the due diligence and sentience, the 'application of sober logic,' necessary to name the animals, 'in order that [he] may be induced to form a judgment on all of them,' but he did not, and could not, gather them together in order to do so: that power lies with God.[48] John Damascene similarly states that man, whilst he may reign as 'king' over the earthly creatures, is subject to a higher king.[49]

Milton's Adam, Gordon Campbell has previously asserted, is guilty of what he terms 'the sin of anthropocentricity' when he incorrectly assumes that the world was created purely for him and Eve to enjoy; so, too, is Satan mistaken when he laments man's apparent good fortune in inheriting this new and perfect world. Milton's aim as expressed in *De Doctrina Christiana*, as Campbell re-affirms, is to above all else promote God's goodness and creative prowess, and Milton 'uses dissent from this view' by making Adam's anthropocentricity evident in the following statement: 'Us his prime creatures / Dignified so high, / Set over all his works, which in our fall, / For us created, needs with us must fail,' (IX. 940-4).[50] Fowler, too, recognises this sentiment: in his notes on the text, he comments on Adam's evident arrogance when he describes himself and Eve as God's 'prime creature […] set over all his works' that were 'for us created,' noting that Adam is incorrect for he 'forgets the angels,' creations of God who are superior to mankind.[51]

Milton's contemporary John Weemes embarks on a lengthy discussion concerning Adam's dominion over the non-human animals of Paradise in his *The Portraiture of the Image of God in Man.* Man's dominion over the creatures, he claims, 'was not absolute

[48] St. Ambrose, *De Paradiso* in *St. Ambrose: Hexaemeron, Paradise, and Cain & Abel*, trans. By John J. Savage, part of series *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation*, Vol. 42 New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc. (1961), p.330.
[49] St. John Damascene (John of Damascus), *De Fide Orthodox*, Book II.
[50] Gordon Campbell, 'Milton's Theological and Literary Treatments of the Creation,' *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 30 (1979), 128-137 (pp.135-136).
[51] Alastair Fowler, ed, *John Milton's Paradise Lost*, Rev. 2nd. Edn (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), (IX, 938-51n).

dominion,' but rather parallels the status of the Israelites in the Promised Land: 'they who had their inheritance in Israel, had not an absolute and immediate dominion, for it was *Emmanuel*'s land […] God had the absolute dominion: but theirs was *conditionatum*.'[52] Interestingly, Edward Topsell, another of Milton's contemporaries, asserted in his volume *The Historie of foure-footed beastes* the 'Four-footed next before creation of man, as thogh they alone were apointed the Vshers, going immediately before the race of men." [53] This description of the animals as ushers once again reinforces the idea of animals as subservient, yet it also suggests a harmonious and almost protective element to the relationship in that the animals usher the humans into existence safely by paving the way for their arrival. Though Adam exercised some dominion over the non-human animals, then, God was the 'immediate Lord […] he had the supreame dominion and absolute use over all the creatures.'[54]

In Milton's Paradise, man is clearly presented as inferior to the semi-divine angels. The angels may eat of earthly food, but Raphael sets definite boundaries between the angels and humans. Indeed, he warns Adam not to concern himself with matters beyond his own understanding and mental capacity. Adam and Eve, though evidently somewhat superior to the non-human animals purely in that they have been created in God's image, and that they are entrusted with stewardship of the Garden and its animal inhabitants, are still creatures, still animals, though human animals. Milton's presentation of their self-superiority, their folly, and their arrogance distinguishes them from the celestial beings: they are first and

[52] John Weemes, *The Portraiture of the Image of God in Man In his Three Estates of Creation Digested into two parts* (London: Printed by T. Cotes for John Bellamie, and are to be sold at the signe of the three Golden Lyons in Cornehill, neere the Royall Exchange, 1636) Reprinted courtesy of EEBO <www.eebo.chadwyck.com> [Accessed online 25 August 2016].
[53] Edward Topsell, *The Historie of foure-footed beastes Describing the true and liuely figure of euery beast, with a discourse of their seuerall names, conditions, kindes, vertues (both naturall and medicinall) countries of their breed, their loue and hate to mankinde, and the wonderfull worke of God in their creation, preseruation, and destruction. Necessary for all diuines and students, because the story of euery beast is amplified with narrations out of Scriptures, fathers, phylosophers, physitians, and poets: wherein are declared diuers hyerogliphicks, emblems, epigrams, and other good histories, collected out of all the volumes of Conradus Gesner, and all other writers to this present day.* (London: Printed by William Iaggard, 1607), (Epistle, unpaginated) *EEBO.* <www.eebo.chadwyck.com> [Accessed 01 September 2016].
[54] Topsell, unpaginated.

foremost creatures of God's created world, parts in an ordered hierarchy. Concerned that they shall not survive in an environment 'less pure' than that which they are accustomed to, those 'immortal fruits,' Adam is reminded by Michael that God has given him the entire earth to rule over, no 'despicable gift,' (11.340) but crucially Adam and Eve, in their punishment, are reminded that they are merely parts in God's greater plan, creatures of the earth like every other non-human animal, and they share a community with the non-human animals in this way. The following Bible passage, taken from Romans 8 expressly maintains this:

> For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God. For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope, because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God. For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the firstfruits of the Spirit, even we groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.[55]

This passage appears to suggest that the entirety of creation, including all non-human animals, 'groaneth' in an accursed state as humans do. This passage places the blame upon humans, who have 'subjected [them] in hope,' through their use of reason. This is mirrored in Milton's description of the secondary effect Eve's transgression has upon the rest of Creation: 'Earth felt the wound, and nature from her seat / Sighing through all her works gave signs of woe, / That all was lost.' (IX.782-4) This is echoed after Adam commits the original sin: 'Earth trembled from her entrails, as again / In pangs, and nature gave a second groan,' (IX. 1000-01). Milton's language is similar to Romans 8 here: the image of 'groaning' nature. As Fowler notes, the idea, taken from Romans 8:22 'was common' and similarly features in

[55] Romans 8.19-23, (AKJV).

Beaumont's *Psyche* and Gower's *Mirrour*.[56] The image of the entirety of creation collectively suffering as a result of the original sin is highly significant in that it suggests a common experience, a shared sense of community between all creatures and earthly beings, both animate and inanimate, sentient and otherwise. In Romans 8 this idea is developed further: it is said that 'every creature groaneth with us also, and travaileth in pain together,' and that all creatures 'shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption.'[57] This corruption is the self-induced state of sin, and the Bible suggests that all creatures, both human creatures and non-human creatures, exist in this state of sinfulness together as a result of the Original Sin. I shall now discuss this concept of a shared state of fallenness between Milton's humans and non-human animals – the idea of a shared experience of postlapsarian life – in greater detail, through a discussion of the representation of sin.

The Fallen Non-Human Animal and the Case of the Phoenix

The fact that the creatures in the Bible passage are described as being 'subdued in hope' could suggest that the non-human animals were coerced, or deceived, into sinning as Eve was. As we have established that Milton's non-human animals are creatures capable of expressing reason, we might also perhaps assume that they are also capable of expressing choice and are therefore 'free to fall,' much like God's other creations, mankind and the angels. Nowhere in the accounts of the Patristics and indeed the medieval and early modern biblical commentaries is the 'fall' of the non-human animals explored in great detail, if any at all. St Thomas Aquinas explicitly claims that the 'nature' of animals is 'unchanged by man's

[56] Fowler (IX.782-784n).
[57] Romans, 8:21.

sin.'[58] He claims that man's punishment is further intensified by the disobedient nature of the animals. Milton's animals are, on the contrary, most definitely changed by the Fall. Prior to the Fall, Adam and Eve were used to the animals 'sporting' around them, but in postlapsarian Eden, there is a noticeable change in this relationship: the animals are no longer 'in awe / Of man, but fled him, or with countenance grim / Glared on him passing…' (X, 713-14).

In Milton's text, the non-human animals' behaviour appears to be consistent with them having 'fallen' in a similar sense to Adam and Eve. Upon learning of the occurrence of the Original Sin, God sentences the serpent as follows: 'Because thou hast done this, thou art accursed / Above all cattle, each beast of the field,' (X.175-6). We have definite evidence that the serpent is accursed and therefore a fallen creature, yet it is also indicated that the rest of the non-human animals are also cursed, albeit to a lesser degree than the serpent because of the nature of his transgression.

From this description, one might deduce that the non-human animals have also committed some kind of sin for them to be cursed in this way, though this is not made distinct and as such is open to interpretation. As Adam and Eve contemplate their sentence, they witness 'The bird of Jove, stooped from his airy tower, / Two birds of gayest plume before him drove: / Down from a hill the beast that reigns in the woods, / First hunter then, pursued a gentle brace, / Goodliest of all the forest, hart and hind; / Direct to the eastern gate was bent their flight' (XI.185-90). The animals run 'direct to the eastern gate,' toward the exit from Paradise, and it is therefore heavily implied that the animals depart the Garden, foreshadowing Adam and Eve's own impending involuntary departure. Adam also claims that this sight shows that 'some further change awaits us nigh, / Which heaven by these mute signs in nature shows / Forerunners of his purpose,' (XI.193-95). Milton's specific language – 'down from' 'direct' and 'flight' suggest not only frenzied speed and fear but a sense of

[58] *The Summa Theologica of St Thomas Aquinas* 2nd rev. edn, trans by Fathers of English Dominican Province (1920) Reproduced online: unpaginated. <www.dhspriory.org/thomas/summa> [Accessed 15 September 2016].

fated inevitability and purpose. These lines suggest that the non-human animals are similarly banished from the Garden, possibly, we might argue, due to a transgression, to sin. Yet one might also argue that since Adam and Eve have been instructed to hold dominion over all non-human animals, the non-human animals are therefore required to leave Eden with them in order to fulfil God's will. They cannot remain inside Eden as long as Adam and Eve, their 'masters', for all intents and purposes, are outside of the Garden. Similarly, the animals are part of the larger biosphere of Eden and make up one living element of the environment: at the moment of the Fall, the Earth feels the effect, so one could also argue that the animals' behaviour is a physical reaction to the Original Sin akin to the 'wound' that the Earth feels. We may therefore deduce that whilst they do not commit the sin themselves (or at least, this is not made explicit), they are still part of 'Nature,' who, 'from her seat / Sighing through all her Works gave signs of woe,' (IX, 781-2). The non-human animals, as 'Works' of Nature, feel the effects of the Oringinal Sin indirectly, and as part of wider Creation, as opposed to directly committing the sin in the way the human animals Adam and Eve do.

As previously mentioned, there is no specific reference to the non-human animals having eaten of the fruit, or engaged in any kind of original sin: there are only references to their shared experience with man with regard to pain and suffering in any of the Patristics or later biblical exegetes. The only explicit reference to the consumption of the fruit of the Tree as such is found in Rashi's *Commentary* on the Pentateuch, to which I shall now turn. Here, I explore the concept of the fallen non-human animal in relation to the unique case of the phoenix as an 'unfallen' exemption. The following quotation is taken from Book V of *Paradise Lost* and describes Raphael's descent to Earth to converse with Adam:

> Down thither prone in flight
> He speeds, and through the vast Ethereal Skie
> Sailes between worlds and worlds, with steddie wing
> Now on the polar windes, then with quick Fann
> Winnows the buxom Air; till within soare

> Of Towring Eagles, to all the Fowles he seems
> A *Phœnix*, gaz'd by all, as that sole Bird
> When to enshrine his reliques in the Sun's
> Bright Temple, to *Ægyptian Theb's* he flies.
> At once on th' Eastern cliff of Paradise
> He lights, and to his proper shape returns…
>
> (V.266-76)

The defining features and qualities of Milton's portrayal of Raphael as a phoenix are naturally derived from the descriptions of the mythological birds in the classical histories of the ancients, namely those in Herodotus' *Histories* and Pliny's *Natural History*, yet they are also re-informed by early modern hexaemeric narratives such as Guillame Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine,* or *Divine Works and Weeks*. Milton scholarship has hitherto focused primarily upon two specific emblematic qualities attributed to the phoenix: that of the long-established tradition of the phoenix as representative of Christ, and secondly that of the phoenix as symbolic of friendship and loyalty.[59] The most detailed exploration of Milton's portrayal of the phoenix in the most 'animal' sense – that is, in relation to representations and accounts of actual 'birds of Paradise' discovered by New World explorers – remains in Karen L. Edwards' bestiary of *Paradise Lost*. Edwards considers all three of Milton's references to the phoenix found in his poetic works: in *Paradise Lost,* in *Samson Agonistes,* and in the *Epitaphium Damonis,* charting the mythological origins of the life cycle of the phoenix from Herotodus through to Tacitus and Pliny, to Du Bartas and Thomas Browne.

Here, however, I am chiefly concerned Milton's portrayal of the angel Raphael as the long-lived phoenix. On an immediate level, Milton's choice of metaphor categorically reflects the symbolic quality of the phoenix as emblem of friendship, for Raphael expressly fulfils this proverbial symbolism through his role as 'faithful friend', confidante and advisor

[59] See, for example, Malabika Sarkar, *Cosmos and Character in* Paradise Lost (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), pp.134-5, and Karen Edwards' 'Phoenix' in 'Milton's Reformed Animals: An Early Modern Bestiary P-R', *Milton Quarterly* 42:4 (2008) 253-308 (pp. 263-267).

to Adam and Eve. There are, however, further interpretive dimensions to this symbolic portrayal. I build upon traditional interpretations of Raphael's portrayal as a phoenix by considering this symbolic metamorphosis within the context of our chief discussion, that of concept of the 'fallen' animal and of course the wider discussion of the composition of Milton's hexaemeric narrative. I argue that there is in fact a distinctly Hebraic connotation to Milton's Raphael-phoenix metaphor that in turn imbues this metaphor with new and significant meaning in the context of Milton's wider hexaemeric narrative as a whole. Milton's phoenix, as well as his overall portrayal of the non-human animals as 'fallen' I argue, has some of its origins in midrash of the Hebrew Scriptures: his depiction of the phoenix is the product of rabbinical sources as well as classical and contemporary. Chiefly, I examine the significance of these midrash sources in relation to Raphael's role as the 'storyteller', conducting a deeper exploration into Milton's decision to cast Raphael, the 'phoenix' incarnate, with the task of delivering the story of the Creation to Adam and Eve. Ultimately, I reveal the significance of Milton's phoenix metaphor in relation to his own Hebraic knowledge and use of Midrash, arguing for a greater consideration of the potential influence of these works of commentary upon his own reworking of the Genesis story, particularly in light of the discussion of fallen non-human animals.

Malabika Sarkar has previously noted that of each of the four angels Milton includes as major characters, Raphael alone is afforded the most lines and is the most heavily featured. This, she argues, indicates that Raphael 'has multiple functions to perform' including those of friend, teacher, and advisor or instructor, but she also speculates as to other reasons why Raphael is afforded such a prominent role and what further purpose he serves.[60] Karen L. Edwards has argued that the 'demystified and resurrected' phoenix Milton describes in the elegiac *Epitaphium Damonis* is later mirrored in the description of the phoenix in *Paradise*

[60] Sarkar, pp.134-5.

Lost: in Raphael, she claims, there can be found 'a portrait of Charles Diodati,' and this portrayal constitutes Milton's fulfilment of the promise he made his friend: 'that the name of his friend will not be forgotten.'[61] Milton's phoenix metaphor here serves another function: the fulfilment of Milton's vow to his friend, made years before. Yet Milton's phoenix metaphor serves a further, key purpose with regard to his re-adaptation of the Genesis accounts.

The seventeenth century, Jason Rosenblatt has claimed, was the 'Golden Age of Christian Hebraism,' citing the first known *Paradise Lost* commentator, Patrick Hume's commentary of *Paradise Lost* as one of the key indicators of this phenomenon, for it is peppered with Hebrew etymologies and references.[62] Milton's contemporaries rubbed shoulders with key Jewish figures of the day: Samuel Purchas included scholar of Jewish history and law John Selden among the contributors to his great travel work, *Purchas his Pilgrimage,* and Selden was also known to have been a friend of Peter Heylyn of the Royal Society as well as of William Laud. He possessed the ability, Rosenblatt claims, to make friends with a wide variety of people regardless of their political allegiances or indeed of their religion.[63] Indeed, Selden's *De Diis Syris* was a key philological guide for Milton as well as a key source for his catalogue of the pagan gods of the Hebrew Bible.[64] In addition, Milton's description of Zephon, one of the guardian angels stationed within Paradise (Zephon meaning 'hidden' and/or 'searcher') is a name found in the Bible, but it is not that of an angel: it is the grandson of Esau, and taken from the Hebrew Bible. Milton's Zephon, Jason Rosenblatt has argued, is based upon one of Selden's descriptions in *De Diis Syris.*[65] Harris Francis Fletcher has noted the importance of the Buxtorf Bible, which contained all the commentaries written by Rashi,

[61] Edwards, 'An Early Modern Bestiary, P-R' 253-308 (p.267).
[62] Jason P. Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi: John Selden* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006) pp.79.
[63] Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi*, pp. 84; 170.
[64] Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi*, p.78.
[65] Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi,* pp.77-79.

the greatest of medieval rabbinical commentators, as one of Milton's key Hebrew learning sources.[66] Milton's knowledge of the Hebrew Bible, and of the associated commentaries, was considerable: Rosenblatt is confident that Milton's 'competence in biblical Hebrew would have enabled him to read Rashi's commentary' for Rashi's was 'the most accessible primary rabbinic source,' but he also cites multiple works by John Selden as likely influences, including his *Uxor Ebraica* and his *De Jure Naturali et Gentium, Juxta Disciplinam Ebraeorum*, for Milton's poetry and prose texts.[67]

Scholarship focusing on Milton's Hebraic sources in relation to his portrayal of life in Eden has thus far been limited to the study of Milton's use of Hebrew narratives and rabbinical sources in relation to the concepts of Mosaic Law and Pauline theodicy in Milton's re-working of the Genesis narrative. In his seminal text *Torah and Law in Paradise Lost* Jason Rosenblatt argues that Milton's model of Paradise is distinctly Hebraic, stating that the composition of Milton's hexaemeric narrative owes a great deal more to biblical and/or rabbinical commentary than it does to the genre of hexaemeric poetry.[68] The law that governs Paradise, he states, is 'Edenic-Mosaic' for it presents a world in which 'perfect creatures' exist 'under a benign law of life [and can] speak directly with their Creator-God.'[69] Rosenblatt maintains that Milton's prelapsarian Eden is governed by the Hebrew Bible, but that after the Fall, this is superseded by Pauline theodicy (albeit an imperfect one), and the Torah 'becomes a captive text, the Old Testament.'[70] Rosenblatt states that Selden's work heavily influenced Milton's typology, particularly with regard to the central, 'Hebraic' books of *Paradise Lost*. Building upon Rosenblatt's discussion, then, I argue that the precepts of this Edenic-Hebraic model can be extended to apply to the Raphael-phoenix metaphor. Firstly, it is necessary to consider the significance of Milton's decision to exclude the

[66] Harris Francis Fletcher, *Milton's Rabbinical Readings* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930), pp.62-64.
[67] Jason P. Rosenblatt, *Torah and Law in Paradise Lost* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), p.86.
[68] Rosenblatt, *Torah and Law*, p.62.
[69] Rosenblatt, *Torah and Law*, p. 63.
[70] Rosenblatt, *Torah and Law*, p.63.

phoenix from Raphael's account of the creation of the animals.

The absence of the phoenix from this narrative appears at first to be self-explanatory: since the phoenix is a creature of classical, pagan origin, it technically has no place in a Christian epic and its absence from the Garden is therefore justified. The oldest known description of the mythological phoenix originates from Hesiod and is echoed throughout the classics, including another of Milton's key sources, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[71] The motif has been assumed and absorbed into Christian symbolism and is of course most notable in Christianity for its emblematic qualities of renewal and rebirth and therefore its associations with Christ, and so the symbolic phoenix transcends the divide between paganism and Christianity. This transcendence is reflected in Milton's decision to exclude the phoenix from the actual creation scene and to instead portray Raphael as the bird. Though there is no explicit mention of the mythological creature in Milton's description of the creation of the animals, Milton places the phoenix within the subtext of his hexaemeric narrative through his decision to cast Raphael as the very angel who delivers the account of the Creation to Adam and Eve. In creating the Raphael-phoenix metaphor, the notoriously elusive phoenix hovers somewhere on Milton's hexaemeric horizon: never quite appearing, but with its presence nevertheless felt and marked by Raphael's temporary transformation, and ultimately cemented by his role as the Creation storyteller. The 'flaming sword' of Michael, Rosenblatt argues, represents the 'barrier, transparent but impermeable, that keeps Hebraic Eden separate from the fallen world of Christian experience.'[72] Raphael, then, represents both Milton's observation of the barrier between the two 'worlds' but also reflects the permeation of this barrier: in his phoenix form, he is suspended between Hebraic Eden and the fallen world, between classical paganism and Christianity, between two contrasting ideologies or laws: the prelapsarian Mosaic Law that governs Eden and the postlapsarian Christian existence

[71] Roelof Van Den Broek, *The Myth of the Phoenix According to Classical and Early Christian Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 1971) p.76.
[72] Rosenblatt *Torah and Law*, p.62

governed by the Gospel.

Harris Francis Fletcher has argued that there is substantial evidence to suggest that Milton follows Rashi's commentary very closely in certain aspects of his hexaemeric narrative: some of the more specific details, he notes, are to be found in Milton's account of the creation of the animals, most notably, in his description of the worms and of the birds, where he incorporates fragments of natural history found in Rashi's commentary and employs them.[73] One such fragment pertaining to the phoenix can be found in the Book of Iyov, or Job, in which the phoenix is briefly mentioned by Job himself: 'And I said, I will perish with my nest, and I will multiply days as the phoenix.' (Iyov 29:18). Rashi's commentary on this statement is as follows:

> And I will multiply days as the phoenix: This is a bird named phoenix, upon which the punishment of death was not decreed because it did not taste of the Tree of Knowledge, and at the end of one thousand years, it renews itself and returns to its youth.[74]

This description mirrors those of Hesiod and Ovid almost verbatim. Yet Rashi's Commentary is unique among commentaries and indeed classical Pre-Socratic poetry in that his is the only one that claims that of all of the creatures that inhabited Eden, the phoenix was the only creature that declined to eat of the tree of knowledge, and that it therefore remained unfallen and immortal – a Hebrew explanation or justification, perhaps, of the most famous trait of the long-lived classical bird. Rashi makes an associated observation in his commentary on the following lines from the *Bereshith Rabbah* (the first of the collective Midrash Rabbah): 'she took of its fruit, and she ate, and she gave also to her husband with her, and he ate,'

[73] Fletcher, *Milton's Rabbinical Readings,* p.160.
[74] *The Complete Tanach with Rashi*, ed & trans. Rabbi A.J. Rosenberg (New York: Judaica Press, 2007) Iyov 29:18.

(Bereshith 3:6). Rashi notes that the 'also' of 'she gave also to her husband' is meant "to include the cattle and beasts."[75] Rashi sources this statement from the Bereshith Rabbah:

> 'Also' is an extension; she gave the cattle, beasts, and birds to eat of it. All obeyed her and ate thereof, except a certain bird named hol (phoenix), as it is written, "Then I said: I shall die with my nest, and I shall multiply my days as the hol – E.V. 'phoenix' (Iyov, 29. 18).[76]

Rashi makes it unwaveringly clear that it was the phoenix alone that refused to eat of the Tree when encouraged to by Eve, and that as a result the phoenix was 'rewarded' with eternal life. None of Milton's other hexaemeric sources mention this: it appears to be a phenomenon limited to Rashi's commentary alone. As we can be confident that Milton's knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and indeed quite possibly rabbinical commentary is extensive, we might deduce that Milton's decision to withhold the phoenix from the account of the creation of the animals and to instead place the phoenix within the wider context of the hexaemeric narrative reflects this. In designating Raphael as the angel who delivers the narrative and by likening him to the symbolic phoenix, Milton acknowledges the refusal of the phoenix to eat of the Tree, for no angel ate of the Tree. The phoenix of the metaphor exists in a semi-Hebraic, semi-Christian state: it is the bizarre product of combined Mosaic and Pauline Laws, bridging the gap between Torah and Old Testament, between pre- and postlapsarianism. Milton avoids the complications that placing the phoenix directly within the narrative would pose: instead, this classical-Christian symbolic bird is cast as the storyteller Raphael and so assumes a central part in the hexaemeric narrative.

If we are to assume that the animals of Milton's narrative are, in accordance with Rashi, fallen because they too ate from the Tree, then Milton's choice to cast an angel as a phoenix makes perfect theological sense. The same is also true if the animals did not eat of the tree,

[75] Rosenberg, *The Complete Tanach*… (Bereshith 3:6).
[76] Genesis Rabbah 19:5, *Midrash Rabbah: Genesis 1* trans. Rabbi Dr. H. Freedman (London: The Soncino Press, 1983) pp.151-152.

for by association, as part of God's wider Creation, they are negatively impacted by the Original Sin through no fault of their own, which Milton makes quite clear: 'all her Works gave signs of woe'(IX.782). To compare the angel with the phoenix is to recognise the respectively divine and immortal qualities of them both, for to compare an angel to one of the fallen animals would be to deny the angel its divinity and its immortality. Satan is, of course, set up as an immediate contrast to Raphael, 'sat like a Cormorant' upon the branch of a tree overlooking the Garden. Satan's fallen cormorant constitutes a perverse mirroring of Raphael's arrival in 'phoenix' form. Milton's unfallen angels are unchanged and unaffected by the shift between 'laws' following the instance of the original sin: they, like the phoenix, bridge the divide between the two states of existence, between Hebraic Eden and the 'new' Eden. By likening one of the angels to a phoenix, then, Milton emphasises the transcendent Christian symbolism of this bird. The unfallen phoenix is governed both by the Mosaic Law of prelapsarian Eden and by the new law.

The Mosaic Law, Rosenblatt argues, 'held a promise of life for the obedient and a curse for the disobedient,' which is mirrored both in the respective fates of the good and bad angels and in the fate of Adam, Eve, and the fallen animals. [77] Raphael and the phoenix, however, remain 'obedient' to this original law, for they have not eaten of the Tree and are therefore immortal, whilst the other non-human animals are cursed.

Only in Rashi's *Commentary* is it explicitly mentioned that the non-human animals of Paradise also ate of the tree. Eve, Rashi claims, 'gave also' to the beasts, therefore leading them into temptation and to sin. The 'mute signs in nature' that Adam and Eve observe directly reflect this, and the animals' path toward the Eastern gate confirms their fate. Milton's non-human animals are clearly presented as fallen creatures: they are afforded layers of complexity and moral depth not found in the Patristic or Pre-Socratic sources. Milton's

[77] John Milton, *Christian Doctrine*, in *The Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. By Don M. Wolfe (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953-83), vol. 6 (pp.515-20).

humans and non-human animals are joined in their fallenness as a direct result of Adam and Eve's consumption of the forbidden fruit, and food in general plays a key part in both the formation and the changing of of the ever-shifting 'community' that exists between humans and non-human animals in both the pre- and post-lapsarian worlds, most notably with regards to vegetarianism.

Prelapsarian Vegetarianism and 'Sinful' Meat Eating

In early modern England, the consensus was that the consumption of meat was symbolic of the fallen and sinful nature of humankind: some biblical commentators argued that humans became carnivorous following the Flood, whilst others believed it was an immediate change following the Fall.[78] Keith Thomas asserts that vegetarianism was thus promoted by some Christian teachings and indeed in the classical Roman and Greek literature familiar to early modern readers, and that towards the end of the seventeenth century, vegetarianism and man's 'right' to kill and consume animals was a hotly debated topic.[79]

Hesiod's portrayal of a bucolic vegetarian existence in the *Works and Days* is perhaps one of the accounts closest in description to Milton' own portrayal of prelapsarian vegetarianism and lifestyle. Hesiod's Golden Age existence is characterised by its 'fruitful grainland [that] yielded its harvest to them / of its own accord; this was great and abundant,' its 'golden generation of mortal people,' who 'took their pleasure in festivals, / and lived without troubles,' and 'free from all sorrow' (112-117).[80] In the subsequent Ages, the Heroes excelled their Silver and Bronze forbears in every way possible: they were 'half-gods' and though

[78] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World: Changing Attitudes in England 1500-1800* (London: Penguin, 1984), p.289.
[79] Thomas, p.292.
[80] *Theogeny* and *Works and Days*, trans, ed. by Martin L. West, Penguin World Classics Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008),

some fell, some also prospered and resided ‘at the end of the world,’ in a country of ‘fruitful grainland’ (168; 171). Throughout the *Works and Days,* Hesiod continues to describe the earth as ‘the fertile earth,’ prior to each introduction of a new Age of man, but by the fifth age, the Iron age, human sin has begun to breed famine and plague as a consequence, and furthermore, ‘fish, and wild animals, and the flying birds, / they feed on each other, since there is no idea of justice among them,’ (277-8). This description is mirrored in Milton’s description of the violence between the animals following the Fall:

> Beast now with Beast gan war, and Fowle with Fowle,
> And Fish with Fish; to graze the Herb all leaving,
> Devourd each other; nor stood much in awe
> Of Man, but fled him, or with count’nance grim
> Glar’d on him passing…
>
> (X.710-14)

In prelapsarian Paradise, Adam and Eve dine on ‘savoury fruits,’ ‘plant and juiciest gourd,’ ‘fruit of all kinds,’ of ‘whatever earth all-bearing mother yields,’ (V 304; 327; 338;341) in much the same way as people live in Hesiod’s Golden Age. Adam and Eve are presented as vegetarian, and, crucially, so are the non-human animals: the herbs and fruits of the earth are clearly demarcated as food for all creatures, both human and non-human, as they are in Hesiod. In Milton’s postlapsarian world, we first learn of the end of non-human prelapsarian vegetarianism through the ‘mute signs in nature,’ most notably, the pursuit of the hart by the lion (XI, 189-90). The irrevocability of Adam and Eve’s transgression is now made transparent: non-human vegetarianism has come to an end, and the relationship between man and non-human animal has been irreversibly changed, echoing the Iron Age of the *Works and Days.* Whilst some biblical commentators argued that man remained herbivorous during the period following the Fall, others maintained that, since Abel was described as a keeper of animals and herdsman, that man did become carnivorous immediately following the Fall, and

furthermore that the 'liberty of flesh' God prescribed to Noah was simply the 'renewal of an earlier permission.'[81] The condition that Milton appears to describe in *Paradise Lost* is, I argue, more aligned with the latter view.

The early church fathers are almost entirely unanimous in their agreement that animals are provided solely for man's use, and this of course includes the consumption of animals and animal products, though some of them, such as Ambrose, note that vegetarian food is indeed 'wholesome and useful, too, in that it wards off disease and prevents indigestion.'[82] St Thomas Aquinas argues that man had no 'bodily need' of non-human animals prior to the Fall, but that the animals were instrumental in that their presence provided him with 'experimental knowledge of their natures.'[83] St John Damascene claims that the animals were specifically created for man's use because God, in his omniscience, knew that man would require the use of animals following the Original Sin. On the contrary, Milton's contemporaries, the early modern commentators Andrew Willet and John Weemes, place greater emphasis on justifications for postlapsarian meat-eating in their respective commentaries. In his *Hexapla upon Genesis* (1595) Willet claims that 'the plants and herbs had lost the first natural vigour and strength,' following the Fall, and that therefore 'the food of flesh beganne now to be more necessary.'[84] John Weemes similarly claims that 'it is lawful for men to hunt after the beasts and to catch them now, because that way he recovers the right over them again, that he had at the beginning.'[85] Furthermore, in response to questions about the reason for the presence of non-human animals in the prelapsarian world, (in which they apparently served no useful function for man) Weemes claims that man's use of animals was at this time 'for the matter of the praising of God.' Willet argues that though man had no

[81] Thomas, p.289.
[82] Ambrose, 'Fifth Homily,' *Hexaemeron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel,* p.88.
[83] *The Summa Theologica of St Thomas Aquinas* 2nd rev. edn, trans by Fathers of English Dominican Province (1920) [Online Edition 2008] (no page numbers).
[84] Willet, *Hexapla in Genesim,* p.87.
[85] Weemes, p.233.

'bodily need' for animals, not 'for clothing […] nor for food, nor to carry him about,' he had need of the animals 'in order to have experimentall knowledge of their natures,' directly echoing St Thomas Aquinas.[86] Weemes also affirms that non-human animals were indeed vegetarian prior to the Fall, and that this state of existence was re-enacted during the animals' time on the Ark during the Flood: here, 'they lived not upon flesh but they agreed all together: which represents to us the first estate and condition of these creatures.'[87] St Thomas Aquinas is unique in his belief that carnivores were indeed carnivorous in the prelapsarian world: 'the nature of animals was not changed by man's sin,' he argues, and it is incorrect to assume that 'those animals which now are fierce and kill others would, in that state have been tame, not only in regard to man, but also in regard to other animals.'[88]

Each of the Patristic accounts is linked by an overt anthropocentrism, and the commentaries of Willet and Weemes are similarly characterised by their anthropocentric tone. As Sorabji states, for the Stoics and later for the Neo-Platonists, human rationality and furthermore the 'justification of animal sacrifice,' were central issues of contention: in the early modern commentaries, it is apparent that the emphasis is placed upon the justification of animal sacrifice for the purposes of consumption.[89] The theologian John Calvin cites Moses and Paul as a leading authority on the justification of animal sacrifice and consumption: 'as Paule also testifieth, the Word of God doth sancitife the creatures unto us, that we may eat them purely and lawfully […] there is no doubt but that the Lord intended to strengthen our faith, when he plainly testifieth by Moses, that he hath granted unto men the free use of flesh, that we might not eat.'[90]

If we turn to midrash, however, there is a significant lack of anthropocentric justifications

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[86] Willet, p.14.
[87] Weemes, p.235.
[88] *The Summa Theologica of St Thomas Aquinas* (no page numbers).
[89] Sorabji, p.2.
[90] John Calvin, *A Commentarie of John Calvine upon the first booke of Moses called Genesis,* translated out of Latine into English by Thomas Tymme (London: John Harison, 1578), p.219. Reproduced courtesy of EEBO. <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [Accessed 25 July 2016].

for animal sacrifice and consumption. In Rashi's Commentary, the glosses on Bereshith (Genesis) are vastly different. Rashi states that God blessed the creatures upon Creation 'because [people] decimate them and hunt them and eat them, they required a blessing; and the beasts also required a blessing, but because the serpent was destined to be cursed, He did not bless them, lest he [the serpent] be included.' Rashi's insistence that the non-human animals are blessed is unique to biblical commentary in that nowhere else is there a reason given as to why the animals are blessed: Genesis itself simply states that it was so. This inclusion of further detail about the reason for God' blessing of the animals is interesting in that it suggests a protectiveness and inclusiveness on the part of God towards the non-human animals. This sentiment proves to be of further significance in light of Rashi's commentary on the following Bereshith passage: 'And to all the beasts of the earth and to all the fowl of the heavens, and to everything that moves upon the earth, in which there is a living spirit, every green herb to eat,") and it was so' (Bereshith 1:29). Rashi glosses these lines accordingly:

> And to all the beasts of the earth: He equated cattle and the beasts to them [to man] regarding the food [that they were permitted to eat]. He did not permit Adam and his wife to kill a creature and eat its flesh; only every green herb were they all permitted to eat equally. When the sons of Noah came, he permitted them to eat flesh.[91]

Rashi here equates man and beast as one and the same in terms of their diet, recognising that they are all creatures of God, at least in the sense that they share a common diet free from meat. Rashi's specific use of the word 'equated' is fundamental here. Much in the same way as man and non-human animal are joined in their consumption of the forbidden fruit and therefore in their sinfulness, so too are they joined in prelapsarian vegetarianism, in an 'equal' state of existence. Rashi's *Commentary* continuously places emphasis on the shared

[91] *The Complete Tanach with Rashi*, ed & trans. Rabbi A.J. Rosenberg (New York: Judaica Press, 2007) Bereshith 1:29-30, p.16.

experience of the humans and non-human animals, highlighting in particular the importance of habits of consumption in both the pre- and post-lapsarian worlds and the subsequent effect this has upon the established hierarchy. Prelapsarian vegetarianism plays a key part in this.

Of all the philosophers, it is Pythagoras' argument for vegetarianism that remains the most well-known diatribe against meat-eating, detailed at length in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, one of Milton's most influential sources. The impassioned Pythagoras implores mankind to see reason and to turn away from their carnivorous habits, urging us to instead feast upon the earth's abundant riches: 'Mortals, do not defile your bodies with sinful eating […] the Earth supplies her riches and nourishing food in abundance; she offers you feasts that demand no slaughter or bloodshed.'[92] Gary Steiner has previously noted that Pythagoras' views appear to be based on the concept of metempsychosis, which would therefore suggest that Pythagoras' advocacy of abstinence from meat is not the result of 'direct' duties, but rather 'indirect' duties as discussed earlier; it is important to note, however, that Pythagoras himself confirmed that he had encountered the souls of deceased human friends in non-human animals.[93] He states, 'The spirit in each of us wanders from place to place; it enters whatever body it pleases, crossing over from beast to man, and back again to beast.'[94] If Pythagoras is advocating vegetarianism on the basis of metempsychosis, then this would make this view ultimately anthropocentric: it is, however, open to debate. It is important to note that Pythagoras places particular emphasis upon the non-human animal experience in his account: he claims that 'the birds could safely fly on their way through the air; the hare never feared to cross over a field; and the fish didn't rise to the bait to be caught on a hook. In a world of peace no traps or snares were there to alarm.'[95] Pythagoras' portrayal of a Golden Age of existence without fear and full of peace is reminiscent both of Hesiod's Golden Age and

[92] Ovid, *Metamorphoses* trans. by David Raeburn (London: Penguin Books, 2004) pp.597-98 (75-82).
[93] Steiner, pp.45-46.
[94] Ovid, p.602 (165-7).
[95] Ovid, pp.598-99. (99-101).

indeed Milton's own Paradise, where animals frolic around Adam and Eve, they being used 'to such disport before [them] through the field, / From every beast, more duteous at [their] call.' (IX.520-1) We might argue that Pythagoras' belief that human and non-human animal souls are interchangeable from one corporal body to another appears to suggest that man and non-human animal exist on the same plane of being: they share a common corporeality and, if we are to assume that human souls are capable of being housed within non-human animal bodies, then we might conclude that the non-human animal body is considered a vessel fit to host the human soul. If, as the Stoics and Patristics claim, animals lack the same mental capacities as humans do (and, in Descartes' belief, lack in any form of soul at all) then surely metempsychosis would not be viable.

Milton does not specifically enter into a discussion on metempsychosis in *Paradise Lost,* however we may form certain conclusions if we are to consider the transience of human and non-human animal souls in relation to Milton's monist theology, which works upon the basis that 'all that exists from angels to earth, is composed of one, living corporeal substance,' as Stephen Fallon states.[96] Milton's monism is made explicit in Raphael's description of the potential for human souls to 'ascend' to a higher, celestial status. If we are to assume that, based on Milton's monism, all living things are made up of one shared substance, then this of course includes all non-human animals. Milton's depiction of prelapsarian vegetarianism at first appears to be more in line with the concept of 'direct' duties towards animals: advocated on the basis that non-human animals are capable of expressing reason and feeling pain much in the same way as humans do, and as Eve observes. Raphael's lengthy speech on the transience and changing status of human souls most definitely contains undertones of metempsychosis, though Milton would probably have expressed this as monism. We might therefore conclude that since Milton's monism dictates that all living beings are composed of

[96] Fallon, p.1.

the one same corporeal substance, metempsychosis is indeed a possibility: or, if not, we can still conclude that Milton's human and non-human animals are, according to monist theory and according to Eve's observation of reason in animals, presented as existing on a somewhat 'equal' level with humans. Vegetarianism, and the multiple arguments for vegetarianism that inform Milton's depiction of pre- and post-lapsarian eating habits, is key to this discussion of moral standing. If we are to stretch Milton's monism to include an element of metempsychosis, then the advocacy of vegetarianism on the basis that human and non-human animal souls are interchangeable between bodies would again suggest that the two are more alike than unlike: differing, like the angels and humans, 'in degree,' but not, essentially, 'in kind.' Milton's portrayal of pre- and post-lapsarian vegetarianism and the subsequent turn to an omnivorous diet appears to be more representative of pre-Socratic poetry and rabbinical commentary than it is of Patristic philosophy and indeed contemporary philosophy of Weemes and Willet, but it is ultimately the product of his own engagement with monist theology and this, crucially, can be linked back to Eve's observation of reason in the non-human animals.

Milton works with and responds to a genre of real richness and complexity, made up of numerous sub-genres in itself, and this fusion of sources is vital for his overall representation of non-human animals and their role in the biblical creation narrative. Adam and Eve's desire to learn more about the incorporeal and celestial worlds, compounded by their absolute self-superiority with regard to the non-human animals only emphasises their inherent likeness to the non-human animals in that it works to emphasise their inherent nature as earthly creatures of God as opposed to semi-divine angels. It is their self-superiority and sense of entitlement, the 'sin of anthropocentricity' awoken in Eve by Satan that ultimately leads to their downfall. Raphael, at pains to make clear the distinctions between humans and angels, differentiates between 'intuitive' angelic reason and 'discursive' human reasoning, noting that a 'time may

come when men / With angels may participate,' but that man, for now, remains resolutely corporeal and only through 'improvement' may he attain angelic status (V.493-4). Man and angel, Raphael assures, are different 'but in degree, of kind the same,' – much in the same way, I argue, as Milton's human and non-human animals are. In this chapter I have demonstrated that Milton presents a prelapsarian world in which the non-human animals are endowed with reason not unlike human reason, and that this portrayal effectively constitutes Milton's rejection of Patristic and Cartesian philosophy with regard to the moral and ethical position of non-human animals in the prelapsarian world. Milton's Paradise is a world in which non-human animals partake in a 'community' with humans that includes a shared vegetarian diet and element of mutual respect for one another: this same community disintegrates and is lost following the Original Sin: a transgression that Adam and Eve partake in, but that the non-human animals, as described in Rashi's *Commentary,* also fall prey to: all are fallen. Adam and Eve, though human, are human animals: earthly creatures of God in the same way as non-human animals are creatures of God. Adam and Eve are in fact closer to their fellow corporeal animals than they are to the ethereal, celestial angelic beings due to their shared experience in Paradise: their shared vegetarianism, shared living space, shared sense of reason, and indeed their shared fallen nature.

Chapter Four: 'To the Garden of bliss, thy seat prepar'd': Milton and the Medieval Dream Vision

> That day I oft remember, when from sleep
> I first awak't, and found myself repos'd
> Under a shade of flours, much wondring where
> And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
> Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
> Of waters issu'd from a Cave and spread
> Into a liquid Plain, then stood umov'd
> Pure as th'expanse of Heav'n; I thither went
> With unexperience't thought, and laid me downe
> On the green bank, to look into the cleer
> Smooth Lake, that to me seemd another Skie.
>
> (IV, 449-459)

In my previous chapters, I have explored Milton's conceptualisation and portrayal of paradise in relation to a multitude of influences and / or sources; to early modern cosmographies and geographical accounts; to developments in natural philosophy and popular theology; and more specifically to the genres of Hexameron and Elegy whilst simultaneously adopting an ecocritical approach to his works. Ecocritical approaches to Milton are often dominated by historicist rhetoric focusing largely or indeed solely on the precise and immediate historical context of the text or portion of the text being discussed - correspondingly, genre studies are often limited by the scope of their generic lens.[1] Furthermore, existing criticism that adopts a combined generic and ecocritical approach to Milton has tended to focus almost exclusively

[1] See, for example, Joseph A. Wittreich and Richard S. Ide (eds) *Composite Orders: The Genres of Milton's Last Poems* (Milton Studies, 17) Pittsburgh: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983) (entire issue); Joan Malory Webber, *Milton and his Epic Tradition* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1979); Barbara Lewalski, 'Genre,' in *A Companion to Milton*, ed.by Thomas N. Corns (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003), pp.3-21 ; Roger B. Rollin's '*Paradise Lost*: Tragical-Comical-Historical-Pastoral,' in *Milton Studies* 5 (1973), 3-37.

on the pastoral and the georgic.[2] This final chapter continues the precedent set in earlier chapters by adopting a combined approach to an ecocritical reading of Milton, weaving together a discussion of genre and ecology. Whereas my second and third chapters focused more broadly on the more wide-ranging and nebulous genres of geographical literature and hexaemeric literature, in this final chapter I return to an approach based on a narrower generic focus, as in my first chapter on elegy. Here, I concentrate specifically on Milton's adaptation and development of traditional elements attributed to the literary genre of the medieval dream vision narrative: specifically, to the visual and emblematic tropes associated with the genre. Principally, the chapter argues for the greater recognition of the importance of the medieval dream vision as a key source in the make-up of Milton's Garden, in which 'all the conflicts found in other gardens are held in balance,' where the garden 'remains as a master image of equilibrium […] by which all other gardens are found wanting.'[3]

This chapter also partially functions as a framing conclusion to the overall thesis. It strives to draw together and combine the two predominant thematic strands of this thesis, those of genre and ecology, in Milton's works, through a discussion of the enclosure movement and early modern gardening practices in precise relation to the medieval dream-vision genre, thus once again drawing on the idea of nationhood as linked to environmental awareness. It specifically highlights the importance and use of the topoi associated with the medieval dream-vision garden in relation to Milton's conceptualisation of Paradise before discussing this in relation to the early modern drive, or dream, to re-create Eden in the home nation. In doing so I make the case for a greater critical appreciation of Milton's use of the medieval

[2] See, for example, Ken Hiltner's *What Else is Pastoral? Renaissance Literature and the Environment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); John R. Knott Jr's Milton's *Pastoral Vision: An Approach to Paradise Lost* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971) (though Knott's more recent article, 'Milton's Wild Garden,' *Studies in Philology* 102 (2005) 66-82 departs from the pastoral and instead focuses on the 'wilderness' of *Paradise Lost*. See also Barry Weller's 'The Epic as Pastoral: Milton, Marvell and the Plurality of Genre', *New Literary History* 30 (1999) 143-157.

[3] A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.' p.351.

dream vision, taking as my chief source texts Guillame de Lorris' *Romaunt de la Rose,* the anonymous *Pearl* and several of Chaucer's works, including the *Parliament of Fowls* and the *Book of the Duchess.* I briefly explore the key strands of critical thought surrounding Milton's use of Spenser and his indirect use of Chaucer through Spenser before going on to discuss the possibility of a direct intertextual relationship between Milton and Chaucer. I then return once more to the ongoing discussion of environmental issues contemporary to Milton, further excavating an implicit connection between the enclosed garden of the dream vision and early modern enclosure practices. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the ideology behind the early modern practice of 're-creating Eden' in English gardens, all in specific relation to the topoi of the dream vision genre.

Certain passages of Milton's *Paradise Lost have* been previously linked to enclosure practices in scholarly discussion, most notably by Karen L. Edwards, Katherine Attie and Ken Hiltner.[4] This chapter extends such analysis by thinking of the dream-vision garden, the enclosed or walled *hortus conclusus*, as in some ways analogous to the fenced spaces 'enclosed' or consolidated by seventeenth-century English legal processes. To date, the bulk of the scholarship focusing on Milton's use of dream visions has focused primarily on Eve's 'infernal, mantic anxiety'-type prophetic dream in Book V of *Paradise Lost*. In this feverish foreshadowing of Eve's temptation in Book IX Milton appears to create a new kind of dream vision. Indeed, Manfred Weidhorn has previously gone so far as to say that it has no apparent antecedent or derivation in either classical or medieval literature or indeed in any of Milton's Scriptural sources.[5] Milton, Weidhorn argues, takes the anxiety dream, 'an old literary

[4] See for example Karen L. Edwards, "Eden Raised: Waste in Milton's Garden," in Ken Hiltner, ed, *Renaissance Ecology: Imagining Eden in Milton's England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2008), 259-72; Ken Hiltner's *What Else is Pastoral? Renaissance Literature and the Environment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Katherine Bootle Attie, 'Enclosure Polemics and the Garden in the 1650s *SEL* 51 (2011) 135-57.
[5] Manfred Weidhorn , *Dreams in Seventeenth-Century English Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), p.138.

tradition, and typically made it serve several purposes at once.'[6] By contrast, Milton's other dream narratives can more self-evidently be assigned to sub-categories within the larger genre, including the 'love dream lyric' of 'Methought I saw,' and Milton's 'Elegia Tertia' (on the death of the Bishop of Winchester). The latter of these poems shares elements of the medieval dream vision, with the description of Elysian Fields, the appearance of the Bishop clad in white, and the ascent to heaven.[7] The *locus amoenus* and *hortus conclusus* tropes are similarly present in much of Milton's earlier poetry, including his 'Song on May Morning,' which reads much like a traditional medieval dream vision, containing all of the traditional tropes and topoi, such as 'hail bounteous May, that dost inspire / Mirth, and youth, and warm desire!.' So too do his 'Carmina Elegiaca' and 'Sonnet 1', which combine dream vision features with classical imagery.[8] It is in Milton's epic, however, where his deployment of these tropes and his use of the genre reaches it's zenith in his portrayal of the Garden of Eden in *Paradise Lost.*

The genre of the 'extended narrative set within the frame of a dream,' Manfred Weidhorn argues, no longer served as a vehicle for memorable expression by major poets […] instead, deliberately archaizing lesser writers like Drummond, Cowley and Henry More were attracted to it.'[9] Although Milton's use of the dream vision narrative does not quite constitute an 'extended' narrative in the more traditional sense (such as *Pearl,* for example), there is most definitely a narrative structure to the dreams in Milton's *Paradise Lost,* perhaps most notably in Adam's dreams. Weidhorn notes that Milton expressed particular loathing towards the 'superstitious and undependable "monkish" early historians' and their dream lore. In *Areopagitica,* for example, Milton re-visits St Jerome's famous divine dream and suggests

[6] Manfred Weidhorn, 'The Anxiety Dream in Literature from Homer to Milton,' *Studies in Philology* 64:1 (1967) 65-82 (p.82).
[7] Weidhorn, *Dreams,* p.134.
[8] John Milton, 'Song on May Morning,' in John Carey, ed, *Milton: The Complete Shorter Poems* 2nd edn, (Harlow: Pearson Longman, p.93) ll.5-6. Carey notes that these lines similarly echo scenes from Spenser's *Faerie Queene;* as stated, I explore this relationship later in the chapter.
[9] Weidhorn, *Dreams,* p.70.

that it may have been generated by a fever, dismissing it as the ramblings of an indisposed individual.[10] Milton does however include (and therefore, we can deduce, accept) an account describing a prophetic dream of King Edward's in his 1670 *History of Britain*. Weidhorn argues that Milton is prepared to accept Edward's dream due to its 'quasi-Biblical' nature, though this seems contradictory given Milton's dismissal of St Jerome's dream. Taken in the round, Milton appears to have been sceptical of the proclaimed prophetic nature of dream narratives, yet this clearly didn't prevent him from drawing upon elements of the generic form and stylistic tropes of the dream vision in his writing. Furthermore, Milton makes frequent reference to his own dreams in the invocation to Book III and refers to them yet again in Books VII and IX of *Paradise Lost.*

Relatively little, however, has been written specifically about the dream vision garden itself in relation to Milton's works. As previously explained, scholarship focussing on dream vision narratives in Milton's works is primarily concerned with more 'traditionally studied' aspects such as allegorical interpretation and, in turn, dream-lore and dream-vision wisdom. Indeed, the majority of studies focussing on the legacy of the medieval dream vision and the subsequent influence on early modern dream narratives more widely are devoted to the allegorical interpretation of the dream and the consequent impact or outcome upon the dreamer.[11] Edward Sichi's 1982 article 'Milton and the *Roman de la Rose*: Adam and Eve at the Fountain of Narcissus,' is one of the very few works of scholarship that addresses this potential link, laying the preliminary foundations for the study of Milton's use of dream-vision imagery that follows here.

One might argue that a discussion focused solely on Milton's use of the medieval dream vision might seem redundant, or at least somewhat backward-looking: does the archaism of

[10] Weidhorn, *Dreams*, p.131.
[11] See, for example, Katharine Hodgkin, Michelle O'Callaghan and Sue Wiseman, eds, *Reading the Early Modern Dream: The Terrors of the Night* (London: Routledge, 2008); Peter Brown, ed, *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Stephen J. Russell, *The English Dream Vision: Anatomy of a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1987).

the form essentially confine certain passages of the poem to the medieval realm and inhibit the text's ability to speak to contemporary early modern audiences? It could be asserted in response, however, that Spenser's archaisms do not cloud or inhibit interpretations of his *Faerie Queene*, but rather, aid and inform them. Similarly, Milton's use of the medieval dream vision provides yet more scope for interpretation by providing another generic lens through which to view the poem. In this way, the form remains entirely relevant. Milton's use of medieval literary sources and forms, as I have said previously, remains relatively ignored by scholarship that tends to place greater emphasis on the importance of Milton's classical education. Yet there is no doubt that Milton's Paradise is a heavily politically freighted locale, and the medieval dream-vision naturally lends itself to the exploration of political issues by virtue of its design. The fourteenth-century texts *Pearl* and Thomas Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes* are perhaps the best known dream visions with decidedly political undertones. Scottish Chaucerian William Dunbar's *The Thrissil and the Rois*, written to commemorate the 1503 marriage of James IV of Scotland to Margaret Tudor, is another example. Making heavy use of allegory and iconography inspired by Scottish and English flora, it contains all of the traditional dream vision visual elements and discusses both the forthcoming marriage and James' rule more generally. The dream vision allows the author to conduct subtle explorations: as a genre, it is far from outdated and irrelevant to Milton's purposes. In *Paradise Lost* all of the decorative tropes conventionally associated with dream vision are present: the may Morning image, the walled garden, the birdsong, the guide figure, the dream-state: but it is Milton's political undertone that holds the imagination of the audience once we delve beneath the beautifully painted surface of the garden of Eden. Through Milton's poetic dexterity, the dream vision is imbued with new meaning: the political space of the medieval dream vision, in medieval texts largely sexualised and gendered, is given a new context: that of contemporary environmental politics.

How, then, does Milton incorporate into his epic the thematic tropes and emblematic elements associated with the garden locale of the dream-vision genre, derived from both medieval examples and early modern dream vision narratives? Chiefly, these tropes and emblems include the following: an enclosed or secluded / walled garden; singing birds; a bubbling stream or brook; a sweet (westerly-blowing) wind; an ambrosial fragrance; and, more often than not, the scene takes place on a pleasant, May-time morning. All of these tropes are, of course, inherent to the classical *locus amoenus* topos more generally: Zephyr, or the west wind, the bubbling brook, the birdsong, the pleasant fragrance and the temperate climate. Such classical features are deeply embedded in the medieval dream vision: Sichi has described this cluster of classical and later images and emblems as a 'fabric' to which embroidery is continually being added, begun by de Lorris himself.[12] The symbolic importance of such garden topoi for early modern readers can hardly be overstated. The paradisical garden, the *locus amoenus*, the *hortus conclusus*; the dream-vision garden, the Elysian Fields – all are the product of a combined historical cultural, religious and literary dialogue, in turn informing and re-informing one another to produce the hybridised 'pleasant garden' topos that, according to A. Bartlett Giamatti, reaches its pinnacle in Milton's depiction of the Garden of Eden.[13] I then move on to discuss the concept and practice of 're-creating Eden' in early modern English gardens, including gardening practices and phases, exploring this in precise relation to the dream vision garden re-envisaged as an idealised, Edenic space in *Paradise Lost*. In adopting an ecocritical approach whilst simultaneously conducting a survey of the dream vision genre, I provide a new and original way of reading Milton 'greenly,' through a binary approach as I have striven to do throughout this thesis.

[12] Edward Sichi Jr, 'Milton and the *Romaunt de la Rose*: Adam and Eve at the Fountain of Narcissus' in *Milton and the Middle Ages*, ed. John Mulryan (New Jersey: Associated University Presses, 1982), pp.133-163 (p.159).

[13] A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p.351.

Milton, Spenser, and Chaucerian Influence

In recent years, scholarly opinion has taken a more positive view of the legacy of the medieval dream vision in the early modern period, perhaps nowhere more convincingly than in Emily Buffey's recent PhD thesis *The Early Modern Dream Vision (1558-1625): Genre, Authorship and Tradition.* Buffey compellingly argues for the recognition of the enduring popularity, use and value of the medieval dream vision as a literary form in early modern England, rejecting the popular assumption that the form had become outdated and passé during the latter half of the sixteenth and first half of the seventeenth century. Rather, she affirms that the dream vision remained enduringly popular as 'a means of literary and political expression throughout the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods,' and her work aims to 'reconfigure the former aesthetic judgments that have dominated scholarship,' regarding the fate of the dream vision in the early modern period.[14] Buffey's study spans the period from 1558 to 1625, however, and this therefore automatically excludes Milton's epic from consideration. In this chapter, I intend to prove that, at least in Milton's case, the dream vision continued to serve both literary and political ends beyond the Jacobean and Caroline periods and into the Restoration.

Milton scholars remain divided in their assessments of the extent of Milton's medieval learning and of its potential influence on his major works. Indeed, it is a topic that has garnered relatively little critical attention compared to the plethora of studies focusing on Milton's use of classical sources. John Shawcross, writing in 1993, claimed that Milton 'had but a nodding acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon and medieval authors' despite his extensive

[14] Emily Buffey, *The Early Modern Dream Vision (1558-1625): Genre, Authorship and Tradition* (unpublished doctoral thesis), University of Birmingham, 2016, Abstract (not paginated).

learning in medieval European literature, such as the works of Dante and Boccaccio.[15] Though now somewhat dated, Ernest E. Kellett's 1928 *Reconsiderations: Literary Essays* argues rather differently, making a strong case for Milton's extensive use of medieval sources. He states the following:

> It is true […] that in fact, Milton is simply saturated with medievalism, that he read the Scriptures in a medieval light, and that his study of the classics, while profound and wide, was touched at every turn by medieval influences. It has often, for instance, been observed […] how like certain passages of *Paradise Lost* are to the para-phrase of Caedmon.[16]

We must, Kellett argues, 'while recognising his kinship with his peers, Isaiah, Homer and Virgil, trace his descent from such men as the author of *Pearl,* or even from Hampole and Guillaume de Lorris.'[17] Admittedly, and perhaps to the critical advantage of scholars who would prefer to underplay the potential value of (specifically British) medieval sources to Milton, Kellett recognises that these connections, this 'ancestry' he describes between medieval texts and Milton's works may have been 'scarcely recognised' by Milton, but that 'possibly he dimly felt it when he confessed to Dryden that Spenser was his master.'[18] Kellet proposes that Milton 'may well have learned that mingling of Scripture with the classics, romance, and tradition which we find wild in Spenser,' but that this is refined and perfected in Milton's own works.[19] Sichi's article, 'Milton and the *Romaunt de la Rose*: Adam and Eve at the Fountain of Narcissus,' is perhaps the only text I am aware of that draws a direct connection between the visual elements and language of the dream vision text *Romaunt* and Milton's own Paradise, though this article also places heavy emphasis on the classical features of Milton's Paradise in conjunction with the medieval. In essence, there are two

[15] John T. Shawcross, *John Milton: The Self and the World* (Kentucky: University Press of Kentucky, 1993), p.121.
[16] Ernest E. Kellett, *Reconsiderations: Literary Essays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928), p.105.
[17] Kellett p.106.
[18] Kellett, p.106.
[19] Kellett, p.106: Kellett similarly discusses Chaucer's far-reaching influence on early modern writers.

ways in which Milton would have encountered the medieval dream vision: firstly, directly from the medieval source, and secondly indirectly through Spenser. I argue that there are specific features, themes and motifs found in the most well-known of medieval dream visions (chiefly, in de Lorris and Chaucer, but also in the anonymous *Pearl*) that are directly reflected in Milton's portrayal of Eden and of Adam and Eve's Edenic experience, that are sourced independently of his indirect use of Chaucer through his reading of Spenser's *Faerie Queene.*

In an epic so saturated with generic variation, how do we begin to recognise a more obscure and lesser-used genre such as the dream vision, and how do we begin to define it? Stephen J. Russell poses the following question: if certain crucial motifs are missing, is the genre of the work in question thrown into doubt? For example, he notes, 'Boethius, Martianus Capella, Alanus de Insulis, and Dante do not report falling asleep at all and make no reference to dream lore in the prologues of their poems; are these poems dream visions?' Russell maintains that instead there 'are no simple answers,' but that 'to be a dream vision […] a poem must both contain certain motifs and be the product of a poet's intent to follow a tradition or imitate a generic model.'[20] We might then argue that this is precisely the case for Milton's epic. Whilst Adam and Eve do experience or undergo identifiable 'dream sequences' in *Paradise Lost* (in the traditional sense that the dreamer is described falling asleep, enters into a dream vision, undergoes a journey of some sort, and wakes again to familiar surroundings), the dream vision garden remains a constant in *Paradise Lost*, present throughout. The dreaming and waking gardens are one and the same, and this is evidenced by Adam's account of the splendour of the garden, which is echoed in the narrator's descriptions. The garden, and the experience of the garden, is not restricted to the dream episodes alone, for, arguably, the entire Edenic experience functions like a dream vision of

[20] J. Stephen Russell, *The English Dream Vision: Anatomy of a Form* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1988), p.2.

sorts. Does this therefore alter or affect the generic scope of the text? I am inclined to agree with Russell's hypothesis here: he proposes that the dream vision narrative as a genre is flexible according to the following: in order to be defined as a dream vision narrative, the text should contain particular tropes or motifs, and we must also have reason to believe that the author has proved their intent in their decision to make use of the genre. In Milton's case, the 'intent' Russell describes is self-evident in Milton's use of these dream vision motifs, so strongly do aspects of Milton's Eden echo the gardens in medieval dream visions.

It is widely recognised that Edmund Spenser was one of Milton's greatest influences and primary sources. Indeed, a great deal has been written about Milton's Spenserian influences and Milton's position as the proclaimed 'poetical son of Spenser.'[21] I will not linger too long on this topic, but instead focus briefly upon key critical arguments surrounding Milton's use of Spenser himself, and Milton's indirect use of Chaucer as mediated through Spenser, before going on to focus primarily on Milton's direct use of Chaucer, one of the chief themes of this chapter. There are innumerable similarities between the poetic styles and careers of Spenser and Milton. Spenser, Andrew King has argued, imitates 'classical and Virgilian models of authorship,' by situating much of his early work within the 'pastoral world.'[22] This is a model also followed by Milton, whose early works are commonly characterised by their strongly pastoral elements, *Lycidas* being perhaps the best known example. 'Astonishingly,' King continues, Spenser's debt to classical sources 'does not diminish the presence of Chaucer and his legacy in Spenser's works,' – an observation we could arguably extend and apply to Milton's works. In Spenser, King argues (and in turn one might argue in Milton) Virgil and the classics become in effect, 'pastoralised.'[23] Much of the borrowing Milton does from

[21] John Dryden, *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W.P.Ker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 2:247.
[22] Andrew King, 'Spenser, Chaucer and Medieval Romance,' in Richard A. McCabe, ed, *The Oxford Handbook of Edmund Spenser* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp.553-572 (p.553).
[23] King, p.554.

Spenser is, of course, indirect borrowing from Chaucer, as many critics such as Andrew King have observed:

> More than just borrowing, Spenser's response to Chaucer and native medieval romance involves complex manipulations of the authority and meaning of the earlier literature, impacting on the authority of his own works […][24]
>
> [The Shepheardes Calendar…] 'demands its readers to re-think their collective literary past – to recognise in Chaucer a kind of national literary heritage that they might not have presumed to possess. [25]

King further notes that 'Chaucer's apprenticeship poetry, in which he constructs his fictional self-representation, is his dream-visions, and Spenser may indeed have first written dream poetry, imitative of his master.'[26] Though we might assume that this could perhaps be the source of Milton's own use of the dream vision, we must consider whether Milton may also have done so through direct readership of Chaucer. Similarly, creative anachronism, 'suggesting both the antiquity and the novelty of a work, is central to *The Faerie Queene* […] it establishes its authority in a number of subtle rhetorical gestures' so that it 'seems at once old and new', particularly in relation to the structure of the text.[27] We can extend this to Milton's own works, particularly in light of our discussion regarding the ecology of the text. Gordon Teskey, however, has previously stated that Spenser's 'manner of thinking is so profoundly different from Milton's that one could be forgiven for supposing that any comparison between them as thinkers is doomed from the start.'[28] In one of the most recent articles to discuss the literary relationship between Spenser and Milton, Andrew Wadoswki notes that this statement can be directly applied to a discussion of representations of Eden by

[24] King, p.553.
[25] King, pp.555-556
[26] King, p.554.
[27] King, p.556: Originally discussed in Andrew King, 'The Faerie Queene' *and Middle English Romance: The Matter of Just Memory*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
[28] Gordon Teskey, *Delirious Milton: The Fate of the Poet in Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), p.6.

the two poets. This, he continues, is largely because Spenser's gardens, including the 'redemptive' garden of Adonis, are firmly set in a postlapsarian, as opposed to Milton's prelapsarian world.[29] There is a relative dearth of critical attention surrounding Spenser's influence on Milton with regards to Eden, Wadowski claims: 'perhaps,' he states, 'this is because the more Spenser's gardens claim to be like Eden – the Bower of Bliss, for instance – the less Edenic they truly are.'[30] Wadowski discusses the importance of redemption in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* and subsequently in Milton's *Paradise Lost* in relation to the georgic elements of both poems; Spenser's poetry, Wadowski concludes, 'bequeaths to Milton's poetry a broadly georgic ethos,' a view generally shared by most scholars. Wadowski goes on to argue that Milton most fully conforms to the 'Spenserian mode's lessons' in his discussion of Adam and Eve's work in the Garden.[31]

Concentrating specifically on representations of Edenic spaces, then, several critics have drawn connections between Spenser's Bower of Bliss and the 'blissful bower' described in Milton's *Paradise Lost.* Milton's bower, Garrett Sullivan ultimately argues, is transformed into the Bower of Bliss following the Fall.[32] Sullivan also situates Milton's blissful bower as a *locus amoenus* unto itself – a pleasant place within the wider Garden. Milton's Bower, he argues, is 'haunted' by the Spenserian Bower of Bliss: it 'becomes' the Acrasian Bower of Bliss once Adam and Eve have fallen, and this is signified through a change in the nature of their sexual encounters, which, in the postlapsarian world, are characterised by unbridled lust, 'mutual guilt,' (9.1043) and 'grosser' post-coital slumbering.[33] Milton, Sullivan attests, 'stages the origins of the romance episode but also redefines epic and transvalues romance,' in the bower episode by altering the dynamic and 'chang[ing] these notes to tragic' (IX, 5-

[29] Andrew Wadowski, 'Milton's Spenser: Eden and the Work of Poetry, *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 55 (2015), 175-196 (p.176).
[30] Wadowski, p.176
[31] Wadowski, p.191.
[32] Garett A. Sullivan Jr, *Sleep, Romance, and the Human Embodiment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.123.
[33] Sullivan 2012, pp.123,124.

6).[34] Conversely though, Spenser's gardens are indeed 'framed in the context of such conventional romance topoi of entrapment and ethical subversion.'[35] In this way, the gardens of *The Faerie Queene* 'depend largely on their status as representations and thereby on their historical distance from Eden.'[36] Chaucer's gardens are of course similarly defined by the entrapment / *hortus conclusus* topoi. Eden, or Milton's Eden itself, though, is historical in the sense that there is geography and history compounding Milton's portrayal of it, as I explored in Chapter 2, and so Milton's Paradise remains a representation, indeed, the ultimate manifestation of the various garden tropes and emblems. Sullivan also extensively analyses Milton's portrayal of sleep, waking and dreaming, primarily within the context of Aristotelian vitality and vegetality in Milton, but his assessment of the 'modes' of waking and dreaming prove particularly useful as a foundation for this discussion. In *Paradise Lost,* Sullivan notes, Milton appears to suggest that 'waking can take different forms,' whether literal, spiritual or moral. Countless critics have studied Adam and Eve's individual dream experiences, the resulting interpretations too numerous to mention here. I argue that the entirety of Adam and Eve's experience in Eden can be read as, or function as, a dream-vision narrative, with further individual or embedded 'dreams' and awakenings throughout. Whilst there appears to be sufficient evidence, then, that Milton drew influence from Spenser's own use of Chaucer, how can we prove that Milton made direct use of Chaucer's texts in his portrayal of the Garden of Eden?

F.P. Magoun's 'The Chaucer of Spenser and Milton,' though dated, provides conclusive evidence regarding Milton's study and use of Chaucer. 'No copy of Chaucer's works owned by Milton is known to exist, yet it is possible to identify the edition of Chaucer in which Milton read, from which he quotes, and to which he refers in the course of his writings.'[37]

[34] Sullivan 2012, p.129.
[35] Wadowski, p.176
[36] Wadowski, p.176
[37] F.P. Magoun Jr, 'The Chaucer of Spenser and Milton,' *Modern Philology* 25 (1927) 129-136 (p.131)

Specifically, Magoun claims, Milton's references to Chaucer suggest that he was either in possession of or borrowed a copy of Thomas Speght's 1602 edition of Chaucer's works. In *Milton's Library*, Boswell lists the edition (verified to have been read or owned by Milton) as *The Works of Our Ancient and Learned English Poet, Geffrey Chaucer, Newly Printed* (London , 1602) (editor unnamed). Magoun claims that Milton's references lend themselves to Speght's 1602 edition, for the readings of this edition, Magoun asserts, 'explain several details of Chaucerian influence upon Milton and enable one to revise certain impressions of his treatment of Chaucer.'[38] Magoun claims that Milton's quotations of Chaucer, and the page numbers he refers to correspond directly with the folio numbers of Speght's edition and no other edition, thus removing any possibility of doubt. For example, Milton refers the reader to the 'Wife of Bath's Tale' in his Commonplace Book, directing them to the passage on 'gentillesse' on folio 36^{v} of Chaucer's works: only in Speght's 1602 edition is this passage found on this folio number.[39] Furthermore, when quoting from Chaucer in his *Of Reformation Touching Church-Discipline in England*, Milton's quotations from Chaucer are modernised in direct accordance with Speght's edition.[40] This is highly significant in that it appears to suggest that Milton directly drew from Chaucer's works as opposed to encountering them indirectly through Spenser's work, and more importantly, from an edition that paints Chaucer as anti-clerical, an appealing element. This constitutes further proof of Milton's engagement with Chaucer and allows us to draw parallels between Chaucer's and Milton's texts with far greater confidence. David Matthews's *ODNB* entry on Thomas Speght describes Speght's 1602 edition as the most 'durable' of all versions of Chaucer's *Works* due to the length of its period of influence, which spanned some two hundred years from the late sixteenth century

[38] Magoun, p.132.
[39] Magoun, p.131
[40] Magoun, p.132.

onwards.[41] Interestingly, Speght's 1602 edition includes an anecdote about Chaucer being supposedly fined for the beating of a Franciscan friar in Fleet Street, which Matthews describes as 'suspiciously convenient evidence of an early and vigorous tendency to anti-clericalism on the poet's part, which, making him appear at odds with the Church of Rome, helped to refashion a Chaucer acceptable to Reformation England.'[42] Speght's emphasis on Chaucer's anticlericalism could hardly have failed to appeal to the anti-episcopal Milton. Boswell further notes that Milton makes references to Chaucer in his manuscript Commonplace Book, in the *Prolusions,* in *Of Reformation* and also in *Animadversions.* Milton refers to Chaucer on more than one occasion throughout his Commonplace Book: in his discussion on 'Matrimonium & Vide de Divortio,' and 'the discommoditie of mariage,' Milton notes 'see Chaucer, marchant's tale, and 'Wife of Bath's Prologue'.'[43] He similarly refers to Chaucer's 'Physician's Tale' on the next page, and then to the 'Wife of Bath's Tale' in the context of 'no poverty but sin.'[44] Under the heading 'Nobilitas,' Milton refers once again to Chaucer's 'Wife of Bath's' tale, but also, interestingly, to Chaucer's translation of the *Romaunt de la Rose.*

Speght mimicked the work of earlier editors such as William Thyme (who included a Lollard 'Plowman's Tale' in his 1532 edition of Chaucer's works) by including the Lollard piece, *Jack Upland.* In doing so, Speght built upon the sixteenth-century view of Chaucer as a 'proto-Protestant,' which Matthews describes as Chaucer's 'capping off the process of Chaucer's Protestant conversion.'[45] Speght's 1598 and (particularly his 1602) editions, Matthews essentially argues, surpass their mid sixteenth-century predecessors, the John Stow

[41] David Matthews, 'Speght, Thomas (d.1621), *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <www.odnb.com> [Accessed online 25 January 2018].
[42] David Matthews, 'Speght, Thomas (d.1621), *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) [Accessed online 25 January 2018].
[43] John Milton, *A Commonplace Book*, ed.by Alfred Horwood (London: Camden Society, 1875), p.14.
[44] Milton in Horwood, p.19.
[45] David Matthews, 'Public Ambition, Private Desire and the Last Tudor Chaucer,' in David Matthews and Gordon McMullan, eds, *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 74-88 (p.76).

(1561) and William Thynne (1532, 1542 and 1545-50) editions in that they bring to light a 'contemporary' Chaucer, a Chaucer that has been re-written and rescued from the stale medievalism that permeates the Thynne and Stow offerings. Speght's Chaucer, though initially heavily based upon Stow's edition, 'reads the medieval past with an eye to what the past might do for him,' – an approach, we might argue, followed also by Milton, both with respect to medieval tradition and to the wealth of classical, biblical and apocryphal sources that make up the bulk of Milton's source material. [46]

Matthews and McMullan's edited collection of essays, *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England*, notes that 'by 1613, interest in Chaucer was declining.' Ann Thompson has previously stated that a flurry of interest surrounding Thomas Speght's 1598 and 1602 editions of Chaucer may have contributed to a rise in 'Chaucer-inspired plays' around the time. Following this, though, interest began to wane.[47] Matthews and McMullan note that in recent critical history there has arisen the notion of 'an increasingly porous border between the Middle Ages and the early modern period, underpinned by the recognition of the many ways in which early modern writers 'constructed and refigured' the Middle Ages.[48] Several critics, Matthews argues, have accused Speght's editions of Chaucer as 'self-consciously historicising the poet and the past in which he lived.' Stephanie Trigg, for example, claims that Speght's editions actually serve to 'place Chaucer firmly in a medieval context, and to mark out the historical and cultural distance separating manuscript and print, and poet and editor.' Similarly, Alice Miskimin describes the Chaucer of Speght's editions as 'a remote and primitive ancestor,' though a 'poetic model.'[49] Yet Matthews argues that Speght, as 'one of the most extensive readers of the medieval in late Tudor England,' […] 'more than anyone else ensured that Chaucer would be read in the seventeenth century, when medieval literature

[46] Matthews, pp74-88 (p.76; 80).
[47] Gordon McMullan and David Matthews, eds, *Reading the Medieval in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p.1.
[48] McMullan and Matthews, p.6.
[49] Matthews, 'Public Ambition' pp. 74-88 (p.74).

was most scorned.'[50] It is imperative that we recognise the attitudes of Milton's poetic predecessors towards Chaucer: Edmund Spenser, most revered and influential of Milton's contemporaneous poetic sources, claims that Chaucer's 'owne spirit […] doth in me survive.'[51]

The *Hortus Conclusus*, the *Locus Amoenus* and Dream-Vision Tropes

That Milton read and was influenced by Chaucer (and indeed by Chaucer's own sources) appears difficult to deny. Where, then, does Chaucer enter into Milton's depictions of the Garden of Eden, and how are these reflective of the dream-vision genre in particular? Laura L. Howes *Chaucer's Gardens and the Language of Convention* remains one of the foremost texts on this topic. Firstly, Howes claims, 'Chaucer's early audiences associated him with garden settings much as a general reader of the late twentieth century tends to identify him primarily with his bawdy tales.'[52] These garden settings, in particular in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* and *Parliament of Fowls,* are depicted as a fusion of classical topoi that are traditionally associated with the dream-vision genre: Chaucer, she claims, worked from a 'storehouse' of topoi with classical and biblical roots, much, we can argue, as Milton does.[53] As Chaucer 'draws on the breadth of his reading for a single stanza or image,' so too does Spenser, and, later, Milton, working from the same literary tradition and the same storehouse of topoi, the literary garden functioning as a 'locus of interpretive convention.[54]

There are two main literary traditions tied to the 'garden of love' or *paradys d'amours* trope in medieval literature and art: the secular garden, which 'has as its site and symbol a

[50] Matthews, 'Public Ambition' pp.74-88 (p.88).
[51] Stephen B. Dobranski, *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p.3 (quote taken from Book IV of *Faerie Queene*).
[52] Laura L. Howes, *Chaucer's Gardens and the Language of Convention* (Gainesville: Florida University Press, 1997), p.3.
[53] Howes, p.21.
[54] Howes, p.11, 15.

bower or garden or grove,' and secondly, the religious garden of love 'which is the Christian earthly paradise.'[55] The gardens depicted in Guillaume de Lorris' *Romaunt de la Rose* clearly derive from the *locus amoenus* tradition. *The locus amoenus*, as defined by Ernst Curtius, is usually comprised of the following: 'a beautiful, shaded natural site. Its minimum ingredients comprise a tree (or several trees), a meadow, and a spring or brook. Birdsong and flowers may be added. The most elaborate examples also add a breeze.'[56] The *locus amoenus* is not, however, usually walled. The *hortus conclusus*, as evidenced by its name, usually is walled, or at least 'enclosed' in some way – a term that carries particular significance and to which I shall return. Indeed, Terry Comito asserts that an enclosing wall is in fact the defining feature of the medieval garden.[57] The tradition of the enclosed garden, Stanley Stewart asserts, is the 'proper context' of much seventeenth-century 'garden' poetry, including Marvell's 'The Garden' and Herbert's 'Paradise.'[58] Though Stewart discusses several medieval dream vision gardens, his study does not address the significance of the garden trope in relation to the continuing use of the dream vision as a literary form in the seventeenth century, instead addressing the garden context as a stand-alone topos. Similarly, Howes does not discuss the continuing influence of the dream vision into the early modern period: the majority of Renaissance studies of medieval gardens, she posits, have 'limitations.' I hope here to prove that there are new avenues available through my combined approach: that these limitations can be stretched. The garden topos and the dream vision genre are, I argue, inextricably linked in Milton's *Paradise Lost*: the garden context and the associated multitude of topoi are in fact inseparable from the generic grip of the dream vision tradition in Milton's conceptualisation of the Garden.

How then do we position Milton's conceptualisation of Eden in relation to these

[55] Giamatti, pp.48-49.
[56] Curtius, p.15.
[57] Comito, *The Idea of the Garden*, p.25.
[58]Stanley Stewart, *The Enclosed Garden: The Tradition and the Image in Seventeenth-Century Poetry* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), p.xiii.

traditions? This rich literary tapestry, which, by the early modern period, had come to encompass not only the classical topoi such as *hortus conclusus* and *locus amoenus* associated with Virgil and Theocritus, but had been further enriched by medieval interpretations of these traditions, and were continually refashioned and re-adapted by the Christianisation of the *paradys d'amours* topoi in French, in Ariosto and in Tasso. The *hortus conclusus* is enclosed, untouched, protected from corruption, its 'fertile' centre protected by the outer walls so it remains immaculate, untainted. Symbolic of her chastity and sanctity, the Virgin Mary is often painted near or within walled gardens in artistic representations.[59] These traditions are both adopted and further developed by early modern poets, and the most inclusive and expansive of all literary representations can be found in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, the ultimate product of this complex and multi-layered literary heritage.

The following passage, taken from Adam's account of his awakening into Eden in Book VIII is perhaps the most heavily symbolic of the dream narrative episodes of the poem in that it contains almost all of the elements traditionally associated with the dream vision:

> As new wak't from soundest sleep
> Soft on the flourie herb I found me laid
> In Balmie Sweat, which with his Beames the Sun
> Soon dri'd, and on the reaking moisture fed.
> Strait toward Heav'n my wondering eyes I turnd,
> And gaz'd a while the ample Skie, till rais'd
> By quick instinctive motion up I sprung,
> As thitherward endevoring, and upright
> Stood on my feet; about me round I saw
> Hill, Dale, and shadie Woods, and sunnie Plaines,
> And liquid Lapse of murmuring Streams; by these,
> Creatures that livd, and movd, and walk'd, or flew,
> Birds on the branches warbling; all things smil'd,
> With fragrance and with joy my heart oreflow'd.
>
> (VIII, 253-266)

[59] See, for example, Martin Schongauer's *Madonna im Rosenhag* (Madonna in Rose Garden), 1473; Fra Angelico's fresco *The Annunciation* (c.1450); Domenico Veneziano, *Madonna and Child* (c.1445); Cosme Tura, *Madonna and Child in a Garden*, (c.1460-1470); Anonymous, *Madonna on a Crescent Moon in Hortus Conclusus* (c.1450s).

This is a brief, almost summarised version of the traditional dream vision opening narrative. It contains all of the attribute described by Ernst Curtius as instrumental to the *locus amoenus* trope: a meadow, trees, brook, birds, flowers and more: furthermore, the area is not described as walled, which is also in accordance with Curtius' description. Adam wanders for a while, before weariness overcomes him and 'gentle sleep / First found [him].' (VIII, 203) This dream episode, like the other dream accounts in *Paradise Lost*, can certainly be read as stand-alone dream vision narratives. The constant shift between waking and sleeping, and the mirroring of the experiences in the dream vision world and the real world, however, mean that all of the books of the poem located in Paradise read like one extended dream vision. Milton deliberately blurs the boundaries between wake and sleep: 'whereat I wak't, and found / Before mine Eyes all real, as the dream / Had lively shadowed,' (VIII, 309-311) so that the dreamer – in this case, Adam – finds no distinction between the Paradise he dreams of and the Paradise in which he wakes. The dream is only finally, truly over when Adam and Eve are told to leave Paradise, though there are indicators of trouble – of anxiety within the dream-world – prior to this: the 'groan' of the 'wound(ed)' earth, the sight of the lion pursuing deer: 'Down from the Hill the Beast that reigns in Woods, / First hunter then, pursu'd a gentle brace, / Goodliest of all the Forrest, Hart and Hinde,' (IX, 187-89).

This scene also parallels also parallels the hunt motif often found in dream vision narratives, such as in Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess.* Here, in *Paradise Lost*, it is representative of the shift from a pre- to post-lapsarian state of existence. All of the medieval dream visions are both written and set in firmly post-lapsarian worlds, though they are visually modelled on *locus amoenus* or Edenic tropes: it is the presence of allegorical figures such as the Vices, or the inclusion of a hunt motif, that situate dream visions such as the *Romaunt,* or the *Book of the Duchess*, in a firmly post-lapsarian context. Milton's post-

lapsarian Eden imitates this: not only in the hunt motif, but also in Adam and Eve's newly-revealed sinful and vice-like behaviour, characterised by lust, guilt, and greed.

Most scholarship on dreams in Milton's epic refer to Adam's dreams as divinely originated without much further critical engagement, whilst Eve's dreams take precedence in critical debate.[60] Generally, God's presence in Adam's dream is read as an instance of divine intervention, or as a means of introducing and establishing a connection between Adam and his Creator, and Adam's dreams are frequently overlooked in favour of Eve's more overtly problematic dream, which can be more readily applied to psychoanalytical theory. As mentioned in my introduction to this chapter, much of this scholarship focuses on the prophetic nature of and the potential interpretations of Adam and Eve's dreams, or on the establishment of the human-divine relationship; others focus on the classical and/or biblical sources these dreams appear to be derived from, such as Homer's *Iliad* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*[61] Fowler's Longman edition of the poem for example, notes that Adam's line 'When suddenly stood at my head a dream,' (VIII, 292) is a synecdoche for a 'figure seen in a dream,' and that this imitates Oneiros' 'personification' of a dream in Homer's Iliad.[62] God's position as a dream guide has been recognised by scholars: Sullivan, for example, attests that God is an 'oneiric guide, and describes the dream as Adam's 'oneiric encounter with God, [a] prelude to an actual' encounter following the dream when the Son

[60] Kristin Pruitt McColgan, '"God is also in sleep": Dreams Satanic and Divine in *Paradise Lost*', *Milton Studies* 30 (1993), 135-148.
[61] See Kristin Pruitt McColgan, '"God is Also in Sleep:" Dreams Satanic and Divine in *Paradise Lost', MS* 30 (1993) 135-148; Marcia Lynn Toms, *"And Dreams Advise": The Dreams in* Paradise Lost *and their Precursors* (unpublished master's thesis, North Carolina State University, 2003); Richard Turner, 'The Interpretation of Dreams and Audience Response in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*,' *Papers on Language and Literature* 19 (1983), 361-374; Eric Charles LeMay, *Lively Shadows: Dreams, Visions, and Self-Knowledge in* Paradise Lost (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 2002); Charles Monroe Coffin, 'Creation and the Self in *Paradise Lost*,' *ELH* 29 (1962) 1-18; William B. Hunter, 'Prophetic Dreams and Visions in *Paradise Lost,*' *MLQ* 9 (1948) 277-285.
[62] Alastair Fowler, ed, in John Milton, *Paradise Lost* 2nd edn, (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2007), (VIII, 292-295n).

appears to Adam in the garden.[63] To my knowledge there is as yet no scholarship that examines God's guiding figure as mimetic of the medieval dream vision guide, merely as a dream guide more akin to classical examples, or perhaps to Dante's Virgil in the *Divine Comedy*. The key difference that aligns Milton's portrayal of Adam's dream with God as the guide within the dream vision genre is the garden setting. It is the association of the dream guide with the *hortus conclusus* or *locus amoenus* trope that characterises the traditional medieval dream vision poem – the *Romaunt, The Book of the Duchess, Pearl* - that is of principal importance here, and that which forges the link between Milton's Eden and the dream vision garden.

There is a distinct lack of scholarship that specifically addresses the connection between the dream-guide and the Garden and the literary heritage from which I posit this trope has been assimilated. H. Neville Davies has noted that Milton's 'L'Allegro' is 'principally aligned with the dream poem,' due to the 'melting, dreamlike transitions or strange juxtapositions […] the shifting logic that is acceptable only in dreams.'[64] The same has not been argued of *Paradise Lost*, in which dream episodes tend to be read as separate and self-contained. As I have previously stated, I posit that in *Paradise Lost,* the entire Edenic experience represents one continuous dream narrative with further smaller embedded dream sequences within it. God initially appears to Adam as a guide to lead him into the garden, but God is a constant guide, as he is a constant presence. In the traditional dream vision narrative, the dreamer is led into or around the garden by a guide, a guide who sometimes accompanies them for the entire dream and sometimes merely directs them. In the *Romaunt de la Rose,* the dreamer anxiously paces the perimeter and eventually gains entry to the garden after being welcomed in by a maiden. In Dante's *Divina Commedia,* the esteemed Virgil leads Dante

[63] Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr, *Sleep Romance and Human Embodiment: Vitality from Spenser to Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p.116.
[64] H. Neville Davies, 'L'Allegro' in Thomas N. Corns, ed, *The Milton Encyclopedia* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2012), p.204.

through the three realms. In *Pearl*, as in *Paradise Lost,* the dreamer's guide is God, in one form or another - as the Holy Spirit, or a more physical figure. In Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess*, the dreamer is led by a 'whelp' (young dog) 'doun by a floury grene wente (forest path),' (397-99) through scenes of such exquisite beauty that the dreamer describes it 'as thogh the erthe envye wold / To be gayer than the heven' (406-7).[65] So too in Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* is the dreamer led forth, this time by 'this forseyde Affrican', Scipio the Elder, who greets him at the head of his bed and who 'me hente anon / And forth with hym unto a gate brought, / Right of a park walled with grene stone,' (120-122).[66] We might also argue that Satan occupies the role that the allegorical Vices usually portray in the dream vision narrative, whilst the angels play the role of further guides to the dreamers, Adam and Eve.

There is a clear parallel between *Paradise Lost* and *Pearl*, specifically in terms of description, setting and imagery:

> On a green shadie Bank profuse of Flours
> Pensive I sate me down; there gentle sleep
> First found me, and with soft oppression seis'd
> […]
> When suddenly stood at my Head a dream,
> Whose inward apparition gently mov'd
> My fancy to believe I yet had being,
> And livd: One came, methought, of shape Divine,
> And said, thy mansion wants thee, Adam, rise,
> First man, of Men innumerable ordain'd
> First Father, call'd by thee I come thy Guide
> To the garden of Bliss, thy seat prepar'd. (VIII, 286-299)

[65] All references to Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess* refer to *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. By Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp.966-976. All further references cited according to line number within the body of the text.
[66] All references to Chaucer's *The Parliament of Fowls* refer to *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. By Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp.1147-1150.

The final lines of this extract resonate most strongly with the dream vision garden guide trope. See below, a passage from *Pearl.* Similarly, after lying down on a flowery bank, the *Pearl* dreamer falls into a deep sleep, partially induced by the heady fragrance of the flowers:

> I felle upon that floury flight - flight = turf
> Such odour to my hernes schot,
> I slode upon a sleypynge-slaughte
> On that precios perle wythouten spot.
>
> Fro spot my spyryt ther sprang in space -
> My body on balk ether bod in sweven.
> My goste is gon in Godes grace
> in aventure ther mervayles meven.
> […]
> Towarde a foreste I bere the face
>
> (57-64; 67)[67]

Both dreamers repose on a flowery bank before being moved to dream by God. The *Pearl* dreamer describes how his body is left to dream on the bank below whilst his spirit, his 'goste,' ascends, guided by the Holy Ghost, to 'aventure,' amongst 'a foreste' of ryche rokkes' and 'crystal klyffes,' between 'rawes and randes and rych reveres,' (hedgerows, banks, river-meadows). We can here draw an analogy between this passage in *Pearl* and the passage in *Paradise Lost* describing Adam's experience, which, I argue, mirrors that of the *Pearl* dreamer. Adam, describes how after falling into deep dreaming 'by the hand he took me rais'd' – he is lifted up, like the *Pearl*-dreamer's spirit – 'over Fields and Waters, as in Aire / Smooth sliding without step, last led me up / A woodie Mountain.' (VIII 300-03). Here, once again, the *locus amoenus* topoi are present and consistent. All of the tropes are present, including the dreamer's description of the effect of 'Flora and Zephirus' upon the landscape and the evergreen nature of the *locus.* Upon entering the enclosed garden, the dreamer is, as is traditional, greeted with 'trees clad with leves that ay shal laste,'

[67] 'Pearl', *The Poems of the Pearl Manuscript,* ed. By Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), pp.55-56. Further references cited according to line number within the text.

(everlasting) and ‘a gardyn […] ful of blosmy bowes / Upon a river, in a grene mede.’ (173; 183-184). Time and time again, the sequence plays out in the same way, with the same imagery being deployed, the same stock phrases, the same symbolism. Eden, too, is not only enclosed by trees, but by a rocky wall with single entrance, again much like in *Pearl* and in the *Parliament of Fowls*, though a more rugged, extreme version:

> it was a Rock
> Of Alabaster, pil’d up to the Clouds
> Conspicuous farr, winding with one ascent
> Accessible from Earth, one entrance high;
> The rest was craggie cliff, that overhung
> Still as it rose, impossible to climbe.
> Betwixt these rockie Pillars Gabriel sat…
>
> (IV.543-549)

Milton’s version of the rocky enclosed garden is a scaled-up version of the traditional wall-enclosed dream vision garden: it is, after all, the true original earthly paradise, the pinnacle of gardens. In some cases, it appears as though the walled *hortus conclusus* garden resides in a specific location within the wider *locus amoenus* meadow, as it does in the *Romaunt* and, indeed, we might argue in *Paradise Lost*, where the garden is located in the ‘East of [the wider] Eden’. Lorris’ *Romaunt* garden is a mixture of both of these overlapping traditions and others too, as are Chaucer’s dream vision gardens and so in turn Milton’s. It is here that the two topoi of the *locus amoenus* and the *hortus conclusus* appear to physically converge. In both texts, the dreamer finds himself awakening in a meadow, a *locus amoenus.* The *Romaunt* dreamer wanders the meadow before being permitted entry into the *hortus conclusus* by a young maiden, who then acts as his guide. Adam wakes initially into a meadow of sorts, and is then taken into the garden proper by his guide, God. As he dreams, he is led by God towards the Garden of Eden, before his dreaming and waking visions merge:

about me round I saw
Hill, Dale, and shadie Woods, and sunnie Plaines,
and liquid Lapse of murmuring streams;
[…]

So saying, by the hand he took me rais'd.
And over Fields and Waters, as in Aire
Smooth sliding without step, last led me up
A woodie Mountain, whose high top was plaine,
A Circuit wide, enclos'd, with goodliest Trees[68]
Planted, with Walks, and Bowers, that what I saw
Of Earth before scarce pleasant seeme. Tree
Load'n with fairest Fruit, that hung to the Eye
Tempting, stirr'd in me sudden appetite
To pluck and eate; whereat I wak'd, and found
Before mine Eyes all real, as the dream
Had lively shadowd: Here had new begun
My wandring, had not hee who was my Guide
Up hither, from Among the Trees appeer'd
Presence Divine.

(VIII, 261-3; 300-314)

This concept, of the dreamer waking into a meadow before being led into a garden by a guide appears to be directly derivative of the dream vision genre and in particular, from the *Romaunt:*

Tho gan I walke through the mede,
Dounward ay in my pleiying,
The river syde costeiyng.
And whan I had a while goon,
I saugh a gardyn right anoon,
Ful long and brood, and everydell
Enclosed was, and walled well
With highe walles embatailled

[…]
For wel wende I ful sikerly
Have ben in paradys erthly.

[68] Emphasis my own.

(132-140; 646-7)[69]

Adam specifically describes an enclosed, cultivated area that appears to reflect a traditionally landscaped garden, a private space that makes the beauty of the wider Eden pale in comparison: this is similarly the case in the *Romaunt*. Genesis 2:7-8 describes how 'the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground […] and the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed.'[70] The Bible passage appears to suggest that Adam was created outside of the garden and then placed into it, for the creation of Adam appears to precede the planting of the Garden. Where, then, was Adam created? This description bears some similarities to the dream vision tradition (indeed, perhaps this motif was adopted from the Genesis story by the medieval writers) in which the dreamer traditionally wakes in a meadow and is led toward the *hortus conclusus,* the Garden of Eden, which lies within a wider *locus amoenus*. This is similarly echoed when Satan gains entrance to the Garden. Satan is greeted by 'Nature's whole wealth, yea more, / A Heaven on Earth, for blissful Paradise,' (II.208-9); with 'blooming Ambrosial fruit,' a 'River large' with 'fresh Fountain,' a 'steep glade,' with 'pendant shades,' warm sunshine and 'noontide Bowrs,' in 'Groves whose rich Trees wept odorous Gummes and Balme,' and 'lawns or level downs' where 'the birds thir quire apply,' (II.208-264). This description closely mirrors Adam's first viewing of the Garden in the quotation on the previous page.

The *Romaunt* dreamer encounters beautiful meadows and rivers before he enters the first garden, but when he enters, he is met by 'paradys erthly,' where 'many a birdd syngyng;' upon exploring the garden further, he encounters 'welles' flowers 'al newe' and 'every tree,' and extensive bird and tree catalogues are provided, along with descriptions of the other animals that inhabit the garden. He notes that the garden 'of floures hath plente, / That bothe

[69] All references to Chaucer's translation of de Lorris' *Romaunt de la Rose* refer to *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed.by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp.685-768. All references cited according to line number within the body of the text.
[70] Genesis 2:4-6 (AKJV).

in somer and wynter be.' So too in *The Parliament of Fowls* does Chaucer's dreamer recount a tree catalogue (though this is an epic convention, as Laura Howes has noted), a 'welle,' 'a river in a grene mede,' where 'nothyng dede,' and with air 'so attempre was / That nevere was grievance of hot ne cold,' and 'bryddes' sing 'with voys of aungel.'[71] These descriptions mirror those of the *Book of the Duchess*, in which Chaucer's indebtedness to Guillaume de Lorris is made only too plain: in this dream vision, the dreamer's walls are actually painted with scenes from the *Romaunt.* Once again, the dreamer is welcomed by the 'noyse and sweetnesse of her song,' the 'ful attempre' (moderate) air, a 'floury grene,' and wood 'thikke of trees.' It is, the dreamer claims 'as though the erthe envye wold / To be gayer than the heven.' These words represent only a tiny portion of the extensive and rich descriptions of the gardens in all three works, but the overriding themes and tropes are shared ones, drawn from both the classical *locus amoenus* and *hortus conclusus* traditions. So too in *Romaunt,* the *Book of the Duchess* and in the *Parliament of Fowls* are descriptions of the animals provided – most commonly, roe deer and bucks, squirrels, and other 'bestes,' as well as the many named birds. Milton's Paradise, as the first Created Garden, includes all manner of beasts: it is the ultimate manifestation of all of these dream-vision gardens combined, and it is this that renders it exclusive, elite.

Part of the exclusivity of the Garden can be attributed to its connotations of sacredness and purity. The *hortus conclusus* garden, with its strongly biblical symbolic overtones (particularly with regard to both its depiction in the Song of Songs and its connotations of the Virgin Mary) seems to lend itself naturally to Milton's description of a walled Paradise. In *Paradise Lost,* the chaste 'womb' of the enclosed garden of Eden is twofold: both the womb of the human Eve and the Earth's 'fertile womb' are potential subjects for corruption. Eve's is protected, but only to an extent, by the walls of Paradise, and once Satan is able to

[71] Howes, p.20.

overcome these natural defences, both woman and earth become corrupted. Satan breeds Sin once more: this time, in Eve. Though Eve is not transformed into the physical manifestation of Sin, the transformative effect of her and Adam's sin upon the world is all the more terrible: much as the hounds constantly gnaw the bowels of the Satan's hell-bound daughter Sin, so too does the Earth feel the wound 'from her entrails,' trembling and groaning. Only once the corruption of Eve has occurred can the corruption of the earthly womb take place, for Eve and the Earth are inextricably linked, bound by their vulnerability to external forces and, in due course, by their subjugation at the hands of men. The *hortus conclusus* also traditionally functions as a shielded location, a secret meeting place for lovers away from the prying eyes of the outside world. In *Paradise Lost*, Milton presents us with two versions of this tradition: we encounter both the typical romance depiction of the lovers meeting in the garden with Adam and Eve, and are also presented with a perverse version, that of Eve's seduction by the serpent Satan, who steals into the *hortus conclusus* having breached the 'verdurous walls' of Paradise.

In *Paradise Lost*, the 'verdurous walls' are so designed to protect the vulnerable humans within. Milton's description of Satan's attempt to gain access to the garden reads as a perverse parody of the opening of the traditional dream vision: the archetypal sweetly singing songbirds of the dream vision that traditionally herald the arrival of the dreamer in Paradise are instead replaced by the dark and hulking figure of the cormorant-Satan, who remains entirely silent, watching and waiting in disdain and contempt. Satan is an anti-dream vision figure, because he is able to enter the garden so easily. He represents an unwelcome intrusion into the idealised dream vision. The awakening of the dreamer to beautiful birdsong is a familiar dream vision trope: the description of Satan's initial entry constitutes a mockery of this, though Satan soon observes the traditional serenade from afar as he settles in to observe the garden. In Chaucer's translation of the *Romaunt de la Rose*, the dreamer expresses his

utmost joy at hearing the birdsong and professes a desperate desire to enter the 'enclosed and barred' garden wall (I.480):

> I mysilf so mery ferde,
> Whan I her blisful songes herde
>
> (II.499-500)
>
> […]
>
> I fel faste in weymentynge
> by which art or by what engyn
> I might come into the gardyn;
> But way I couthe fynde noon
> Into that garden for to goon,'
>
> (II.510-514).

The *Romaunt* dreamer then proceeds to 'go a full gret pas / Envyronyng evene in compas / The closing of the square wall / Tyl that I fond a wiket small,' (II.525-528) pacing the perimeter of the garden in an attempt to penetrate the boundaries. Satan, too, is filled with a similar sense of joy and peacefulness as he nears the 'enclosure Green' and 'steep wilderness' of the Garden:

> pure now purer aire
> Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
> Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
> All sadness but despair: now gentle gales
> Fanning their odiferous wings dispense
> Native perfumes…
>
> (IV153-158)

So too does he imitate the dreamer, prowling the edges of the boundary, but at a more measured and leisurely pace:

> pensive and slow;
> But further way found none, so thick entwin'd,
> As one continu'd brake, the undergrowth

> Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplext
> All path of Man or Beast that past that way:
> One Gate there only was, and that look'd East.
>
> (II.173-178.)

Both the dreamer and Satan gain access to the garden. The dreamer is invited in, whilst Satan, being neither 'Man' nor 'Beast' is able to simply leap over the wall. Though his manner of entry is decidedly untraditional (in Chaucer's *Parliament* the dreamer is taken through the gate by his guardian; in *Duchess*, the dreamer simply awakes and finds himself already in the garden), Satan's entrance into Eden is immediately followed by a description of Paradise that appears closely to echo the progression of the dream vision narrative and the experience of the dreamer in the traditional dream vision, as previously discussed. Though Satan is greeted by a similar sight to the other 'dreamers,' it is the manner of Satan's entrance to the 'enclosure Green' that constitutes cause for concern: especially, I argue, as it bears some resemblance to the early modern practice of small-scale enclosure. Similarly, the relationship between God, Satan, and Adam and Eve bears some resemblance to that of overlord and tenants and larger-scale enclosure, to which I shall now turn.

Enclosing the *Hortus Conclusus*

> As the Earth (right Honorable was giuen to man: and man (after diuine) was enioyned the care of earthly things: euery man in seuerall place, qualities and state, the greatest receuing thence greatest dignities, euen to be called Princes of the earth. So, it is not the least regard that me of whatsoeuer title or place, should haue of the lawfull and iust meanes of the preseruation of their earthly reuenues. And that especially, by iustly atchieuing, and rightly vsing Dominion and Lordship: which principally grow, (omitting publique office and authoritie) by Honors, Mannors, Lands, and Tenants.[72]

[72] John Norden, *The surueyors dialogue Diuided into fiue books: very profitable for all men to peruse, that haue to do with the reuenues of land, or the manurance, vse, or occupation thereof, both lords and tenants: as also and especially for such as indeuor to be seene in the faculty of surueying of mannors, lands, tenements* &c.

The above excerpt is taken from John Norden's 1607 *The Surueyors Dialogue*, which details the 'reuenues of land' and 'occupation thereof' by 'both lords and tenants.'[73] Man's position as Lord over the earth, Norden claims, can only be properly realised if land is put properly to use, and done so in a way that serves both the interests of the landlord and the tenant. Man's dominion grows, he argues, 'by Honors, Mannors, Lands, and Tenants': the key ingredients.[74] In my second chapter I discussed enclosure in relation to Milton's use of geography: here, I explore it in relation to the notion of the enclosed dream-vision garden. Milton repeatedly refers to Eden as an enclosed space and as a 'circuit wide,' (V.285-7), and there are several passages in *Paradise Lost* that upon further scrutiny appear to lend themselves naturally to early modern enclosure debates.

Numerous scholars, including Karen Edwards, Ken Hiltner and more recently, Katherine Attie, have already drawn parallels between the enclosed space of Milton's Garden of Eden and early modern enclosure practices.[75] Here, I build upon this work, and continue the discussion I began in my second chapter by exploring this connection in specific relation to the *hortus conclusus* model adopted by Milton in order to stress the exclusivity of this space, a space that possesses strong connections to the medieval dream vision gardens. The Garden of Eden's elite status can be further defined by the fact that it is an enclosed space wherein the privileged reside: if you are excluded, you cannot re-enter. The Garden is gated and walled and even has security in the form of angels. In the same way, then, the dream vision narrative traditionally places heavy emphasis on the exclusivity of the garden (usually walled or gated, whether with brick or dense foliage) that the dreamer is permitted to enter, usually

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(London: Printed for Hugh Asley, dwelling a S. Magnus corner, 1607), p.3. Reproduced courtesy of EEBO <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home> [Accessed 2 February 2018].

[73] Norden (unpaginated).

[74] Norden (unpaginated).

[75] See Karen L. Edwards, 'Eden Raised: Waste in Milton's Garden' in Ken Hiltner,ed, *Renaissance Ecology: Imagining Eden in Milton's England* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2008), pp.259-271; Katherine Bootle Attie, 'Enclosure Polemics and the Garden in the 1650s' *SEL* 51 (2011) 135-57; Ken Hiltner, *What Else is Pastoral? Renaissance Literature and the Environment* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011).

only at the behest of their guide or some other guardian figure.

During the mid-seventeenth century, at the time Milton was *writing Paradise Lost*, the regulation and extent of enclosure remained among the most hotly debated topics of agricultural policy. James Siemon argues that evidence suggests that 'the major portion of enclosing took place before the sixteenth-century;' J.R. Wordie, however, has argued that the scale of enclosure in the seventeenth century is in fact far greater than previously attested: there was 'almost twice as much enclosure in 17th century England as in any other century, including the eighteenth.'[7677] Wordie claims that the most comprehensive and extensive enclosure records for any county during the seventeenth century, those for Leicestershire, do not accurately reflect the extent of the practice in the rest of England at the time, a fact Mark Overton also mentions. R.H. Tawney describes another, more abstract kind of enclosure, more distinct from the kind discussed in my second chapter, that happened between peasants themselves, a 'gradual dissolution' occurring as 'a slow process of attrition' that happened 'from one generation to another,' as opposed to the 'invasive' nature of the other kind of enclosure. [78]

In the second half of the sixteenth century, J.A. Yelling attests, 'enclosure by agreement became dominant,' as opposed to 'enclosure by the manorial lord for pastoral use.'[79] John Norden, seventeenth-century surveyor writer on agricultural reform, confirmed that though the types of enclosure occurring (lords of manors over peasants vs dissolution between tenants themselves) are different, they are both methods of enclosure or re-division of land.[80] It is crucial to note, however, that the latter form is far more beneficial in that it does not

[76] J.R. Wordie, 'The Chronology of English Enclosure, 1500-1914' *Economic History Review*, 2nd ser. Vol xxxvi no.4 (1983), 483-505 (p.502).
[77] James R. Siemon, 'Landlord Not King: Agrarian Change and Interarticulation' in Richard Burt and John Archer, eds, *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property and Culture in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp.17-33 (pp.21-22).
[78] R.H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (NY: Burt Franklin, 1912), Tawney, pp.151-152.
[79] James A. Yelling, *Common Field and Enclosure in England, 1450-1850* (London: Macmillan, 1977), p.22
[80] John Norden, *The surueyors dialogue*, pp.9-10.

result in 'evictions or depopulation,' for it simply 'makes a spatial rearrangement of property, but it does not alter its economic distribution […] tenants part with shares in the common fields, meadows, and pastures, to get smaller fields, meadows and pastures to themselves.' Effectively, Tawney argues, 'what is lost in extension is gained in intension.'[81] The main aim of enclosure was to increase productivity and economic output of land: for land, once enclosed, 'was simply worth more.'[82] Enclosure became, Siemon attests, 'publicly defensible,' by the mid-seventeenth century, despite its much-contested history. There is also, he argues, much evidence to suggest that those 'who were attacking enclosure or being defended against it were often themselves engaged in acts of 'enclosure' and in defending enclosures.'[83] William C. Carroll further supports this argument, claiming that tenants were not always 'victimised' – in fact, many 'formally agreed to enclosure,' and the practice of enclosure did not always necessarily lead to the widespread vagrancy.[84] Yet some evicted tenants were forced to turn to beggary or to a life of crime having lost their livelihoods and homes, he notes.[85] I argue that there is a parallel here between victims of enclosure and the ousted devils, who plot to encroach upon Eden in order to seek revenge on their previous landlord, having been evicted from their former territory, the plains of heaven. Beezlebub advises:

> Though Heav'n be shut,
> And Heav'ns high Arbitrator sit secure
> In his own strength, this place my lye expo'd
> The utmost border of his Kingdom, left
> To their defence who hold it: here perhaps
> Som advantagious act may be achiev'd

[81] Tawney, pp.152-153.
[82] Katherine Attie, 'Enclosure Polemics and the Garden in the 1650s,' *SEL* 51 (2011), 135-157, (p.135).
[83] Siemon, pp.17-33 (p.22).
[84] William C. Carroll, '"The Nursery of Beggary": Enclosure, Vagrancy and Sedition in the Tudor-Stuart Period,' in Richard Burt and John Archer, eds, *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property, and Culture in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp 34-47 (p.35).
[85] William C. Carroll, pp.34-47 (p.34).

> By sudden onset, either with Hell fire
> To waste his whole Creation, or possess
> As all our own, and drive as we were driven,
> The punie habitants…
>
> (II.358-367)

Beezlebub's plan to 'drive out' the current tenants of Eden is not dissimilar to early modern enclosure enforcement. Both Adam and Eve and the fallen angels are effectively tenants in God's worlds, with God residing over them as the manorial landholder. Yet very often, Tawney has observed, peasant tenants 'were often hedging and ditching their own little holdings and nibbling away fragments of the waste to be cultivated in severalty,' and this type of enclosure, he claims, 'was frequently an invasion,' as opposed to the slower, formal, court-led process of large scale enclosure.[86] The peasants, he continues, 'enclose themselves […] and when things reach a certain point they will fight it out.'[87] Tawney's description of small-scale peasant-to-peasant enclosure as 'invasion' does not appear dissimilar to Satan's invasion of Eden: he forces entry into another landowner's plot of land after being evicted from his previous tenancy:

> Now to th'ascent of that steep savage Hill
> Satan had journied on, pensive and slow;
> But further way found none, so thick entwin'd,
> As one continued brake, the undergrowth
> Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex
> All path of Man or Beast that past that way:
> One gate there only was, and that look'd East
> On th'other side: which when th'arch-fellon saw
> Due entrance he disdaind, and in contempt,
> At one slight bound high over leap'd all bound
> Of Hill or highest Wall, and sheer within
> Lights on his feet. 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,

[86] Tawney, p.151.
[87] Tawney, p.149.

> 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;
>
> (IV. 172-90)

This passage is strongly evocative of the *Romaunt de la Rose*, as previously discussed: ‘But way I couthe fynde noon / Into that garden for to goon […] Envyronyng evene in compass / The closing of the square wall,’ (II.513; 526-7). Satan, like the desperate dreamer, prowls the perimeter before leaping in, though unlike the *Romaunt* dreamer, he is uninvited and forces entry. The description of the manner of Satan’s entry is likened to a criminal breaking into the home of a wealthy man, and the simile likening him to a ravenous wolf invading the sheepfold similarly reinforces the association with thievery and criminality. This can be linked, we might therefore argue, to Carroll’s point about evicted tenants turning to crime. Satan breaks into the ‘Field secure,’ into another enclosed, occupied space in an attempt to claim the land. First, however, Satan and his devils take Hell for their own: though they have been sent there, they set about building and toiling to make it their own, they resolve that ‘it is better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.’ (I.258) Establishing himself as a rival landowner, having successfully set up dominion in Hell, Satan and the other angels then plot to take Eden, or if, they cannot inhabit it, resolve to destroy it, which in itself appears to mirror a revolt or uprising. Satan invades Eden, forcing entry in his attempt to either seize the land, drive out its inhabitants, and generally cause havoc for the landowner, God.

Adam and Eve, it can be argued, effectively become victims of enclosure when they are ousted from Eden by the landowner, God. Adam and Eve do indeed ‘farm’ as well as garden, if not in such an intensive manner: this is subsistence farming in its origins, and it is merely light toil such as pruning and lopping as opposed to postlapsarian labours such as ploughing

and tilling. As tenants, they lose their right to dwell within the enclosed and exclusive space once they flout the rules of the landlord. In seeking to gain further privilege beyond their capacity, Adam and Eve lose their privilege to reside in the Garden. The heavenly host patrols the perimeter, celestial guards with flaming sword man the gates of this most exclusive and enclosed *hortus conclusus*. Adam and Eve are afforded their own private, enclosed space within the wider Eden, supposedly even more beautiful than the rest of Paradise, and are permitted to reside in the garden subject to certain conditions: namely, that they care for and tend to each and every plant and beast in their roles as stewards (or tenants) of the garden/enclosed space. The garden is therefore synonymous with the private, the enclosed, the exclusive. As Attie claims, the 'garden topos was appropriated by polemicists on both sides of the enclosure debate, and the image of the garden was dramatically modified as a result.'[88] The malleability of the Eden topos in relation to the enclosure debate is summarised perfectly by Attie here:

> The socio-political usefulness and adaptability of the first garden – or for that matter of any garden serving as a type of Eden archetype – was not lost on the agricultural reformers. Eden, Gethsemane, and the Bible's many horticultural metaphors attest to the garden's status as a spiritually privileged space; in their writings, enclosure advocates use that privilege to their best advantage.[89]

The radical Diggers had, for example, set about improving wasteland near St George' Hill in Surrey, attempting to fashion it into the 'New Jerusalem' all 'in the spirit of an Owenite community.'[90] Enclosure was primarily enacted in order to gain greater productivity from the land, but the motives for enclosure popularised by the Diggers possess connotations of reclamation, of recovery and the desire to convert land into an Edenic space, a concept I

[88] Attie, p.137.
[89] Attie, p.137.
[90] Bodleian Pamphlets, 1648. C.15 (3), Linc., as quoted in R.H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (NY: Burt Franklin, 1912), pp.149-150.

discussed in my second chapter in relation to fenland drainage. This notion of re-creating an Edenic space, or of recovering Eden lends itself naturally to the dream vision narrative, for in itself it represents an idealisation, a dream. Enclosure was synonymous with exclusiveness, and no piece of land is surely more exclusive than the Garden of Eden, and more crucially, Milton's version of the Garden. Milton's Paradise differs from all those that came before. Milton's garden draws upon a multitude of classical and medieval *locus amoenus* / paradisiacal garden tropes yet it so obviously, and deliberately, lacks the artifice so commonly found in dream vision gardens: there are no brooks with glittering jewels here, no false beauty, no earthly riches, for this is a prelapsarian paradise completely untouched by materiality and greed. Milton's garden contains more elements of reality, informed as it is by the enclosure debate and, as I shall now discuss, contemporary gardening practices.

Early Modern Gardening Practices: Milton's 'Wilderness of Sweets'

How are gardening trends represented in literary representations of Eden, and in particular, the Paradise of *Paradise Lost*? It is not just early modern gardening practices I am concerned with here: it is medieval practices too, for I argue that it is the medieval dream vision that plays such an important role in Milton's depiction of Paradise. I argue that whilst Milton's Paradise is undoubtedly influenced by early modern contemporary practices, medieval gardening and landscape styles also play a similarly crucial, if not even greater, role in influencing his depiction of the 'dream-vision' aspect of Paradise. Amy Tigner describes how there were, in the Middle Ages, two garden types based on biblical models – the first being the *hortus delicarium*, which she describes as a 'pleasure garden,' drawn specifically from the Edenic garden; the second is the *hortus conclusus*, the enclosed garden, which

derives from the Song of Songs.[91] The latter model, as previously discussed, naturally lends itself to the idea of synonymy between enclosure and spiritual purity so advocated and stressed by enclosure advocates. The dream vision garden (and Milton's Garden of Eden) appear to be an amalgamation of both of these biblical models, further combined with classical imagery and contemporaneous detail. A. Bartlett Giamatti, in his seminal 1966 monograph *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic*, describes two great poetic traditions that can be ascribed to the garden, and specifically, the garden of love. [92] The first is defined by its secularism, and includes Chaucer, as well as courtly love, epics, and allegories. 'Often,' Barlett Giamatti notes, 'Eden is the imaginative source for this garden, but it is not what can be called Christian.' Furthermore, this tradition has 'as its symbol, a bower or garden or grove,' and it is 'the poetry of love, physical or transcendent.'[93] The second tradition covers poetry that is religious in theme, that 'is specifically concerned with that garden of love which is the Christian earthly paradise,' and it looks specifically to Genesis.[94] Milton's Garden of Eden constitutes an amalgamation of both the biblical models and the poetic traditions. There is the symbolic bower/garden of Chaucerian-style love poetry, the clear Christian subject, the Edenic spirituality of the *hortus delicarium* pleasure garden and the enclosed *hortus conclusus* of the Song of Songs. It is a mingling of all of these literary and biblical motifs, including, as I have asserted in this chapter, the dream vision - yet these motifs in Milton's Paradise are yet further informed by contemporary, real-world gardening practices.

Roy Strong describes the evolution of gardening during the Renaissance as occurring in three main 'phases,' though these phases are not separate and distinct in terms of time period

[91] Tigner, p.3.
[92] A. Bartlett Giamatti, *The Earthly Paradise and the Renaissance Epic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp.48-49.
[93] Giamatti, pp.48-49.
[94] Giamatti, p.49.

as such: the Humanist garden phase, the High Renaissance garden, and the Mannerist Garden. Milton's Garden of Eden appears to be primarily a mixture of Humanist and Mannerist design. The Humanist garden constituted a combination of medieval gardening practices and Italian Renaissance design (which was in itself a 'revival of the gardens of classical antiquity.'[95] The Humanist garden contains all of the key constituents of the medieval garden including 'mounts, walks, roses, banks for sitting upon, alleys, wooden arbours and pavilions and simple fountains,' sometimes altered very slightly, but essentially the same: indeed, Roy Strong notes, the Jacobean garden 'is, essentially, the old *hortus conclusus*.'[96] The Mannerist garden movement made popular by Francis Bacon and others included the use of hydraulic machinery to create elaborate water displays, and another popular phenomenon was the use of light refraction to create rainbows. This extravagance designed to excite the senses was part of a collaborative evolution between 'garden delights and scientific advance in seventeenth-century England.'[97] One of the defining aspects of the Tudor garden was the idea of separation from the outside world: the 'old *hortus conclusus*' is in Mannerist hands infused with an air of experimentalism and scientific discovery. In addition, Milton was well-travelled: we cannot discount the possibility that the gardens he saw on his travels played a crucial part in his conceptualisation of Eden. Tigner has described what she terms a 'feedback loop' that exists between the writer and the external garden environment, and she argues that early modern writers would have drawn direct influence from the 'visual elements and political significance of spectacular estate gardens, such as Kenilworth, Somerset House, and Pratolino (Florence).'[98] Hunt and Willis similarly note that Milton and his contemporaries 'were arguably shaping imaginary scenes in light of their gardenist experiences in a country

[95] Roy Strong, p.14.
[96] Strong, p.135; p14.
[97] Strong, pp.127-130.
[98] Tigner, p.3.

that was conventionally hailed as the "Garden of the World."'[99]

Travel did therefore play a key part in both the construction of the imaginary literary garden and the real English garden, which increasingly drew influence from European gardening styles to replace the more formal Tudor gardens. Attempts to re-create Edenic garden spaces in England similarly coincided with the rise in the popularity and publication of cosmographies in the first half of the seventeenth century. Ongoing empirical expansion into the New World meant renewed hope and wonder at the prospect of 're-discovering' Paradise, or at least, a place like it, resplendent with all flora and fauna. As I explored in my second chapter, Milton, along with many geographers and thinkers of the day, believed that the original location of the true Paradise lay to the East, in the region of Assyria. As Attie notes, by the 1650s, 'the dream of literally recovering paradise in England or anywhere else was beginning to sound increasingly unrealistic and naïve.'[100] Luke Morgan confirms this, noting that there was altogether a 'shift in conception of Eden itself: paradise no longer belonged to the irretrievable past and, moreover, had not been discovered in the distant Americas, but to a possible future.'[101] Even if dreams of the actual recovery of Paradise had been dashed, Morgan notes that 'the reconstruction of the garden of Eden could only be conceived of on the basis of a belief that it had been not so much lost as scattered, fragmented or atomised – like a giant jigsaw puzzle, the vital missing pieces of which were believed to have been rediscovered in the New World.'[102] Eden could instead be re-created in England, by importing newly discovered flora and fauna from all corners of the empire: the vision appeared to be within grasp.

The notion of the 're-creation' or mimicking of the Edenic existence / Paradise, then,

[99] Hunt and Willis, p.6.
[100] Attie, p.151.
[101] Luke Morgan, 'Early Modern Edens: The Landscape and Language of Paradise' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 27 (2007) 142-148, p.144.

[102] Morgan, (2007) p.145.

remained a driving inspiration for philosophers, gardeners and aristocracy alike throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. The Civil War in particular, Amy Tigner notes, 'inspired a new horticultural style that shunned aristocratic formalism and celebrated a return to the natural.' The Civil War saw a complete interruption and collapse of gardening fashions altogether, at least in terms of royal gardens. Many royal gardens were razed or left to deteriorate, as heraldic royal gardens and their political associations fell from favour: 'statuary and fountains were dismantled and auctioned off, the avenues of trees felled and the gardens abandoned […] when Charles returned in 1660, royal gardening had to begin again.'[103] Crucially, this covers the period within which Milton was known to have been composing *Paradise Lost*, and Milton, being a staunch Republican, may too have seen the promise in the idea of a return to the natural, to the Edenic, which translates into the text itself. There was a definite sense of new beginning pervading the mid-seventeenth century that aligns with Milton's own re-imagining and re-telling of the Genesis story in *Paradise Lost.* As the seventeenth century progressed, then, this concept of 'natural' gardening style trickled down into the middle classes and was adopted by radical Puritans such as the Diggers as a 'republican political ideal' as part of the 'reformation of the English Isle into an Edenic garden commune.'[104]

The re-creation of the Edenic space and the trope of the paradisiacal garden were re-adopted as a desirable gardening model in the wake of this political shake-up, reflective of new-found liberty and an opportunity to begin again. Yet the Edenic garden, Kate Attie describes, was 'fought over by monarchists and republicans […] while Robert Filmer traced the divine origin of royal prerogative back to Adam's patriarchal authority in paradise, antimonarchical sects such as the Levellers traced the divine origin of individual rights and

[103] Strong, p.197.
[104] Amy L. Tigner, *Literature and the Renaissance Garden from Elizabeth I to Charles II* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) Tigner, p.5

natural law back to Adam's perfect liberty in paradise.'[105] More broadly, the garden was a 'microcosm for England,' an England which was 'envisioning and enacting paradise within its own borders;' furthermore, England was 'particular in its ability to imagine itself as Edenic,' because it is a small island, bordered off by a body of water, and therefore carries connotations of the enclosed garden, the *hortus conclusus.*[106] The idea of re-creating Paradise represents in itself a dream vision, a vision for early modern England, a dream which is paralleled in Milton's portrayal of Paradise in his epic poem: a dream that is filled with a sense of longing, and of loss. The desire, the dream to recreate Paradise, both in reality and in literary form perpetuates this idea of the early modern longing for Paradise and forms a key aspect of Milton's overall conceptualisation of Paradise.

How, then, does Milton's literary depiction of Paradise compare to real early modern examples? There are several existing studies comparing Milton's depiction of Eden with early modern gardening practices. One of the most detailed is Charlotte Otten's, which takes individual components of the English garden and looks for parallels in *Paradise Lost.* Otten notes that 'the herbals, gardening manuals and 'Paradise' gardens of Milton's day feed his epic, making his Garden more real than the 'feigned' gardens of mythology.' It is this adaptation of contemporary gardening practices, she argues, that render his garden superior and different from those literary gardens that have come before, and allow him to 'bridge the gap between mythical and real.'[107] The following, she observes, are key features of the English gardens of Milton's day that are also found in Milton's Garden of Eden. Firstly, both the real and literary gardens are 'high, enclosed, with a mount:' Otten briefly explores the concept of the enclosed garden, but not in specific relation to the enclosure movement, before

[105] Attie, p.136 (originally from Joseph E.Duncan, *Milton's Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972) pp.172-4.
[106] Tigner, p.2.
[107] Charlotte F. Otten, '"My Native Element": Milton's Paradise and English Gardens,' *Milton Studies* 5 (1973) 249-67 (p.249).

drawing parallels between Milton's choice of 'barrier' trees and those in real gardens as described by John Evelyn and Ralph Austen. She goes on to discuss the importance of clean air, referencing Evelyn's *Fumifugium* and Ralph Austen yet again, before discussing Milton's choice of flowers. Otten attests that Milton appears to have a 'preference for the natural' that is 'probably linked to his own rich rural experiences […] meadows, wooded slopes, upland commons, streamsides, forests – all rich in flora.'[108] Milton's Eden lacks formal knots, a factor Otten attributes to the 'Art vs Nature dichotomy.'[109] In addition, one might argue that knots may have been, for Milton, too representative of the Tudor monarchy, as well as being too formal and heavily designed for a natural Paradise in which only minor pruning and lopping takes place: 'not nice Art / In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon,'(IV. 241-2). Milton's inclusion of walks, typical feature of 'even the smallest' English garden, proves to be another parallel feature, as does the presence of a bower, another popular feature of the early modern English garden; 'Yon flow'ry Arbours, yonder Alleys green, / our walks at noon, with branches overgrown.' (4.625) Otten also observes the appearance of 'furnishings' in the form of grassy banks as seats and a table and links this to the gardening work of William Lawson, whose trademark banks were often planted with a selection of flowers.[110]

Luke Morgan similarly notes that Renaissance gardens played a similarly important function as outdoor eating areas: he cites as an example a description of a 'dining room' at Pratolino in Tuscany, an *al fresco* setup comprised of a marble table with six seats, with each place having a 'lid' in the marble surface that when lifted revealed a fountain of fresh water for the use of each individual, and a central hole in which to place bottles for cooling.[111] This does not seem unlike Adam and Eve's entertaining of Raphael in Book V; 'Rais'd of grassie terf / Thir Table was, and mossie seats had round, / And on her ample Square from side to

[108] Otten, p.259.
[109] Otten, p.259.
[110] Otten, p.260.
[111] Luke Morgan, 'The monster in the garden: the grotesque, the gigantic, and the monstrous in Renaissance landscape design,' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscapes* 31:3 (2011) 167-180, p.171.

side / All Autumn pil'd,' (V, 391-394). It is important to note that several of these horticultural features can also be identified as key aspects of the medieval garden, those that lingered in the Renaissance garden, reminding us once more of the crucial part the medieval garden – and, furthermore, the medieval dream vision garden – play in Milton's Eden. Charlotte Otten's observations may lay the foundation for the discussion about Milton's use of specific horticultural features, yet there are certain features that go unmentioned by Otten that I argue here bear particular significance in relation to Milton's use of the dream vision.

One such feature is the inclusion of a designated area of 'wilderness,' a term which carries various meanings and connotations throughout the seventeenth century. Sir William Temple's *Upon the Garden of Epicurus*, contains one of the most comprehensive and detailed accounts of a Jacobean-era garden and a designated wilderness within said garden. Moor Park, which was inherited by Lucy Harington in 1617, was designed and created over a period of ten years or so. Temple visited in the 1650s (the garden was left largely untouched in the interim period) and described it in the following terms:

> From the middle of the parterre is a descent by many steps flying on each side of a Grotto that lies between them (covered with Lead and Flat) into the lower Garden, which is all Fruit-trees, ranged about the several Quarters of a Wilderness which is very shady; the Walks here are all green, the Grotto imbelish'd with Figures of Shell Rock-work, Fountains, and Water-works. If the Hill had not ended with the lower Garden, and the Wall were not bounded by a common way that goes through the Park, they might have added a third Quarter of all greens; but this want is supplied by a Garden on the other side of the House, which is all of that sort, very wild, shady, and adorned with rough Rock-work and Fountains.[112]

[112] Sir William Temple, 'Upon the Gardens of Epicurus' in his *Miscellanea: The Second Part. In Four Essays* (London: Printed by J.R. for Ri. and Ra. Simpson, at the Sign of the Harp in St Paul's Church-yard, 1690), pp.129-130. EEBO <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> [Accessed 20 February 2018].

Temple places particular emphasis on the importance of the need for a 'wilderness' in the perfect garden, suggesting that a garden without enough space devoted to a wilderness is, by definition, wanting. Indeed, as he observes here, one of Moor Park's redeeming features is that contains more than one such space. It is, it would seem, a crucial element of any 'ideal' or perfect garden. It was, Temple attests, 'the perfectest Figure of a garden I ever saw, either at home or abroad.'[113] Moor Park garden itself is situated on a hillside, or mount – not unlike Milton's Eden. The garden was, he notes, much changed during the period between 1650 and 1685, but its features when he visited prior to this were 'too pleasant ever to forget' – so much so that he is able to memorise them and provide a detailed description some thirty years later.[114] The wilderness is, it would appear, a crucial element in Temple's own conceptualisation of a paradisiacal garden, and this further explains his decision to include it in his essay on gardens.

The earliest known use of the word (1390) is in fact found in Chaucer: here, the term 'wyldernesse' is used to refer to 'a place one wonders or loses one's way in, in relation to heaven or future life, when applied to present life,' – in other words, it has a 'religious meaning.'[115] [116] The term could also be applied to 'a lightly wooded district or open country, areas which were highly managed and valuable to the rural economy, but not wasted ground,' such as the area known as 'Le Wylderness' in the Sussex Weald in the mid sixteenth century.[117] It could also be applied in reference to a biblical location, or one like it – the concept of wandering in the wilderness – or was sometimes used simply to describe a place inhabited by wild animals.[118] Wildernesses were also used as places for growing 'wood crops', Taylor notes, and often contained orchards, and as such were useful, productive

[113] Temple, p.127
[114] Temple, p.130.
[115] *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), vol.20 p.334 (cited in Taylor, below).
[116] Taylor, p.237
[117] Taylor, p.237.
[118] Taylor, p.237.

spaces – again, much like Adam and Eve's garden. Francis Bacon advocates 'wildnesse,' but a tamed version of wildness, a carefully controlled wilderness, in his 1625 essay 'Of Gardens.' Altogether it appears as though the general consensus surrounding the idea of the wilderness is that it should be restricted. Only a certain level of natural growth is permitted: the wilderness, in being controlled, is idealised, and Milton's Eden appears to mirror this closely. Adam and Eve are instructed to 'keep' the garden, but Eden does contain wilderness, both in the form of the wild meadow and plains outside of the main *hortus conclusus* – as is often the case in the medieval dream vision – and indeed with the garden itself, where nature 'Poured forth profuse on Hill and Dale and Plaine' and 'open field' (IV.246; 245). The term 'wildness' also appeared in early seventeenth-century descriptions of gardens, particularly in court masques, but was not interchangeable with the term wilderness: Taylor cites Ben Jonson's *Oberon the Fairy Prince* as one such example: the staging is described as having a trees and 'wildness.'[119] The idea of 'wild nature tamed' is interchangeable between wilderness and wildness, however, though the terms are used to describe different things. Roy Strong has noted that in the case of all court masques, 'the garden is always symbolic of wild nature tamed, and in this masque wildness refers to the description of the landscape.'[120] This is certainly the case in Milton's own masque, which is set in woodland that has been 'tamed' by the sorcerer Comus for his own purposes, though to all other characters it appears as a wild wilderness. The practice of designing and recreating 'tamed wildernesses' for artistic purposes, for the staging of court masques can be extended and applied to Milton's *Paradise Lost.* Initially, *Paradise Lost* was to be dramatized and performed, before Milton decided that the appropriate vehicle for the biblical story was to be the epic poem. In places, Milton's poem still reads very much as a dramatic piece, so we can perhaps extend the artistic concept of the tamed wilderness created for the court masque to the stage or 'woodie theatre/Of

[119] Taylor, p.244.
[120] Taylor, pp.244-45; paraphrased from Roy Strong's *The Renaissance Garden in England,* p.92.

Stateliest view,' (IV.141-2) of Milton's Garden of Eden. There is almost certainly a correlation here, and it allows the reader to observe how real, physical gardens informed literary and artistic gardens and vice versa. Indeed, Joseph Addison, writing in 1712 about the universe created by Milton in *Paradise Lost* describes Milton's description of Satan looking down upon Eden as 'this immense Amphitheatre that lye between both the Poles of Heaven.'[121] Carefully constructed and carefully maintained is the background wilderness of the stage upon which Milton's great biblical drama plays out. Furthermore some Italian Renaissance gardens actually had 'amphitheatres' built into the extensive gardens, such as the one in the Boboli gardens developed by the Medici family in Florence from the mid sixteenth-century onwards, which Milton may have visited.[122]

John Knott, quoting the *OED*, observes that 'by the mid-seventeenth-century gardeners had begun to use the term wilderness to refer to a planting of trees "laid out in a fantastic style, often in the form of a maze"'.[123] The 'wilderness' designed at Wilton House in the 1630s, for instance, was one of the best known seventeenth-century examples of a fashionable, gardened 'wilderness.' This wilderness, however, is defined by its 'symmetry and neatness:' it is an ordered wilderness, modelled on the Italian *boscetto*.[124] There are many more examples of such wildernesses. Knole, Sevenoaks, was another such estate with a designated garden area specifically called the Wilderness, thought to have been designed by Sir Thomas Sackville. Kristina Taylor notes that Lady Anne Clifford of Knole referred to the Wilderness in her diary and described it as a place that she on occasion visits with female friends solely for the

[121] Joseph Addison, *Spectator* 315 (March 1712) in *The Works of Joseph Addison* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1837), (unedited collection of papers), p.5 (originally cited in John Leonard's *Faithful Labourers* (p.715).
[122] Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p.175.
[123] John R. Knott Jr., 'Milton's Wild Garden,' *Studies in Philology* 102: 1 (2005), 66-82 (p.70).
[124] Kristina Taylor, 'The Earliest Wildernesses: Their Meanings and Developments,' *Studies in the History of Gardens and Designed Landscape*s 28:2 (2008) 237-251 (p.237).

purpose of 'talking over her pressing private affairs.'[125] Following the death of her first husband, Lady Clifford remarried and moved to Wilton House in 1630, where another wilderness was created as part of the overhaul and redesign of the grounds: this wilderness included covered walks (like Milton's Eden) and, Taylor notes, appeared to have been designed to 'represent fertility with drunkenness, with opposing statues of Bacchus and Flora'.[126] Taylor observes that it is possible that a wilderness already existed at the estate in the 1620s prior to Clifford's remodelling, designed by William Herbert.[127] A visitor, John Taylor noted that that garden in the 1630s had 'walks, hedges and arbours, of all manner of most delicate fruit trees […] so pleasing to the sense, that he calls it 'Paradise,' in which he plays the part of a true Adamist, continually toiling and tilling.'[128] Here, then, used as an example, the garden at Wilton represents broader gardening culture and fashions within the period, elements of which appear to parallel those seen in *Paradise Lost*: perhaps, we might argue, indirectly shaping Milton's portrayal of the Garden in conjunction with literary traditions he is also working from.

Whilst we would not expect the wildernesses of the Garden of Eden to be so painstakingly designed, there is horticultural cultivation in Paradise, as Adam and Eve maintain the walks and arbours so to as prevent 'wanton growth.' The type of wilderness created by gardeners was, sometimes, a manufactured wilderness, it would seem. Their efforts mimic popular gardening designs. Why indeed is it necessary for Milton's Adam and Eve to prune the garden? Surely, given it is Paradise, does it not already exist in a purely perfect state? It is evergreen, the climate temperate and ever pleasant: yet God does not create a garden purely for it to exist in total stasis. He specifically instructs Adam and Eve to dress and keep it,

[125] *The Diaries of Lady Anne Clifford*, ed. by D.J.H. Clifford (Stroud: Sutton, 1990), p.62 (originally cited in Taylor, p.243).
[126] Taylor, p.243.
[127] Taylor, p.243.
[128] John Taylor, *A New Discovery by Sea, with a Wherry from London to Salisbury* (London: 1623), originally cited in Strong, p.122.

because this labour is good for their spirituality, for their souls. A hint of wildness is acceptable, but this must be contained and restricted to an acceptable level. Their efforts reflect the need for the garden to mirror the soul: it is a thing of both beauty and purity, though with certain wild elements kept in check by careful gardening, by pruning and tidying. In a case of life informing art, and in turn art re-informing life, John R. Knott notes that some critics, such as Helen Gardner, have claimed that Milton's literary garden had 'anticipated the English landscape garden, which came into its own in the eighteenth century.'[129] The type of wilderness – a restrained, ordered, limited wilderness – is preferable. This is why Adam and Eve prune the 'wanton growth,' of the walks of Paradise. The concept of the wilderness and semantics of the term relates not only to Milton's Paradise, but also to the dream vision garden and Milton's use of the genre. As the word 'wilderness' itself has many translations, how does it translate in Milton's biblical epic, into the medieval garden, and into the dream vision garden? It is important to note that the threat of encroaching wilderness is mirrored in dream visions, for it mirrors the fantasy element of risk, of danger. There are two main avenues I want to explore here.

During Milton's lifetime, the worlds 'wilderness' and 'wildness' sometimes possessed negative connotations, but in the context of Milton's poetry, it is used to connote abundant fertility. In the following passage, Milton uses 'wild' and 'wilderness' twice in reference to the Garden of Eden. Raphael passes:

> Into the blissful field, through Groves of Myrrhe,
> And flouring Odours, Cassia, Nard, and Balme;
> A Wilderness of sweets; for Nature here
> Wanton'd as n her prime, and plaid at will
> Her Virgin Fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
> Wilde above Rule of Art; enormous bliss.
> Him through the spicie Forest onward com
> Adam discernd, as in the dore he sat

[129] Knott, 66-82 (p. 67). Refers to Helen Gardner, *A Reading of Paradise Lost* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p.79.

Of his coole Bowre… (V.292-300)

Milton describes a ‘wilderness of sweets’ amongst the wider Garden, which in this description also includes Adam and Eve’s bower and a ‘spicie Forest.’ There is definite sense of ‘parts’ or ‘levels’ to the garden, with only several of them listed here. The specific inclusion of the word ‘wilderness’ and the lengthy description of the flora of said wilderness certainly suggests that it makes up a key element of the Garden, (as it does any proper Renaissance garden, as we have seen). Later in the poem, however, in the postlapsarian Eden, Adam refers to the wooded areas of Eden as ‘these wild woods forlorn’ (IX, 15). Here, the term appears to adopt negative connotations, whereas previously, in prelapsarian circumstances, it was used positively. Is true *wildness* only acceptable in prelapsarian contexts? The ‘wilderness of sweets’ Raphael glides over appears to be located on the outer edges of the Garden of Eden: it might be that Adam and Eve are yet to set their hands on it in their enthusiastic gardening efforts. In all its wantonness and luxurious, unchecked growth, it might be representative of encroaching danger: danger to the yet uncorrupted mind and soul. Any other wildness or wilderness must be, and is, carefully restricted and controlled by Adam and Eve, and it too constantly threatens to undermine their efforts in its abundant fecundity. Adam and Eve’s attempts to control this growth mirrors real-life practices as seen in Wilton, Nonsuch and Moor Park, where wildernesses are orderly affairs, and where well-gardened, well-managed estates are reflective of pure spirituality. These gardens, designed with the prelapsarian Paradise in mind, must ultimately remain aware of their postlapsarian status. There is therefore an even greater need to ensure that these wildernesses are controlled and restrained in order to mirror the human effort to maintain spiritual purity in a postlapsarian world.

Milton’s Garden of Eden, then, is just as much a product of its historical moment, and of Milton’s awareness of real gardens and real gardening trends, as it is the purely rhetorical

synthesis of numerous literary motifs and traditions. Renaissance gardening practices and their lingering medieval aspects are everywhere to be found in Paradise, but these are skilfully combined with classical elements to create a garden that is the product of multiple traditions and elements, including aspects of the dream vision narrative. Milton specifically refers to the 'blissful field' as part of the 'wilderness of sweets.' This description is not dissimilar to Adam's initial description of the 'Fields and Waters,' and 'woodie Mountain' he passes over when God first introduces him into Eden, and then the Garden (VIII, 301-304). This progression of 'levels' within the wider Eden mirrors not only the Renaissance garden with its progressive levels but also the structure of the medieval dream vision garden: an outer meadow, and a walled garden within. Milton specifically refers to the 'blissful field' as part of the 'wilderness of sweets,' and we might therefore interpret this as a meadow. These outer meadows commonly feature in dream vision texts. Kristina Taylor has noted that the word 'wilderness' is indeed used by Chaucer, in his *Truth*, but in a religious or spiritual sense rather than to specifically describe a location.[130] In the *Parliament of Fowls,* however, Chaucer describes 'a gardyn I saw ful of blosmy bowes / Upon a ryver, in a grene mede, / There as swetnesse everemore inow is' (183-85). The meadow and river are described in terms of 'sweetness' much like the outer fields of wilderness in Eden in *Paradise Lost.* So too in the *Book of the Duchess* does Chaucer's dreamer emerges from his chamber and into 'the feld withoute,' where he joins the hunt, before entering into a forest (359). In *Pearl*, the dreamer falls asleep and awakes on a beautiful hillside – 'downes dere.' (85)

It is the outer field or meadow – which, for all intents and purposes, we might describe as a designated 'wilderness' in accordance with popular Renaissance designs, but also with specifically Humanist designs such as Pliny's Tuscan villa 'with its formal garden and

[130] Taylor, p.237.

meadow,' intended to 'present Art and Nature together in one composition.'[131] The meadow provides the element of wildness, whereas the rest of the garden provides beauty through structure, planning and careful management. The 'outer meadow' or 'plaines' that Adam first awakes into mirrors this. In Chaucer's translation of the Romaunt, he describes 'the medewe softe, swote, and grene, / Beet right on the watir syde,' (128-129). If we are to consider the topography and geography of Paradise, it to an extent mirrors Chaucer's descriptions in his dream visions: a wider meadow or field, and the smaller, enclosed garden within. This too is then also reflected in medieval and early modern gardening practices, where we see the progression of the garden as the walker (or dreamer) moves through it, from the meadow to the inner (walled) garden, much as Adam journeys from the wider Eden into the enclosed Garden, led by God. Laura Howes has previously argued that these wider 'outdoor spaces,' that Chaucer describes, those which are not 'visibly enclosed', may instead support recent garden history scholarship that suggests the existence of large medieval 'pleasure grounds.'[132] She suggests that this might mean that these areas Chaucer described are such pleasure grounds as opposed to these spaces being 'open wilderness.' These pleasure grounds constituted another 'level' to the series of garden spaces. Whether the meadows and fields Chaucer describes are designed to represent pleasure gardens or wildernesses, or indeed both, the very nature of the dream vision – the element of fantasy and uncertainty – renders any such space as inherently 'wild' for it is unknown and uncharted territory.

The typical medieval garden, Strong states, was 'one of a series of enclosures containing simple plantings of fruit trees, roses and herbs… [They had] turfed banks against walls or beneath trees, [and] the focal point was often a simple fountain.'[133] This summary certainly seems to tally with the representations of gardens in the dream vision narratives of de Lorris and Chaucer. Again the idea of a 'series' of enclosures reflects the progression of the dreamer

[131] Strong, p.79.
[132] Laura L. Howes, p.5.
[133] Strong, p.13.

through the garden. Milton's Eden, then, appears to be made up of a combination of medieval and early modern designs: turfed banks, enclosures, fruit trees, and walks, along with the decidedly Renaissance concept of the wilderness. Similarly, as the walker moves from one 'level' of the carefully planned garden to the next, so too is Paradise made up of stages, of different areas, all by Milton's design.

I want to focus here more on the idea of the progressive stages of the garden and the experience of the dreamer or walker as they move through the garden. In medieval tradition, 'the garden of love and other metaphorical landscapes draw heavily on the notion that to walk is to know or experience.'[134] For Chaucer's dreamers, landscapes are doubly functional. Not only are they significant or symbolic because of what can be found there, but also because of what the character (and some cases, the dreamer) 'comes to realise' or learn. Chaucer's dreamers are led down 'paths' of knowledge: the *Duchess* dreamer is led 'doun grene wente' by a 'whelpe' (398;390). The dreamer of the *Romaunt* is initially led by Idleness, but leaves Idleness to go on and explore the garden alone. So too does Eve set out to walk the arbours alone, and to complete her tasks alone, and it is on this solitary journey that she encounters the serpent, who tempts her with the promise of knowledge should she eat of the Tree. The dream vision is often morally didactic, and the dreamer is seen to undergo a knowledge transfer or process of understanding by which they 'leave' the dream vision more knowledgeable than they entered it. In the *Romaunt,* the dreamer undergoes a learning process through the medium of allegory as he meets various symbolic characters: these characters, which represent the very opposite of courtly love and *chanson d'aventure* ideals, exist for moral instruction both for the dreamer and the reader. This learning dividend is echoed in *Paradise Lost* in Milton's educative desire to 'justify the ways of God to men.'(I.26)

[134] Howes, p.6

Lady Clifford's description of use of her own garden wilderness in her diaries is also of further significance here. In the dream vision and courtly love tradition gardens are sometimes used as secret meeting places for lovers, however they are also sometimes spaces in which women can meet – as paralleled in real life by Lady Anne. This brings to mind 'Scottish Chaucerian' William Dunbar's dream vision 'The Tretis of the Tua Maritt Wemen and the Wedo,' or, the Treatise of the Two Married Women and the Widow. In this narrative, the dreamer stumbles upon three women having a private (and very frank) conversation about men in an enclosed garden. All of the traditional elements are there: the dreamer approaches 'apon the midsummer Ewin' (evening); he 'muvit furth allane in meid,' (walks alone in a meadow) before chancing upon 'ane gudlie grein garth, full of gay flouris,' with singing birds and the sweet fragrance of flowers (1-4)[135]. The walker stumbles upon a garden surrounded by thorny hedges, within which he spies 'thre gay ladies sit in ane grein arbeir,' all dressed in 'mantillis grein war as the gres that grew in May sessoun.' (16; 24) The eavesdropper is astounded by what he hears: he leaves enlightened, having learned much from the three women.

In *Paradise Lost*, Satan too eavesdrops on Adam and Eve: he watches their movements and routine, growing envious of them and despising them. He carries out a reconnaissance of sorts prior to seeking out Eve alone in order to gain information about the couple, and he himself imparts knowledge when he whispers at Eve's ear, resulting in her portentous, foreshadowing dream. Eve then journeys alone to a remote corner of the garden, where Satan preys upon her, and she eats of the Tree of Knowledge, and in turn she imparts knowledge to Adam, whence they both come to know of sin and death. Each and every visitor to the garden undergoes a learning process of some kind, or imparts knowledge of some kind to another.

[135] *The Poems of William Dunbar*, ed. by Priscilla Bawcutt (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies/Glasgow University, 1998). In 2 vols. Further references cited within body of the chapter.

The ultimate manifestation of this is the moment of the original sin, but it is also evident throughout the poem. Raphael, too, embarks upon a journey of knowledge: though he is sent to converse with Adam and answer his questions, he too learns more about Adam and Eve and their life in Paradise. These conversations take place within the secrecy and safety of the Garden. To walk, or to journey, through the medieval garden, 'is to know,' as Laura Howes observes: and this is also the case in *Paradise Lost,* where knowledge and secrecy in the Garden are vital themes. The dream vision garden, and in turn Milton's Garden of Eden, function as loci of learning and knowledge but ultimately, each and every journey of knowledge in the dream vision garden reaches the same end: an awakening, which in the case of Adam and Eve, is both literal and spiritual.

Finally, the concept of knowledge also assumes a different meaning in relation to early modern gardening practices: that of empirical knowledge. John Evelyn's gardening style 'sheds the old hieroglyphic and analogic reading of the garden in favour of empirical study,' placing equal emphasis on beauty and on scientific understanding.[136] Evelyn helped his brother redesign his garden at Wotton in Surrey in the early 1650s: this garden too was created on a hillside and featured avenues of trees and grottos; Evelyn's own garden at Deptford had both French and Italian influence, and included an aviary and a 'transparent beehive,' as well as more traditional features such as an orchard of fruit trees.[137] The desire to re-create or re-envision paradise is 'updated' by Evelyn to introduce a more horticulturalist science/botany based approach to gardening as part of his vision to establish England as 'a major horticultural nation.'[138] In Evelyn's day, Willes asserts, society's 'primary motive was knowledge through practical experimentation.'[139] This in turn has associations with the dream

[136] Strong, p.221.
[137] Strong, pp.220-221.
[138] Margaret Willes, *The Making of the English Gardener: Plants, Books and Inspiration, 1550-1660* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2011), p.6.
[139] Willes, p.4.

vision concept that 'to walk is to know,' in the dream vision. Evelyn describes the ideal (and idealised) garden in a letter to Sir Thomas Browne in 1657:

> Our drift is a noble, princely and universall Elysium, capable of all the amenities that can naturally be introduced into Gardens of pleasure, and as such may stand in competition with all the august designes and stories of this nature, either of antient or modern times; yet so as to become usefull and significant to the least pretences and faculties […]
> How Caves, Grotts, Mounts, and irregular ornaments of Gardens do contribute to contemplative and philosophical Enthusiasm; how *Elysium, Antrum, Nemus, Paradysus, Hortus, Lucues* &c., signifie all of them *rem sacram et divinam*; ; for those expedients do influence the soule and spirits of man and prepare them for converse with good Angells; besides which, they contribute to the lesse abstracted pleasures…[140]

Eveyn suggests all of this, Strong argues, as an 'antidote' to what Evelyn calls 'the ruines of our miserable yet dearest country.' The botanical garden becomes conceived of 'less as a microcosm of the world – a restoration of Eden – than a lab in which Eden as a concept has become more or less redundant as a metaphor.'[141] Milton's Eden, however, remains magical: it is both the empirical knowledge hub and the dream vision garden, the *locus amoenus,* the *hortus conclusus*: it is at once all of these things, a mixture of new science and old tradition.

Russell describes the medieval dream vision in the following terms: 'The dream vision had its origin in the gaps, the interstices of two parallel taxonomies in medieval thought, taxonomies of real and literary dreams.'[142] This quotation encapsulates perfectly the potential Milton saw in the dream vision narrative: the malleability of a form that allows the author to include both traditional elements and to incorporate new aspects based on historical context and concerns: both 'real' and 'literary.' In this way, Milton continues the practice of using the dream vision narrative for political expression or exploration, whilst omitting some of the

[140] John Evelyn, 'From a Letter to Thomas Brown (1657)' in Hunt and Willis, eds, *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden, 1620-1820,* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988) p.58.
[141] Morgan (2007), p.146.
[142] Russell, p.2.

more artificial visual aspects of the genre, such as streams bedded with jewels, or trees of purple and indigo. It is the combination of 'unreality,' and reality that in fact characterises the dream vision: the combination of dream-like or fantastical components and that of relatively mundane elements belonging to everyday experience. Milton's garden is of course a multi-faceted one: it is perhaps the most complex realisation of Paradise in literary history. *Paradise Lost* is self-consciously historical. In much the same way as the extended metaphor of *Lycidas*, and the mode of elegy, provides an outlet for the expression of grief, so too does the dream vision provide a means to express 'real' dreams. Though Milton does undoubtedly place great emphasis on the importance of the cultivation of the inner Paradise, Eden's exclusiveness, and the shattering loss of such a paradise, is heavily emphasised. The practice of re-creating Eden in seventeenth-century England, of working towards and re-creating a new, distinctly nationalised Edenic space whilst simultaneously mourning the loss of the original Paradise and state of innocence, echoed in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, reflects just this.

Conclusion: Forever Lost, or Partially Regained?

> I who e're while the happy Garden sung,
> By one mans disobedience lost, now sing
> Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,
> By one mans firm obedience fully tri'd
> Through all temptation, and the Tempter foil'd
> In all his wiles, defeated and repuls't,
> And Eden rais'd in the wast Wilderness.[1]

In writing his second, shorter epic poem, *Paradise Regained*, Milton set out to recover the loss of Paradise by detailing the solution to humanity's ills: by re-telling the story of the Temptation of the Son, of the 'one man' promised by Michael in the closing books of *Paradise Lost.* Where Adam and Eve fail to withstand Satan's temptations, the Son succeeds, undoing their ills and, as we know, eventually sacrificing himself to save the sins of humankind. The Son's act, however, does not lead to the rediscovery of the physical Paradise, only to the promise of a heavenly paradise. The original paradise is still lost, and irrevocably so. God reassures the distraught Adam and Eve that they will find a 'paradise within', but this does not alter the fact that the loss of the original paradise still so heavily permeates Milton's epic and indeed his other works. *Paradise Regained* does not, and cannot, offer a solution as to the recovery the original Paradise: it merely absolves Adam and Eve, and the rest of humankind, of their sins. Perhaps, then, this is why the longing for Paradise remains such a prominent theme in Milton's work, and why it haunts each of the genres I have studied Milton's use of in this thesis. Furthermore, this sense of loss and longing is echoed in the ecological context of the period, which Milton alludes to in his work to great

[1] All references to *Paradise Regained* are taken from the following edition: John Milton, *Paradise Regained* in *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems*, ed.by Stella P. Revard (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp.381-450, p385 (ll.1-7).

effect. These issues form parallels with Milton's descriptions of the natural world in his work and are enriched by his use of a range of different genres to portray them, for each of these genres provides set tropes for Milton to work with and to adapt. Milton's use of ecological context is careful and considered: subtle enough so that Paradise remains a vision of surreal beauty and pleasure; yet clear enough that the reader is able to recognise them in the subtext.

In this thesis one of my chief aims has been to demonstrate that there are still new ways of reading Milton both ecocritically and in terms of genre studies. My adopted combined approach has demonstrated that this is possible, and furthermore I have demonstrated that both approaches in fact inform one another and allow for greater breadth of interpretation by being explored in conjunction. This has led to what I hope represents new and exciting readings and interpretations of Milton's work, and original contributions to both ecocritical studies of Milton and to studies of Milton's use of genre.

In drawing my conclusions, it seems logical to revisit the aims I first stated in my Introduction, in order to determine whether this thesis has achieved what it initially set out to do. To reiterate, then, my original aims were as follows:

Ultimately, the two main questions this thesis sets out to address are:

3. To what extent and in what ways is Milton's depiction of Paradise informed by contemporary seventeenth-century debates about the natural world and environment?

4. In particular, how is Milton's use of conventional tropes, images, or motifs associated with particular literary or biblical genres (such as pastoral elegy, hexaemeron, and dream vision poetry) and disciplines (such as geography) inflected by his awareness of such debates?

It is a known certainty that Milton's historical context influenced his poetry: as one of the most intensively studied early modern authors, the reams of scholarship on Milton are testament to this. More specifically, this thesis has looked at Milton's historical environmental context, which, as I discussed in my Introduction, continues to be an ever-popular area. This thesis has argued that there are new interpretations to be gleaned from Milton's work through the consideration of hitherto lesser studied or overlooked historical contextual material and genres. The historical material I claim is of great significance chiefly comprises of Heylyn's *Cosmographie* and Sir William Dugdale's treatise on fenland drainage, both of which contribute valuable new information about Milton's use of sources and his engagement with early modern ecological debates. I have also demonstrated that the study of the discipline of geography and the dream vision genre contribute something new or at least lesser-studied to Milton scholarship. In my discussion of the genre of pastoral elegy, I argued for a greater consideration of the theme of nationhood, and posited that Milton's nationalisation of the elegy demonstrated both patriotism and an ecological awareness on his part. In my third chapter, in my discussion of the Hexameron, I explored Milton's participation in early modern debate concerning the moral status of non-human animal. In each chapter I have attempted to prove that there are new ways of reading Milton, both 'greenly' and in relation to genre studies.

I have argued throughout this thesis that there is a sense of longing for Paradise that pervades Milton's works, most overtly and dramatically, of course, in his epic poem *Paradise Lost.* The symbolic importance of Paradise, and what Paradise represents for Milton, is made immediately evident before the reader even encounters the first line of the poem. In naming his epic *Paradise Lost* Milton places the loss of paradise at the absolute forefront of the reader's mind, ascribing it principal importance. Rather than naming the poem something with less symbolic significance, and thereby placing greater emphasis on the human

characters of the epic, Milton's decision to place Paradise at the forefront suggests an overwhelming sense of regret and sorrow for loss of Eden both on his part and for the rest of the human race. Milton detracts from the key characters by instead placing the Garden of Eden as the main character and the main victim of the Fall. This sense of longing manifests itself, I have argued, in several key ways and approaching this theme through the exploration of Milton's use of specific genres provides us with a range of lenses through which to examine this theme in greater detail.

Milton's use of the elegiac form, for example, represents an overt mournfulness for the decay of the natural world as portrayed in *Lycidas*. When this imagery is considered in contrast with the pastoral idealism depicted elsewhere in the poem, it can in turn can be interpreted as a monody for the loss of innocence, and the loss of a paradisal state and paradise itself. Milton's alignment of pastoral idealism with real British locations and sites: 'For we were nurst upon the self-same hill, / Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade, and rill,' (23-4) (the hill here refers to Christ's College) signifies Milton's nationalisation of the paradise trope. In nationalising his elegiac representation of Paradise, Milton infuses this literary Paradise with early modern English ecological issues by association. A similar effect is achieved in the *Epitaphium Damonis* with the catalogue of British sites. Here, the dual critical approaches works to inform one another: the sense of loss is emphasised by the elegiac mode and tone, whilst the environmental issues that Milton alludes to throughout the work corroborate this loss. The discussion of *Cymbeline* as a comparative element and source text, with its strongly nationalist themes, elegiac floral catalogue and description of British landscape works to draw out the similar elements in Milton's earlier poetry, emphasising the themes present in Milton's poetry. Charting the development of the paradise trope and the theme of longing for paradise from Milton's earlier elegiac poetry through to the dramatic 'Maske' and finally to *Paradise Lost*, this opening chapter sets the precedent for the

remainder of the thesis.

The concept of genre is admittedly slightly less defined in my second chapter, for geography and cosmography are not strictly literary genres in the same sense as 'pastoral' or 'epic' or 'drama' – rather, they are semi-scientific disciplines that have been absorbed by and subsumed into literary genre studies. Here, I demonstrated the importance of these disciplines in relation to Milton's portrayal of the physical landscape of Eden, arguing that these sources contribute vital information to Milton's depiction of Eden. This information, and Milton's depiction are in turn informed by the parallels that exist between his portrayal of the Creation and early modern English fenland drainage schemes. These parallels re-emphasise the theme of national loss and of the loss of a nationalised Paradise, both in Milton's poem and in real-life contemporary England. The real-life desire to recover Paradise can be clearly observed in Dugdale's description of the Great Levels project and the 'former Paradise' he talks of so wistfully, and this sentiment is reflected in Milton's poem. I returned to this concept of recovering or re-creating Paradise in my final chapter in my discussion of gardening practices, re-establishing this notion as a key sub-theme of the thesis and as a response to the overarching theme of the longing for Paradise.

My third chapter combined the study of the appearance of reason in the animals of *Paradise Lost* with a consideration of Milton's use of the commentaries of the early church fathers and Rashi's rabbinical sources in relation to his composition of a hexaemeric narrative. Milton's use of the hexaemeric genre, I argue, is significant in that his engagement with specific sources (proponents of the hexaemeric genre) combined with his knowledge of early modern philosophy creates a unique reading based on the interdependence of genre and ecocritical approaches. His conceptualisation of the creatures of Eden, I argued, constitute a key part of his conceptualisation of Eden altogether, for non-human animals (and indeed the relationship between non-human and human animals) is a key part of prelapsarian life. In this

chapter I continued to demonstrate how Milton infuses his choice of genre with historical context, thus continuing my argument as to the interdependence and relevance of my dual approaches. Ultimately, Milton's depiction of non-human animals is characterised by his use of genre, and his use of historical context works to support and align with that choice of genre, I argue.

My fourth chapter argued for a greater consideration of Milton's use of medieval sources for his construction of Paradise. These sources, I argued, were dream vision narratives: anonymous works such as *Pearl*, Guillaume de Lorris' *Romaunt de la Rose,* and Chaucer's multiple dream vision narratives. There is little to no existing scholarship exploring whether Milton made use of this genre, and in this chapter I wanted to prove that Milton made extensive and considered use of the dream vision in order to furnish the landscape of Paradise. As a genre, the dream vision naturally lends itself to the idea of a longing for paradise: these dreams contain idealised representations of the natural world, akin to paradisal states, representing an innate longing for such a place that remains buried in the human psyche. It therefore makes a great deal of sense that Milton would employ elements of this genre when attempting to recreate Paradise on the page, both because of what the nature of a dream represents and because of the idealised garden settings of these particular dreams. I also aimed to prove that there is enough evidence to suggest that Milton drew from Chaucer directly as opposed to solely indirectly through the works of Spenser, which I have done so successfully through my literary analysis and use of key critical sources. By combining and comparing my discussion of dream vision gardens with the historical contextual practice of re-creating Edenic gardens in England (and the representation of this in *Paradise Lost*) I aimed to demonstrate the symbiotic nature of my two approaches.

Limitations

There are areas of this thesis that perhaps warrant further study or more in-depth explanation as to how and why they relate to the chief questions the thesis has aimed to address. In particular, if I were to start again, I would have devoted more time and attention to my first chapter, balancing out my analysis of Milton's works so to make the discussion more equally proportioned. I would also have liked to add more to my second chapter, partially because it is the shortest of the four, but also because I believe that this area warrants further study. Due to the personal challenges I have faced throughout this PhD, however, I have been unable to do as much as I had originally hoped.

There are of course limitations to a combined approach, and at times, I fear, that these limitations have become more obvious. However I do believe that the benefits of this combined approach outweigh the limitations. Adopting a combined approach has allowed for a greater overall scope in my study yet it has simultaneously allowed me to hone in on certain pockets of analysis and how my selected passages relate to my overall argument. Having the freedom to discuss four of Milton's genres alongside a consideration of his contemporary ecological context has been both fascinating and liberating, and taken this thesis in directions I could not have foreseen.

Had I not been restricted by time or word limit, I would have liked to examine Milton's use of the biblical book Song of Songs in relation to my exploration of the Paradise trope in *Paradise Lost.* There are many areas for further study which could yield rich interpretations. I would also have liked to devote more time to the study of the figure of Sabrina in Milton's *A Maske,* however as this was a relatively late addition to the overall thesis, I was unable to do so. Further study of this figure in conjunction with other historic tales of the drowned maiden and similar literary portrayals of nymph could prove fascinating from a folkloric perspective.

In addition, I would also like to continue my exploration of the representation of nationhood in Milton's works beyond the scope of this thesis, perhaps in relation to British folklore, as with Sabrina.

In terms of future directions for this study, it is the final chapter of this thesis that I think bears the most potential for expansion, along with the second. I do think, for example, that it would be possible to, and potentially enlightening to consider *Lycidas* in light of the medieval dream vision: the poem certainly has dream-like qualities, and the references to waking, rising and sleeping are conducive to this. I also believe that there is definite potential to extend my discussion of the parallels between the dream vision genre and Milton's *Paradise Lost* further than the one chapter, and this is something I would like to consider for my future scholarly work. I think there is certainly room for discussion with regard to *Paradise Regained*, and possibly in some of Milton's shorter poetry and prose. Many of the visual elements of some of Milton's university exercises, for example, appear to lend themselves naturally to dream vision tropes, as do several of his other earlier poems, such as 'A Song on May Morning'. The following is taken from *L'Allegro*:

> The frolick Wind that breathes the Spring,
> Zephir with Aurora playing,
> As he met her once a Maying,
> There on Beds of Violets blew,
> And fresh-blown Roses washt in dew
>
> […]
>
> Chearly rouse the slumbring morn,
> From the side of some Hoar Hill,
> Through the high wood echoing shrill.
> Som time walking not unseen
> By Hedge-row Elms, on Hillocks green,
> Right against the Eastern gate,
> Wher the great Sun begins his state,
> Rob'd in flames, and Amber light,
> The clouds in thousand Liveries dight.

While the Plowman neer at hand,
Whistles ore the Furrow'd Land…

[…]

Meadows trim with Daisies piede,
Shallow Brooks, and Rivers wide.
Towers, and Battlements it sees
Boosom'd high in tufted Trees…

(18 – 22; 54-64; 75-78)[2]

L'Allegro is a distinctly pastoralized poem, and there are also enmeshed elements of classical *locus amoenus* topoi and the paradise trope within, ranging from Zephyr, the west wind; Aurora, goddess of the dawn; beautiful flowers etc, as well as elements that mirror dream vision language in the same instance: the may-Morning trope; a dreamer awakening on a bed of flowers; a dream-meadow complete with bubbling brook. As I discussed in my Introduction, and have mentioned throughout this thesis, these elements all form a common store of tropes that mingle together. Indeed, Stella P. Revard notes that 'the celebration of springtime rites on the first of May was a well-known rural pastime in Milton's England,'[3] and the imagery is a fusion of many different tropes. *L'Allegro* directly translates as 'happy man;' perhaps there is a parallel between the happy man and the 'happy pair,' Adam and Eve in their rural bliss, that can be further explored through the medium of the dream vision.

Similarly, I think there is further room for discussion with regard to Milton's use of geography and cosmography, both in *Paradise Lost* and in *Paradise Regained*. In particular further study of early modern cosmographies read alongside Milton's description of the Holy Lands in *Paradise Regained* could prove very fruitful. In my Master's dissertation I explored Milton's heavily embellished description of the gospel account of Christ's temptation, focusing particularly on his description of the Judaean landscape and making fairly brief

[2] John Milton, 'L'Allegro', in *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems,* ed.by Stella P. Revard (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp.48-52
[3] *John Milton: Complete Shorter Poems,* ed.by Stella P. Revard (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp.48-52 (p.49n9).

references to Milton's use of geography. Further study of the text in conjunction with further cosmographies and geographies could potentially provide a clearer picture and a new case for Milton's use of sources, and also further contribute to understanding of the contemporary impact of geographical studies upon the literature of the period.

There is, then, an early modern longing for Paradise that Milton captures quintessentially, not only in *Paradise Lost,* but also in his earlier poetic works. It represents a deeply Christian desire to return to the prelapsarian state, to a closer relationship with God, and to a life of simple pleasure: a desire to go home. As Terry Comito has claimed, 'gardens are places in which men come home again,' and nowhere is this more evident than in Milton's wistful portrayal of Paradise, and it is also made evident in early modern gardening practices and treatises, which are, in turn, reflected and represented in *Paradise Lost*.[4] Elegy fairly overtly represents mourning and loss, and the 'tired' tropes that Samuel Johnson so laments are reborn: the idealised pastoral natural world becomes a landscape reinvigorated by truth and context in Milton's capable hands. The study and use of geography represents the desire to recover and re-claim Paradise that accompanied empirical expansion in the early modern era: the sense of new hope that pervaded these excursions, and, with the subsequent realisation that Paradise was indeed truly lost, the attempts to re-create it on English soil. By engaging with the genre of Hexameron Milton joins a long line of philosophers and scholars seeking to unpick and embellish the sparse lines of Genesis, and for Milton this includes the practice of vividly and painstakingly re-creating Eden in literature, which, in itself, appears a rather torturous task to assign to oneself. Finally, there is the dream vision. Arguably, it is perhaps in Milton's use of the dream vision that the sentiment of a longing for paradise is fully and truly realised: was Paradise nothing but a dream? The desire to return there is a dream in itself. Furthermore, the gardens of the medieval dream visions are, like Milton's Paradise,

[4] Comito, *The Idea of the Garden*, p.xii.

brilliant in their beauty and ethereality, and they also provide rich, well-developed examples of *hortus conclusus* gardens from which Milton draws influence. All of these genres facilitate the exploration of the many paradise tropes Milton is engaging with. As I have stressed throughout this thesis, Milton's Paradise very much represents the cultural zenith of the paradise trope. There is, I have argued, an overwhelming sense of loss and longing for the earthly paradise, made all the more poignant by the richly detailed visuals that Milton conjures. A single line of Milton's can refer to innumerable sources: classical, biblical, medieval, contextual, personal experience: this thesis has attempted to focus on those most immediately relevant to Milton's conceptualisation of Paradise as a physical (as well as spiritual) place. I have placed particular emphasis on historical ecological context as I argue that it directly correlates to Milton's portrayal of Paradise, as have other Milton scholars before me: where I have attempted to build upon and contribute something to the debate, I have attempted to do so in conjunction with a study of Milton's genres. Ultimately, this thesis presents an original contribution to Milton studies through its use of hitherto unidentified or understudied source materials, arguing that these sources are fundamental to Milton's representation of Paradise, and, crucially, that his use of these sources is shaped by the conventions of the many genres he makes use of.

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