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THE RICE INSTITUTE

THE VISUAL ARTS IN MILTON'S POETRY

by

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Approved,

George W. Whitby

Houston, Texas
May, 1955
To

My Mother
Throughout this thesis the prose quotations from Milton are taken from *The Works of John Milton* (18 vols., Columbia University Press, 1931-1938), and the references are to volume and page. The poetry quotations from Milton are taken from *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, edited by H. C. Beeching (Oxford University Press, 1952). For the short poems, the references are to page number; for the long poems, the references are to line number.

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Grateful acknowledgment is made to Professor George Wesley Whiting, The Rice Institute, for all his scholarly suggestions and for his searching examination of the whole manuscript; to Mrs. Margaret T. Hunter, Librarian of the Huntington Art Gallery, for all the material which she made available; and to Dr. James Phillips, Reference Librarian of the Fondren Library, Houston, Texas, for his help in securing documents.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Readers of English literature are aware of the profoundly complex changes in form, content, and the whole spiritual outlook that took place in the prose and poetry of the sixteenth century as the result of contact with the literature of Greece and Rome and Renaissance Italy—changes that gradually achieved the transition from medieval to modern modes of thought and feeling. But they are frequently less vividly aware that during the same period the visual arts were also passing through a development equally significant and illuminative of the forces that were transforming the soul of Western civilization. The most vital difference between the visual arts in antiquity and in modern times is that now they tend to address themselves more and more to the actual needs of men, while in olden times they were supposed to serve some more than human purpose.¹

The English had built for four centuries in the Gothic² manner, both for domestic and for public purposes. This art of building had been imported from France, the country which had taken the lead in art during the Middle Ages. Through the years the English bishops and master masons had implanted their personalities and temperament into the designs to make the English churches more massive and less lofty than the cathedrals at Chartres and Amiens. Within the walls of Old London alone there were ninety odd Gothic churches. The national temperament, conservative and tenacious of whatever custom has familiarized, viewed with distrust the "new fashion"
as John Shute, whom the Duke of Northumberland had sent to Italy in 1550, termed the Italian Renaissance style. But with Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries and a sudden accession to great wealth of a numerous class of new men, the latest fashion from overseas had appeared in the homes of the *nouveau riche* and at Court in chimney-pieces, doorways, and gateways in the form of the classical Orders. The English were borrowing artistic ideas again; this time Greek and Roman ones via Renaissance Italy. In the wake of Italian merchants who had come to London for trade and of Italian craftsmen imported by Cardinal Wolsey in the reign of Henry VIII many Renaissance ideas crossed the channel. But after Wolsey's fall the direct importation of Italian skill virtually ceased, and again artistic ideas were borrowed from France for the next forty years.³ Under Elizabeth I, when trade declined with Italy and increased with the Low Countries, artistic ideas came to England through Holland, Germany, and the Netherlands. The interpretation of classical design by the Antwerp school was "provincial and excessively mannered... seizing on minor details and giving them an affected and illogical importance," but it exercised far more influence in England than anything coming directly from Italy.⁴

Low Country training in architecture and sculpture, carefully fostered by the Protestant Tudors, persisted during the reigns of the first two Stuarts.⁵ However, the Stuarts lacked the shrewd intuition for the feelings of the common people which the Tudors had. Though the mythical ancestry of the Tudors went back to King Arthur, Elizabeth I had a nearer progenitor, a great-grandfather, who was a London merchant.⁶ Also such
Dutch, Flemish, and French pattern books as *Architectura* (Antwerp, 1577) by De Vries; *Architectura* (1598) by Wendel Dietterlin; Premier Livre d'architecture (1616) by Jacob Francart; *Architectura Moderna* (Amsterdam, 1631) by Hendrik de Keyser; and *Palazzi di Genova* (1622) attributed to Rubens were used by native English builders (tradesmen-designers) to graft new details onto old Gothic forms and floor plans. Building was still of the Tudor-Gothic tradition, capable more and more of being made the medium of new arrangements of plan and of details. Classical architecture in England made its way not as a mode of building but as a mode of decoration applied to the old stock of English tradition.

In Milton's London Sir Henry Wotton and John Evelyn together with such builders as Inigo Jones, John Webb, and Sir Roger Pratt were advocating the Renaissance manner of building; but it was not yet popular, and few buildings in this style were actually constructed. Comments from contemporary architects present the situation:

You should get some ingenious gentleman who has seen much of that kind abroad and been somewhat versed in the best authors of architecture: viz. Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, etc., to do it /the design of your house/ for you, and to give you a design of it on paper, though but roughly drawn (which will generally fall out better than one by a home-bred architect for want of his better experience as is daily seen.

This reliance on foreign design was recognized by no less an authority than Christopher Wren, who remarked to the committee of Christ's Hospital on 24 November 1692:

It was observed by somebody that our English artists are dull enough at invention, but when once a foreign pattern is set they imitate it so well, that commonly they exceed the original--I confess this observation is generally true.
Although it is a phase of their culture which English historians of British art acknowledge but do not insist upon, England in her effort to supply the artistic needs of her aristocracy has always been more than most European countries dependent upon the assistance of foreign craftsmen. In the 1946-47 Catalogue of the Royal Academy Exhibition of the King's Pictures, only twenty-two out of the one hundred seventy-one artists whose works were shown were British, and these are certainly not the important ones.

It is relevant to reflect that a scheme for the foundation of an academy of arts and sciences was seriously proposed to King James I, but did not mature either in his reign or that of the art-loving Charles. It is very significant too that the first academy to be founded under royal patronage in England is the Royal Society, which has become the most famous scientific body in the world. This foundation came at a time of marked intellectual curiosity, at what would now be called a time of reconstruction, after a war in which national faith and political convictions had been sadly and severely tried and tested.

Christopher Wren was trained at Oxford as a scientist in astronomy during the Commonwealth, and held the chair of astronomy at Gresham College in 1657. Science was the strongest intellectual force in that day—in the form of astronomy, mathematics, and anthropology—and the ear of science began to eclipse the era of art, in England as well as in Europe. Not until 1711, thirty-seven years after Milton's death, was an academy of art instituted in London by Gottfried Kneller, a German.

After 1500 Italy with its court culture and the Dutch and Flemish Netherlands with their culture of burghers took the lead in art. Long before Milton's day the great period of the Renaissance on the continent had
passed. Leonardo da Vinci had died in 1519; Raphael, in 1520; Michelangelo, in 1564; and Titian, in 1576. There are no names of English painters of the front rank during all these years of achievement. Under the Tudors the record of painting in England is not a record of English painting. Hans Holbein was not invited to England by Henry VIII, but first came in 1526 on his own initiative in the hope of finding work. He was young and little known and had only the lukewarm encouragement of Sir Thomas More; regular employment from the Court did not come until late in life, and then at low rates. Henry VIII was not a considerable patron of the art of painting and never appreciated Holbein's potential capacity as an artist. Tapestries, on which he spent relatively large sums, were the chief adornments of the walls of his palaces. Compared with his contemporary Francis I of France, who was an amateur painter as well as a patron of the art and invited the best painters from all countries of Europe to his realm—even Leonardo da Vinci, Benvenuto Cellini, and Primaticcio—Henry VIII's interest in the arts pales. Even though the account books of Henry VIII show that some of the many Italians who came to his court were artists, the remarkable thing is that none of the first importance were attracted there. Cardinal Wolsey had imported more Italian artists than Henry VIII did. Nor did the other Tudors do much about fostering painting. Nor did James I. Consequently it was left to Charles I. In the limited circle of his Court the years 1630-40 are a period of brilliant artistic achievement, full of promise. But the outbreak of the Civil War brought all this to an end. It is significant that neither Holbein in the sixteenth nor Van Dyck in the seventeenth
century brought into being a native school of painting on English soil.

Now English drawings of the sixteenth century can literally be counted on the fingers of the two hands; of engravings there may be one or two hundred. Not until the middle of the seventeenth century is there an English engraver with any number of works to his name, and the English paintings of the same century are the veriest fraction of what has survived in other countries. When compared to the rest of Europe, England lacked any real English school of art throughout the seventeenth century.¹⁹

Since no nation can be described as inartistic and since no nation has ever cultivated the arts for their own sake, there must be a possible answer to the question of why it is that England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not quickened with the rest of Europe to found a tradition in the visual arts which might have been as great as the tradition of English literature. It has been said that the cast of the English mind has always been more literary than pictorial, that it conceives art as an illustration rather than a creation—a something that helps out history and the gospels rather than a complete entity in itself. There is something in the statement. Beyond doubt England shows its literary bias in its art. For literature was as native to the island as art was foreign to it. The poet dates from the earliest times, "The Seafarer" in the Exeter Manuscript, for example, and the appeal to the ear by language and music has always been the chief avenue of approach to the English understanding.²⁰
C. H. Collins Baker and W. G. Constable have explained why
in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the English did not find a
native school in painting, and the explanation is apropos of the other
visual arts as well:

On the economic side there was not sufficient bulk of employ-
ment to maintain the necessary number of studios or workshops in
England in the early sixteenth century; these had not only to be main-
tained but almost established afresh: the religious houses which had
been the great schools and workshops of the past were anyhow in
decline and then had to go altogether....

Yet, on the other side, it cannot be said that the arts were
altogether in decay in England. Men still built themselves houses
and tombs, gardens, and furniture, and in these domestic arts
native genius found expression in no uncertain way.... The English-
man of then tended as now to centre his life on his house, and what
he had in his house he liked to be able to use. Pictures were
largely furnishings or embellishments to remind him of his ancestors
and family or of his own pleasures, and that is why portraits and
sporting scenes so often make up the bulk of an older English col-
lection. It would be unjust to assume that most men were insensible
even if ignorant, that only a few finer, more travelled minds
realized the achievements of European art of the time.

On the physical side again, England has no land frontiers,
consequently once political and religious upheaval had caused a
break in tradition it was not easy to get a new one established.
Holland of the seventeenth century, in spite of similar upheavals,
produced a great school of painters. England had to wait another
hundred years.

It is not difficult to multiply economic excuses, but in all
situations of this kind there is a human factor at least as strong as
the material. To answer the question fully on its spiritual side
might require that definitive essay on the English temperament for
which the world still waits. Such an essay may be usefully imag-
inied though it cannot be attempted here. Perhaps it is a fact that
the English temperament does not easily express itself in terms of
painting: the English School has in its time produced artists of
extraordinary individual genius and it is true also to say that all
the great painters have been individualists far more than leaders
of a school deeply conscious of its traditions.21

The visual arts belong to the larger background of Milton's
cultural experience and are an aspect of "civilitie,"22 as he expresses
the fine arts in *The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Common-
wealth*, yet they are separate from religion:

And this I finde to have bin practised in the old Athenian Commonwealth, reputed the first and ancientest place of civilitie in all Greece; that they had in thir several cities, a peculiar; in Athens, a common government; and thir right, as it befell them, to the administration of both. They should have beer also schools and academies at thir own choice, wherein thir children may be bred up in thir own sight to all learning and noble education not in grammar only, but in all liberal arts and exercises. This would soon spread much more knowledge and civilitie, yea religion through all parts of the land, by communicat- ing the natural heat of government and culture more distribu-
tively to all extreme parts, which now lie numm and neglected, would soon make the whole nation more industrious, more ingenuous at home, more potent, more honorable abroad.  

This study nowhere shows that Milton ever put his love of the visual arts, or indeed his love of poetry, philosophy, oratory, or music above his consistent Christianity, but it gives ample proof of his observation of and interest in the wide range of the visual arts as they existed in his London. It has been declared that Milton was indifferent to the visual arts and that his references to painting, tapestry, sculpture, and architecture are inconsiderable. On the other hand it has recently been maintained that Milton's "images drawn from the various arts have a considerable scope and significance. They make it clear that Milton can reconcile aesthetic enjoyment with moral earnestness." What is the comparative standard when one states that Milton was or was not indifferent to the visual arts? It could be argued that it is more accurate to say the English nation was indifferent to the visual arts in the seventeenth century, and that Milton, because of his obser-
vation and appreciation of architecture, tapestry, painting, engraving,
sculpture, and goldsmiths' work, was as an Englishman unusually sensi-
tive to these arts. Milton's idea of the purpose of the arts is expressed
in *The Art of Logic*:

For just as the precepts of logic are to be understood as applying to
everything, so the precepts of all the arts are to be understood of
every time; therefore they are said to be eternal and of eternal
truth. *(The Art of Logic, XI, 31)*

In 1655 Milton states that no Englishman thinks more highly of the arts
of the Low Countries than he:

You are indeed greatly deceived, if you think there is any Englishman
more friendly, more closely allied in heart, to the United Provinces,
than myself; if you imagine there is any one who thinks more highly
of that republic; who prizes more and who oftener applauds their in-
dustry, their arts, ingenuity, and liberty;...(Pro Se Defensio, IX,105)

Most of the architecture, sculpture, and engraving other than Gothic
which Milton actually saw in Old London came from Low Country ideas
and craftsmen.

However Milton says he chose to go to Italy rather than to Holland
because he "knew, and had found before, that it was the retreat of
civility and of all polite learning" *(Second Defense, VIII, 115)*. He
maintains that Italy and Greece are the civilest nations of Europe:

I am now to write of what befell the Britains from fifty and three
years before the Birth of our Saviour, when first the Romans came
in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a story of much truth,
and for the first hunderd years and somwhat more, collected without
much labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those
two, the civilest, and the wisest of European Nations, both Italy and
Greece, afforded to the actions of that Puissant City. For worthy
deeds are not often destitute of worthy relatiers: as by a certain
Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gon hand
in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same Ages.
*(History of Britain, X, 32)*
Though Italy was on the lips of Englishmen, the evidence shows that France and the Low Countries were the real source of the existing arts in England at this time. Before a final estimate of Milton's references to the visual arts can be had, what there was to see in Old London and in the places he visited in Italy and France will have to be ascertained.

It was into a medieval city that John Milton was born on Bread Street, near Cheapside on the one hand and St. Paul's on the other, on 9 December 1608, the year after Jamestown was settled in America. Shakespeare was still in town, and for three years Old London housed these two poets in buildings not very far apart. Milton was born into a liberal, puritan home. His brother Christopher grew up in the same home to be a Royalist and a Catholic. The elder Milton was interested in other arts than that of music, for in 1618 he commissioned young Cornelius Johnson (or Janssen) to paint his son's portrait. As far as present knowledge goes, Johnson is the first native-born master of the single-head British portraiture tradition. In 1908 his Milton portrait (the history of which can be traced continuously) owned by J. Passmore-Edwards was lent to the Milton Tercentenary Exhibition at Cambridge, where its appearance created a sensation.

London was a walled town with several gates, surrounded by many villages which were declared suburbs in 1526 by an Act of Parliament which regulated the extent of jurisdiction given to the wardens of certain City companies with respect to the control of apprentices of
the trades within two miles of the City. Today the best impression of
the English medieval street may be gained from continental towns, such
as Bruges in Belgium or Rothenburg-on-Tauber in Bavaria, which is
perhaps the most perfect medieval town in Europe. It is impossible to
state with accuracy the exact population of London at any time in the
seventeenth century, only estimates can be made. The first definite in-
formation is the census of 1801. Three-fourths of the century was
punctuated with periodic attempts to curb the natural and inevitable
growth of the City. Elizabeth I, James I, Charles I, Cromwell, and
Charles II issued proclamations against building in and around London,
but they were not always obeyed. With the gradual decline of Venice
and Genoa and the fall of Antwerp in 1585, London gradually became the
economic capital of Europe. The ambition of every provincial apprentice
was to go to London, where he might grow rich and become an alderman
or even lord mayor. London was essentially the creation of tradesmen
and the citizenry took great pride in their city. Although the court might
reside in the curtilage of the city, the tone and quality of London were
determined by Cheapside rather than Whitehall. But it was a con-
gested and pestiferous town, and there were many plagues, not just the
one in 1665. The Great Fire in 1666 is considered by some a blessing
rather than a curse.

Whether one stood on Stamford Hill north of the City as James I
did on 7 May 1603 (Pl. 1), when the lord mayor and the aldermen met him
here on his first public entry into London, or whether one went for a
day of pleasure across the only bridge over the river to Southwark to the
inns, the play houses, the bear-baiting bowls, or the parks, the church spires and towers were a conspicuous feature in a distant view of London, more especially in that view from the south side of the Thames with the river as foreground. Visscher's "Long View" (Pls. 2 and 3), dated 1616, gives this in a striking manner and shows many towers and spires not depicted in even Wenceslaus Hollar's "London from Bankside," engraved 1647. Milton was impressed with this skyline of his home town when, in his younger days at Cambridge, describing the river in "At a Vacation Exercise" (p. 81), he called it "Royal Towred Thame."

The next few chapters will present a closer view of the condition of the arts in Old London.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I


4 Summerson, pp. 22-23.


8 Summerson, p. 23.


15 Baker and Constable, pp. 5 and 11.


17 Louis Dimier, *French Painting in the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1904), passim.


21 Baker and Constable, pp. 3-4.

22 See *N. E. D.*, definitions No. 7 and No. 11, for the sense in which Milton used the word.


26 See N. E. D., definitions No. 8 and No. 9, for the sense in which Milton uses the word.


28 Waterhouse, pp. 33 and 38.


30 Thornbury and Walford, Old and New London, VI, 567.

31 Lloyd, p. 44.


34 L. B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1935), pp. 10, 11, 42.

35 Thornbury and Walford, V, 545; Brett-James, p. 166.

36 A. M. Hind, Wenceslaus Hollar and his Views of London and Windsor in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1922), Plates XV-XXA.
CHAPTER II
PICTORIAL ART IN OLD LONDON
PAINTING

The purging of the ecclesiastical buildings in England which has left nothing but odds and ends of English Gothic painting was begun by Henry VIII (1509-1547), continued under Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth I, and completed under the Commonwealth, mainly by the decree of the Long Parliament in 1643, when the moderate or Presbyterian faction was in the majority.

The majority of noblemen and squires (the civil wars saw the rise of a "new" gentry, landlords of merchants from the middle ranks, at the expense of the Crown), no matter how exalted their social status in the county, paid little if any attention to the arts. They cared a bit about their comfort and a good deal more about their dignity and prestige. There were exceptions, of course, such as Sir Nathaniel Bacon, Sir William Paston, Duke of Buckingham, and Lord Arundel. Painters were creatures exotic and classless whose art men of birth would rarely condescend to practice. Usually they were foreigners and papists and so politically and socially suspect. Generally the peasantry lacked the means to be interested in the arts, but they copied the example of the gentry when they could afford it.

But a taste for painting was slowly growing in England, though not much proof of this now remains. In his Description of England (1577 and 1587), William Harrison left pictures out when he described
the furnishings of noblemen, knights, and merchants, who "in neatnesse and curiositie exceed all other." The things he mentioned were tapestry, silver plate, Turkey work, pewter, brass, and fine linen; even the inferior artificers and many farmers had plate, tapestry and silk hangings on their beds and carpets and fine napery on their tables. 3 Paul Hentzner writing about his travels in England in 1598 noted "their beds are covered with tapestry, even those of farmers," 4 but he does not speak of paintings except in the Royal Palaces. But Thomas Deloney speaks of portraits in Jack of Newbury of 1592; however, not every citizen could have possessed "fifteene faire Pictures...couered with Certaines of greene silke, fringed with gold," which Jack of Newbury, the clothier, has in his wainscoted parlor, but every citizen would have approved the sentiments reflected in those pictures, all of which portrayed some hero who, from the station of laborer or tradesman, had "been advanced to high estate and Princely dignities, by wisedome, learning and diligence." 5 Naive though the artistic sense of the commoners may have been, the aesthetic consciousness of plain men and women was growing with a vigor stimulated by increasing wealth, which placed within reach of the multitude painted pictures, tapestries, and other handiwork of sundry native and foreign craftsmen. As the citizenry accumulated the means they went in especially for improving their homes with portraits of family members and with pictures of hunting scenes. 6

Richard Haydocke, in his translation A Tracte Containing The
Artes of curious Paintinge Caruinge & Buildinge by Giovanni Lomazzo (1598), greatly deplored the English lack of artistic feeling and the alleged decay of the arts, the cause of which he ascribed largely to the fact that the purchaser would not pay well for the work of art, and in consequence the artist would not do his best. Haydocke hoped to improve the taste of the multitude and to help create a cultivated class of patrons who might encourage art. In order that the artist may not be hampered by the bad taste "amongst the ordinarie sorte," he asserts in his introduction that he has "taken paines, to teach the one to judge and the other to worke." But from his words it is evident that the English were then beginning to appreciate painting. 7 In Palladis Tamia (1598) Francis Meres has a lengthy list of names of English painters, 8 though no one has yet figured out just what names belong to which pictures that have come down to us. 9

In 1624 Sir Henry Wotton, the first known critic of Milton's poetry, wrote of painting together with sculpture as being the handmaiden, the inside and outside ornaments of architecture. He pointed out that "these delightful Crafts may be divers wayes ill applied in a Land," that both painting and sculpture may be used lasciviously and superstitiously.

Sir George Buck, one of the Gentlemen of Charles I's Privy Chamber and Master of his Majesty's Office of the Revels, in his Third University appended to Edmund Howes edition of Stow's Annales in 1631 observes:
But this /Graphice or Paynting/ is an Art now not accounted ingenuous or fit for a Gentleman, by reason that it is much fallen from the reputation, which it had aunciently, which whether it bee for the unworthinesse or unskilfulnesse of the persons, exercising and practising it in this age, or for the abuses and decepts used by Paynters, or for the scandall of Images and Idols (for the which Philo condemneth it) or for the foule deuise of the faire Cosmetica: or for what other cause I know not well, but sure I am, it is now accounted base and mechanicall, and a meere mestier of an Artificer, and handy Craftsman. Insomuch as fewe or no Gentleman or generous and liberall person will adventure the practising this Art. But in so much as Aristotle recommendeth it to his Statesman or Politician, and because it is numbered amongst those Arts which are necessary for a Gentleman and for a Courtier, by Count Baldessar...and in regard also that the Heraulds (who be Gentlemen by their places, and whose place is next in this Treatise, must bee skilfull in this Art) I must preface somewhat in the defence or exercise of it.

The fact that the Greeks and Romans, who had excelled in the visual arts, approved painting and sculpture carried much weight. Francis Mortoft, an Englishman, traveling in Italy in 1658, could say of the statue of Proserpina by his contemporary Bernini "that it wants nothing but Antiquity to make it one of the famousest statues in the world." 12

The painting of the ancients was discussed for English readers in 1638 by Franciscus Junius, an Anglo-Saxon scholar and librarian of the Earl of Arundel. His *De Pictura Veterum* of 1637 was englishted the following year as *The Painting of the Ancients*. Books about the arts were slowly being published in England, but the ideas were primarily gathered from foreign sources.

Henry Peacham, tutor of Arundel's sons and author of *The Art of Drawing* (1606) and *The Valley of Varietie* (1638), a copy of which Milton probably owned, 13 went so far as to allow that it was fitter for a gentleman to be a musician than a painter, if he had to be
serious about either. Yet Peacham was proud when his countrymen excelled in these pursuits. He complained that painting was done for too small a fee in England as compared to that received in ancient or modern Rome. 14 Reading about what a prince should study in The Valley of Varietie, Milton would have learned this from Peacham,

There are certaine Mechanicall Arts, neare a kinne to the Liberall, wherein a Prince may take his pleasure, as Painting... Belonging to this, is Statuarie or Carving...

Wee reade also of many Princes who have beene excellent Goldsmiths. 15

So far none of these comments on painting by Englishmen express a theory of the art except those of Henry Wotton. Ben Jonson in Timber almost has a theory of painting, 16 but on close analysis it becomes quite like Wotton's.

Nor did Milton write down for us his aesthetic theory in so many words, but if he had chosen to develop the theme it would have "proclaimed the high function of all fine art, and called for sensitivity, clear vision, and lofty purpose in every artist." He does not use the term "fine art", 17 supplying its place by "liberal arts," and "arts that polish life," and by combinations like "arts and eloquence," "spacious art and high knowledge," and "civility of manners, arts, and arms." The fine arts, equally with the useful crafts, must be governed by laws and subject to method. This coincides with Aristotle's view,

As...there is no art which is not a rationally productive state of mind, nor any such state of mind which is not an art, it follows that art must be the same as a productive state of mind under the guidance of true reason. 18
But we have Milton's own words on the point,

I suppose no one doubts that the primal mover of every art is God, the author of all wisdom; in the past this truth has not escaped philosophers.

The assisting causes were the men divinely taught and eminent for ability who in the past discovered the individual arts. The method of discovering these was much like the method of painting; for as there are in a picture two things--the subject or archetype and the art of painting--so in the discovery of an art, nature or practice and the example of skillful men corresponds to the archetype, and logic to the art of the painter--natural logic at least, which is the very faculty of reason in the mind of man, according to that common saying: Art imitates nature.

(The Art of Logic, XI, 11)

Consciously or unconsciously from a lifelong habit of thought, Milton shows throughout his works his propensity to judge an object in terms of its established position in some end. He definitely could not be listed among those who praise art for art's sake, but then there were few such Englishmen in his day or for many decades to follow.

Milton recognized a difference between artistic productivity (fine arts to us) and mere dexterity in the useful crafts. Every adept, however, is an artist to him¹⁹ (he even calls Galileo a "Tuscan Artist," P. L. I, 288), and the form of the product of the craftsman would be determined in large measure by its ultimate function. The function in this case would be lower down the scale of being than the end function of say an object like N. Tribolo's Fountain of Hercules at the Villa Castello near Florence, Italy.²⁰ Milton does not agree with George Buck nor Peacham that painting is mostly mechanical:

If in lesse noble and almost mechanik arts according to the definitions of those Authors, he is not esteem'd to deserve the name of a compleat Architect, an excellent Painter, or the like,
that beares not a generous mind above the pleasantly regard of
wages, and hire; much more must we thinke him a most imperfect,
and incomplaeate Divine. \textit{(Animadversions, III, 162)}

Nor does Milton fail to distinguish between practical skill and
theoretical knowledge of an art, just as Henry Wotton had done in his
discussion of painting. \footnote{21} Milton writes in 1642

\textit{For as none can judge of a Painter, or Statuary but he who is an
Artist, that is, either in the Practick or the Theory, which is often
separated from the practick, and judges learnedly without it.}
\textit{(An Apology, III, 346)}

In 1641 he wrote

\textit{For many may be able to judge who is fit to be made a minister,
that would not be found fit to be made Ministers themselves, as
it will not be deny'd that he may be the competent Judge of a neat
picture, or elegant poem, that cannot limne the like.}
\textit{(Animadversions, III, 157)}

T. H. Banks thinks this remark might indicate "that Milton regarded
himself as an adequate critic of painting," \footnote{22} but Wotton discussed
the idea and more probably Milton, who visited Wotton and asked his
advice on European travel, was influenced by not only this point in his
theory of art but others also which are stated in the \textbf{Elements of
Architecture}. Milton would have classified Henry Wotton, because of
his theoretical knowledge, a connoisseur of art, as did indeed
Charles I himself. \footnote{23}

Milton confesses that pictures had been of use to him in a
letter to young Peter Heimbach written from Westminster, 8 November
1656. Heimbach priced the Blaeu Atlas for him when he returned to
Holland and had written Milton how much it cost, "a hundred and thirty
florins." The twelve volumes are huge folios, beautifully bound and
illustrated, many of the pictures hand painted. Milton answers

As far as I am concerned, pictures are, on account of my blindness, of little use to me, whose blind eyes wander in vain over the real world, and I am afraid that any money I spent on that book would only seem to make my deprivation more painful to me.  

Knowing that richly colored pictures which he could not now enjoy were near him would make his blindness harder to bear.

The growing interest of Englishmen in painting brought forth several books on the subject in the second half of the century.

Alexander Brown, art teacher of Mrs. Pepys, wrote Ars Pictoria (1669), in which he borrowed from Richard Haydocke, and The Whole Art of Drawing (1660), which is based on ideas of the Italian Odoardo Fialetti from Bologna and written for Gentlemen as well as practitioners. Sir William Sanderson's Graphice (1658) borrows heavily from others, including Francis Bacon, Henry Wotton, and Henry Peacham. William Salmon's popular Polygraphice, first published in 1672, went through eight editions by the end of the century.

This reading public of seventeenth-century society may be roughly separated into three major divisions. The highest class consisted of the titled nobility, the landed gentry, and the more important members of the learned professions. The lowest class was composed of unskilled laborers, an illiterate peasantry, and those small artisans whose trades required little training and whose rewards were meager. Between these extremes was a numerous sort of merchants, tradesfolk, and skilled craftsmen — "middle sort of men," "the middle ranks," -- such social strata included the widest variety of
economic interest and personal position; but these commercial groups
were not welded together into one social class until after the Civil War,
in the main, after the Revolution. They had been rising but not yet tri-
umphant as a class in the first three quarters of the seventeenth centu-
ry. Outside certain exceptional industries (like the clothing manu-
facture) and districts, there was little large-scale production and no
massed proletariat of propertyless wage-earners. The typical work-
man was still normally a small master, who continued himself to
work at the loom or at the forge. 28 The individual craftsman was
closer to the completion and distribution of the product of his labor
than one is in the twentieth century, and the apprentice might look for-
ward to becoming a master craftsman, who could, if he wished, com-
bine the functions of manufacturer and retail or wholesale distributor
of his finished products. The division of labor had not yet become so
complex that the skilled laborer felt that he was merely a cog in an
industrial machine. So overlapping were trades and business occupa-
tions that they combined to produce a bourgeoisie relatively far more
extensive than modern industrial society permits.

Although the middle ranks who could afford it were ready
enough to equip themselves with the trappings of gentility--portrait
paintings which were relatively expensive, subject paintings on canvas,
known technically as "painted cloths," and engravings from print
shops--they as yet saw no necessity for eschewing their origin, and
it was not until the social eclipse of the Restoration that wealthy mem-
bers of the bourgeoisie began to ape the prodigality of courtiers and attempted to hide their connections with trade. 29

John Stow does not list any picture-shops or print-shops in his detailed account of the locations of the various trades over the City of London. 30 Picture-shops may have been on a par with say our fashionable photographers' shops in the twentieth century to the citizenry of seventeenth-century London. When in 1620 Henry Holland published his collection of historical portraits called Herwologia Anglica, he collected the materials not merely from various private collections in noblemen's houses, but also from "a shop in the Strand," "a shop in Fleet Street," "a shop in Blackfriars," and "a shop in Paul's." 31 Before the Civil War a famous picture-shop was kept at Snow Hill, Holborn, by Robert Peake, the master of William Faithorne, who engraved Milton's portrait. 32

Shakespeare presumably knew about picture-shops from his lines in his Sonnet xxiv; and he speaks of painting in Sonnets xvi, xlvii, lxvii, and ci. 33

William Painter, a tradesman-author in the service of the merchant prince Sir Paul Pindar (not the same as the compiler of The Palace of Pleasure), in his little book of aphorisms, Chaucer new Painted (c. 1623), alludes to the picture sellers who have their shops from Temple Bar to Charing Cross,

You curious Painter
and you Limmers all,
From Temple-barre
along to Charing-crosse,
That your gay pictures
hang out on the wall,
Goe take them downe,
for they are all but drosse:
For here are lively
pictures to behold,
More worth then those
that gilded are with gold. 34

Cheap pictures and colored prints from engravings were exported from the Netherlands to England and sold in the shops in London and at fairs. 35 In addition to these imported pictures, foreign artists, chiefly refugees from France and the Low Countries, did a thriving business in England. 36 In 1634 Peacham speaks of Dürer's "peecees... long since worn out of presse" and of "peecees of Michael Angelo... rare and very hard to be come by." 37

Stamped on the back of William Faithorne's engraving of Sir Thomas Fairfax done from the portrait by Robert Walker is this information, "Are to be sould by Tho: Rowlett at his shop near Temple barre." This shop existed during the Civil War and the print was probably done between 21 January 1645, Fairfax's first appointment to commander-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces, and 14 March 1648, his succession to the title of Lord Fairfax on the death of his father. 38 Milton's sonnet is entitled "On the Lord Gen. Fairfax at the siege of Colchester."

Ned Ward, that coarse observer in The London Spy (1698-1700), reports the activity at a picture-shop near St. Paul's:

In our Loitering Perambulation round the outside of St. Pauls, we came to a Picture-sellers Shop, where as many Smutty Prints were staring Church in the Face, as a Learned Debauche ever found in Aretine's Postures. I observ'd there were more People gazing at these loose Fancies of some Leachorous Graver, than I could see reading of Sermons at the Stalls of all the Neighbouring Booksellers. 39
The shops in Old London were crowded close together; the fronts were open to the street, as there were no glass windows in them yet. Shop signs were a part of the pictorial scene. Shakespeare observed tavern signs (Hercules and his load for instance at the Globe in Hamlet II, ii), and the shop sign of Milton's father was practically the same design as that of the family coat of arms, an eagle with outstretched wings. Macaulay writes

The walk from Charing Cross to Whitechapel lay through an endless succession of "Saracens' Heads," "Royal Oaks," "Blue Bears," and "Golden Lambs"... The houses in the West-end, in 1685, were not numbered; there would, indeed, have been very little advantage in numbering them, for of the coachmen, chairmen, porters, and errand-boys of London only a small proportion could read, and it was necessary to see marks which the most ignorant could understand. The shops were therefore distinguished by painted or sculptured signs, which gave a gay and grotesque aspect to the streets.

The headquarters of the sign-painter's craft were in Harp Alley, leading off Shoe Lane in Fleet Street. Here a shopkeeper would find a selection of ready-made signboards to hand, or he could commission one to his own fancy. These were the regular practitioners, but the more skilled coach-painters of Long Acre had the better class trade in their hands, and where a more elaborate piece of work was called for or heraldic devices needed to be expertly rendered, the painter accustomed to working on coach panels, or decorating sedan chairs, was better qualified for the job. Most writers on Inn Signs have drawn attention to exceptional cases where famous artists have been known to contribute signboards, not infrequently—as one gathers—in discharge of their liabilities to the landlord. Angel designs were often used on the signs;
the Carpenter's Arms had three pairs of compasses; one goldsmith used a Spread Eagle; the Sun was represented just like the design in Emblem books; Adam and Eve appear on a Stationer's sign dated as late as 1725. 43

The King's Head Tavern, which stood at the western extremity of the Stocks Market, was known formerly as the Rose Tavern by its large, well-painted rose, erected over the doorway. It was one of the best known of the City taverns and dates back to Tudor times. Ned Ward described it as famous for good wine. The tavern door was flanked by two columns twisted with vines carved in wood, which supported a small square gallery over the portico. On the front of this gallery was erected the sign, consisting of a central compartment containing the Rose, behind which the artist had introduced a tall silver cup, called "a standing bowl," with drinking glasses. Beneath the painting was this inscription,

This is
THE ROSE TAVERN,
Kept by
WILLIAM KING,
Citizen and Vintner.
This Taverne's like its sign--a lustie Rose,
A sight of joy that sweetness doth enclose;
The daintie Flow're well pictur'd here is seene,
But for its rarest sweets--come, searche within!

The sign appears to have been a costly work, since a fragment of a leaf of an old account-book was found when the ruins of the house were cleared after the Great Fire, on which were written

Pd. to Hoggestreet, the Duche paynter, for ye picture of a Rose,
with a Standing-bowle and glasses, for a signe, xx li., besides
diners and drinkings; also for a large table of walnut-tree, for
a frame, and for iron-worke and hanging the picture, v li. 44

The artist who is referred to in this memorandum could be no other
than Samuel van Hoogstraeten (1627-78), one of Rembrandt's pupils,
who worked in London from 1662 until the Great Fire making a name
for himself by ingenious perspective inventions. 45

Much of the town life of the middle ranks was connected with
the guilds, though their power had waned, and in the seventeenth cen-
tury they usually bear the title of "company" instead of "guild." The
Company had by this time become a mere union of the masters of a
trade instead of including their employees as well. They were cer-
tainly useful when a Stuart king needed money. Each trade had its
own hall, usually a brick building with entrances decorated with the
Orders and the interior walls wainscoted and hung with the portraits
of their outstanding members, especially those who had become lord
mayor. The taste of the day called for wainscoted walls rather than
tapestry walls, and for loading the stuccoed ceiling, the chimney-
piece, and the staircase with embellishments. The City's and the
Company's arms showed everywhere in the decorations, as did the
patron saint of the Company. Excepting for the Barbers Hall and the
crypt of Guildhall (City Hall), 46 these London Halls burned in the
Great Fire. Milton's father was a member and office holder in the
Scriveners Company. 47 Later, will be shown how Milton made use of
the English hall construction in his poetry.
In Little Trinity Lane was the Painter-Stainers Hall, which existed as a guild or fraternity prior to 1580, although it had no charter of incorporation before that year. This Company of skilled craftsmen, whose minutes begin in the early part of the reign of James I, seems to have labored hard to obtain authority over foreign artists, forgetting that graining a door has no very near connection with painting a portrait. Orders were made to compel the foreign painters then resident in London to pay certain fines for following their art, without being free of the Company. The fines, however, were never paid, the Court painters setting the Company at defiance. Cornelius Johnson was a member, and Inigo Jones and Van Dyck occasional guests at the annual feasts. 48 Charles I provided Van Dyck a house in Blackfriars outside the jurisdiction of this Company; and on 18 October 1647 Peter Lely was made free of the Painter-Stainers Company. 49

The native painters may have taken care of the art demands of the middle ranks in seventeenth-century London, but foreign artists were demanded to satisfy the interests of the aristocracy, excepting in the case of Oliver Cromwell who encouraged the development of English artists. 50 The Roman Catholic Church had been for a thousand years the largest patron of painting. By 1535 most of the old religious themes in painting were prescribed. The nature of this Pre-Reformation subject-matter in art survives in England in the storied windows of King's College Chapel, Cambridge, which were
executed between 1515 and 1531. A taste for pictures of classical mythology had not yet been imported from Italy, and a new and national tradition of painting had to grope its way to light through the field of portraiture, the only phase of painting for which there was a market in England. Henry VIII had the opportunity of welding the painter's art to the service of a Protestant kingdom, if only he had been endowed with any of the qualities necessary for a royal patron of the arts. But neither Holbein nor Van Dyck established a distinct school of portraiture in England. And outside the miniaturists' technique (Nicholas Hilliard and Samuel Cooper were the outstanding miniaturists of this period) there was no distinct English technique of painting.

Before Hans Holbein became court painter to Henry VIII, he plied his trade at the Steel Yard (1533-35) among German and Flemish merchants on his second visit to England. He painted for their Hall two large allegories in grisaille on a blue ground, executed in tempera on linen, of the "Triumph of Riches" and the "Triumph of Poverty." These pictures were prized even by Italians of the sixteenth century as highly as the creations of Raphael—if not above them.

In the "Triumph of Riches," Plutus is represented in a golden car, and Fortune sitting before him, flinging money into the laps of people holding up their garments to receive her favors. Ventidius is written under one, Gadareus under another, and
Themistocles under a man kneeling beside the car; Croesus, Midas, and Tantalus follow; Narcissus holds the horse of the first; over their heads, in the clouds, is Nemesis. There are various other allegorical figures. By the side of the horses walk dropsical and other diseased figures, that too frequently accompany riches.

In the "Triumph of Poverty," Poverty appears in another car, mean and shattered, half naked, squalid, and meager. Behind her sits Misfortune; before her, Memory, Experience, Industry, and Hope. The car is drawn by a pair of oxen and a pair of asses; Diligence drives the ass, and Solicitude, with a face of care, goads the ox. By the sides of the car walks Labor, represented by lusty workmen with their tools, with cheerful looks; and behind them, Misery and Beggary, in ragged weeds, and with countenances replete with wretchedness and discontent. 54

These two pictures were supposedly presented by the representatives of the Steel Yard merchants to Prince Henry (older brother of Charles I who died in 1612), a well-known lover of art. They afterwards passed into the possession of Charles I, and are said to have perished in the fire at Whitehall, 1698. Félibien, however, in 1661, describes having seen them in Paris; 55 and it is more probable that they were among the art treasures sold and dispersed in Cromwell’s time. In either case the two pictures would have been at Whitehall the two years Milton lived there from November 1649 to December 1651, 56 and their influence shows up in Milton's Paradise
Regained.

From May 1536 Holbein was on the official pay-roll of Henry VIII's household. He executed many portraits, and the fresco upon the wall of the Privy Chamber in the Palace of Whitehall, a combination of four full-length portraits of Henry VIII, his parents, Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, and his consort Jane Seymour. The original perished in the Whitehall fire, but, by a miracle, a part of the existing original cartoon survives at Chatsworth. Oil paintings of Henry VIII are all reproductions of this fresco—not one of them by Holbein's own hand. 57

Holbein's talents were not confined to pictures; he designed jewels, weapons, hilts, ornaments, scabbards, sheaths, sword-belts, buttons and hooks, girdles, hatbands and clasps for shoes, knives, forks, salt sellers and vases for the King, and invented patterns for goldsmith's work, for enamellers and chasers of plate, besides designing the ceiling in the Royal Chapel at St. James's Palace and a gate at Whitehall. 58

The "spacious days of great Elizabeth" were days of great enterprise and splendid action, but they were days that spared few hours for quiet art. There is no evidence that Elizabeth I had much taste for painting; but she loved pictures of herself. Her attitude toward Italian painting was much behind the times, for she lectured Nicholas Hilliard not to use shadows for the suggestion of relief. 59 However it is certain, though the Queen's economy or want of taste restrained her from affording great encouragement to genius, that the
riches and flourishing situation of the country offered sufficient invitations to the arts. 60

It was well for the arts that James I had no disposition for them. He simply let them take their own course. His nobility kept up the magnificence they found established by Elizabeth I, in which a want of taste predominated rather than a bad one. 61 But his son, Prince Henry, was a lover of the arts like his mother and in 1609 started his collection, to which Charles was later to fall heir. It is impossible to identify many pictures owned by Prince Henry, but he had certain works "brought out of Venice," perhaps through the agency of Sir Henry Wotton. Lord Arundel, who first inspired Charles I with a taste for works of art, 62 probably was the chief influence on the young Prince; and Inigo Jones was definitely an influence as Surveyor of the Works to the Prince and a close friend of Arundel. Jones instilled into the Prince an artistic as opposed to an iconographical appreciation of pictures. 63

According to Isaak Walton's Life of Sir Henry Wotton, Wotton might be thought the first active connoisseur among travelers, for during his five years of study in Italy in the early 1590's, Wotton was acquainted

with the most eminent men for Learning, and all manner of Arts; as Picture, Sculpture, Chymistry, Architecture, and other manual Arts, even Arts of inferior nature; of all which, he was a most dear Lover, and a most excellent Judge. 64

But these interests probably belong to the years of Wotton's three embassies to Venice--1604-10, 1616-19, 1621-23--when he bought pictures for the Duke of Buckingham (Marquis then), and collected some
for himself, most of which he gave to royalty in his will. While he was at Venice he had brought Francis Cleyn, a native of Denmark studying in Italy, under the notice of James I. Cleyn was granted permission to settle in England and became special designer for the Mortlake tapestry manufactory until his death in 1658. Wotton was definitely interested in the arts, and L. P. Smith labels him "the most accomplished connoisseur of the time." Even in his own day Wotton was considered an accomplished connoisseur, for in 1631 no other than Charles I summoned him to Whitehall to get his judgment on four newly arrived pictures. When Wotton returned home in 1623, he "brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian Artists..." and the following year he published *The Elements of Architecture*, which, though derived largely from the treatises of Vitruvius, Alberti, and Vasari, drew upon much personal observation, especially in the state of Venice. Wotton's book is of interest, both as an exposition of the taste of a particular epoch and because it shows that he had arrived at a curiously just appreciation of the general principles of aesthetics, much in advance of that of his age.

A thorough study has not yet been made of the influence Henry Wotton exerted in the field of aesthetics. James Howell, Ben Jonson, and William Sanderson used his ideas. In fact the meaning of the word "Gothic" in the architectural sense may be attributed to Wotton, for seventeen years before John Evelyn used the word Wotton, writing against the theory of pointed arches, states
because they always concurre in an acute angle, and do spring from
division of the Diameter into three, four, or more parts, at pleasure;
I say, such as these, both for the natural imbecillity of the sharp
angle itself, and likewise for their very Uncomeliness, ought to be
exiled from judicious eyes, and left to their first inventors, the
Gothes or Lumbards, amongst other Reliques of that barbarous Age.

In the Preface he had complained that the English language lacked words
in the visual arts. Many artistic points in Milton are to be found in
Wotton. The young Milton was so delighted with the letter Wotton wrote
him that he allowed it to be published with his 1645 Poems, and liking
the man, he perhaps read and respected his books, especially The
Elements of Architecture, which labels Vitruvius "our Master." Milton
chose Vitruvius for an architectural text for his pupils, and in Of
Education (1644) tried his hand at designing an ideal regional academy
just as Wotton designed his ideal Fabric in Elements (1624) and F.
Bacon his prince's palace in Of Building (1625). In his pleasure in
variety within uniformity in aesthetic design, in his conviction that
theoretical knowledge of an art may be separate from a practical skill
in that art, in his liking a dim religious light, in his knowledge of
models, in his English liking of natural gardens, and even in his fabu-
lous Pandemonium Milton reflects Wotton's aesthetic theory.

In Areopagitica Milton, arguing in defense of the "schisma-
tics and sectaries" of his day, states the principle of variety as an
aesthetic principle in the field of architecture. Just as there are many
different parts that go to make up a beautiful temple, he says, so there
must be many differences of religious opinion and belief if men are to
carry on the Reformation and press forward to religious truth. The
perfection of the actual temple and of the Church spiritual consists in this

that out of many moderate varieties and brotherly dissimilitudes that are not vastly disproportional, arises the goodly and the graceful symmetry that commends the whole pile and structure. (Areopagitica, IV, 342)

Wotton, almost paraphrasing Vitruvius, Palladio, and Inigo Jones, had expressed the same idea:

In Architecture, there may seem to be two opposite affectations, Uniformity and Variety, which yet will very well suffer a good reconcilement, as we may see in the great Pattern of Nature, to which I must often resort: For surely, there can be no Structure more uniform then our Bodies in the whole Figuration: Each side agreeing with the other, both in the number, in the quality, and in the measure of the Parts: And yet some are round, as the Arms; some flat, as the Hands; some prominent, and some more retired: So as upon the matter we see that Diversity doth not destroy Uniformity, and that the Limbs of the noble Fabrick may be correspondent enough, though they be various; Provided always, that we do not run into certain extravagant Inventions, whereof I shall speak more largely when I come to the parting and casting of the whole Work. 72

The concurrence of Milton and Wotton on the separation of theoretical knowledge of an art and practical skill was pointed out above.

Milton was impressed by the dim lighting effects in a Gothic cathedral in "storied Windows richly dight, / Casting a dimm relig-
rious light." And Wotton, differing from Bacon, expresses his opinion about how to light a building:

And indeed, I must confess, that a Frank Light can mis-become no Aedifice whatsoever, Temples only excepted; which were anciently dark, as they are likewise at this day in some Proportion. De-
votion more requiring collected then diffused Spirits. 73

Some builders were in the habit then of making models of the
design for their clients, and Wotton advocated this:

First therefore, Let no man that intendeth to build, settle his Fancy upon a draught of the Work in paper, how exactly soever measured, or neatly set off in perspective; And much less upon a bare Plant thereof, as they call the Sciographia or Ground lines; without a Model or Type of the whole Structure, and of every parcel and Partition in Past-board or Wood.

He stipulates the model need not be as grand as that made of St. Peter's in Rome, which cost 4184 crowns, "the price, in truth, of a reasonable Chappel," Milton had seen models, for his Satan sees far off

Up to the wall of Heaven a Structure high,
At top whereof, but farr more rich appeird
The Work as of a Kingly Palace Gate
With Frontispice of Diamond and Gold
Imbellisht, thick with sparkling orient Gemmes
The Portal shon, inimitable on Earth
By Model, or by shading Pencil drawn.

(Pl., III, 503ff)

And in his House of Pride he speaks of models,

But what greater debasement can there be to Royall Dignity, whose towring, and stedfast heighth rests upon the unmovable foundations of Justice, and Heroick vertue, then to chaine it in a dependance of subsisting, or ruining to the painted Battlements, and gaudy rottennesse of Prelatrie, which want but one pufhe of the Kings to blow them down like a past-bord House built of Court-Cards.

(Of Reformation, III, 47)

Both Wotton and Milton took delight in a natural garden "cast into a very vvilde Regularity," such a design as Milton's Paradise was, the ideal garden layout envisaged by the poet.

And finally the likeness of Pandemonium and Wotton's description of the Egyptian Room for Feasts and other Jollities is discussed in Chapter IX. Sir Henry Wotton, though a diplomat and "a plain Kentish man," influenced the aesthetic thinking of his country-
men, who admired him for his long continental experience with the arts.

The royal pictures that Henry VIII brought to Whitehall and those collected by Prince Henry Charles I inherited, and he began adding to them in 1621. In Spain in 1623 he saw for the first time royal portraits from the hand of Titian, Rubens, and the young Velazquez, which inspired him to collect Old Masters, to purchase the Mantua collection, and to seek out a painter who would understand and fulfil his royal needs. 76

Such a painter he finally found in Van Dyck (1599-1641), who made short visits to England in 1620 and in 1627, but was not induced to settle there until 1632. Van Dyck's best works had already been done in the years 1626 to 1632 in Antwerp, and in England he grew conventional in composition, his brush-work and drawing became hurried and sketchy, and he seemed less careful in his choice and use of materials. 77 Van Dyck was best at portrait painting, and evidently shrank from painting the history of the Order of the Garter on the walls of the Banqueting House at Whitehall. 78

Charles I is rightly acknowledged as one of the most enlightened patrons of the arts England has seen. His collection 79 was world-famous, but he did not consider it his dearest possession, for he refused to be bribed by Cardinal Barberini, who in 1636 gave him pictures he considered acceptable to a royal collector with supposed Romish leanings. The Cardinal worked through Gregorio Panzini, the Papal Agent to Queen Henrietta Maria. Even the Pope tried to
bribe Charles I with the pictures he most coveted. Yet "Charles had virtues to make a nation happy; fortunate, if he had not thought, that he alone knew how to make them happy, and that he alone ought to have the power of making them so!" He displayed the essential qualities of the collector; enthusiasm and discrimination; furthermore he patronized the greatest living artists. No doubt his collection contained many paintings which modern criticism has condemned as copies or imitations; no doubt his appreciation of Van Dyck was partly due to the subtle flattery of the artist; but the essential fact remains that, in the relatively short period of twenty years, he brought together a collection of works of art hardly to be paralleled by any other collector with similar opportunities.

That Charles I was a most liberal patron of the arts has ground to be doubted; for

in the State paper Office there is, or was some years ago, a long bill sent in by Vandyke, for work done, and docketed by the King's own hand. The picture of his Majesty dressed for the chase, for which Vandyke charged £200, is assessed by the King at £100 instead, and in many other instances there is even a greater reduction made. Other pictures the King marked with a cross, which is explained by a note at the back by Endymion Porter, to the effect that as they were to be paid for by the Queen, his Majesty had left them for his wife to reduce at her own pleasure.

It may be added that, in spite of having done so much work for royalty, Vandyke died poor, and that his daughter was allowed a small pension—which, by the way, was most irregularly paid—on account of sums owing to her father's estate by Charles I. We are accustomed to rank Charles II with bad paymasters, but it is to be feared that his father obtained his reputation as an art patron at much too cheap a rate.

When Charles became king he employed agents to obtain pictures and works of art of all kinds. Among the agents employed were
Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Balthasar Gerbier, Nicholas Laniere, and Daniel Nys, the latter succeeding in acquiring the great collection of the Gonzaga at Mantua. The objectionable side to this fever of collecting is shown in a letter that Nys wrote to Endymion Porter, May 1628:

Since I came into the world I have made various contracts, but never a more difficult one than this, and which has succeeded so happily. In the first place, the city of Mantua, and then all the Princes of Christendom, both great and small, were struck with astonishment that we could induce the Duke of Vincenzo to dispose of them /his paintings/. The people of Mantua made so much noise about it that if Duke Vincenzo could have had them back again he would readily have paid double, and his people would have been willing to supply the money.  

Among the paintings was the "Triumph of Julius Caesar" by Andrea Mantegna, which Cromwell retained for decorating the Long Gallery at Hampton Court when Charles's collection was dispersed by Parliament.

Another enthusiastic collector was the Duke of Buckingham, who set his heart on Rubens's splendid collection in Antwerp. After two years Rubens consented to allow his agent to make a selection to the value of 100,000 florins among his Antique and Renaissance marbles, his alabaster, bronze and ivory statues, his gems, and his paintings by Leonardo, Raphael, Titian, Palma Vecchio, Tintoretto, Bassano, Paolo Veronese, and thirteen by Rubens himself. Thus in 1627 the greater part of Rubens's collection came to York House in London, but Buckingham was assassinated in 1628 and the "superstitious" pictures in York House were ordered to be sold 20 August 1645. 

Rubens himself was in London between June 1629 and March
1630, and there can be little doubt, in close personal intercourse with

Inigo Jones at that time. In a masque scene for *Luminalia, or the Festivall of Light* by William Davenant performed 6 February 1638, the influence of Rubens, which is noticeable as gradually eclipsing that of Titian and the Caracci in Jones's designs for woodland scenes, reaches its culmination. It is generally supposed that Rubens's most original landscapes were painted towards the close of his career about 1638-40, and for this reason they may have been most familiar to Jones in the engravings of Bolswert (Pl. 9). However hunting pieces and landscapes by Rubens were in the Duke of Buckingham's collection.\(^8^9\)

Walpole thinks,

seldom as he practiced it, Rubens was never greater than in land-
scape; the tumble of his rocks and trees, the deep shadows in his
glades and glooms, the watery sunshine, and dewy verdure, show
a variety of genius, which are not to be found in the inimitable
but uniform glow of Claud Lorrain.\(^9^0\)

The Northumberland family, who lived at Suffolk or North-
hampton House on the Strand, were art collectors. Evelyn records

I went to see the Earl of Northumberland's pictures whereof that
of the Venetian Senators \(\_\) better known by its other name of the
"Cornaro Family"/ was one of the best of Titian's and another of
Andrea del Sarto, viz. a Madonna, Christ, St. John, and an Old
Woman; a St. Catharine of \(\_\) by/ Da Vinci, with divers portraits
of \(\_\) by/ Vandyck; a Nativity of Georgioni; the last of our blessed
Kings \(\_\) Charles I/, and the Duke of York, by Lely, a Rosarie by
the famous Jesuits of Brussels, and several more... The new
front \(\_\) of Suffolk House/ towards the gardens is tolerable, were
it not drowned by a too massy and clumsy pair of stairs of stone,
without any neat invention \(\text{Diary, 6 June 1658}).\)

In the London area were three royal palaces: Greenwich,

St. James, and Whitehall. The Queen's House, Greenwich (1616-1635)
was designed by Inigo Jones and is usually classified as Palladianism. Hitherto, antiquity at second hand through Sebastiano Serlio, 91 or at third or fourth hand through Flemish and German ornamentalists, had been deemed a sufficient acquaintance for Englishmen. Jones, by his insistence on first hand examination of Roman monuments, brought a completely new factor into English architecture—a critical appreciation of Antiquity. But Jones's architecture was in no sense popular, 92 being "distasteful at first, as all innovations are." 93 Englishmen in general did not suddenly change their aesthetic taste to follow Jones's Palladianism, nor did John Milton, certainly one of them in temperament, suddenly discard his admiration for the best in the medieval visual arts after viewing in London the few buildings actually constructed from the designs of Jones (Pls. 55-57) and after a fifteen month sojourn on the Continent to agree with John Evelyn's statement that Gothic buildings were "not worthy the name" of architecture. He had no more scruples against combining what he thought best in classical and medieval visual arts than he had against combining what he thought appropriate from classical and medieval literature, as he shows by placing a Gothic roof on a classical temple or elevating the Hercules legend to the height of Bible narrative. Jones himself designed a classical Portico to go on Gothic Old St. Paul's and a medieval interior for the Queen's Chapel at Somerset House.

St. James's Palace, 94 pleasantly situated by the Park about a quarter of a mile to the west of Charing Cross, was built by Henry VIII
and was the occasional residence of the monarchs until Whitehall burned in 1698; then it became their London residence and remained so until George III made Buckingham Palace his home. Little can be said for its architectural design, yet it contains many noble, magnificent, and beautiful rooms and apartments about which the records tell us little. There exists a partial list of pictures which were here in 1613. In the Royal Chapel the ceiling, divided into small painted squares, was designed by Holbein. The Park in front is interesting to us, for Milton walked through it to work every day the eight years he lived on Petty France Street in Westminster.

It may be said without fear of contradiction that the triangular space which lies between the new Palaces of Whitehall and St. James's, and the old Palace at Westminster, is holy ground to the English, having been the scene of more important events in English history than all which have been witnessed by the rest of the two cities of London and Westminster together (Pl. 4). Old Whitehall was the London residence of the kings in Milton's day, and, if we include its precincts, was of great extent, stretching from close to where now stands Westminster Bridge up to Scotland Yard. It comprised the King's Lodgings, the Queen's Lodgings, a chapel, a banqueting-house, the Cockpit, the Privy Chamber with its fresco of Henry VIII and his parents, the Boarded Gallery, the Matted Gallery, the Shield Gallery, the Stone Gallery, the Vane Room, the Adam-and-Eve Gallery so named from the picture by Mabuse there, and the Great Hall.
Externally the Great Hall was on the regular Tudor Gothic type resembling those at Christ Church, Oxford, Trinity College, Cambridge, and Hampton Court, with practically the same dimensions as Middle Temple Hall. On Hallowmas night 1604, when Burbage acted in Shakespeare's The Moor of Venice here, the Hall was crammed from floor to ceiling and was lighted by eight great and eight smaller branch chandeliers, gilt, each holding "fifteen great lights apece" hanging from the roof; and besides there were twelve tall candlesticks and six smaller ones standing on the floor. The walls, which were the background to this brilliant throng, were resplendent with the richest tapestries of silk, emblazoned with threads of solid gold and silver; and high above these were fourteen mullioned windows, moulded and carved, and glittering with stained glass. Over all stretched a lofty arched roof, elaborately carved, painted, and gilt, with its beams and fretted tracery lighted "by many a row of starry lamps and blazing cressets," "pendant by subtle magic," from invisible wires, and shedding a soft glow "as from a sky." The strewing of flowers and sweet herbs, the spraying of scent, and the burning of perfumes, added to the sensuous appeal. Lastly, but most delightful of all, there was the King's band of some twenty or thirty performers, with their sackbutts, lutes, viols, "flutes and soft recorders," breathing low murmuring music from their gallery by the stage erected in one end of the Hall.
Several inventories are extant of the pictures at Whitehall, which list among others Van Dyck's "Cupid and Psyche," Scarsellino's "Tobias and the Angel," Tintoretto's "The Muses," Holbein's "Dance of Death," a fresco on one of the walls as large as life which was destroyed in the 1698 fire, "Adam and Eve" by Mabuse (Jan Gossaert), and Hieronymus Bosch's "Hell." The last two are especially relevant to the present problem. Ernest Law pointed out that Milton must have known these pictures well, but Law is careless with some of the historical facts. C. H. C. Baker records the history of the "Adam and Eve":

Adam, his left arm around Eve's shoulders, stands facing, his head turned slightly right and his right hand raised with the first finger between the lips. Eve, her right hand on Adam's shoulder, her head three-quarters left, holds the apple behind her in her left hand. Above them the serpent coiled round the branch of a tree. In the background an Italian landscape with olive trees, blue water and a marble fountain. In the foreground an aquilegia on left and sea-holly on right. Wood, 65 x 43 inches.

In Edward VI 1547 Inv. (128). Charles I Catal. p. 90 (i), "at the head of the said Adam and Eve stairs a defaced old picture at length... An old defaced Whitehall piece painted by Maubugius, 4 ft. 4 in. x 3 ft. 3 in." Sold by the Commonwealth (977), to Marriott, 17th May, 1650, L50 10s. Charles II MS. Inv., Whitehall (174). James II Catal. (45).

Now the picture hangs in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court.

The "Hell" is listed by Baker as of the school of Bosch,

A dark picture filled with shapes of humans, fiends, and grotesque animals and birds. In the centre is a huge head with open mouth filled with struggling forms. Left, an open iron door, showing light, where Christ enters bearing a cross. Right foreground, a large funnel, with forms entering it, bridges a chasm. Wood, 23 x 31 ins.

"C. R." Old label, "This picture by Jeronimus Boss was given to the King by the Earl of Arundell..." Sold by Commonwealth (81) to Bagley, 23 Oct. 1651, L10. "A piece of Limbo
and the tortures of Hell." Perhaps in James II. Catal. (273), "A piece of conjuring with several deformed faces." 104

The present writer has not seen a print of this picture, but from C. H. C. Baker's description its funnel over the chasm could have suggested Sin and Death's grand bridge over Chaos from Hell to the solid shell of the universe. This solid shell with its one opening up to heaven was depicted by Bosch in one of his four panels at the Ducal Palace, Venice, which Milton could also have seen. The style of the Protestant, Flemish Bosch, whose favorite theme in painting was Hell at the end of Pleasure Road, is easily recognized with its many studies of human bodies in motion, its grotesque creatures of the imagination, and its fantastic animals which probably come from the Bestiaries. Bosch has captured the interest of modern critics, and Howard Daniel states

There has never been a painter before or since who has so thoroughly and deeply explored the fear and guilt caverns of man's inner life. And in this regard there is a modernity about him which has been underlined by the developments in the field of psychoanalysis and abnormal psychology and in the whole surrealist movement. From this remarkable master of the nightmare we have for the first time in art mature, incisive, social criticism. 105

In 1619, James I decided to rebuild Whitehall, since it was in a decaying state, and entrusted the design in Inigo Jones, 106 but only the Banqueting House (1622) was actually constructed. Horace Walpole observes:

The intended palace at Whitehall would have been the most truly magnificent and beautiful fabric of any of the kind in Europe. His majesty did not send to Italy and Flanders for architects as he did for Albano and Vandyck: He had Inigo Jones. 107

Wenceslaus Hollar's etchings give a general idea of the exterior
of Jones's Banqueting House, which is still standing (Pl. 55). On the inside it is one oblong room, a double cube of fifty-five feet; but the outside decoration gives the impression of three stories, the lowest of which is a rustic wall with small square windows. Above this springs a range of Ionic columns and pilasters; between the columns are seven windows with alternate arched and triangular pediments over which are placed an entablature on which is raised a second series of Corinthian columns and pilasters. From the entablature of this series rises a balustrade, with Attic pedestals in their places crowning the whole.

Peter Paul Rubens, the dominant figure in northern baroque art, probably as early as 1621 was marked out as the painter of the ceiling of the Banqueting House, mostly done by his pupils from his sketches. He was in England from 5 June 1629 to 6 March 1630 not in the capacity of an artist, but as a diplomat in the service of the King of Spain to negotiate peace between the two countries. Milton was at Cambridge, when on 23 September 1629 Rubens received from that University the Honorary Degree of Master of Arts, and could easily have seen him. Rubens gave the King as a souvenir of the occasion of their acquaintance "War and Peace" and "St. George," in which Charles I appears as St. George and Henrietta Maria as the Princess. Rubens's work must have had a staggering effect when they were seen in England. The English Courts had been prepared for the pageant aspect of the pictures by Jones's masques, which in turn had precedent in the pageants arranged for Elizabeth I on her Progresses. But they were not prepared
to see the art of Titian and Veronese carried to a climax by a living man, nor were they prepared for the open landscape in the "St. George" with its views of the Thames and Richmond Castle in the background. Rubens had set a standard which made all the painters working in England seem little more than pigmies. He also designed eight cartoons for tapestries illustrating the story of Achilles to adorn the royal apartments at Whitehall; these are now dispersed in various English collections. But his chief commission was the ceiling of the Banqueting House, for which the separate elements were painted on canvas at Brussels and were completed by 1634. They finally reached London in December 1635 and were installed in the ceiling in March 1636.

The ceiling of the Banqueting Hall is the one full Baroque painted decoration in England, and, although it has remained in situ up to the present century, it has never received the attention that it deserves. Recent opportunity for close examination shows that a considerable number of the major figures are executed by Rubens himself, and the whole invention gives proof of prodigious vitality and decorative power. But it was set in place at a time when the shadow of the coming Civil War was already beginning to obliterate all thoughts of grandiose projects, and it has remained the least fruitful and the least studied of the surviving great works inspired by the patronage of Charles I.

This ceiling (Pl. 56) is divided by a rich framework of gilded mouldings into nine compartments. The allegorical subject in the large center oval frame represents the apotheosis of James I. The King, supported by an eagle, is borne upwards, attended by figures as the representatives of Religion, Justice, etc. His majesty appears seated on his throne, turning with horror from War and other like deities and resigning himself to Peace and her natural attendants, Commerce and the Arts. On the two long sides of this center oval form,
the painter has endeavored to express the peace and plenty, the harmony and happiness, which he presumed to have signalized the reign of James I. The great friezes depict genii, who load sheaves of corn, and fruits in carriages drawn by lions, bears, and rams. All the proportions are so colossal that each of these boys measures nine feet. Perhaps Milton thought of this abundance of plenty when he described Satan's banquet feast in *Paradise Regained*. In other compartments Rubens's patron, Charles I, is introduced, in scenes intended to represent his birth and his being crowned King of Scotland; the oval compartments at the corners are intended, by allegorical figures, to show the triumph of the Virtues over the Vices. G. F. Waagen, a renowned German critic, was repulsed by the coldness and heaviness of these allegories, inconvenient to look at and lacking in poetic enthusiasm.  

It was through the suggestion of Rubens that Charles I purchased the noble cartoons of Raphael, which are now in the South Kensington Museum, for use in the English manufactory of tapestry. They are the original designs, executed by Raphael for Pope Leo X in 1513, as copies for tapestry work, drawn with chalk upon strong paper and colored in distemper. Each cartoon is about twelve feet high. There were originally ten, but three are lost—the "Stoning of St. Stephen," the "Conversion of St. Paul," and "St. Paul in his Dungeon at Philippi." The tapestries, worked from them in wool, silk, and gold, were hung in the Sistine Chapel at Rome in 1519, the year before Raphael died.
Milton could have seen both the tapestries at the Vatican and the cartoons at Whitehall when they were not in use at the Mortlake factory, for the Whitehall galleries were open to the public. Milton lived in the Whitehall area, for in 1649 he moved from his house in High Holborn, which opened "backward into Lincoln's-Inn Fields," to a temporary lodging "at one Thomson's next door to the Bull-Head tavern," just across Charing Cross from Old Scotland Yard Palace (then a part of Whitehall), where the government furnished him and his family with an apartment from November 1649 until December 1651. Afterwards he moved a few blocks away to Petty France Street in Westminster where he lived for eight years (1652-1660).

Portrait painting continued during the Commonwealth. Cromwell sat to Robert Walker and to Samuel Cooper, the leading English miniature painter from 1642. He gave the pictures that were in Lambeth palace at the outbreak of the Civil War to an ancestor of Mr. Bond, a member of Parliament, for safe keeping, and he took an active interest in the Mortlake manufactory of tapestry. Truly the State Papers dispel the tradition that Cromwell's influence was detrimental to the fine arts. He did not approve of the way the Parliament was handling the Royal Collection, but he had greater matters to attend to than the sale of pictures. The act for destroying superstitious pictures was not uniformly executed. Such places as Westminster Abbey and the windows of King's College Chapel at Cambridge were scarcely touched; even the works reserved by Cromwell from Charles's
collection for official use form a curious list. The most important items were the Mantegna "Triumph of Caesar" and the Raphael Cartoons, but the list also includes several Madonnas and an Assumption, surprising subjects for the Head of a Puritan State. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the Commonwealth only sold paintings of which it disapproved on religious or moral grounds. Indeed, the only works which were not included in the inventory for eventual sale were the portraits of the medieval Kings and Queens of England.

From about the year 1650 the Dutchman, Peter Lely (1618-1680), had the largest practice of any portrait painter in the kingdom. We tend to associate the name of Lely exclusively with Charles II’s reign, but Lely came to England either in 1641 or 1643 and painted portraits all through the Commonwealth. In 1651 Lely even made a bid to Parliament for employment as a historical painter, but the scheme came to nothing. In addition to Van Dyck’s column and curtain accessories in his portraits, Lely introduced a very elaborate Baroque fountain and cherub and set his figures well inside a gently wooded parkscape. He abandoned a scrupulous truth to feature and decided for flattery in his portraits as early as October 1653, and when he became Court painter without a rival at the Restoration, he veered over at once to a new style which accorded with the taste of the Court and which he had no occasion to alter for the rest of his life.

Upon Lely’s death, there should have been a good chance for English portrait painters to come into prominence, but a pushing Ger-
man named Gottfried Kneller (1646-1723), having come to England in 1674 (the year Milton died), succeeded to the place at Court vacated by Lely's death.

TAPESTRY

In the strict sense, "tapestry" should be used only to describe a hand-woven material of ribbed surface, resembling rep, but into which the design is woven during manufacture so that it forms an integral part of the textile; but in the seventeenth century and at the present day there is a great deal of ambiguity in the use of the word, which has arisen from employing it to describe any fabric used as drapery for walls, curtains, cushions, coverings for furniture, or other purposes; and embroideries, damasks, velvets, silks, painted or printed textiles, and reps have all been included in the liberal use of the word.

William Harrison records the English love of tapestry in his day:

The walls of our houses on the inner sides in like sort be either hanged with tapisterie, arras worke, or painted cloths, wherein either diverse histories, or hearbes, beasts, knots, and such like are stained, or else they are seeld with oke of our owne, or wainscot brought hither out of the east countries, whereby the roomes are not a little commendede, made warme, and much more close than otherwise they would be... This also hath beene common in England, contrarie to the customes of all other nations, and yet to be seene, (for example in most streets of London,) that many of our greatest houses haue outwardlie beene verie simple and plaine to sight, which inwardlie haue beene able to receiue a duke with his whole traine, and lodge them at their ease. Hereby moreover it is come to passe that the fronts of our streets haue not beene so vniforme and orderlie builded as those of forreine cities, where (to saie truth) the vtterside of their mansions and dwellings haue oft more cost bestowed vpon them, than all the rest of the house, which are often verie simple and vneasie within, as experience dooth confirme.
In the "Inventorie of Leicester House, 1588," one hundred and fifty items of tapestry are listed, but unfortunately the subjects of the designs were not noted by the makers of the list. Milton knew this residence as Essex House, between Middle Temple and Arundel House on the Strand (Pl. 5).

The probabilities are that Milton's interest in tapestry was greater than he specifically indicates by his few uses of the word. These elements in tapestry lore would have been congenial to his mind and spirit: (1) intellectual subjects (didactic), (2) historical and classical compositions, (3) pastoral episodes, and (4) allegory and emblem. Hangings were used in accordance with Sir Thomas Elyot's injunction, not only for "semblable deckynge," but also that "other men in beholdynge may be instructed or at the lest wayes, to Vertue persuaded." 123

The Ceres legend which Milton liked especially was worked into the "Summer" panel of the four Seasons for Sir John Tracey about 1611. These tapestries (ten and a half feet in height by over thirteen in length), celebrated for delicacy, freshness, and artistic vigor, and now known as the Hatfield Tapestries, are thought to be English in design and workmanship. 124 Perhaps Milton at least heard about these if he did not actually see them, since John Tracey was knighted by James I, appointed High Steward in 1609, and made Viscount Tracey in 1642. 125 There is a central figure in each panel (Venus is deity of Spring; Ceres, Summer; Bacchus, Autumn; Aeolus, Winter) accompanied by the appropriate activities and landscape for that season. The
borders are full of beautiful details, small allegorical designs with Latin mottoes under them. Twenty-nine of the subjects in the border of "Spring" are to be found in Whitney's *Emblems*. The figure of Time or Fortune with flowing forelock and winged feet standing on a wheel and labelled, "In occasionem" in the border of "Spring" recalls Satan's words to Christ

Zeal and Duty are not slow;
But on Occasions forelock watchful wait.
(P.R. III, 172-173)

A peacock, ten inches long in this tapestry has all the "eyes" in his tail faithfully and beautifully worked; the "Summer" panel, too, has a peacock; and many no doubt appeared in other tapestries. Milton gives careful attention to his peacock,

th' other whose gay Trainé
Adorns him, colour'd with the Florid hue
Of Rainbows and Starrie Eyes. (P.L. VII, 444 - 446)

In the sky of the "Spring" panel are oval spaces displaying the signs of the zodiac: Gemini, Taurus, and Aries. Milton carries this idea of his age into his poetry using Taurus and Aries to express the rising of the sun in the spring. The personification of the Seasons is worked into the description of the meal which Raphael ate with Adam and Eve:

Rais'd of grassie terf
Thir Table was, and mossie seats had round,
And on her ample Square from side to side
All Autumn pil'd, though Spring and Autumn here
Danc'd hand in hand. (P.L. V, 391 - 395)

A long succession of half-historical, half-allegorical cartoons for tapestry was done by Giulio Romano, Raphael's pupil, who was
favorably known in England. Few designs were more popular than his "Naked Boyes," as it was called in the seventeenth century, a set of panels representing children playing amidst Nature's abundance, and many pieces were woven at Mortlake (founded 1619) which are yet extant in English country mansions. One panel representing an apple-gathering, with youths among trees and plenty, reminds one of Satan's stripling youths who are to serve at the banquet in the desert and the nymphs who trip under the trees. This tapestry design is similar to that in Rubens's friezes on the ceiling of the Banqueting House.

Milton was interested enough in tapestry to enjoy some from the royal collection, for on 14 June 1650 he was allowed money and on 18 June a warrant for furnishing his apartment in Whitehall with hangings,

That Mr Milton shall have a warrant to the Trustees and Contractors for the sale of the Kings goods for the furnishing of his lodging in Whitehall with some hangings.

And four days later,

These are to will and require you forthwith upon sight hereof to deliver unto Mr John Milton or to whom hee shall appoint such hangings as shall bee sufficient for the furnishing of his Lodgings in Whitehall. Given at Whitehall 18th Junij 1650 / To the Trustees and Contractors for the sale of the late Kings goods.

It would be most interesting to know what pictorial scenes Milton decided on for his tapestry, but the record is silent about them. Seven tapestries of the "Naked Boyes" and many pieces of the stories of Hercules were among the King's goods that other employees of the Commonwealth received for furnishing their rooms both at Whitehall
and at Hampton Court. 132 The tapestries sold slower than any of the
collection, 133 but members of Parliament could not take part in the
sale. 134

In Comus (323-325) Milton contrasts the "tapestry Halls / And
Courts of Princes" with the "lowly sheds / With smoaky rafters" as
the two extremes of dwellings which he had seen in his native land.
In a 1626 letter to Charles Diodati (p. 574) in which he tells of writing
his Nativity Ode, Milton talks of tapestry hangings in vaulted, per-
fumed chambers which are the scene of Diodati's holiday-making.
Cowper's translation gives the picture,

The lute now also sounds, with gold in-wrought,
And touched with flying fingers, nicely taught;
In tapestried halls, high-roofed, the sprightly lyre
Directs the dancers of the virgin quire. 135

In the prose he mentions tapestry only to contrast living people with
the mute and motionless ones in the hangings. 136 Milton had doubt-
less seen many pieces of tapestry in Great Halls (Whitehall, Middle
Temple Hall, Cambridge college halls, Company Halls in London,
Westminster Hall, Hampton Court, and probably at Ludlow Castle)
and in private homes (even his own); consequently since the subject
matter generally coincided with the literature of his extensive read-
ing--biblical, historical, and mythological--the pictorial representa-
tions served perhaps unconsciously to sharpen his impressions. From
the inventories of tapestries in the Renaissance it is noticeable that
such materials as Milton selected occur again and again in the designs:
the Sampson story, Tobias, the Labors of Hercules, Ceres, Venus and
Cupid, Triumphs of Time, Death, Fame, Chastity, and the like. 137

The Royal Collection of tapestry was enormous and was moved from place to place for various functions. 138 An inventory made after the death of Henry VIII describes over two thousand pieces. There were pieces of Sampson, Fame, Honor, Hercules, and the Macabre Dance at the Tower in London as well as the tapestries representing the Destruction of the Armada, called "The Story of Eighty-Eight" by the Parliamentarians and removed to the House of Lords on 1 January 1651. Both the library at the Tower and the fact that its curator was a friend of his argue that Milton frequented this landmark in Old London. 139 Tapestry from Rubens's cartoons of the Achilles story at Whitehall would not have escaped such an admirer of Homer as Milton was. Whether he saw the elaborate tapestry on the wall opposite the Gothic windows and at the end of the Hall in St. George's Hall, Windsor Castle, 140 we cannot know, but his view of the exterior of Windsor which he could see from Horton he has left us in

Towers, and Battlements it sees
Boosom'd high in tufted Trees. (L'Allegro, 77-78)

He would have known the tapestry shown in the House of Lords at the trial of Archbishop Laud in 1644 and that shown in Westminster Hall at the trial of the Earl of Strafford in 1641. 141

Much of the Royal tapestry was kept in spacious Hampton Court, 142 a country retreat for royalty midway between Milton's Horton and London. Cardinal Wolsey began the collection there in 1522, 143 and Henry VIII added enormously to it. Here in 1613 was
the "History of the Creation" in nine pieces, in which the Devil was represented as three old persons in episcopal habits with crowns on their head and sceptres in their hands. Here too was the "History of Abraham," a "Map of the World," woven in cloth and dedicated to Edward VI, and in the Paradise Room, which sparkled with silver, gold, jewels, and dazzled the eyes of foreigners, almost all the tapestry was "stitched with pearls and mixed with precious stones" re-
calling Satan's throne,

High on a Throne of Royal State, which far
Outshon the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showrs on her Kings Barbaric Pearl & Gold,
Satan exalted sat. (P L, II, 1-5)

The Great Hall (1531-1536) has fine proportions and a rich, admirably carved wooden ceiling with pendant Gothic ornaments. It was a grand place for masques under James I and had long been a favorite place for Christmas festivities. On 8 January 1604 Samuel Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, the first royal dramatic pre-
sentation ever witnessed in England, was staged in this hall.

The spectacle must have been brilliant in the extreme. The beau-
tiful scenery of the masque, the splendid and costly dresses of the crowd of courtiers and ladies, the gorgeous colours and marvellous workmanship of the tapestry hangings, ... the rich decorations of the exquisitely moulded windows, filled with lustrous stained glass, and above all the glorious gothic roof, with its maze of delicately carved and softly-tinted beams, spandrels, and corbels, amid the pierced tracery of which flickered hundreds of little [oil] lamps, must have combined to produce an effect never experienced in modern times. Milton surely had some such scene in his mind when he wrote 145
from the arched roof
Pendant by suttle Magic many a row
Of Starry Lamps and blazing Cressets fed
With Naphtha and Asphaltus yeilded light
As from a sky.  (P. L. 1. 726-730)

Cromwell was proclaimed Lord Protector and took over
Hampton Court himself on 30 August 1654. He appreciated the tapestry
and pictures; but he even hung his own bedroom with such an ungody
and carnal subject as "five pieces of fine tapestry hangings of Vulcan
and Venus!" He took interest also in the gardens and parks and was
very fond of music, taking great delight in the organ, and had two very
fine ones put up in the Great Hall, the larger of the two being a gift
from his friend, Dr. Goodwin, president of Magdalene College, Ox-
ford, who took upon himself to remove it from the College and present
it to the Protector. And then Ernest Law is carried away by his ima-
agination and writes

It is pleasant to picture to oneself the scene in the Hall of Hampton
Court at this time, when Milton would seat himself at the organ
under "the high embowed roof," with the "storied Windows richly
dight, / Casting a dimm religious light" and make "the pealing
organ blow," while Cromwell and his family and attendants sat
listening enraptured at the reverberations of the solemn music. 146

However Milton was far from believing in desecration of musical in-
struments in churches for he has them busy even on the first Sabbath
and in God's own house:

the Seav'nth day,
As resting on that day from all his work,
But not in silence holy kept; the Harp
Had work and rested not, the solemn Pipe,
And Dulcimer, all Organs of sweet stop,
All sounds on Fret by String or Golden Wire
Temper'd soft Tunings, intermixt with Voice
Choral or Unison.  (E. L. VII, 592-599)
NEEDLEWORK

England always ranked high in needlework, (Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, who died in 709, eulogized in a Latin poem the needlework done by the women of England at that time) which was practiced by persons of every degree, even men, and by the thirteenth century the ecclesiastical needlework of this country attained to great perfection, being eagerly sought after and most highly prized by other nations. A great deal of fine work was accomplished in England during the Middle Ages, though much of the ecclesiastical embroidery must have been destroyed at the dissolution of the monasteries.

Most of the needles and the silk and metal threads used in England were imported from abroad. However, James I made many efforts for the propagation of silk worms, and also for the planting of the necessary mulberry trees to provide them with nutriment, both in England and her colonies. Charles I encouraged the project. Celia Fiennes in 1696 mentions in her journal that she saw attached to Mr. Newbury's house, near Dorchester, "a long low building for silk-wormes." When Milton writes about

millions of spinning Worms,
That in their green shop weave the smooth-hair'd silk

(Comus, 715)

he talked from what he had actually seen in Mulberry Garden near St. James's Park, and the lines show his knowledge of a project concerned with needlework, a topic in which it is said he had small interest.
Before the late seventeenth century, the embroiderer had mainly turned to the contents of her husband's library, using Gerard's Herball (1597) and Topsell's version of Gesner's Historie of Four-footed Beastes (1607). She copied rather than designed. Favorite scenes in mid-seventeenth century were Adam and Eve, Abraham and Hagar, Isaac and Rebekah, David and Bathsheba, Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, Susannah and the Elders, Esther and Ahasuerus. The variety in design was not great nor did the style vary. Designs were sometimes copied from engravings, as the frontispiece of Charles I done by William Marshall for Eikon Basilike (1649). Marshall was the "worthless sculptor" (p. 594) who engraved Milton's portrait for the 1645 Poems. This allegorical frontispiece of Eikon Basilike (Pl. 47) Milton called the conceited portraiture before his Book, drawn out to the full measure of a Masking Scene, ... But quaint Emblems and devices begg'd from the old Pageantry of some Twelf-nights entertainment at Whitehall, will doe but ill to make a Saint or Martyr; ... In one thing I must commend his op'nness who gave the title to this Book, ... The Kings Image; and by the Shrine he dresses out for him, certainly would have the people come and worship him.

(Eikonoklastes, V, 67-68)

Emblem book designs, woven silks and velvets imported from Italy, and "pintadoes" with the Tree of Life patterns which the East India Company imported were favorites of the Caroline embroiderer. After 1700 figures set in contemporary Dutch landscapes were the vogue. All these fancy stitches in needlework were hard on eyes, as an entry in Sir Henry Slingsby's accounts of 1631 shows: "Ffor 6 paire of Specktacles to give away amongste my daughters."
Much beadwork was done in the seventeenth century. Colored glass beads were worked on linen or silk for wall hangings. Probably most of the pearls and jewels in the tapestry in Paradise Room at Hampton Court was glass beadwork. In "Carmina Elegiaca," verses from the Commonplace Book, the young Milton is familiar with glass beads

Ecce novo campos Zephyritis gramine vestit
Fertilis, et vitro rore madescit humus...

Look, the bounteous daughter of Zephyr is clothing the fields with new verdure and the turf is moist with dew like beads of glass. 154

Concerning needlework Milton has Comus say in his tempting the Lady

course complexions
And cheeks of sorry grain will serve to ply
The sampler, and to teize the huswifes wooll.
(Comus, 749-751)

Later he records that it is done by queens:

He /Edward the Confessor/ is said to be...at festivals nothing puffed up with the costly robes he wore, which his queen with curious art had woven for him in gold. (History of Britain, X, 306)

In the personification of Camus in Lycidas (103-106),

Next Camus, reverend Sire, went footing slow,
His Mantle hairy, and his Bonnet sedge,
Inwrought with figures dim, and on the edge
Like to that sanguine flower inscrib'd with woe,

the "figures dim" may refer to the markings on the ripening sedge-leaves or to symbolical embroidery of some kind on the mantle. 155

The regalia of bishops as well as their doctrine received notice from the poet:

they hallow'd it /the body/, they fum'd it, they sprinkl'd it, they be deck't it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure Linnen,
with other deform'd and fantastick dresses in Palls, and Miter's, gold, and guesgaw's fetcht from Arons old wardrope, or the Flamin vestry. (Of Reformation, III, 2)

Milton would have been familiar with the rich, symbolic embroidery dress of the Livery Companies of the City of London, displayed both in the ceremony of crowning a new Warden and in funeral processions. Each company had a special design. Before the Great Fire, there is a record of an "Old Hearse Cloth embroydered with Gould and Popish images" belonging to the Founders' Company, and the Saddlers' Pall also had "popish images." 156 Processions occurred often in London streets, and Milton consciously or unconsciously gets these pictorial scenes into his poetry. The processions in L'Allegro and Il Penseroso of personified figures are more like scenes Milton would have seen in masques, but when the Lady in Comus has "A thousand liveried Angels lacky her" (455), the picture is that of a nobleman (perhaps the Duke of Buckingham) followed by his retainers dressed in colorful uniforms. 157 And in the picture of Adam going to meet his guest Raphael Milton thought of street processions:

    without more train
    Accompain'd then with his own compleat
    Perfections, in himself was all his state,
    More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
    On Princes, when thir rich Retinue long
    Of Horses led, and Grooms besmeard with Gold
    Dazles the croud, and sets them all agape.

( P. L. V, 351-357)

The "bases," housings for chargers often made of silk heavily embroi-dered, and "tinsel Trappings" of "gorgeous Knights" in former epics
show forth the poet's observation of needlework in the vast parade of the human pageant.

To conclude, in the sixteenth century the religious houses which had been the schools and workshops for medieval painting were in decline and under Henry VIII had to go altogether. Once the medieval painting tradition was uprooted by the political and religious upheaval, it was not easy to establish a new one. England had to wait a hundred years for this accomplishment. In Milton's London no native school of painting existed, no art museum, not even an art academy. The painting was mostly portraits done by foreign artists and was found mainly in the homes of royalty, of the landed gentry, and of the well-to-do merchants. Frescoes and historical paintings were practically non-existent, and if paintings of medieval allegory, the Bible narrative, or classical mythology existed, they were chiefly to be found in royal palaces--most probably purchased in foreign countries. Chiefly foreign-made tapestries depicting Bible stories, mythology, and allegory were used on the walls of homes and civic halls by all those who could afford them. Designs in needlework were copied from tapestry designs or from book engravings. Engravings were the chief product sold at print shops, and these engravings will be the subject treated next.
NOTES TO CHAPTER II


13 "Notes," *Columbia Milton*, XVIII, 578.


17 Apparenfly the term was coined in the eighteenth century. See note 2, p. 29 in Ida Langdon, Milton's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art (New Haven, 1924); and definitions No. 6 and No. 10 in N. E. D.


19 Langdon, pp. 28-29; definition No. 5 in N. E. D.

20 B. H. Wiles, The Fountains of Florentine Sculptors (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), Figures 39, 45, 46; Luigi Dami, The Italian Garden, trans. L. Scopoli (New York, 1925), Plates XLI and XLIV.


26 L. B. Wright, p. 2.


29 L. B. Wright, pp. 8-9, 20; Gretton, pp. 144-149.


38 Sidney Colvin, *Early Engraving and Engravers in England 1545-1695* (London, 1905), Plate XXXV.


49 Waterhouse, pp. 48 and 63.


51 Waterhouse, p. 1.


60 Walpole, *Anecdotes*, I, 130 and 162.


63 Lees-Milne, pp. 35 and 47; Summerson, p. 72.


69 Isaac Walton, *op. cit.*, pp. not numbered.


72 Ibid., p. 16.

73 Ibid., pp. 34-35.

74 Ibid., pp. 39-40.

75 Ibid., p. 64.

76 Waterhouse, p. 36.

77 Hermann Knackfuss, "Van Dyck," *Monographs on Artists* (Leipzig, 1899), IV, 9; 24; 42; Old Dutch and Flemish Masters, ed. John C. Van Dyke (New York, 1911), p. 179.

78 Lees-Milne, pp. 76-77.


80 Lees-Milne, p. 36.

81 Walpole, *Anecdotes*, II, 43.


85 The collection was one of the first in Italy; the family of Gonzaga, reigning at Mantua, had been one hundred fifty years in forming it up to 1627, and this family was second only, in the patronage of the arts, to that of the Medici. In the fifteenth century they drew Andrea Mantegna to their court, and in the sixteenth Raphael's greatest pupil, Giulio Romano. Waagen, op. cit., I, 24-25.


87 Dates vary on the dispersion: Walpole, Anecdotes, II, 64 and 67; Waagen, I, 33.


89 Waagen, I, 32.

90 Walpole, Anecdotes, II, 81.

91 For the appearance of the palace see A. M. Hind, Wenceslaus Hollar (London, 1922), Plate XXIX; two photographs in Lees-Milne, pp. 66-71; Summerson, Plates 39 A and B.

92 Summerson, pp. 72 and 97.

93 Lees-Milne, p. 59.

94 See engravings of St. James's in Britannia Illustrata (London, 1709), I, Plates 2 and 3.

95 Rye, England as Seen by Foreigners, pp. 161-162.

96 Thornbury and Walford, III, 337.

97 For engravings of Old Whitehall see Sheppard, Old Royal Palace, pp. 30 and 290; Hind, Hollar, Plates L and LVII.


100 Three Inventories of the Years 1542, 1547, and 1549-50 of the Pictures in the Collections of Henry VIII and Edward VI; Rye, pp. 159, 161, 281, note; Abraham Vanderdort's catalogue of Charles I's collection 1639; inventory made by the Commonwealth in the 1640's; and a catalogue of the pictures belonging to James II.


103 Collins Baker, Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court (Glasgow, 1929), pp. 99-100 and Plate VI; for other reproductions see Claude Phillips, op. cit., p. 113; M. J. Friedlander, Die Altniederländische Malerei (Berlin, 1930), VIII, 152; and Catalogue of Exhibition of King's Pictures (London, 1946-47), p. 61.


107 Walpole, Anecdotes, II, 55.


109 Waterhouse, p. 46.

111 See a picture in Sheppard, Old Royal Palace of Whitehall, opposite p. 40.

112 Waagen, III, 17; Thornbury and Walford, III, 366-367.


114 Peacham's Compleat Gentleman 1634, p. 153; Evelyn, Diary, 11 February 1656; Pepys, Diary, 25 Dec. 1662, 28 Sept. 1663, and 13 April 1666.


116 Waterhouse, p. 82; Wilenski, English Painting (1954), p. 56.


118 Walpole, II, 64-69; Thomson, Tapestry Weaving in England, p. 126.


126 A. F. Kendrick, op. cit., p. 93.


128 The only artist mentioned by Shakespeare, see The Winter's Tale, V, ii, 105.


130 P. R. II, 352-358 and Thomson, op. cit., Fig. 14, p. 65.


134 Walpole, II, 64.

135 Quoted by Langdon, p. 215.

136 Eikonoklastes, V, 288; First Defense, VII, 487.


140 A. M. Hind, Wenceslaus Hollar (London, 1922), No. 131, Plate LXIV.

141 Ibid., No. 88, Plate LII and No. 91, Plate LIII.

142 Hampton Court had seven hundred rooms in James I's time according to Ernest Law, History of Hampton Court (London, 1888), II 67.

143 This tapestry was satirized by Jack Skelton in Colyn Cloute, I. 938 ff; Thomson, Tapestry Weaving in England, p. 29.


145 Law, History of Hampton Court, II, 20 and I, 171; Waagen, II, 88; for a picture of the Hall see Law, II, 19 and Summerson, Plates 1B and 2; for a picture of the Old Palace from the Thames see Law, I, 203.


149 G. S. Seligman and T. Hughes, *Domestic Needlework* (London, 1926), Plate 62; a 1609 book cover showing the Garden of Eden; Plate 78 A and B: a 1610 needle point of Christ judging and expelling the Pair; Plate 83 A: a 1640 beaded design of the Fall; Plate 99 A, about 1665; and Plate 20 A, about 1650-1675.


152 Macquoid, p. 119.

153 Symonds and Preece, No. 3, Plate LXXVII and pp. 299-300; Seligman and Hughes, Plates 83 A and 99 A.


156 Symonds and Preece, pp. 235-237.

CHAPTER III

WOOD AND COPPER ENGRAVING

English woodcut illustration in the fifteenth century lags far behind contemporary work on the Continent both in extent and in quality, and its interest is for the most part literary and antiquarian rather than artistic. Unlike Germany and France, England never had a Golden Age of wood engraving. The cuts used by Caxton, Richard Pynson, Wynkyn de Worde, and the other early printers are almost always borrowed or at least derived from foreign sources, just as was the case in Milton's time with famous sets of cuts like those in Gerard's Herball or Topsell's Natural History. Wood engraving was a reproductive medium involving a twofold division of labor, drawing the design and cutting the design into the block. In the early sixteenth century in Germany, nearly every artist of eminence made drawings for the woodcutters to reproduce as book decorations, as single-sheet prints, or as a series of pictures like the "Apocalypse" or "Passion" of Albrecht Dürer. But the advent of the small book with the grey roman or italic types was unfortunate for wood engraving. The capacity for much greater delicacy led to the decline of the woodcut in finely printed books. Only its cheapness kept it alive.

During the seventeenth century wood engraving was alive only in the popular pamphlets and broadsheets, prepared by overworked
artisans and sold to the poor at prices within their reach. The Garniers, a family of "imagiers" in Chartres, France, slaved from five A. M. to eight P.M. each day to get their modest profits, so low was the selling price of their prints. Cheap and popular things always tend to disappear. The broadsheets were put into the hands of children or nailed up on the walls of houses. Garnier says that the large sheets that his parents produced illustrating the Creation of the World, the Prodigal Son, or other favorites were called *tours de cheminées* through the practice of sticking them up over the fireplaces as decoration and recreation. No wonder few have survived. They would be comparable to our newspapers today. In Protestant England, however, religious broadsheets did not survive long, but the Civil War fostered those of a political or satirical nature. A common form of broadsheet was the ballad. Samuel Pepys had a collection of them, and in Isaac Walton's *Complete Angler*, Piscator conducts his friend to an "honest ale-house," where they find a clean room, lavender in the windows, "and twenty ballads stuck about the walls." These ballads were about criminals (even William Faithorne did pictorial broadsides of traitors being drawn on sledges 4 to execution); about monsters (pictures of these were on the sheet for illustration); about eminent personages (showing their portraits, pedigrees, or magnificent funeral Processions); and about many other things.
From about 1540 to 1650 was a prolific period of prints of all sorts—topography and travel because of the new world discoveries, portraits, records of pageants, political broadsides, and Bible illustrations. During this era of religious upheaval, the value of engravings as a subsidiary to propaganda was being realized by the religious orders, and illustrations of Scripture stories and small devotional prints were disseminated broadcast. The enormous increase in the demand for engravings (especially book illustrations) greatly changed the conditions of their production. With the prospect of sound business the middle-man of necessity enters, and there gradually grew up the new and soon flourishing profession of printseller. The Netherlands, with its great houses of Cock, Galle, Passe, Wierix, and Plantin, was the home of this enterprise in Europe, sending out their younger sons to acquire the print trade in such centers as London, Venice, and Paris. Their home publishing plants were in Amsterdam, Antwerp, and Utrecht; and the middle-class prosperity of the Low Countries exerted considerable influence upon the English who traded with them—indeed one-third of all Low Country trade was with the English. Their engravings (wood and copper) exercised far more influence in England for some eighty years after 1560 than anything coming directly from the Mediterranean:

What Englishmen got from Italy and France was, in literature and the arts, considerable; but in the visual arts it was nothing compared with what flowed in upon them, uninvited, from the Low Countries and especially from Antwerp. Antwerp in 1560
was the supreme international commercial exchange of Europe and a cultural exchange of no less importance. Antwerp exported art. She had exported art for a hundred years and now continued to do so in great volume, although it was no longer altar-pieces and retables but books and engravings. These were manufactured in quantities and circulated all over northern Europe. Whereas the art of Italians and Frenchmen had to be fetched, the art of Antwerp flowed in of its own accord. And after the Duke of Alva's persecutions from 1566 onwards, protestant Flemings came in person bringing their arts and trades with them.

Engravings were sold as single sheets as well as in books in London. Milton frequented the bookstalls, and probably saw and examined many more engravings than just those he actually purchased. The booksellers overflowing from Fleet Street mustered strong in St. Paul's Churchyard till the Great Fire scared them off to Little Britain, from whence they regurgitated to the Paternoster Row. Milton's early poems were sold in St. Paul's Churchyard and his later ones in the Little Britain shops. In 1656 he comments on the use of engravings in books:

You tell me that this (Blaeu Atlas) is a hundred and thirty florins; it must, I should think, be the African mountain of that name, and not a book, for which such an outrageous price is asked, as you tell me. The extravagance of printers in the production of books has reached such a pitch, that it now costs as much to furnish a library as a country house.

In his poetry he has numerous undeveloped figures of engraving which mostly turn on the idea of a law engraven in men's hearts. Michael shows Adam how man formed "First his own Tooles; then, what might else be wrought / Fusil or grav'n in mettle." (P. L. XI, 568)
The Magi follow "thy Star new grav'n in Heaven." (P. R. I, 253)
Milton comments directly on the engraved frontispiece of Eikon Basilike, as was said in Chapter II, and exhibits his sensitiveness to good and bad engraving by saying that the reason he allowed an ambitious bookseller to talk him into having his portrait for the 1645 Poems done by William Marshall was the fact that the skillful artists were out of town (Pro Se Defensio, IX, 124). Robert Peake, Faithorne, Hollar, and Inigo Jones all left London in 1644 to fight for the King's cause in the siege of Basing House.

Milton had the opportunity of knowing such prints of Dürer as the 1504 "Nativity," the 1504 "Adam and Eve" (Pl. 13), the "Four Horsemen" (Pl. 14), "St. Michael Fighting the Dragon," the "Angel with the Key to the Bottomless Pit" (Pl. 15), his Orpheus designs, the "Knight, Death, and Devil" (Pl. 16), and "Melancolia I" (Pl. 17), for Dürer's prints were definitely in London. The German Abraham Vanderdort, Keeper of Charles I's Cabinet, Pictures, Jewels, and Rarities, compiled a catalogue of the famous royal collection, in which he mentions presents made by him to the King, of a book of prints by Albert Dürer, probably the Apocalypse and the Great Passion with the Life of the Virgin which Dürer issued as a book from his own printing press in 1511 of a head in plaister of Charles V, and of the arm of the King of Denmark, modelled from the life.12

Charles I, as well as Lord Arundel, had some paintings by Dürer, for in this same document
"Mr. Greenbury is mentioned... for copying two pictures of Albert Dürer by the direction of Lord Marshall." 13

In 1634 Henry Peacham in recommending drawing masters to imitate lists Dürer first,

that Prince of Painters and Graund-master Albert Dürer, who beside that his peeces for proportion and drapery are the best that are, hee hath written a very learned booke of Symmetry and proportions, which hath beene since translated out of high Dutch into Latine. And though his peeces have beene long since worne out of presse, yet you may happen upon them among our skilfull painters; which if you can get reasonably, keepe them as jewels, since I beleive you shall never see their like: they seeme old, and commonly are marked with a Great D in an A. 14

After recommending Goitzius, 15 Michelangelo, and Holbein, Peacham comments,

Of latter times and in our age the workes of Shadan, Wierix, and my honest loving friend Crispin de Pas of Vtrecht are of most price, these cut to the life, a thing practised but of late yeares: their pieces will best instruct you in the countenance, for the naturall shadowes thereof, the cast and forme of the eye, the touch of the mouth, the true fall, turning and curling of the haire, for ruffles, Armor, &c. 16

Now we know that Dürer's 1504 "Adam and Eve" and his "Melancholia I" by Jan Wierix are among the best copies that exist. The productiveness of the three Wierix brothers, Jan, Jerome, and Anthonie, whose activity centered in Antwerp, was enormous. There were three engravers by the name of Crispin van de Passe. 17 The one Peacham calls his friend here was probably one of the younger sons who did work in London for the famous house at Utrecht. Nicholas Hilliard, Richard Haydocke, Francis Bacon, Henry Wotton, the unknown author of The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil (1668), and
William Sanderson refer to Dürrer in their writings on the visual arts. John Evelyn mentions many pieces by Dürrer seen in his travels in France and Italy. Nicholas Stone Junior, who was in Rome at the very same time Milton was, bought Dürrer prints as well as many others to take home to London. 18

Dürrer was a master at both wood and copper engraving. His Great Passion series of twelve woodcuts corresponding in size with the fourteen cuts of the "Apocalypse" (about 15 x 11 inches) together with the "Life of the Virgin" were published in 1511. There is no proof of the idea, but it is possible that these prints could have been the source of many of the illustrations in the storied windows of King's College Chapel at Cambridge, executed 1515-1531; however

It should be remembered that from the middle of the fifteenth century numerous series of illustrations representing the Life and Passion of Christ were produced, and that from 1480 onwards hardly a year passed without the appearance of one or more printed books, of which these are a principal feature. The number of scenes taken for illustration varies in each instance, but all are conspicuous for a marvellous similarity, almost uniformity, of treatment. In the fuller series we find the History of the Blessed Virgin, as well as the Life of Christ; and the whole is illustrated by what are called "prefigurations" of each subject, taken from sacred, and sometimes even from secular or legendary history. The most universally popular of the earlier productions were designed in Holland, but, by the time with which we are concerned, Albert Dürrer had drawn his famous series at Nuremberg. This work, by a master of far greater power than his nameless predecessors, has become so familiar to everybody that Dürrer is at once claimed as the originator of any series containing the same subjects treated in the traditional way. 19
"Exceedingly well limm'd" books done by Dürer were in the Vatican Library. 20 Even tapestry was made in England from his designs: the "Fable of Psyche," the "Resurrection of Our Savior," and the "History of King Priam." 21

A favorite topic for woodcuts was the Dance of Death. The Middle Ages, visited by the appalling Black Death and worn out with terrible wars, was haunted by the Skeleton, inviting to the Danse Macabre each and every person. The Danse Macabre was probably a sort of "Morality" played by the people in the church, intended as an illustration of a sermon on Death. The friars were great preachers of death and fond of driving home their texts with the aid of acting. Perhaps the actual dance originated in the church and later became secularized. In 1449 the Duke of Burgundy had it played in his castle. The dance was the subject of a painting as early as 1424 in a famous cemetery, Les Innocents. This was perhaps the canon of all subsequent paintings of its kind which were imitated all over the Continent. In London there were Dances of Death at Old St. Paul's, the Tower, and Whitehall. 22 At Old St. Paul's the Dance in the North Cloister of Becket Chapel, pulled down by the greedy Protector Somerset in the reign of Edward VI, had verses by Lydgate, the monk of Bury, translated from the original verses which accompanied each pair of dancers upon the walls of Les Innocents. All traces of these pictures have vanished and only woodcuts have retained their main
features in an humbler form. Copies of the Dance at St. Paul's were probably sold in London, for "The roll of the Daunce of Death, with pictures and verses upon the same," was entered on the Stationer's books 5 January 1597, by Thomas Purfort, Senior and Junior. The Dance of Death is found in the Books of Hours (Horae), especially those printed by the French.

Hans Holbein did an Alphabet of the Dance of Death in twenty-four, one-inch square woodcuts. But his famous design is a woodcut series of the Dance, published as an independent work in 1538, which contains forty-odd pictures. Death is a Skeleton armed with every sort of instrument to lure his victim: a spade, cane, hourglass, dart, sword, bone, bagpipe, tambour, dulcimer, drum, and trump-marine. The hourglass is everywhere to be seen in these cuts, but in only one, "The Knight," does the Skeleton use a huge dart. Holbein's Dance was reproduced in wood and in copper with both additions and deletions in 1623, 1647, and 1698. Notable among the reproductions is a set of thirty etchings by Wencelaus Hollar (1651) probably done at Antwerp.

In 1522 appeared Holbein's famous woodcut title-border of the Table of Cebea, often reprinted but originally done as the title page of the Latin edition of the New Testament brought out by Erasmus in Rotterdam, which explains the ecclesiastical shape given to the figures of True Doctrine and of Happiness. The application of
the idea of the Greek philosopher to the Christian book was quite after
the mind of Erasmus. Milton's age too felt, and Milton himself felt,
that the classic ages and Christianity could be united—that classic
thought foreshadowed what Christianity had revealed, and that the men
of the Renaissance were the heirs of both traditions. Cebes, a Greek
philosopher, describes in detail "The Picture," a painting of many
allegorical figures shown to him in a temple, which represented the
progress of man to true happiness. From this writing, Holbein de-
signed his title-border,

A wall running round the picture betokens the limited space of human
life. Outside the wall, at the lower edge of the picture, we see a
group of naked children. These are the souls of men who have not
entered upon life; the form of a child was universally recognized in
the Middle Ages as a symbol of the soul, and was still a current
mode of representing it in Holbein's time. The soul on entering
life is received at the portal by the Genius, or protecting spirit,
represented as a dignified old man, who offers a scroll as each
enters; the contents of the scroll are, presumably, the admonitions
of the guardian-spirit for the path of life. Immediately behind the
portal of life the Goddess of Fortune passes by on a rolling sphere,
dealing out good and evil, and Persuasion, symbolized by a woman
richly dressed, waits for the novice in life, with a ministering train
of misleading Opinions. What enticements they offer, the wayfarer,
who now appears in the form of a young man, can see on the other
side of a wall. The gate in this wall leads him into the region of
Lust, of Avarice, and of Incontinence. After he has passed through
the gate which leads out of this domain, Pain and Sorrow wait for
him by the way. From their domain he is conducted by Penitence,
who takes him lovingly by the hand. But now he falls a victim to
False Doctrine, who appears as another lady in fine clothes. Only
a narrow path and a strait gate in the precipitous cliff lead out of
this region; the crowd of people who think that they have found the
goal of life are encamped here, against the rock, keenly bent on
various occupations. The wanderer through life looks at the beauti-
ful woman in timid admiration... and passes on. In Daring and
Fortitude he finds the auxiliary powers which pull him through the
narrow, rocky pass, in which the pathway disappears. And now he
has arrived at the region of True Doctrine. She stands in form like the image of a saint upon a stone base; Truth and Conviction are her attendants. The traveller through life kneels down before her in veneration and now nothing hinders him from entrance to the citadel of True Happiness. There dwell all the Virtues, and in the centre Happiness sits on her throne, a princess encircled by a halo of supernatural beams; she crowns the traveller, who has turned aside from every path of error and found the true way. 28

Milton used the Table of Cebes, an "easy and delightful book of education," as a text for his students. 29 In his day the Table (Pl. 22) was familiar in a stream of editions beginning with the Aldine edition of 1512. Usually the Greek original faced a Latin translation and was followed by the Golden Verses of Pythagoras, the Sermon on the Mount, or other edifying matter. More will be said of the Table of Cebes in Chapter IX.

The three great master engravers (Dürer of Germany, Lucas van Leyden of the Netherlands, and Marcantonio Raimondi of Italy) had all been dead a decade before the appearance of a copper-plate in England. The first hundred years of copper-plate engraving in England produced little that can be called genuinely artistic, but its results were of considerable historic value. The art came to England from Flanders, and it came comparatively late (about 1540). It was used primarily to spread knowledge and wonder, rather than picturesque beauty. John Shute, "paynter and architecte," in 1563, engraved copper-plates for his book, The First and Chief Groundes of Architecture. Then Archbishop Matthew Parker, perceiving the value of the art when preparing his famous Bishops Bible of 1568 (Pls. 45 and 46), employed engravers, the
most important of which were the Flemish brothers Francis and Remigius Hogenberg. The map-engravers of the period, with their seas dotted with English ships proportionately large almost as England itself, and monstrous dolphins and sea-serpents disputing their right to rule the waves, played an important part in inspiring the Elizabethan and Jacobean Englishmen with imperial ideas and golden dreams. But it was through decorative portraiture and the elaborately ornate title-pages that copper-plate engraving made its slow development in England. The engraver usually worked at the goldsmith's craft before he began to work upon the copper.

Until the reign of James I there seems to have been little demand for portrait prints other than those of Elizabeth, with the exception of such prominent noblemen as Burleigh, Essex, Nottingham, and George Clifford. William Rogers, an English goldsmith, drew them from life and engraved their portraits in a stiff and unimaginative manner, overloaded with ornaments in high relief; he cannot be said to have mastered even the elements of portraiture. Simon (in London 1615-1622) and Willem (in London 1622-1637) van de Passe from Denmark were the court engravers of James I, the younger sons of the foreign merchant come to town to make good use of the print trade. Engraving was coming more and more into use for the embellishment of books, and the printseller must have had a thriving trade in supplying the publishers with the engraved portraits to figure
as frontispieces, or by selling the same separately to any comer. 31
Sometimes for economical reasons engravers altered plates to meet
the popular demand of the moment, using the same figure with a
different head. Even Willem van de Passe's masterpiece, the Duke
of Buckingham on horseback, was altered, after Buckingham's
murder in 1628, to represent the King’s later favorite. Another quaint
device used was placing skulls under the hands or elbows of certain
persons in the picture in order to bring the plate up to date after the
death of somebody. 32

That the Van de Passe influence was far-reaching was chiefly
through Simon's having for his pupil John Payne, who in turn was the
master of William Faithorne. Payne holds the place of merit, if not
of honor, in the interval between Rogers and Faithorne. 33 Payne did
have artistic talent, as his 1637 "Sovereign of the Seas," the first
three-decker in the English navy (Pl. 19), shows; but he idled with
boon companions among the taverns and died in absolute want, 1647.
To Payne we owe the features of old Thomas Hobson, the Cambridge
carrier (pp. 19–20), who died 1 January 1631. Milton must have rid-
den many times with Hobson between Cambridge and the Bull in
Bishops-gate-street, for Hobson made the trip each week carrying
various articles, including in 1628 a portrait of the Bishop of Lincoln
for the newly-constructed library of St. John's College. 34 Payne's
portrait of Hobson had eight English verses printed below it, 35 and
an interesting conversation may have ensued when, on one of their trips together, old Hobson proudly showed it to Milton and asked the young poet for his opinion both on the likeness and on the verses. Perhaps Hobson instructed Milton concerning the best engravers in town, for he visited the London shops more than did the Cambridge don.

At any rate Milton had his portrait engraved by William Marshall, the most prolific English engraver of the first half of the seventeenth century, for a frontispiece to his 1645 Poems. The figure is seated beside an open window looking out on a wooded scene. Surrounding the oval are figures representing Melpomene, Erato, Urania, and Clio. Marshall could have copied these muses from Charles I’s "Muses" by Tintoretto which hung at Whitehall, for artists were allowed to come there and sketch. Below the oval is Milton's four-line Greek epigram about the laughable imitation by a worthless sculptor.

William Faithorne (1616-1691) learned the ground work of his art from John Payne and studied under Robert Peake, Sergeant-Painter to James I in 1612 and father of the celebrated printsellers, William and Robert Peake, whose shop, next the Sun Tavern at Holborn Conduit on Snow Hill, was a bustling place. At the surrender of Basing House, Faithorne was imprisoned in Petre House, Aldersgate Street, and here he engraved many fine portraits, including the splendid plate of General Thomas Fairfax, after a painting by
Robert Walker. After his release from prison, Faithorne studied in France until 1650. On his return to London he set up in business as a printseller, as most engravers of that day were in the habit of doing:

He lived over his shop, after the custom of those days, first, it would seem, "Att ye signe of ye Shipp, within Temple Barr," and later, next to the sign of the Drake, close to the Palsgrave's Head Tavern, without Temple Bar, and here he carried on a flourishing trade in his own prints and those of other engravers, English and foreign. 38

Here it was that Hollar came to live and work after his return from Antwerp. Here too Faithorne drew and engraved a portrait of Milton in his 62nd year which was the frontispiece to the History of Britain, published in 1670. Faithorne expressly states underneath the picture that he drew it from life and engraved it himself. 39 Sitting in his childhood to Cornelius Johnson, in 1645 to William Marshall, and in later life to Faithorne for his portraits; always having "a Garden where he lived"; 40 possessing a family coat of arms in the form of a spread eagle; polishing his education with continental travel; and selecting hangings from the sale of the King's goods for furnishing his lodgings—all indicate that John Milton was half Cavalier in his artistic taste.

Wenceslaus Hollar (1607-1677) was almost the exact contemporary of Milton and was called in his day the best etcher in England. 41 He was born in Prague and was trained in Germany at Frankfort, Strassburg, and Cologne; but London was his adopted
home. The Earl of Arundel brought him to England in December 1636 and for seven years he worked at Arundel House on the Strand. As a prisoner during the Civil War he escaped to Antwerp and worked there 1645-1652, when he came again to London. It was a hard time for artists, and he got what casual employment he could from the print-sellers. Versatile as Hollar was, he could not create a demand for his prints in London. The London printsellers proved as hard bargain-drivers as were those of Antwerp. Faithorne, being a brother artist, treated him well, but Peter Stent, John Overton, and others who were only dealers, took advantage of Hollar's poverty and distresses, and ground him down to work for them at the almost inconceivable pittance of fourpence an hour. He became "Scenographer, or designer of prospects," to Charles II, but business was not good, and Hollar seems always to have worked as the drudge of publishers and printers. He "dyed not rich" in Westminster and was buried in St. Margaret's Church. Subtlety of execution and a fine pictorial sense distinguish him from other painter-etchers of this period. Topography is by far the most important part of his work, though the catalogue of his 2700 plates embraces landscape, costume, portraits, Scripture, history, mythology, allegory, emblems, natural history (shells in particular), reproduction of old paintings, goldsmith's work, heraldry, and book illustrations of all kinds. Incidentally he had the use of only one of his eyes.
In his maps Hollar was already on the modern side, for he kept to abstract conventions for representing gardens, streets, and buildings. In his large bird's-eye plan of the West Central District of London, he certainly aimed at giving the semblance of an exact rendering of all the buildings shown, though it is doubtful whether any but the most important houses were really drawn with accuracy. This particular plan is a real masterpiece in its combination of the practical aims of a map and the most attractive delineation conceivable of the houses and gardens of the city. It is full of atmosphere and charm as a picture of Gothic London, and is etched in his most exquisite style.  

Hollar's greatest London plate, the "Long Bird's-eye View of London from Bankside," was etched in Antwerp in 1647. No doubt he possessed many drawings of the subject before he left England in 1644; and he may have had recourse in detail to drawings of others, Visscher's famous print of 1616 (Pls. 2 and 3), for instance. The general arrangement is similar, but there are many discrepancies in details of architecture between Visscher's and Hollar's views—far more than can be excused by the interval of thirty-one years between the two publications. Hollar had more opportunity of original sketching in London, for apart from this 1616 view there is no indication that the Amsterdam publisher and etcher Visscher did other work in London. But Hollar was not so far in advance of his times as to be
greatly troubled about accuracy of detail, and picturesqueness of presentation was probably always his prior aim. In those days publishers sometimes used the same view of a town to represent Rome on some occasions—London, on other occasions.

For a general idea of what London looked like at this period there could be no secure guide than Hollar. Apart from his diligent sketching from nature, and his study of the city's architecture, every plate that he did is redolent of the atmosphere of his adopted city. Francis Seymour Haden, a most excellent etcher and the most critical of connoisseurs, says of Hollar's genius

If anyone want truth without pretention let him go to Hollar. If he want perfection of "biting" and the precise degree of gradation required, let him also go to Hollar. If he want to live in the time illustrated, let him again go to Hollar.

Foreign engravings had a good market in Milton's London. Faithorne sold them at his shop, and foreign craftsmen coming to England especially from the Low Countries brought their wares as well as their skill. Nicholas Stone Jr. had rolls and bundles of prints sent home in chests from Italy—prints of Raphael, of Dürer, of Michelangelo ("prints of the rooife of the Popes Chappel in the Vatticane") together with many casts of plaster, especially a Venus, satyrs, a Laocoon, a Cupid, an Apollo, a head of Christ, and many books on the Roman arts. William Sanderson ordered prints from the Continent to illustrate his Graphice, but they were all lost at sea; he thought the best prints were those done by the school of Raphael:
Our Antient Painters, famous for Art, Immortalized their works with all excellencies, and thereby consecrated the wisdomes of hands, as Donaries unto Delphis, a sacrifice to Deityes, our late Painters strive for wealth, by sale of Ordinary and quick work, (the bane of all Arts) rather than labour for Fame, and Glory; the cause of many Pieces, so common and few of Art. 50

Raphael’s school in Italy, spearheaded by Marcantonio Raimondi, had first turned out reproductions; then followed the school of Rubens and the school of Rembrandt in the North.

Raphael (1483-1520) was the first of the great painters to realize the market value of popularity by pressing a first rate engraver into his service. His factotum, Baviera, who among other things mixed the master’s paints, turned to printing, and was among the earliest of the profession of printseller, which was to become so lucrative a calling during the course of a century. Marcantonio Raimondi, whose engravings after Raphael and Giulio Romano influenced the progress of Poussin, 51 inspired the largest following of any engraver who has ever lived. 52 He worked at Bologna, Venice, Florence, and Rome, doing the madonna; Adam and Eve; Bacchanalian scenes; Orpheus pieces; the Labors of Hercules; the personified cardinal Virtues, such as Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, and Peace; prints of Venus, Apollo, Satyrs and the three Graces; and celebrated antique statues. He copied the works of Dürer, Michelangelo, and especially Raphael’s paintings in the Stanza della Segnatura at the Vatican. 53 Giorgio Ghisi of the Mantuan school, who was influenced by Marcantonio, engraved prints after Michelangelo’s "Sistine Ceiling" and "Last Judgment," the latter
alone being eleven separate plates. 54

Other pieces in existence which could have appeared as prints in the London shops were these: Titian's works (especially his "Sacred and Profane Love," "Triumph of Faith," and "Fall of Man"); the mythological paintings of Rosso Rossi from Florence and Francesco Primatticcio from Bologna done as decoration of the Palace of Fontainbleau; engravings of Agostino Carracci after Corregio, Titian, and Paul Veronese; prints of Guido Reni (a pupil of Annibale Carracci), such as his "Aurora preceding the Chariot of Apollo," "St. Michael" (Pl. 36), and "Ariadne and Fortuna"; Botticelli's works; 55 Lucas van Leyden's "Fall of Man" and "The Seven Virtues"; 56 and engravings of the pictures in the London collections of Charles I and of Lord Arundel. 57

Before the middle of the seventeenth century, portrait prints in England were legion—the earlier group modest and well cut with foreigners like the Van de Passes as their models, the later group feeling the broadening influence of men from the school of Rubens, where the master's aim was the marketable and magnificent reproduction of his own works. The essential difference between the character of reproductions of Raphael's school headed by Marcantonio in Italy and that of the school of Rubens of a century later should be clearly understood. Marcantonio and his followers seldom had more than a slight study from the master's hand as a basis for their engravings; the Flemish engravers more generally worked directly after a picture, with considerable attention to accuracy of detail. Individual interpre-
tation could be displayed under the former conditions, and while Marcantonio was living, the genius was not lacking. Rubens was in the closest touch with engravers who devoted themselves to reproducing his works, and his success as a painter enabled him to secure and almost monopolize the best strength in engraving at that time. In certain cases the engraver no doubt worked in the master's studio, and though there is no proof that Rubens, any more than Raphael, himself handled the burin, the care with which he supervised the production of the plates finds witness in numerous proof impressions which exist with the master's own corrections. 58

Many prints from the engravings of the school of Rubens must have come to London (on 7 July 1660 Pepys "bought two fine prints of Ragotti from Rubens"), as did several of the men from that school, such as Lucas Vorsterman (about 1624-30) and his competitor, Robert van Voerst (about 1628-35). These two were the first to do plates from historic subjects in England. Vorsterman engraved pictures in the King's collection and pictures in the Arundel collection. Voerst did many engravings from Van Dyck's paintings. 59

Rubens's pupil, Anthony van Dyck, who had done his etchings by 1626, which forces their glory to belong entirely to Flanders, and Rembrandt (1606-1669) in Holland are estimated the great etchers. 60 Besides the prints, members of the school of Rembrandt got to London. From 1631 tradition places Jan Lievens for a few years in England--
his portrait of a musician at the Court of Charles I being perhaps an indication of the visit. Between 1631 and 1634 J. G. van Vliet engraved a considerable number of Rembrandt's pictures, and certain of these plates are valuable as the only surviving trace of lost works of the master. Samuel van Hoogstraeten worked in London 1662-1666, and of course there could have been others from this school.

C. H. C. Baker esteems Rembrandt the greatest of all religious interpreters from the modern point of view. He translates the essence of Christ's teaching into the simplest and profoundest terms, perfectly comprehending His humility, His loving kindness and humanity, and making them an open book to all; and A. M. Hind thinks "it would be difficult to contest Rembrandt's eminence in the expression of human emotion," even though John Ruskin failed to admire his etchings. Favorite subjects of Rembrandt were the Tobit story (Pl. 35) and the Samson story. Simplicity is the keynote to his landscape work mostly produced between 1640-1652. For his chiaroscuro plates (a magnificent example of these is "The Three Crosses," dated 1653) he is especially noted, not relying on the pure line alone to accomplish his effect but realizing the wonderful quality and liquid purity of the surface tones gained by leaving ink on the surface of the plate and literally painting his plate by arranging the light and dark parts.
Only the etcher's line work is in the definite particulars and vivid delineations of Dante's Inferno, as it were, but no background of light and shade. However Milton's Hell is, besides being a spiritual torment, a Rembrandtian study in light and shade. The mere perspective and chiaroscuro of it are a lofty and subtle aesthetic delight. There is the vast expanse of "darkness visible," but dimness and vagueness alone will not do, for art, after all is form. Beyond the rivers

O're many a Frozen, many a Fierie Alpe (P. L. II, 620)

and not content with the lurid splendor of this unnatural Nature, or else to console themselves for its torments, the fallen angels indulge their own aesthetic tastes by building a temple. Thus Milton presents both the definite line work and the chiaroscuro.

Of Satan approaching the spectral figure of Death, John Ruskin, despite his medieval and pictorial predilection for Dante, writes as follows from Venice to his father:

I know of nothing in Shakespeare or Dante so grandly painted as the two scenes of preparation for battle--between Satan and Death (II, 704) and Satan and Gabriel (IV, 977). The Death scene every one knows but I don't so much care for the first mysterious sketch of the shadows as for the opposition of Dark and Light, in their most appalling forms, when they prepare for battle, like the two clouds 'over the Caspian'--Satan burning like a comet, Death wrapped in darkness.

Thus Milton signalizes dramatic moments by intensifying the play of light against dark. Before that, when the imperial ensign is unfurled, it
Shon like a Meteor streaming to the Wind (P. L. I, 537)

And after Satan's fiery harangue

to confirm his words, outfly
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze
Far round illumin'd Hell. (P. L. I, 663-666)^67

Milton could not have seen much color at the print-publishers,
for most of the prints were in one color, either black or brown or red.
Sometimes these single-color impressions were tinted by hand, and
then were called colored prints. But color-prints were impressions
printed in more than one color; a few were done by Hercules Seghers,
who preceded and influenced Rembrandt,^68 by the Plantin House in
Antwerp for the 1612 edition of the Ortelius Atlas, by the studio of
Crispin van de Passe in Utrecht for his 1615 edition of A Garden of
Flowers, by the Hondius plant at Amsterdam for the 1633 Mercator
Atlas, and by Jean Blaeu at Amsterdam for the 1663 Atlas. But in
the main both color-print and mezzotint^69 were accomplishments of
the second half of the seventeenth century and therefore would have
little influence on Milton, who thought more in terms of light and
darkness than of color,"^70 which is not illogical in an age not bom-
barded with advertisements nor smothered in comic strips, but well
supplied with black and white engravings.

Thomas Geele at the Dagger in Lombard-street and Thomas
Hinde in 1537 were the predecessors of George Humble and John
Sudbury at the Sign of the White Horse in Pope's Head Alley, Cornhill,
and the first printsellers in London. From 1604 the names of Sudbury and Humble frequently appear on engravings for the next twenty years, and Humble alone until about 1630. About 1612, Sudbury and Humble had a rival print-publisher in Compton Holland, a son of the famous translator Philemon Holland. Perhaps Holland was succeeded by William Peake, a son of Robert Peake, Serjeant-Painter to James I and a brother to Robert Peake the Snow Hill printseller, for his name appears on many of the late states of the prints which the above print-publishers had issued. Later dealers were Thomas Jenner, John and Thomas Hind, Peter Stent, and his successor, John Overton. Peter Stent published a list of the prints that he vended both in 1650 and in 1662. The 1662 list was reprinted by Overton, who bought his stock in 1672.

Engravers and printsellers were having a lot to do with the distribution of art mainly for edification, however, not for artistic reasons; and the English people were becoming more acquainted with it. Foreign art and artists were slowly getting into the literature of the period. Shakespeare had written of Giulio Romano and was observant if not appreciative of the native visual arts.

Ben Jonson lived long enough to write of English noblemen's appreciation of Romano, Tintoretto, Titian, Raphael, and Michelangelo, but he had been in close contact with Inigo Jones and Court masques (1605-1631). Henry Constable wrote a sonnet to Nicholas Hilliard
which Milton could have known. That Milton took aesthetic delight in an English cathedral in the 1630's was certainly a thing apart rather than the rule in his homeland.

Neither in beauty, nor in correctness, nor in perfection of workmanship did the book trade in England develop as it did on the Continent; indeed during the century 1551-1650 there was a steady decline not only in the mechanical art of the press, but in the ability and social position of the masters and men engaged in the various branches of book production and distribution. The two chief reasons for this inferiority of the English booktrade were the fact that the press in the main was a vernacular one and lacked the consideration which would have been lent to it by the association of the learned (Milton evidently was aware of this for he eagerly negotiated purchases of books with continental friends), and the chief fact of the general slackness, the censorship exercised by the Government over all kinds of book production. In 1476 Caxton established his printing press at Westminster, and his translation of Image du monde (c. 1480) was the first book printed in England with illustrations (Pl. 28). On 4 May 1557 the Stationers' Company was incorporated, but it was not altogether a new thing. It had existed since 1404 in the form of a brotherhood of scriveners or copyists, and seems to have admitted printers to membership almost as soon as the art was introduced into England. This Company was given the sole rights of printing throughout England,
saving that other persons might be permitted to print by royal warrant, as was George Rudolphe Weckherlin in 1631, who printed foreign books in London. The stringent enactment of 1586 allowed no printing save at London, Cambridge, and Oxford, and the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were to decide if and when there was room for a new printer in the field and advise the Stationers' Company to select him. But these Elizabethan ordinances were not very regularly observed; secret printing went on, and there was much smuggling of forbidden books from the Continent. In 1637 the Court of the Star Chamber had issued a licensing act against printing, but this disappeared in 1640 together with the Star Chamber Court. The ordinance of the Presbyterian party of Parliament on 14 June 1643, which occasioned Milton's Areopagitica, required all books to be licensed by an official censor before publication.

In Elizabeth I's reign woodcut illustrations were generally very rough and appeared chiefly in books of a popular character, such as plays and a few pamphlets, and even in these the illustration is usually limited to a cut on the title-page. Exceptions to this are the numerous woodcuts in Foxe's Actes and Monuments (1563), a few repeated over and over in the first edition of Holinshed's Chronicles (1577), and a series of twelve in Spenser's Shepheardes Calender (1579).
Copper-plate engraving, though much more costly, was used sparingly in the more expensive works and was regarded as infinitely superior to the current woodcuts. From about 1600 elaborate (ornate rather than artistic) engraved title-pages came into favor, especially for large and expensive works. Among them were the 1612 Authorized Version of the Bible (Pls. 43 and 44), Michaell Drayton's Poly-Olbion (1613), The Workes of James I (1616), George Wythe's Preparation to the Psalter (1619), William Burton's Description of Leicester Shire (1622), John Parkinson's Paradisi in sole (Pl. 11), the Works of John Taylor, the water poet (1630), 79 and the 1649 frontispiece to Eikon Basilike (Pl. 47), which Milton called "the conceited portraiture before his /_Charles I's_/ Book, drawn out to the full measure of a Masking Scene" (Eikonoklastes, V, 67). Milton showed his observation of title-pages by a line from one of his sonnets on his divorce pamphlet, "Cries the stallreader, bless us! what a word/Tetrachordon/ on /A title page is this! (p. 82).

On seventeenth-century title-pages may be seen the Trinity in symbols (the Father represented by rays of light and Hebrew letters, the Holy Spirit usually a Dove, and Christ as a Lamb or Judge customarily seated on a rainbow in the clouds); Adam and Eve; Old Testament Saints; the heavenly angelic quire in clouds; emblem book figures, such as Fortuna, Fame
(bona et mala), Truth, Humility, Faith, Charity, Religion, and Peace; the four personified Seasons; Pan (Universal Nature) with his pipes; Juno with her peacock; Hercules with his club and lion's skin; Flora; Ceres; Pomona; cornucopias; formal gardens; sail ships with tall masts; many compasses, especially on books dealing with geography, geometry, hydrography, or architecture.

Classical columns and entablatures appeared as much on title-pages in Milton's day as they did on London houses.

Classical architecture made its way in England not as a method of building but as a mode of decorative design. Although this mode of design was largely an affair of columns and entablatures, pediments and consoles and the enrichments commonly applicable to these things, it circulated independently of such concrete propositions. It had as great an appeal to the engraver, the jeweller, the worker in plaster or glass as it had to the mason. A pair of columns carrying entablature and pediment was a pretty conception for a porch; but it was likewise a pretty conception for an engraved title-page; and the engraver suffered far fewer restrictions in elaborating the theme.

Good examples of architectural ornament on title-pages are Richard Hooker's Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie, The Workes of Benjamin Jonson, John Diodati's Piovs Annotations Vpon the Holy Bible, The Holy History, Biblia Polyglotta, John Speed's History of Great Britaine (1611), the title-page of the 1612 Ortelius Atlas (Pl. 40), title-page of the 1633 Mercator Atlas (Pl. 41), and the frontispiece to Italy in the 1663 Blaeu Atlas (pl. 42). Milton would have seen similar decorative designs on the Gate of Honour and the Gate of Virtue, Caius College, Cambridge.
The way in which the craftsmen used the emblem books to supplement their architectural pattern books and their tapestry and embroidery designs indicates the literary nature of contemporary decoration and the decorative nature of contemporary literature. If decoration was so literary, it was almost inevitable that literature itself should be closely allied with the content and technique of the pictorial arts. In fact there was a very much closer relation between literature and decoration in the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries than has ever existed since. The Bible narrative, classical mythology, and medieval allegories appeared on walls, tapestries, clothes, title-pages, in emblem books, in masques, and in painting. These were the commonplaces of Milton's day, and he was writing from a store of impressions, better remembered because they had been seen as well as read—not only in the examples enumerated in this thesis but in the many like them which must have fallen in his way. The Renaissance writer drew on a rich deposit, but probably in no era have the riches been more disorderly. This is true both of literary and artistic resources. Libraries were not well catalogued; art museums did not exist.

Beginning with Alciati's Emblemata Flumen abundans (1548), woodcuts in emblem books depicted Fortune as a female figure on a sphere or on a wheel with a scarf as a sail, and closely associated with her Occasion with a forelock on her forehead and bald behind. Vincenzo Cartari's Le Imagini de gli dei de gli antichi, first
published in 1566 at Venice, described the images and statues of
gods of the Ancients, such as Bacchus and Fortuna

Pausanias sayth (writing of the monuments of antiquitie) that
the most ancient Statue and Image of Fortune was that which
Bupalus (that farre-famed Architector & Ingrauer) composed
and made in Greece, which picture afterwards the Smyrneans
bought with a great summe of money. And the same was cut
out and proportioned in the shape and likenesse of a woman,
on whose head was infixed a round and circular ball, and in
one of her hands she held the horne of plentie and abundance,
called Cornucopia: by which depicturance is plainely under-
stood the office & propertie of that goddesse, which is to haue
the bestowing and giuing of great riches, wealth, and treasures,
the which notwithstanding shee bestoweth on men with such
vncertainty, that they neuer remaine long with them, but are
unssetled, vnsure, and quickly rowled from them againe, as
the heauens are tossed and circumfered by the two poles, re-
sembled thereunto by the ball placed vpon her head...Macrobius
sayth, this Nemesis /Fortuna/ was adored and worshipped
among the Aegyptians...that her picture was depainted and set
forth with wings on her shoulders, to signifie, that she was
alwaies readie and at hand amongst men: hard by her side was
placed the rudder of a ship, & she her selfe stood vpon a round
wheelee, holding in hir right hand a golden ball, and in the other
a whip. 84

Fortune, of course, was a commonplace, appearing in tapestry,

Dürer engravings, paintings of Van Dyck and Rubens, sometimes
with the wheel, sometimes with a sphere. 85 Milton presents her both
ways: with the wheel in The Ready and Easy Way to a Free Common-
wealth (VI, 127); with the sphere in Samson Agonistes (172).

Cesare Ripa's Della Piv Che Novissima Iconologia was
first published at Rome, 1593, and went through eight editions by 1630.

No other book aided Ben Jonson so much in planning his allegorical
persons for his masques. 86 Many of Ripa's figures step from the
pages of Alciati, the descriptions overlap with Cartari's, and both
the woodcuts and the descriptions show up again in English emblem
books. His "Virtu heroica" is in Henry Peacham's Minerva
Britanna (1612) dedicated to Prince Henry. The naked Hercules
with a lion's skin about his arms leans upon his club holding three
golden apples brought from the Garden of Hesperides (Pl. 26), which
represent "the three Heroique Vertues old." Milton perhaps
thought of this labor of Hercules at the end of Comus (981), for
there surely virtue was victorious.

The earliest emblem book in English was Geoffrey Whitney's
A Choice of Emblemes, originally published at Leyden, 1586, at the
House of Plantin. Of the 248 emblems, 23 were original and the
others were from "sundrie writers." Many of the designs in the bor-
der of the Hatfield Tapestries came from this book. There is an
emblem of "Chaos" (Pl. 27) and the poem under it is from classical
authors. The classical idea of the creation from confused matter
rather than from nothing (Milton's notion in P. L. II, 890-917) was
thus circulated in a popular emblem book in a Protestant country. Milton used the word "emblem" (P. L. IV, 700-703) as Whitney de-

To set in, or to put in: properlie ment by suche figures, or workes,
as are wroughte in plate, or in stones in the pauements, or on the
waules, or suche like, for the adorning of the place.

This definition is from the Greek, and Milton did not use it to mean a
distinct literary form. The emblem books carried both the pictures and the poems.

An interesting Catholic emblem book was Henry Hawkins's Parthenia Sacra (1633), mostly in prose. The Virgin is compared to a garden and all the symbols illustrate this idea. A commonplace one is the Dove representing the Holy Spirit and hovering over the seas at the Creation. Milton used this symbol in his poetry:

And chiefly Thou O Spirit . . .
... from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss
and mad'st it pregnant

(P. L. I, 17-22),

Darkness profound
Cover'd th' Abyss: but on the watrie calme
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspred

(P. L. VII, 233-235),

and at the baptism of Christ

on him rising
Out of the water . . .
... on his head
A perfect Dove descend, what e're it meant

(P. R. I, 80-83).

The 1612 Authorized Version title-pages of both the Old and the New Testaments, a copy of which Milton owned, have the Holy Spirit represented as a Dove, and this is usual in Renaissance painting. George Wither's A Collection of Emblemes printed in London 1635 contained a "Labor et Constantia" design, the same compass and hand composition as was the Plantin press mark.
Compasses were a frequent symbol in emblem designs in this age of geographical expansion—especially in Ripa.

In 1635 appeared the popular Emblemes of Francis Quarles, illustrated by William Marshall and Will Simpson. So popular was this book that Horace Walpole said Milton had to wait until the world was done admiring Quarles. 94 There are many formal gardens in the backgrounds of his emblems—formal, that is, in the English fashion. The design cut by Will Simpson illustrating "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" (Romans 7:24) has been thought a source of the words of the Attendant Spirit listening to the Lady's song

I was all eare,
And took in strains that might create a soul
Under the ribs of Death (Comus, 560-562)

but Comus was produced the year before Quarles's Emblemes came out. However this may not have been the first appearance of this design of a seated skeleton with a small human being within praying with folded hands. The landscape is bleak and desolate. The emblem may have been in other books or masques or tapestry or engravings which the young poet knew and perhaps there it did not represent Romans 7:24. "A soul / Under the ribs of Death" is a most precise wording of the emblem design. 95

In the masques, as in the popular emblem literature of the age, the visual and the auditory meet in harmony—the picture was as important as the dialogue spoken or sung. The masques
were "Court Hieroglyphicks," to use Jonson's words, and one of the
differences between them and the plays at public theatres was that
they were put on at night with elaborate lighting effects in the Great
Halls of Gothic design. A clever contrasting of dark scenes and
of light, the sudden descent of a cloud chariot flaming in splendor,
the rush of torch-bearers over a stage upon which the masquers
had been discovered—all these contributed to startle and gratify
the spectators, to say nothing of the audience's delight in recognizin-
certain allegorical figures (right out of the emblem books)
presented in painted form on the "ornaments" or incorporated
materially in the masquers' costumes. 96 What the Lady saw
when she cried

O welcom pure-ey'd Faith, white-handed Hope,
Thou hovering Angel girt with golden wings,
And thou unblemish't form of Chastity,
I see ye visibly  (Comus, 213-216)

was perhaps colored by Milton's recollection of some tinsel virtues
in a court masque. 97 The figures of Peace, Truth, Justice, and
Mercy in The Hymn (pp. 2 and 5), discussed more fully in Chapter
IX, are like figures the poet had seen either in masques, on maps, or
in emblem books. Many of the figures and costumes in the masques
were taken from emblems (especially from Cartari and Ripa) and
from contemporary Italian operas, such as Spring "in a Mantle of
divers colours imbrodered with all sorts of flowers"; however the
Venus that appeared at Whitehall differed markedly from the Venus
of antiquity, although at Milan in 1594 a commentator declares she came on stage "quite naked, very white, with a garland of roses in her golden hair," her loveliness set off by "a sky-blue veil." In England her mantle was of "Dove-colour and silver, imbroidered with Doves"; she was "crowned with her starre" and seated on a chariot drawn by doves and swans, "with silver geares." Vesta was clothed "in a white Mantle imbroidered with gold-flames, with a dressing like a Nun." a burning lamp and a book being her attributes, which recalls the Vesta-Nun association in Il Penseroso. Bacchus appeared "in a chariot hung all over with vine leaves and grapes, drawn by a goat"; "Ivy-crowned Bacchus" (L'Allegro, 16) in Milton's masque bore "a Charming Rod in one hand" and "his Glass in the other." Laughter was "in a long side Coate of severall colours, laughing Visards on his breast and backe, a Cap with two grinning faces and Feathers betweene" and with him rolled in Jollity dressed "in a flame-coloured Suite;" Revel, and Sport. Virtue was "a gracious young woman, with wings at her shoulders, holding in her right hand a spear and in her left a laurel crown; a sun on her breast"; the personified Horae were Law, Justice, and Peace; Orpheus was "attired after the old Greek manner, his haire curled and long, a lawrell wreath on his head, and in his hand hee bore a silver bird"; Bad Fame was ornamented with feathers, eyes, and ears, and bearing a trumpet in her right hand; Good Fame, also with trumpet, but with an olive branch in her left hand and on her neck a golden chain with a heart hanging from it; and Occasion appeared
"with a longe locke before and bald behind" (P.R. III, 173).

Milton certainly was familiar with the title-pages of the 1612 Authorized Version of the Bible (Pls. 43 and 44), and their arrangement of the symbols representing the Trinity. In The Hymn (p. 1) Christ is "wont at Heav'ns high Council-Table, / To sit the midst of Trinal Unity" (10-11), but in Paradise Lost Milton places Christ at the right hand of the Father, the usual position in Italian Renaissance painting (Pl. 34). The 1568 and 1588 Bishops Bibles were profusely illustrated with woodcuts (Pls. 45 and 46), and Milton most probably was familiar with them as well as the more sparsely illustrated 1560 Geneva Version, a copy of which his third wife owned. How many of the foreign Bibles he had seen is impossible to know; the Older German Bibles especially were well illustrated, some colored by hand, but the cuts were from conventional designs.

From Conrad Gesner's Medici Tigvrini Historiae Animalivm (Zurich, 1560) illustrated with woodcuts, or from Edward Topsell's The Historie of Four-Footed Beastes, a 1607 London translation of Gesner, Milton could have gleaned what all the classical and medi- val authors knew of God's animal, fish, and bird creation, as did Izaak Walton in his Complete Angler. Besides the woodcut, twenty pages of words are given to the elephant. He represents Piety in the emblem books and Topsell accredits him with having a religion:

They have also a kinde of Religion, for they worshippe, reverence, and observe the course of the Sunne, Moone, and Starres; for when
the Moone shineth, they goe to the Waters wherein she is apparant, and when the Sunne ariseth, they salute and reuerence her face.

The elephant appears in many pictorial representations of the Garden of Eden because of its association with piety, and the fact that it was not seen in the flesh in the seventeenth century but as something exotic on maps of Africa or Asia, on engravings, or in emblem books.

Evelyn saw his first elephant in Rotterdam:

It was a beast of a monstrous size, yet as flexible and nimble in the joints, contrary to the vulgar tradition, as could be imagined from so prodigious a bulk and strange fabric; but I most of all admired the dexterity and strength of its proboscis on which it was able to support two or three men, and by which it took and reached whatever was offered to it.  

Diary, 13 August 1641

To the twentieth-century mind accustomed from childhood to think of the elephant in terms of the zoo or a circus parade, this seems incongruous, but it did not seem so to people in the seventeenth century.

In Gesner great whales engage in aquatic battles and chase a brig whose mariners bait them with empty barrels or lull them with the sound of trumpets. Even Leviathan is pictured, to whom the sailors have anchored their ship by his side from the tempest, thinking him an island (Pl. 18).

The learned Gesner has a very grim array of sea monsters. When they are particularly ugly he always takes shelter behind the authority of a certain Olaus Magnus who had studied their habits in the northern ocean. We have searched out this great Olaf and found that his book is a sort of dictionary of general information about the northern countries of Europe and the islands towards Ultima Thule. Olaus Magnus was Bishop of Upsala, and his Latin folio is plentifully illustrated with worthless column cuts, from
which Gesner landed his strangest sea monsters--great fish like monks or mitred bishops, and others with heads of oxen or unicorns. 104

Milton probably owned a copy of Olaus Magnus's *Historia* (the Plantin press, Antwerp, 1558), 105 and the allusion to the Norwegian coast (P. L I, 203) suggests that he had in mind an almost contemporary version of the Leviathan story. 106 Olaus Magnus, Gesner, and Topsell were all illustrated with woodcuts.

The 1621 edition of George Sandys's *A Relation of a Journey* was illustrated and available to Milton. The title-page (Pl. 39) has the figures of Verita (Truth) 107 associated with the figures of Isis and Osiris. Thus several years before he could have seen the Isis story painted in the Borgia Apartments at Rome, the seeds for the comparison of the search for Truth to the gathering by Isis of the scattered limbs of Osiris in *Areopagitica* may have been sown, and if the title-page as well as the other cuts in Sandys's book showed up in other books, 108 so much the better, as Milton would have had more chances of seeing the related picture of the figure of Truth and the Isis legend.

One of the "two books of paradise" retained by the third Mrs. Milton 109 may have been a copy of G. B. Andreini's *L'Adamo Sacra Representatione* illustrated with scenes from the opera.

Andreini, an actor as well as a writer who led the Duke's company, the famous Fedeli, in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, was at Pavia and at Bologna when Milton was in Italy. 110 It is not
known that his *L'Adamo* was acted in Italy when Milton was there, but Milton could have bought the book with its many illustrations taken from the actual performance. A comparison has been made between the plot of Andreini's *L'Adamo* and Milton's third and fourth drafts of his tragedy in the Cambridge MS. and

The situation may be summed up thus: *Paradise Lost* and the analogues from Italian and Dutch literature have in common very little beyond certain traditional and conventional material; so far as these analogues present individual characteristics probably influential on Milton, the influence is on his thought circa 1640-42, when he was planning to write a tragedy on the theme of Adam's fall; it is not sufficient to say that Milton's transcendent poetical gift glorified these crude plots so that they appeared transformed in the great poem; the poem he finally wrote is constructed on a plan so different in every important respect as to indicate a fundamental revision of the earlier plan, not merely the expansion of that plan into an epic. For *Paradise Lost* is a cosmic drama, designed to justify the ways of God to man; designed also to relate man to a vast scheme of nature.

Between 1642 and the time when *Paradise Lost* was written something happened to turn Milton from a possible imitation of Grotius or Andreini to a theme incomparably greater. This something was, of course, the maturing of his thought, stimulated by intense study in broad fields.

Aside from the plot, the illustrations in the Italian book show up in the detail of *Paradise Lost*. Michael rescues Adam and Eve from the monsters and devils that threaten them after they have been turned out of Eden and they seem to worship him. In fact Michael and the Angels in these illustrations show more compassion, more human affection for Adam and Eve than the present writer has elsewhere discovered in the many pictorial representations of this narrative. An angel in flowing, flimsy robes holding Adam by his forearm and
escorting him to the gate of the formal garden of Paradise which they are about to enter is the center episode in a full page illustration.

Below, the Father has just created Adam outside Eden and an angel host adore His creation. Above, the Father with a crown on creates Eve from Adam's rib within the Garden. In another illustration, when the Archangel Michael comes to dispossess them of Eden, he is dressed in flowing, flimsy robes and takes Eve's right arm in his right hand and his left arm seems to be around her waist (this picture appears twice in the book). The conventional pictorial representation is a stern Michael, militarily armed, chasing the pair out of Eden. Masaccio's moving painting, the "Expulsion," (Pl. 38), which Milton could have seen on the wall of the Brancacci Chapel of the Church Del Carmine at Florence, illustrates the conventional presentation, as does Michelangelo's painting (Pl. 54). But in the Andreini scene, where Michael orders the pair out of the Garden, he in warlike dress and his angelic retinue are shown outside the Gate with the ashamed and repentant Adam and Eve and appear merciful and sympathetic, yet resolute in carrying out their heavenly order.

Perhaps Milton had these scenes in mind when he wrote

In either hand the hastning Angel caught
Our lingring Parents, and to th' Eastern Gate
Led them direct. (P. L. XII, 637-639)

Not all the garden scenes in L'Adam are formal, nor are they all logical, for even the scenes of the demons in Hell have a formal Italian garden as background. This, I suppose, was on the backdrops
of the opera stage scenery. Some scenes, especially those involving Adam and Eve, have a natural garden. Adam and Eve in the temptation scene of the third act are youthful; his hair is short, hers long and wavy, recalling Dürer's 1504 engraving (Pl. 13) and Mabuse's "Adam and Eve" at Old Whitehall. All his life Milton loved books and after his blindness could write that he felt "no resentment against books" and had "not altogether given up the study of them, great as is the price they have exacted." It is not improbable that one of the "two books of paradise" among the effects of his third wife was Andreini's L'Adamo.

Most Milton scholars concede that the poet used contemporary maps.

Curiously enough, a specific aspect of Milton's knowledge of geography has never been fully explored: this is the relationship of his poetry to contemporary maps. Certain contemporary maps are, I believe, not only almost indispensable illustrations of the geographical passages in Milton's poetry but also probably important factors in his poetic inspiration...

Certain maps and the related explanation are indisputably part of the actual stuff with which Milton's creative imagination worked; they are somewhat crude materials which Milton's magic reshaped into lines of deathless beauty.

Of the maps which constitute an important part of Milton's geographical background, comparatively little seems to have come from the ancient Greeks and Romans. The great trio of contemporary cartographers were Gerard Mercator, Abraham Ortelius, and Jodocus Hondius (Josse de Hondt), all of the Low Countries. Mercator (1512-1594) of Flanders produced a splendid series of projection charts and descriptive maps,
extending from 1537 to 1594 and dominating geography for one hundred years. Mercator himself never published his maps in the form of an atlas, probably, as claimed by his biographer, so as not to prejudice the success of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the atlas published in 1570 by his friend Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598). Mercator's son published his maps as an atlas in 1595, but Jodocus Hondius purchased the plates from Mercator's executors in 1604 and published his first edition of the Mercator *Atlas Major* in 1606 at Amsterdam. After his death (1613) further editions issued from his workshop, carried on by his sons Justus and Hendrik. The plates of the *Atlas Major* were reprinted in England in Henry Hexham's edition of 1636, and the smaller plates from the Mercator-Hondius *Atlas Minor* (first published in 1607) appeared in England in *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1625, and in the *Historia Mundi*, 1635. 118

Second only to Mercator as a geographer and map-maker was his friend and rival Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp, whose *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) was the first modern atlas, though not so called, and ran through some forty folio editions, in Latin, French, Spanish, and English by 1624, an English edition appearing as early as 1606. 119 This 1606 edition is the one emphasized as a source for the geography in Milton's poetry by George W. Whiting. 120 The editions of Ortelius were indeed the chief atlases of Milton's seeing days.

The Protestant Jodocus Hondius (1563–1613) took refuge in
England from about 1584 to 1593. He was a well trained engraver and devoted his skill to maps such as those in Camden's Britannia, in John Speed's Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain (1611-12), and the "Hakluyt's Map of the World." World maps of Mercator, Ortelius, or Hondius are now excessively rare, but in Milton's day they were probably plentiful in the London shops and the citizens purchased them for their homes. Jodocus Hondius is accredited with four world maps: the "Drake and Cavendish Map of the World" done before he left England, the "Christian Knight Map of the World," the "Map of the World on Mercator's Projection" (1608), and the 1611 (?) "Map of the World."

The "Drake and Cavendish Map of the World" is in two hemispheres as was his 1611 map, and many other maps of the world which cartographers were then perfecting. Milton thought of Mercator projections when he wrote

All thy Dominion, Adam, is no more
Than what this Garden is to all the Earth,
And all the Sea, from one entire globose
Stretcht into Longitude. (P. L. V, 748-751)

After his return to the Netherlands, Hondius engraved his famous "Christian Knight Map," with its curious pictorial allegory based on Hieronymus Wierix (after Marten de Vos). An elaborate allegorical design of six figures fills the space of the then unknown Australia and AntArticia. Sin, Death, and the Devil, the infernal trinity first met at Hell's Gate, are armed and fighting to overcome the Christian Knight. The Knight, armed with the sword of the Spirit, the
shield of Faith, and the helmet of Salvation tramples on a prostrate female figure personifying the Flesh, while Sin assaults him from the left with the worm of conscience, and the Devil, compounded of bat, hawk, goat, and man, draws three flaming arrows at him from the right. Milton so arms his Satan:

but Satan now
Quite at a loss, for all his darts were spent (P.R.IV, 365).

The Devil is flanked on the right by the draped skeleton with a huge scythe; Sin is flanked on the left by an opulent female representing the World. Numerous texts from the Bible explain the allegory, and the whole treatment gives a quaint example of the way in which the geography of the age was wont to fill up the blank spaces of the earth and sea. Sin is a naked female from the loins up, her body ending in a serpent-like, pointed tail. Snakes are her hair, and around her neck hangs an open book by a rope with a Scripture reference on it. She is labeled "Peccatum" and is quite like "Peccato" (Pl. 24) in Ripa's Iconologia with her worm of conscience, a long snake held in both hands and guided towards the Christian Knight.

This map Hondius dedicated to three of his English friends, Edward Wright (1558?-1615), the distinguished Cambridge mathematician and hydrographer, and two other less-known followers of science. Wright fell out with Hondius in 1599 because Hondius designed the "Christian Knight Map" in Wright's projection, an improvement on Mercator's, which Wright described in his book on Certaine
Errors in Navigation. Hondius had evidently taken advantage of
Wright's friendly but confidential disclosure of his MS. before pub-
lication in the making of his "Christian Knight Map," and of various
other maps no longer extant, to judge from Wright's published
preface. Because of Milton's Cambridge background and because
of his interest in mathematics, he most probably learned of the
Hondius-Wright disagreement.

Hondius's "Map of the World on Mercator's Projection"
(1608) has engraved pictures in the border indicative of the various
peoples and cities in the countries shown. A large picture of the
natives and their produce is shown where North America should have
been. The imaginative stimulus of such pictorial designs is evi-
dent in

Such of late
Columbus found th' American so girt
With feathered Cincture, naked else and wilde
Among the Trees on Iles and woodie Shores.
(P. L. IX, 1115 ff)

Hondius's'Map of the World" 1611 (?) is in two hemispheres,
and between the two hemispheres is an interesting natural Garden of
Eden rather crowded with animals and trees. Adam is walking
among the animals, and Eve with long flowing hair is gathering apples.
In the upper left corner is a picture of Old Testament saints, and
above the legend in the lower right corner is an old man with a pair
of compasses. Below the legend is a scene of the Last Judgment.
In the border are large lively and realistic pictures of animals of far
away lands.

To these attractive modern world maps and to any and all
of the contemporary atlases, Milton's eyes must have been drawn.
Englishmen generally must have enjoyed them, for Richard Burton
(alias Nathaniel Crouch (1632?-1725?)) recommended as one of his
best specifics against melancholy the study of antiquities and the
works of art, including prints and especially the recent picturesque
iconographic maps. After saying that Achilles eased his grief for
the death of Patroclus by looking at the figures engraved on the
shield Thetis brought him, Burton observes:

Who will not bee affected in like case, or to see those well
furnished Galleries of the Roman Cardinals, so well stored with
all moderne Pictures, old Statues and Antiquities: Nec se spectando
recreet simul & legendo, to see their pictures alone and read the
description as Boisardus well adds, whom will it not affect?... Or
in some Princes cabinets, like that of the great dukes in Florence,
of Faelix Platerus in Basil, or Noblemen's houses, to see such
varieties of attire, faces, so many, so rare, and such exquisite
peecees, of men, birds, beasts, &c. to see those excellent land-
skips, Dutch-workes, and curious cuts of Sadier of Prage,
Albertus Dürer, Goltzius, Vriutes, &c.

Me thinkes it should well please any man to looke vpon a
Geographicall mappe, suavi animum delectatione alicere, ob in
credibilem rerum varietatem & iucunditatem, & ad pleniorum sui
cognitionem excitare, Chorographicall, Topographicall delineations
to behold, as it were, all the remote Prouinces, Townes, Citties
of the World, and never to goe forth of the limits of his study, to
measure by the Scale & Compasse, their extent, distance, examine
their site. Charles the great as Platina writes, had three faire
siluer tables, in one of which superficies was a large mappe of
Constantinople, in the seconde Rome neatly engraewed, in the third
an exquisite description of the whole world, and much delight hee
tooke in them. What greater pleasure can there now be, then to
view those elaborate maps, of Ortelius, P. Mercator, Hondius, &c.
To peruse those books of Citties, put out by Braunus, and Hogen-
bergus... Hacluits voyages, P. Martyrs Decades, Benzo, Lerius,
Linschotens relations, those Hodaeporicons of Lod. a Meggen...
Those parts of America, set out, and curiously cut in picture by Fratres a Bry. 131

As late as 8 November 1656 in a letter to Peter Heimbach, Milton was interested in buying the latest atlas and inquired whether the Blaeu or the Jansen edition was the more complete and the more accurate for the exorbitant price of one hundred and thirty florins. 132 Many of the plates in either of these atlases were, no doubt, repetitions of plates in earlier Ortelius or Mercator atlases, as the frontispiece to the Italy section in volume IX of the 1663 Blaeu (Pl. 42), though beautifully colored, is the same engraving as the black and white design opposite page 32 in the 1594 Mercator book. Milton had perhaps seen many of the engravings in the Blaeu and the Jansen editions, and was familiar too with much of the texts from his perusal of earlier Ortelius and Mercator books in his seeing days. He evidently wanted a Blaeu or Jansen edition to bring him up to date.

Wood and copper engraving then was mainly of foreign importation, especially from the Low Countries with whom the English traded, or was done by foreign craftsmen, chiefly trained in the Low Countries, who had taken refuge in England. From 1540 to 1650 was a prolific period of black and white prints of all sorts: portraits, street processions, title-pages, political broadsides, Bible illustrations, and iconographic maps. Some prints of the sixteenth-century Raphael school of engraving in Italy and prints and craftsmen from the seventeenth-century schools of Rubens and Rembrandt in the Low Countries were available in London.
But principally through decorative portraiture and elaborately ornate title-pages did engraving make its slow progress in England. The English press was under government censure, and the booktrade suffered from inferior workmanship when compared with books published on the Continent. Milton, together with others, sought to purchase foreign books and atlases. Book illustrations were usually in one color, for both color-print and mezzotint were accomplishments of the second half of the seventeenth century.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III


2 His Image du monde (c. 1480) was the first book printed in England with illustrations. See Plate 28.

3 Quoted in Bliss, pp. 175 and 167.


10 At least up to February 1652, the date of his total blindness, see J. M. French, "Date of Milton's Blindness," PQ, XV (January 1936), 94.


13 Ibid., p. 122.


15 For examples of engravings by Goltzius see the *Kitto Bible*, II, No. 321 and No. 331; and Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie* (Hague, 1932), II, 275.

16 *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman* 1634, p. 129.


22 Bliss, p. 106.


24 Douce, pp. 48 and 55.


26 Knackfuss, II, 100-102; Douce, pp. 107-121.

27 Knackfuss, II, 50; and see a reproduction of the Bible title-page in Raimond van Marle, *Iconographie*, II, 157, Figure 182.

28 Knackfuss, II, 71-73.
29 Of Education, IV, 281.


31 Hind, History of Engraving & Etching, pp. 136 and 133.


33 Salaman, p. 22.


36 C. H. C. Baker, Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court (Glasgow, 1929), p. 141.


41 The Excellency of the Pen and Pencil (London, 1668), p. 45.

42 Salaman, pp. 49-50.
43 Aubrey's Brief Lives, p. 163.

44 A. M. Hind, Wenceslaus Hollar (London, 1922), No. 6, Plate XIV (made between 1656-1665).


46 Ibid., pp. 1-25.

47 A. M. Hind, An Introduction to a History of Woodcut (Boston, 1935), II, 733; 734; 736.


50 Sanderson, pp. 51, 25; 28, and 31.


52 Hind, History of Engraving & Etching, p. 91; but F. S. Haden does not think too highly of Marcantonio Raimondi in About Etching, pp. 47-48.


54 Hind, History of Engraving & Etching, p. 99.

55 Ottley, I, 404-435.

56 Ottley, II, 750.

57 For a list of the Earl of Arundel’s pictures see M. F. S. Harvey, The Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 473-500.

58 Hind, History of Engraving & Etching, pp. 131 and 126.


60 Hind, History of Engraving & Etching, pp. 165, 168, 170. For a list of Rembrandt’s etchings see F. S. Haden, About Etching, pp. 53-59.


63 "Rembrandt," Klassiker Der Kunst (Stuttgart, 1906-1923), II, 4, 151, 158, 159, 218, 253, 256; VIII, 36, 75; XXVII, 2, 42, 67; XXXI, 146-148, 239-277; and Paintings of Rembrandt, ed. A. Bredius (Vienna, 1936), Plates 486, 489, 499-503, 507, 514, 520.


68 Hind, History of Engraving & Etching, pp. 305-306.

69 Salaman, pp. 60-65.


78 McKerrow, op. cit., p. 231: at the British Museum two booksellers' catalogues dated 1628 and 1637 list works purchased in Italy for sale in London.

79 A. F. Johnson, *A Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages Down to the Death of William Faithorne*, 1691 (Cambridge, 1934), Hole No. 10; Elstrack No. 10; Delaram No. 3; Delaram No. 4; and Cockson No. 5.

80 Summerson, pp. 22-23.

81 Johnson, Hole Nos. 7 and 14; Hollar Nos. 8, 16, and 20; Hondius No. 2.

82 See pictures of these gates in Willis and Clark, *Architectural History of Cambridge*, I, 177 and 178.


87 Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1630), Book III, 197, Figure 317.


93 George Wither, A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne (London, 1634-35), Book III, 143, No. IX.


95 Francis Quarles, Emblemes (London, 1635), Book V, 272, No. VIII.


98 Nicoll, Stuart Masques, pp. 174, 177-178, 181, 186-188.


103 Conrad Gesner, Medici Tigvrini Historiae Animalivm (Frankfurt, 1560-1603), III, 138.

104 Bliss, p. 157.

105 "Notes," Columbia Milton, XVIII, 579.

107 Compare the figures of Truth depicted in Plates 39 and 23.

108 Whiting, p. 128, note 84.


115 Ibid., p. 65.


117 Whiting, pp. 94 and 96.


120 Whiting, pp. 94-128.


122 For a reproduction see Plate 94 in Hind, op. cit.

123 For a reproduction see Plate 95 in Hind, op. cit.

124 For a reproduction see Huntington Library's copy by the Royal Geographical Society (London, 1927).
125 For a reproduction see Huntington Library's copy by The American Geographical Society and The Hispanic Society of America (New York, 1907).

126 Milton, Paradise Lost, ed. M. Y. Hughes, p. 175.

127 Hind, Engraving in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, I, 155.


131 Quoted by Sidney Colvin, op. cit., pp. 72-72.

CHAPTER IV

SCULPTURE IN OLD LONDON

Sculpture in Old London, like engraving chiefly an imported product, was not in a flourishing state. As Daniel Defoe put it, "It is scarce worth while to give an Account of the Statues in this City, they are neither many, or are those which are, very valuable." ¹

Spoliation of sculpture and painting in English churches began under Henry VIII; the statutes and ecclesiastical decrees of Edward VI and Elizabeth I ² continued the work; and the 1643 decree of the Long Parliament controlled by a Presbyterian faction was responsible for the demolition crews between 1643 and 1660. It was worded thus:

That before the first of November all altars and tables of stone shall be utterly taken away and demolished, and all communion tables removed from the east end of every church, chapel, or place of public worship, and be set in some other fit and convenient place or places of the body of the church or chapel; and all rails whatsoever which have been erected near to, or before, or about any altar or communion table in any of the said churches or chapels, shall before the said day be taken away, and the chancel ground of every such church, or chapel, or other place of public prayer, which has been within these twenty years raised for any altar or communion table to stand upon, shall before the said day be laid down and levelled as it was before; and all tapers, candle-sticks, and basins shall before the said day be removed and taken away from the communion table, in every church, chapel, or place of public prayer, and not be used again afterwards,

And all crucifixes, crosses, images, and pictures, of any one or more persons of the Trinity, or of the Virgin Mary, and all other images, and pictures of saints, or superstitious inscriptions, in or upon any of the said churches, churchyards, or other places belonging to the said churches or churchyards, or in any other open place, shall before the said first of November be taken away and defaced by the proper officers that have the care of such churches....Providing
that this Ordinance shall not extend to any image, picture, or coat of arms, in glass, stone, or otherwise in any church, chapel, or churchyard, set up by, or engraved for a monument of any king, prince, nobleman, or other dead person, which has not been commonly reputed or taken for a saint. 3

The last sentence of this decree is worthy of special attention, for it perhaps explains why some statues, those at Westminster Abbey for instance, were left intact by the Parliamentarians; and it shows the respect these lawmakers had for sculpture when it was divorced from religion.

Art, it seems, had come to depend upon religion for its existence, and religion required the aid of art to preserve its vitality. Such a connection tended to reduce religion to a mere form and to invest art with a semi-religious halo which deprived it of much of its reality and impeded its true progress. 4 Since the growth of art is a natural process and does not depend either upon the will of ruling powers or upon religion, it is doubtful whether it could have been abolished by artificial means. Like all reformers, the Parliamentarians carried their strictures to impossible lengths. In their zeal to abolish aesthetic religion, they began to look with suspicion upon art itself and occasionally to attack it for purely hypothetical reasons. Would Milton, a lover of temperance who wrote that "where no arts flourish... barbarism rages" (Prolusion VII, XII, 259), be of this group? His view of the lawmakers of his day was not very complimentary:

Englishmen, "to speak a truth not often spoken," were not born statesmen. England was a land "fruitful enough of men stout and courageous in war," but at the same time "not over-fertile naturally of men able
to govern wisely and prudently in peace." The national character was in fault: it was rude, intractable and unteachable—he almost says unintelligent. Public spirit and similar qualities "grow not here but in minds well implanted with solid and elaborate breeding." Just as certain products must be imported to our island from sunnier lands, "so must ripe understanding and many civil virtues be imported into our minds from foreign writings and examples of best ages." If England was to succeed in great enterprises she must have men with the education of statesmen to conduct her affairs—not politicians "trusting only in their mother wit" or tradesmen "called from shops and warehouses to sit in supreme councils," but "men more than vulgar, bred up in the knowledge of ancient and illustrious deeds." 5

Only a minority of the rank and file of Englishmen were destructive ascetics according to L. B. Wright:

Violent hatred of the forms and ritual of the Established Church flared at intervals because these forms symbolized a clinging to an older faith which the majority of the citizenry had learned to fear and hate. Fanatical asceticism swept England in the 1640's, but these were years of upheaval and hysteria, the causes of which were far more complicated than the word "Puritan" connotes. Stained-glass windows were broken, images destroyed, and brasses from churches stolen, but there is evidence that Cavaliers and Roundheads alike were guilty of vandalism. Though it was a common sneer that all tradesmen were Puritans, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that only the minority were destructive ascetics, for the rank and file of the commercial classes were not stern haters of the pleasant and the beautiful. In the three-quarters of a century preceding the Puritan Revolution, they had learned to appreciate new luxuries, new comforts, and new pleasures. And with the development of their taste came the stirrings of a new interest in the fine arts, which manifested itself chiefly in the desire ofburghers for houses comfortably furnished and handsomely adorned. 6

It will not be amiss here to briefly review the history of the slow appreciation of classical sculpture in the land of Italy itself since Milton went to Italy and since sculptures from there began to make their way to London gardens and galleries in Milton's lifetime. The two important collections of sculpture in Rome were at the Capitol and the Vatican. Pope Julius II (1503-1513) placed the "Apollo," the "Venus
Empress," and the "Laocoön" in the niches of the Cortile di Belvedere for decorative purposes. Heretofore humanism had found an entry in the Vatican only in a literary guise for those who read, but these statues displayed their virile, soft, or tortured beauty to the eyes of all who passed through the Cortile di Belvedere. Julius's predecessor, Sixtus IV (1471-1484), who gave Rome its first ancient art, a collection of bronzes, relegated it far from the Vatican to the Capitoline Hill. The Capitol was the hill of the glory that was Rome; the Vatican, the valley of Christian martyrdom. At this period the Renaissance had already devoted about a century to the study of Greek and Roman literature, for literature is always the surest and quickest means of establishing an intellectual understanding between different ages. When literature had awakened an admiration for the greatness of ancient Greece and Rome, classical monuments—first the buildings and then the masterpieces of sculpture—finally claimed their meed of appreciation. The buildings were for the most part in ruins, but they began to be cherished, studied, and measured (Inigo Jones and Nicholas Stone, Jr. together with many others were doing this in Milton's lifetime) because their greatness and grandeur offered a living commentary on the words of the writers. To appreciate the sculptures properly presupposed not only a particular quality of imagination of a high order but also a thorough preparation of the mind, which could be attained only through the long study of classical literature. Certainly Milton had this study in his background. It was easier for a
fifteenth century Christian to harmonize the philosophy of Plato with his religion or to link the greatness of contemporaneous Rome with the glorious Rome of Livy than to appreciate the unveiled beauty of an "Apollo" or a "Venus." Between him and this appreciation lay the world of Romanesque and Gothic art, which, in its preoccupation with the ideal, had overlooked the form of the human body. Classical art as a whole required a much more radical change in sentiment and taste than that which was required for the appreciation of classical literature. This change took place later. In fact it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that the general attitude towards classical sculpture changed when J. J. Winckelmann published his History of Ancient Art (1768), which approached Greek and Roman sculpture as though it were a document to be studied for the further development of human thought rather than a thing to be admired aesthetically in a civilization that Christianity had supplanted.

The two Medici Popes followed Julius II and were from family tradition collectors of sculpture (the Medici were the first among the princes of Italy to form a collection of their own at Florence): Leo X (1513-1521) brought to the Vatican collection the Nile group; and Clement VII (1523-1534), the Torso of Apolonius associated with the name of Michelangelo. Paul III Farnese (1534-1549) contributed the so-called Antinous, a statue of Hermes as a youth.

Then from the north came the Reformation and the Council of Trent. Julius III del Monte (1550-1555) ceased to add marbles to
the Vatican collection; instead he built himself a villa in which he might indulge his passion for both ancient and contemporary art. Sixtus V Peretti (1585-1590) collected old marbles at his Villa Montalto. Then the nephews whom the popes had made cardinals began collecting statues at their fabulous villas: Cardinal Scipio Borghese, nephew of Paul V (1605-1621), Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, nephew of Gregory XV (1621-1623), and Cardinal Camillo Pamphili, nephew of Innocent X (1644-1655) brought about the Borghese, Ludovisi, and Pamphili villas and collections. Thus classical sculpture, in spite of the vicissitudes it had suffered even in Italy, persisted during the Renaissance in private collections. Medieval sculpture retained its home in the churches in the same civilization. The two existed side by side.

Historically, modern critics insist the Middle Ages and the Renaissance are much more alike than they used to be thought. Classical humanism of the Renaissance was fundamentally medieval and fundamentally Christian, normally meaning Christian faith in alliance with God-given reason, which is the most human faculty in man. The voluptuous Venuses of Italian painters are no more typical of the Renaissance than are the multitudinous Madonnas of the same period. Humanism was a fusion of classical wisdom with Christian faith, and the only real change in later times was that the classical element, philosophically and aesthetically, became a less inferior partner--but this was primarily after Milton's day, in which universality and unity
in the Christian faith and the Christian church had given place to multi-
plicity and conflict. Christian humanism was succumbing to such internal
and external enemies as skepticism, naturalism, and the new science;
humanism was growing less religious and religion less humane. The
normal fusion and the occasional friction of classical and Christian
elements show up in Milton's poetry. Two of the aspects of the con-
lict in the poet are the charms of contemplative retirement versus
the duties of the active life, and the sensuous versus the ethical im-
pulses in his own nature. His emphasis on religion and virtue, on
the discipline of the moral judgment and the will, is no special mark of
puritan zeal, for that had been the chief end of Christian humanism in
all ages and all countries. Milton's classical humanism sets him apart
from merely religious puritans and leads him to interpret the regenerate
state in rational and ethical terms. But as a Christian bred in the trad-
ition of Renaissance classicism Milton faced a dilemma. His sincere
and consistent Christian faith he never fails to place before and above
all things, even the arts of Greece (P.L. III, 18-36 and P.R. IV, 286-
364), however much he might have admired them. 9

Let us return to the sculpture in Old London. Temple Bar, a
famous gateway, separated the Strand from Fleet Street, and the Freedom
of the City of London from the Liberty of the City of Westminster. All
that London topographers know of Temple Bar before the Great Fire is
based on John Strype, who recorded that "there were only posts, rails,
and a chain... Afterwards there was a house of timber erected across the street, with a narrow gate and an entry on the south side of it under the house." 10 The processions of monarchs on their way to be crowned passed through this gate; then, it was apt to be painted with battlements and buttresses, richly hung with cloth of Arras, and fluttering with flags. 11 From a sketch made by Inigo Jones, it is evident that he was hoping to erect a new gate at Temple Bar between 1636 and 1638. His drawing is modelled on his Roman studies of the Arch of Constantine, a heavy fourth-century design. But his gateway was not built, and it was left to Christopher Wren to design the famous Temple Bar (1670-72), which now stands at Theobalds Park. 12 This was one of Wren's early jobs, done in Milton's lifetime but he could only have heard about it. The design was Renaissance—each façade had four Corinthian pilasters, an entablature, and an arched pediment. In the niches on the west side were statues of Charles I and Charles II in Roman costume; in the eastside niches, statues of James I and Elizabeth I. 13 These four statues were executed by John Bushnell. 14 Proceeding through Temple Bar down Fleet Street one would enter the walled City via Ludgate, one of the several entrances to Milton's hometown. Around the wall clockwise they appeared: Newgate, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, Moorgate, Bishopsgate, Aldgate, and Postern-gate. Milton of course could have known all of these well, including the new Aldgate erected 1606-1609. Two Roman soldiers stood on the outer battlements with stone balls in their hands, ready to defend
the gate; beneath, in a square, was a statue of James I. On the City
side stood a large figure of Fortune; somewhat lower, gilded figures
of Peace and Charity, copied from the reverses of two Roman coins
discovered while the foundations for the new gate were being dug:

To grace each side of the Gate, are set two feminine personages,
the one Southward, appearing to be Peace, with a silver Dove
upon her one hand, and a guilded wreath or garland in the other.
On the North side standeth Charity, with a child at her breast,
and another led in her hand. 15

Similar representations of Peace and Charity appear in emblem books
and in Renaissance painting. Ben Jonson writes of this new gate in

The Silent Woman (1609):

Is it for vs to see their perrukes put on, their false teeth, their
complexion, their eye-browes, their nailes? You see guilders
will not worke, but inclos'd. They must not discover, how little
serves, with the helpe of art, to adorne a great deale. How long
did the canvases hang afore Aid-gate? were the people suffer'd to
see the cities Loue, and Charitie, while they were rude stone,
before they were painted, and burnish'd? No. No more should
servants approch their mistresses, but when they are compleat,
and finish'd. 16

The English, like the Germans and Flemings, colored and
gilded statues and exteriors of buildings. Henry Wotton thought it a
barbarism. 17 Nonesuch, the royal palace in Surrey (1538-1670) built
by Henry VIII to emulate Francis I's Chateau of Chambord, had

all the house on the outside filled with figures of stories and
good painting of Rubens' or Holben's doing. And one great
thing is, that most of the house is covered...with lead, and
gilded.  

(Pepys's Diary, 21 September 1665)

On 3 January 1666 Evelyn supped at Nonesuch
and toke an exact view of the plaster statues and bass re-
lievos inserted 'twixt the timbers and punchions of the out-
side walles of the Court; which must needs have ben the work of
some celebrated Italian....There are some mezzo-relievos
as big as life, the storie is of the Heathen Gods, emblems,
compartments, etc. 18

Milton writes only of the "painted Stoa" in Athens (P. R. IV, 253);
perhaps he agreed with Henry Wotton that painted statues and
buildings were a barbarism.

St. John's Gate was another that Milton could have known.

Actually it was the south gateway to the Hospital of St. John of
Jerusalem built in 1504. The walls are about three feet thick and
its flanking towers, pierced with numerous windows, the principal
one being a wide Tudor arch with three mullions and many coats
of arms. Beneath this window are several shields, set in Gothic
niches. In 1661 Hollar draws the gate as blocked up with a
wooden structure, 19 beneath which were two distinct passages.
This was removed in 1771.

The Water Gate to the Duke of Buckingham's York House
on the Strand was originally designed to lead straight to the river
when the tide was up. Either Nicholas Stone or Sir Balthazar
Gerbier designed it; Nicholas Stone built it between 1623-1626,
though the eighteenth century paid great respect to it as a work of
Inigo Jones. Two reclining lions carved by Stone (trained in
Holland) and Mr. Kearne (a German) mount guard on either side of
the central pediment.
Between them the arms of Buckingham are displayed on an escutcheon surrounded by the garter and surmounted by a ducal cornet. The charge from Buckingham's shield, an scallop, is repeatedly in evidence on the entablature. A large one is made the crowning feature of the central pediment. On the land front the arms of Villiers impale those of his wife, Katharine Manners. An anchor for the Lord High Admiral's office is carved on a cartouche, and the motto Fidei Coticula Crux--the Cross is the touchstone of Faith--on the frieze. The style of the watergate is too manneristic for Inigo Jones.  

All the large houses that then lined the south side of the Strand had gardens running down to the Thames, with stairs leading to the water. The river was a much used highway in those days, and from the number of landing-places and stairs marked on the old maps (Pls. 4, 5, and 6) it is evident that the Londoners of Milton's day must have been very fond of the water and must have spent much time upon it. Paul Hentzner (1598) writes of the swans on the Thames:

This Palace /Whitehall/ is truly royal; inclosed on one side by the Thames, on the other by a Park, which connects it with St. James's, another royal palace....Near the Palace are seen an immense number of swans, who wander up and down the river for some miles in great security...In the Park is great plenty of deer.  

Milton is very careful with his swan

with Arched neck
Between her white wings mantling proudly, RowÅng/
Her state with Orarie feet,   (P. L. VII, 438-440)

a picture which he had seen many times upon the silvery Thames.

At street intersections within the City were Cheapside Cross and Charing Cross. Cheapside Cross stood in the middle of main
street facing Wood Street not far from Scrivner Milton’s shop.

It was one of the nine crosses erected by Edward I to mark the
resting places of the body of his beloved queen, Eleanor of
Castile, on its way from Lincoln to Westminster Abbey. According to
an old painting at Cowdray in Sussex, the original cross was both
stately and graceful; but in Elizabeth’s reign the reformers at-
tacked and demolished much of it. In 1600 the superstitious
images were superseded by grave effigies of apostles, kings, and
prelates, only the crucifix of the original being retained. The
hybrid Classical-Gothic cross was much inferior to the former
fabric in design. In January 1641 the cross was again defaced;
in May 1643, Parliament ordered its final destruction, which can
be seen in Hollar’s drawing. A curious tract, published the
very day the cross was destroyed, was entitled

The Downfall of Dagon; or, the Taking Down of Cheapside Crosse;
wherein is contained these principles: 1. The Crosse Sicke at
Heart. 2. His Death and Funerall. 3. His Will, Legacies, In-
ventory, and Epitaph. 4. Why it was removed. 5. The Money
it will bring....

Evelyn notes that he himself saw “the furious and zealous people
demolish that stately crosse in Cheapside” (Diary, 2 May 1643).
The day before its destruction Archbishop Laud wrote in his Diary
that the fanatical mob broke the stained-glass windows of his
Lambeth Chapel.

Milton may have thought of actual scenes he had witnessed
of the Parliamentarians demolishing statues when he described the
broken statue of Dagon:

Next came one
Who mourn'd in earnest, when the Captive Ark
Maim'd his brute Image, head and hands lopt off
In his own Temple, on the grusel edge,
Where he fell flat, and sham'd his Worshipers:
Dagon his Name, Sea Monster, upward Man
And downward Fish. (P.L. 1, 457-463)

Monsters upward man and downward fish appear in the arabesque
designs in Raphael's Loggia at the Vatican as well as in decorative borders in books.

Charing Cross was the name given to the open space at
the western end of the Strand. Today it is Trafalgar Square.
This cross, more elegant than any of the other eight crosses
erected to Queen Eleanor, was of Caen stone, beautifully wrought
with many figures and raised upon steps of marble. It was ordered
by Parliament to be taken down in 1643, but this was not carried
out until the summer of 1647. Milton lived at Charing Cross in
1649 "at one Thomson's next door to the Bull-Head tavern at Char-
ing-Cross, opening into the Spring-Garden" (Pl. 4).25

At Charing Cross about 1636 was erected the bronze eques-
trian statue of Charles I done by Hubert le Sueur, a Frenchman
said to have received his early training under Giovanni da Bologna
in Florence. In sculpture he was the main rival of Nicholas Stone,
Master Mason to the King, and lived in the Huguenot colony of
London from 1619 until the Civil War. Part of his time was spent
searching in Paris and in Italy for classical statues for Charles I.
He made several busts in bronze of the king. A quaint history of the Charing Cross statue has survived:

When the hapless monarch was consigned to the block, his statue became as unpopular as himself; accordingly, it was taken down by order of the revolutionary Parliament, and was sold to one Rivers, a brazier, who lived at the Dial near Holborn Conduit, with strict injunctions that it should be broken up. But Rivers was either a royalist or a sly-boots; he kept the statue intact, buried it underground, and drove a brisk trade in knives and forks, with bronze handles, which he pretended were made out of the obnoxious statue. Both parties eagerly bought them. When Charles II was restored to power, the bronze statue came forth into light, and was set up in 1674 in its present position.

At the north end of the Stocks Market, where the Mansion House now stands, was erected an equestrian statue of Charles II at the sole charge of Sir Robert Viner, a rich goldsmith who became lord mayor of London. This statue had a droll origin. It was originally intended for a statue of John Sobieski, the Polish king who saved Vienna from the Turks. In the first year of the Restoration, the enthusiastic Viner purchased the unfinished statue abroad. Sobieski's stern head was removed and the head of Charles substituted; the turbaned Turk, on whom Sobieski trampled, became a defeated Cromwell. Andrew Marvell, a friend of Milton who had spent four years abroad in Holland, France, Italy, and Spain, contrived to make a good deal of fun out of both the statue of Charles I at Charing Cross and the one of Charles II at the Stocks Market. He wrote a clever satiric dialogue purportedly held between the two rival horses. Each horse reviled the king who bestrode the other horse—the one
attacking the prof igest of Charles II, the other the despotic conduct of Charles I. 30

A bust of Charles I, carved in Rome by G. L. Bernini from a picture (now at Windsor) painted by Van Dyck in three different views—a profile, a three-quarters, and a full face—about 1637,31 is reported on in a first hand manner by Nicholas Stone Junior in the diary he kept when he was studying in Rome the very same month Milton was there. On 22 October 1638 Stone, with a letter of introduction to Bernini under whom he desired to study, called at his house and, though Bernini was ill, was invited up to his room:

Being in a very good umour hee askt me whether I had seen the head of marble wch was sent into England for the King, and to tell him the truth what was spoken of itt. I told him that who-souer I had heard admired itt nott only for the exquisitesse of the worke but the likenessee and nere resemblance itt had to the King countenannce. He syd that diuers had told him so much but he could nott beliue itt, then he began to be very free in his discourse to aske if nothing was broke of itt in carryage and how itt was preserued now from danger. I told him that when as I saw it that all was hole and safe, the wch (sayt he) I wonder att, but I tooke as much care for the packing as studye in making of itt; also I told him that now itt was preserued with a case of silke, he desyred to know in what manner. I told him that itt was made like a bagg getherd together on the top of the head and drawne together with a strink under the body with very great care, he answered he was afraid that would be the cause to breake itt for sayes he in my time of doing of itt I did couer itt in the like manner to keepe itt from the flyes, but with a great deale of danger, because in taking of the casse if itt hangs att any of the little lockes of hayre or one the worke of the band itt would be presently defaced, for itt greiue him to heare itt was broke, being he had taken so great paines and study on itt. 32

Bernini was sixty-seven and Europe's most outstanding architect when

Christopher Wren was introduced to him at Paris in 1665. Wren wrote
home in a letter, "Bernini's design of the Louvre I would have given my skin for, but the old reserv'd Italian gave me but a few minutes view...I had only time to copy it in my fancy and memory."\textsuperscript{33}

A description of the numerous church monuments in Milton's London is beyond the scope of this thesis.\textsuperscript{34} A history of ecclesiastical sculpture from the reign of Henry III to the present day may be fairly illustrated from the monuments in Westminster Abbey alone, which was scarcely touched by the reformers while St. Margaret's, next to it, was hard hit. The sculpture at Old St. Paul's received rough treatment also.

Perhaps more statues than that of Charles I at Charing Cross were buried, for on 30 April 1954 workmen clearing the site of the bombed Mercers' Chapel in Cheapside discovered five feet below the floor against the east wall an early Renaissance statue of Christ, considered one of the major archaeological finds made in London during this century. Christ is shown lying outstretched with hands displayed on a shrouded body just taken from the Cross. The face, with the hair flowing down either side and the soft, curly beard, expresses endurance of suffering and torture.\textsuperscript{35}

A description of the Founder's Tomb in Charter House Chapel, done by Nicholas Stone in November 1615, will illustrate the Jacobean taste in monumental sculpture. It is composed of the most valuable marbles, highly carved and gilt, and contains a great number of quaint figures, that of the founder, Thomas Sutton, being the principal
His painted figure, in a gown, lies recumbent on the tomb. On each side is a man in armor, standing upright, supporting a tablet containing the inscription, and above is a preacher addressing a full congregation. The arms of the hospital are to be seen still higher, and above all a statue of Charity. The tomb is also enriched with statues of Faith and Hope, Labor and Rest, and Plenty and Want, and is surrounded by painted iron railings. A monument which bears a striking resemblance to the Founder's Tomb in Charter House Chapel is a large memorial to Marie, Lady Dudley, in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster. It is Jacobean style, adorned with color and armorial bearings. Milton knew this church in his parliamentary days, as it was the official church of the House of Commons for State Services. He was married to his second wife, Katherine Woodcocke, in this church in 1656.

Nicholas Stone (1586-1647), trained in Holland as sculptor and tomb-maker, was the outstanding fashionable statuary in England before the Civil War, executing over eighty monuments distributed in twenty counties, as well as chimney-pieces, statues, dials, gateways, and some entire buildings. In the early years of James I's reign the leading monumental sculptors and stonemasons in England were still largely Flemings; and Low Country training in sculpture and in architecture, so carefully fostered by the Protestant Tudors, still persisted. But a generation later, English sculptors were going to Italy for their training. Nicholas Stone sent his son and namesake, who was to follow his trade,
to study in France and Italy in 1638. He had sent his oldest son
Henry to study painting in Holland and France. 41 In 1638 Henry Peacham
advised thus concerning foreign training in the arts:

Let your observations be of such things whereby you may profit
your selfe or your Countrey, your selfe by procuring & winning
the acquaintance of the famous men in Science or Art, for the
bettering of your understanding, and skill in whatsoever you pre-
tend unto; if you study Physicke, you shall have in Paris, and other
places of France, the most learned and able Physicians of the world:
if you would bee a Civilian, Bononia, and other Cities of Italy will
afford you the rarest men in that way; if you delight in painting and
the use of your pencill, the Netherlands; every where will afford
you rare Masters, if in other Mechanicall Arts, the higher Ger-
many, which Bodine calleth hominum officinam, for the variety
of Artists there, and therein Spire, Strasbourge, Norenburge,
and many other famous Cities, will furnish you with skilfull men
abundantly. 42

Gerard and Nicholas Jansen, Cornelius Cuer, and Maximilian Colt were
Flemish sculptors used by well-to-do merchants, the nobility, and
royalty to design their proud canopied tombs. Maximilian Colt did the
monument of Alice, Countess of Derby (Lady Bridgewater), to whom
Milton dedicated his Arcades at Harefield, Middlesex, in 1636. 43

Milton's poetry shows that he was observant of monumental
sculpture. What he had to say against church ritual which involved the
arts has been over emphasized, and little has been written of his appre-
ciation of the arts when they were divorced from religion. Such
passages in his prose as:

Stones & Pillars, and Crucifixes have now the honour, and the
almes due to Christ living members; the Table of Communion
now become a Table of separation stands like an exalted plat-
forme upon the brow of the quire, fortifi'd with bulwark, and
barricado, to keep off the profane touch of the Laicks, whilst
the obscene, and surfeted Priest scruples not to paw, and
mammock the sacramentall bread, as familiarly as his Tavern Bisket. (Of Reformation, III, 19)

and

Though Solomon were himself seduced, we read not that he seduced others; but Charles, as well by the richest benefices of a corrupt Church seduced and enticed others, as by his edicts and ecclesiastical decrees he compelled them to set up altars, which all Protestants abhor, and to bow down to crucifixes painted over them on the wall. (First Defense, 1651, VII, 143)

show that his disdain of such ritual "is nothing else than his disdain of all deception, and in particular his scorn of that violation of the law of form called hypocrisy."44

Milton's lines "On Shakespeare" were written evidently as an inscription for a monument of some kind, perhaps the Stratford monument engraved for a title-page instead of the Droeshout portrait45 which actually was the frontispiece for the Second Folio (1632):

What needs my Shakespeare for his honour'd Bones,
The labour of an age in piled Stones,
Or that his hallow'd reliques should be hid
Under a Star-ypointing Pyramid?
Dear son of memory, great heir of Fame,
What need'st thou such weak witnes of thy name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thy self a live-long Monument.
For whilst to th' shame of slow-endevouring art,
Thy easie numbers flow, and that each heart
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalu'd Book,
Those Delphick lines with deep impression took,
Then thou our fancy of it self bereaving,
Dost make us Marble with too much conceaving;
And so Sepulcher'd in such pomp dost lie,
That Kings for such a Tomb would wish to die. (p. 18)

This idea of making someone into marble is repeated in the description of the "pensive Nun"
Thy rapt soul sitting in thine eyes:
There held in holy passion still,
Forget thy self to Marble (Il Penseroso, 40-42)

and Comus's threat to the Lady,

Nay Lady sit; if I but wave this wand,
Your nerve are all chain'd up in Alabaster,
And you a statue; or as Daphne was
Root-bound, that fled Apollo. (Comus, 659-662)

Several engravings depict the Ovid scene of Daphne's turning into a laurel tree just as Apollo caught her. Milton could have known these engravings. One of the many classical statues which Jones sprinkled throughout his masque scenery could have been of Daphne and Apollo. Milton may actually have seen a reproduction in classical sculpture in one of the gardens on the Thames, for though Comus was written before he went abroad, by 1634 as few collections of statues were to be seen in London and being so novel were probably especially talked about.

In 1631 Milton wrote of the "rich marble" tomb of Jane Savage ("A Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester," p. 16). He saw the tomb and bust which G. B. Manso had erected to the memory of the poet Marini: "our eyes have seen the poet smiling on us from the bronze so carefully wrought. Nor did you /Manso/ count this enough to do for each; your devoted offices cease not at the tomb" (Manso, p. 595). At the end of the poem Milton imagines his own tomb.

My limbs, relaxed by black death, he /such a friend as Manso/ would take pains to have bestowed softly, gently, in a tiny urn; mayhap he will carve my features out of marble, wreathing my locks with leafage of Parnassus's laurel; and so I shall rest in undisturbed peace. (Manso, p. 597)
Old Manoa takes Samson's body home and foretells

there will I build him
A monument, and plant it round with shade
Of Laurel evergreen, and branching Palm,
With all his Trophies hung, and Acts enroll'd
In copious Legend, or sweet Lyric Song.

(Samson Agonistes, 1733-1737)

In the Chorus's description of Samson,

See how he lies at random, carelessly diffus'd,
With languish't head unpropt,
As one past hope, abandon'd,
And by himself given over (118-121),

Milton may have thought of the "Dying Gaul," esteemed one of the rarest pieces made by the hand of man, for which Cardinal Barberini offered 12,000 crowns to send as a present to the King of France.

This statue, "an old gladiator dying of his wounds in a great square box lined with velvet," was at the Ludovisi Villa within the city when Milton was in Rome viewing the antiquities. Definitely this statue was an antiquity, for it was spoken of by Pliny. Evelyn (Diary, 10 November 1644) stated that many copies of it, both in stone and metal, were dispersed through almost all Europe. Therefore Milton may have seen a copy elsewhere as well as the original at the Ludovisi Villa. The waning prowess of the fighting gladiator who has lost his battle compares beautifully with Samson, the mighty wrestler who is now blind and imprisoned. The word "Agonistes" means in the Greek an amateur athlete who competed in the public games. The dying Gaul had competed in a public festival to make a Roman holiday and it cost him his life; Samson was to perform in the public arena of a
Philistine festival, and this too was to cost him his life. There were many statues of gladiators in Rome; perhaps Milton thought of several of them. Henry Peacham reports that a copy of the "Gladiator" at the Borghese Villa, Rome, was in the garden at St. James's, London, by 1634. The Gladiator in brass in the Wilton Garden in England may have been a copy of the "Dying Gaul." The original was removed from the Ludovisi Villa to the Capitoline Museum under Clement XII (1730–1740), and it was here that Lord Byron saw it:

I see before me the Gladiator lie:
He leans upon his hand--his manly brow
Consents to death, but conquers agony,
And his droop'd head sinks gradually low--
And through his side the last drops, ebbing slow
From the red gash, fall heavy, one by one,
Like the first of a thunder-shower; and now
The arena swims around him--he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hail'd the
wretch who won....

It is thought that about 1651 Milton had a clay or plaster bust made of himself, which is now at Christ's College, Cambridge. The sculptor may have been either an unidentified Pierce or Abraham Simon. Milton observed that Constantine caused a part of Christ's cross "to be laid up in a Pillar of Porphyrie by his Statue" (*Of Reformation*, III, 24). In Roman times civil law gave "release to servants flying for refuge to the Emperours statue" (*Tetrachordon*, IV, 122). The poet defends Erasmus, that humanist with whom he had a lot in common, and calls him "that miracle of learning, whose brazen statue stands in Rotterdam" (*Pro Se Defensio*, IX, 111).
At times in the prose Milton uses sculpture to explain his points. The process of carving he uses to illustrate that trouble in church organization is natural:

No Marble statue can be politely carv'd, no fair edifice built without almost as much rubbish and sweeping.

(The Reason of Church-government, III, 224)

In discussing the various ways in which things can be alike, he explains:

They are absolutely one or the same by cause and effect, and are in some way one and the same in subject and adjunct, in cause or efficient or matter or form or end. Thus several statues are the same in efficient if by the same artist, in matter if of the same substance, as gold or ivory, in form if the effigy of the same man, such as Caesar or Alexander, in end if for adorning the same place.

(The Art of Logic, XI, 97-99)

Certainly Milton was aware of the art of sculpture, but preferred it used for commemorating the constructive and noble deeds of man rather than for an aid to religious devotion.

The first and greatest collector of classical sculpture in Milton's London was Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel. Henry Peacham, tutor of the Earl's children, said nothing of the sculpture being brought into London in his 1622 edition of the Compleat Gentleman; but in his 1634 edition of this book, he stated that Arundel began bringing statues into England about 1614. Arundel and Inigo Jones were in Rome in the winter of 1613-14, when Arundel obtained permission to excavate some ruins and discovered a number of antique statues which he sent to England. Arundel House on the Strand became an art center. The collection comprised no less than
thirty-seven statues, one hundred twenty-eight busts, and two hundred fifty inscribed marbles, besides sarcophagi, altars, gems, fragments of antique art, and a variety of other treasures that the Earl had purchased but could not obtain leave to transport to England.\textsuperscript{55}

Peacham praised his employer and King Charles for their collections:

And here I cannot but with much reverence, mention the every way Right honourable \textbf{Thomas Howard} Lord high Marshall of \textbf{England}, as great for his noble \textbf{Patronage of Arts} and ancient learning, as for his birth and place. To whose liberall charges and magnificence, this angle of the world oweth the first sight of \textbf{Greeke and Romane Statues}, with whose admired presence he began to honour the Gardens and Galleries of Arundel-House about twenty yeeres agoe, and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into \textbf{England}. \textbf{King Charles also ever since his comming to the Crowne}, hath amply testified a Royall liking of ancient statues, by causing a whole army of old \textbf{forraine Emperour, Captaines, and Senators all at once to land on his coasts}, to come and doe him homage, and attend him in his palaces of \textbf{Saint James}, and \textbf{Sommerset-house}. A great part of these belonged to the late \textbf{Duke of Mantua}; and some of the \textbf{Old-greeke-marble-bases, columnnes, and altars were brought from the ruines of Apollo's Temple at Delos}, by that noble and absolutely compleat Gentleman \textbf{Sir Kenhelme Digby Knight}. In the Garden at \textbf{St. James} there are also halfe a dozen brasse statues, rare ones, cast by \textbf{Hubert le Sueur} his Majesties Servant now dwelling in \textbf{Saint Bartholomewes London}, the most industrious and excellent \textbf{Statuary} in all materials that ever this Countrey enjoyed.

The best of them is the \textbf{Gladiator}, molded from that in \textbf{Cardinall Borghese Villa}, by the procurement and industry of ingenious \textbf{Master Gage}. And at this present the said \textbf{Master Sueur} hath divers other admirable molds to cast in brasse for his Majestie, and among the rest that famous \textbf{Diana of Ephesus} above named. But the great Horse with his Majestie upon it, twice as great as the life, and now well-nigh finished, will compare with that of the \textbf{New-bridge at Paris}.\textsuperscript{56}

His words on Arundel are similar to those of Henry Wotton (1639) for Charles I:

But the most splendid of all your entertainments, is your
love of excellent Artificers, and Works: wherewith in either
Art both of Picture and Sculpture you have so adorned your
Palaces, that Italy (the greatest Mother of Elegant Arts) or at
least (next the Grecians) the principal Nursery may seem by
your magnificence to be translated into England.

What can be more delightful then those sights? nay I am
ready to ask, what more learned then to behold the tongueless
eloquence of lights and shadows, and the slight poesie of lines,
and (as it were) living Marbles? Here would the spectator
swear the limbs and muscles design'd by Tintoret to move, there
the birds of Bassano to chirp, the oxen bellow, and the sheep to
bleat: Here the faces of Raphael to breathe, and those of Titian
even to speak: there a man would commend in Correggio delicate-
ness, in Parmesano concinnity. Neither do the Belgians want
their præse; who if they paint Landskips, all kind of vegetables
seem in their verdure; the flowers do smile, the hills are raised,
the valleys in depression: In your Statuary works the like learned
variety; of which some glory in the kind of vivacity, some in
tenderness of parts; but those are the entertainment of your eye. 57

In 1656 Peter Heylyn compares the Arundel statues with the five

"ancientest and venerablest pieces" which the French had at the Louvre,

"Diana from the Temple at Ephesus," one of the gods of Aethiopia,

"Mercury with a pipe in his mouth," "Venus with Cupid sitting on a

Dolphin," and "Apollo lately returned from combat":

I dare confidently aver, not only that the Earl of Arundel's Gardens
have more antiquities of this kind, than all France can boast of;
but that one Cotton for the Treasury, and one Selden (now Mr.
Camden is dead) for the study of the like antiquities; are worth all
the French. 58

Part of Arundel House was evidently open to the public—that

is, for a fee. Edward Alleyn, famous Shakespearean actor and

founder of Dulwich College, notes in his Diary,

"17 April 1618. I was at Arundel House where my Lord showed me

all his statues and pictures that came from Italy"

and adds that he gave his man two shillings. 59 On 29 June 1641
Evelyn sat to one Vanderbrocht for his picture in oil at Arundel House, and on 3 July 1662 he was forced to take his son home, who had been with the Arundel children so much that he feared "their perverting him to the Catholic religion."

During the civil wars Arundel House and its contents were given back to the Earl of Arundel's grandson, Henry Howard, who in 1667 at the recommendation of John Evelyn and John Selden, gave the marbles to the University of Oxford which they still adorn; the Arundel library was given to the Royal Society, which held its meetings for some time at Arundel House. Most of the paintings were taken by the Earl and Countess of Arundel to the Netherlands when they finally left England in 1641. The remainder of the collection was kept for many years at Tart Hall and was sold in 1720.

It may be recorded that under Oliver Cromwell the gardens of Hampton Court and Whitehall continued to be adorned with statues of Venus and Cleopatra in bronze, and of Adonis and Apollo in marble, according to a letter in the Milton State Papers.

Milton's interest in classical sculpture, just beginning to be introduced in England in the first half of the seventeenth century, is evidenced by the probable Miltonic essay, "Of Statues and Antiquities," found among his papers which have been labeled the Columbia MS (Columbia Milton, XIII, 594). Even if we do not know that Milton wrote this essay, the very fact that he had it among his
papers shows his interest in the subject, and in a letter to Leonard
Philaras of Athens, 28 September 1654, he asserts:

As I have been from boyhood an especial worshipper of all
bearing the Greek name, and of your Athens in chief, so I
have always had a firm private persuasion that that city
would sometime or other requite me splendidly for my af-
fection towards her. 64

This essay explains what antiquities are to be sought for in the Grecian
peninsula, what places are most profitable to dig in, and how they can
be obtained from the authorities to ship to England. The places to
dig in are the Temple of Jove Olympus at Elis in the Peloponnesus
where the Olympian games were ancienfly held; in the ruins of Apollo's
temple and oracle at Delphos in Lepanto on the gulf of Corinth; in the
Temple of Pallas on the other side of the Isthmus and as far as Athens;
in the cities along the coast of Asia near the sea; and in the Islands
Cyclades (Delos, Samos, Icaria, Patmos, Paros, Amorgos); but not
in the islands belonging to the Venetians, for they have searched them
thoroughly. 65 The author of this essay is writing from experience as
he gives the old and the current names of places and speaks of "cer-
tain lyons of marble much bigger than the living," lying out on the sea
shore on the Athens side of the Isthmus. These now form the Lion
Gate at Mycenae, the restored entrance to a palace of some old sea
king. Under Turkish rule excavation was impossible, and the op-
portunity for freely studying these ruins came later. 66 The writer
had had experience in packing and shipping statues and knew that "buts
of oyle" near them on the ship were detrimental. Sir Kenelm Digby,
friend and patron of Ben Jonson who studied at Florence two years 
1622-1623 and held a naval position under the King which involved 
patrolling English trade against the Turks in the Mediterranean 
area, is a more probable author for the essay than Milton. How-
ever, as was said, the fact that Milton had the document among his 
papers indicates an interest in this practically new activity for 
Englishmen of acquiring classical sculptures. Digby kept a journal 
from 22 December 1627 to 28 January 1629 of his nautical adventures, 
in which he docked at Athens, Ionia, Ephesus, Alexander in Egypt, 
Corinth, Milo, Delos, Gibraltar, and Venice. In this journal he 
does not mention the "Old-greeke-marble-bases, columnnes, and 
altars" which he "brought from the ruines of Apollo's Temple at 
Delos" to Charles I, but he does record his visit to the islands 
Delos and Milo, to both coasts of the Grecian peninsula, and to the 
Ionian coast of Asia.

In summary, monumental sculptors and stonemasons trained 
chiefly in Flanders made the gateways, busts, and monuments in 
Milton's London, The Earl of Arundel, Charles I, and a few others 
were bringing in classical sculptures from Italy and Greece; Inigo 
Jones was exhibiting facsimiles of classical statues in his stage 
scenery. Milton was regardful of monuments and busts, and took 
notice of a new activity of collecting classical antiques. It was a 
great age for statues on the Continent, and the poet had seen many 
of them in his travels.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IV


3 Quoted by Joseph Crouch, *Puritanism in Art* (London, 1910), pp. 139-140.


7 For reproductions of these statues see C. M. Gayley, *The Classic Myths in English Literature and in Art* (Dallas, 1939), pp. 27 and 310; *Die Sculpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* (Berlin, 1908), Volume II.


13 Thornbury and Walford, I, 22.

14 Katharine Esdaile, "John Bushnell, Sculptor," *The Walpole Society, XV* (1926-27), Plate VIII.


19 A. M. Hind, Wenceslaus Hollar (London, 1922), Plate XLII.

20 Lees-Milne, pp. 142-143 and Plate 48; Summerson, p. 92 and Plate 50 A.


23 Thornbury and Walford, I, 333-334.


26 Lees-Milne, p. 141 and Plate 46; Henry Peacham, Peacham's Compleat Gentleman 1634 (Oxford reprint, 1906), p. 108; Defoe, Tour of London, Plate XLI; Borenius, p. 34.

27 Thornbury and Walford, III, 125.

28 Thornbury and Walford, I, 436; Defoe, Tour of London, Plate XXX; Lees-Milne, p. 192.

29 Familiar Letters, XII, 330.


33 Summerson, p. 122.


37 Thornbury and Walford, III, 569.

38 Wheatley, II, 467-469.


41 Nicholas Stone, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Lees-Milne, p. 136.


43 K. A. Esdaile, *English Church Monuments 1510 to 1840* (New York, 1946), Plates 3, 74 and 75.


46 See the Statue in C. M. Gayley, Classic Myths, p. 112.

47 To Dr. John E. Parish of the English Department of the Rice Institute I am indebted for this idea.


55 Waterhouse, Plate 29 for a portrait of Arundel with some of his statues; Wheatley, I, 73; Thornbury and Walford, III, 71; M. F. S. Hervey, Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard (Cambridge, 1921), Plates X and XI.

56 Peacham's Compleat Gentleman 1634, pp. 107-108.


60 Thornbury and Walford, III, 71.

61 M. F. S. Hervey, Life, Correspondence & Collections of Thomas Howard (Cambridge, 1921), p. 473.

62 Walpole, Anecdotes, II, 75; Lees-Milne, p. 226; Thornbury and Walford, V, 47.


64 Familiar Letters, XII, 65.


68 Peacham's Compleat Gentleman 1634, p. 108.
CHAPTER V

ARCHITECTURE IN OLD LONDON

Old London within the City walls was a congested, pest ridden area, asymmetrically built, "a very ugly Town, pestred with Hackney-coaches, and insolent Carre men, Shops and Taverns, Noise, and such a cloud of Sea-coal, as if there be a resemblance of Hell upon Earth, it is in this Vulcano in a foggy day."¹ John Evelyn recorded a breakfast chat concerning London with Charles II aboard his yacht:

In this passage he was pleased to discourse to me about my book inveighing against the nuisance of the smoke of London, and proposing expedients how, by removing those particulars I mentioned, it might be reformed; commanding me to prepare a Bill against the next session of Parliament, being, as he said, resolved to have something done in it. Then he discoursed to me of the improvement of gardens and buildings, now very rare in England comparatively to other countries. (Diary, 1 October 1661)

No institution has been of more radical and lasting importance in English architecture than the department of State known as the King's Works or the Office of Works, including the Surveyor-General, Comptroller, Purveyor, Keeper of the Storehouse, Clerks, Artificers (master masons, carpenters, joiners, glaziers, mat-layers), and closely associated with these the Serjeant Painter. The importance of the royal masons and carpenters in the development of English Gothic has long been realized, but the continuing influence of the Office of the Works throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has never been sufficiently appreciated. By it the best abilities in
all the trades were recruited and applied to the architectural opportunities afforded by Crown expenditure. Those opportunities were often the greatest; but even when they were not, the royal Works continued as a nucleus of superior talent, its officers being employed by whichever patrons had the means to promote the most important buildings.²

In seventeenth-century England, building was still in the charge of men who built, on the whole, conservatively, keeping Palladianism on tap for great occasions, but ordinarily going easy with the Orders and providing fenestration suitable not to Italy but to England's own dark winters. The major works--chapels, houses, and the like--were built by Englishmen; tombs, decorations, and accessories were supplied by foreign workmen. Henry Wotton advised his countrymen that "Commoditie,³ Firmeness, and Delight" were the essentials of building and recommended that Flemish, German, and Dutch methods of loading with ornament and all the monstrosities by which the English craftsmen had been influenced for the last seventy years be absolutely discarded;⁴ but not many buildings designed by Wotton's theory appeared in London before 1652. The conception of the architect as one whose art was purely formal, as is that of a sculptor, was far from mind in those days. Inigo Jones, the scene-painter, and Christopher Wren, the scientist, were the two external forces that burst into an art hitherto unaccustomed to invasion from the outside.⁵ However, John Webb
(1611-1678) has been labeled the first professional British architect.  

For the builder's art Milton showed a fondness, and a familiarity with architectural detail may be traced in his poetry. He tried his hand at designing his ideal regional academy and advised that architecture and gardening be a part of the curriculum. Milton observes "the charming city of /his/ birth" (Elegy the First to Charles Diodati, p. 562) in his prose and even in his poetry. The "slaughtering pestilence" (On the Death of the Fair Infant, p. 68) and "the baneful destruction" (On the Death of the Bishop of Winchester, pp. 3-8) represent the plague that raged extraordinarily severe in London in 1625 and 1626.  

On 26 March 1625 he writes "among the distractions of the town" to his tutor Thomas Young. He planned to meet Alexander Gill "at the booksellers' in London on Monday" 4 December 1634. On 2 September 1637 he wrote Charles Diodati from his father's London house. After returning from Chalfont St. Giles in Buckinghamshire, he wrote of the 1665 plague: "So many of my countrymen have perished in this tragic year of plague that I am not at all surprised if, as you say, you believed a particular rumour that I too had been carried off."

His Elegies tell of London in the springtime, of its parks, its pretty girls, and its citizen promenades—"all "conspicuous far and wide by your towered head, blessed, all too blessed, you enclose within your walls whatever beauty the pendent earth possesses."

Certainly L'Allegro is the least morbid poem ever written, and no passion for the theater and the night life of London was ever health-
ier than Milton's. 11 Perhaps Milton thought of London in describing the location of the mansion of the Attendant Spirit

Above the smoak and stirr of this dim spot,
Which men call Earth  \textit{(Comus}, 4-5)

although the line is an echo of Horace's Rome. 12 London is revealed in Where Houses thick and Sewers annoy the Aire \textit{(P. L. IX}, 446)

and in

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 climbses, or o're the tiles \textit{(P. L. IV}, 188 ff)

a robbery of some wealthy merchant's place in Cheapside perhaps.

Since till the last year of the reign of Charles II, most of the London streets were left in profound darkness and since ruffians swaggered forth at night to molest the citizenry, Milton may have been thinking of his home town in these lines:

And in luxurious Cities, where the noyse
Of riot ascends above thir loftiest Towrs,
And injury and outrage: And when Night
Darkens the Streets, then wander forth the Sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine. \textit{(P. L. I}, 498-502)

In \textit{Paradise Regained}, (II, 23-24) Milton visualized the topography of his maps from his house in London where he was writing. 13

After the last great Gothic wave of building and rebuilding in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, England's vast stock of churches (London alone had ninety-odd churches before the Great Fire)
hardly admitted of expansion, and with the dissolution of colleges, chantries, and free chapels in 1545 almost the last source of church-building initiative was destroyed. Four years later came the Book of Common Prayer, and the Gothic church design intended primarily for the Roman Catholic service of the Middle Ages became obsolete. The rebuildings of churches in Protestant England were designed primarily as preaching houses in which the sacraments would be administered infrequently and entirely without ceremony. Throughout the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I this moderate and conservative rearrangement proceeded, witnessed today by a large number of Jacobean pulpits. Many "re-edyfyings" occurred in the sixteen twenties and sixteen thirties just before the political upheaval put such a strain on purses and before William Laud was made Bishop of London.

The parish record books show that St. Bartholomew-the-Great was repaired in 1622-1628. In St. Antholin in Watling Street was erected in 1623 a richly beautiful gallery with fifty-two compartments filled with the coats-of-arms of kings and nobles. A new morning prayer and lecture had been established here by puritanical clergymen of the extreme Geneva party in 1599. The bells began to ring at five in the morning, and were considered intolerable by all High Churchmen in the neighborhood. Thomas Randolph and William Davenant made frequent allusions in their plays to the puritanical fervor of this parish. The tongue of the girl in Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's The Roaring Girl (II, i)
was "heard further in a still morning than St. Antlin's bell." The Church of Allhallows (where Milton was baptized) in Bread Street was beautified at the cost of the parishioners in 1625. St. Mildred's Church also in Bread Street was repaired in 1628. St. George's Church in Southwark was repaired in 1629 with funds contributed by twenty-one Companies of the City of London. In the handsome window in the middle of the north side were painted the arms of these Companies. The small parish church of St. Leonard's on the west side of Foster Lane was repaired and enlarged in 1631. The most truly pictorial of Old London church interiors, St. Helen's in Bishopsgate, underwent extensive repairs in 1631. St. Clement Danes, Dr. Johnson's early church just off the Strand, had renovations from 1608 to 1633. And St. Alban's in Wood Street being in a state of decay was pulled down and rebuilt in 1634. 15

Then came a new movement initiated by William Laud, whom Charles I made Bishop of London in 1628, towards a rehabilitation of the transcendental character of the liturgy and the intrinsic importance of its setting. The sixteen thirties marked the height of Laud's Erastianism:

Laud, as the Defender of the Faith's divinely appointed champion against the Commons, had raised the secular authority of the Anglican Church to a dangerous pinnacle, on which for a time he managed with the perilous skill of a tightrope walker to balance before crashing to the ground and nearly bringing the whole structure with him. Particularly at the two Universities was the Laudian High Church regime firmly entrenched. Its remarkable leader impressed his personality upon every interest with which the regime
concerned itself. Building was one of the interests into which he projected his energies with customary impetuosity and impatience. Totally ignorant of the science of architecture, with which he was not the least bothered, he determined to make his buildings express a doctrinaire ideal. As a humanist he conveyed to them a certain renaissance touch, but as one who had no sympathies with the Continent or Rome, he did not impart to them true classical scholarship. Instead Laud, who intended the High Church movement to be a reversion to what he supposed was pre-Reformation spiritual independence of the Pope, gave to his architecture a Romanesque instead of Roman flavour, in round arches which often repudiated the essential adjuncts of abacus and capital. On the other hand symbolism of all kinds was the hallmark of his new liturgy and it was this that particularly horrified the Puritans who identified it—erroneously as it happened—with papistry. Existing churches and university chapels were consequently transformed by Laud with richly coloured glass depicting the history of the saints and Our Lady and even oil-paintings of the birth, passion, resurrection and ascension of Our Lord. Turkey carpets, tapestries, gold and silver candlesticks, communion plate, altar tables and furnishings of sweet-smelling cedar and rare inlaid woods were introduced. Statuary and sculpture were essential adornments. Hence too the sculptural quality of Laud’s new buildings and his employment of the subordinate stonemason to translate his ideas into material form with the least recalcitrance and demur, rather than the uncompliant architect, with his preconceived notions about abstract style and design.  

Laud himself did not seem to have had any stylistic prejudices. To build a church was an act of conservative color; and the conception of a church was by the overwhelming force of tradition still a Gothic conception. Laud pressed ahead Jones’s classicizing of Old St. Paul’s (Pl. 57) in 1633. Money was contributed by Charles I, Bishop Laud, and Sir Paul Pindar, and even the fines of the High Commission Court were set aside for this construction.

The Church of St. Catherine Cree consecrated by Laud with great pomp on 16 January 1631 displays a strange mixture of Gothic and Classical architecture. The designer is unknown, but the design of
a City Church at this time probably emanated from the King's Works, and Jones was associated with the Office.

John Milton tilts at the belief that buildings can be sanctified, and perhaps he retained a vivid memory of this particular act of Archbishop Laud when he had Michael instruct Adam that Eden will be destroyed.

To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sanctitie, if none be thither brought
By Men who there frequent, or therein dwell.  
(P. L. XI, 832-834)

The real Church of God are believing men

His living Temples, built by Faith to stand (P. L. XII, 527)

and not

the rest, farr greater part,

/Who/ deem in outward Rites and specious formes
Religion satisfi'd  (P. L. XII, 533-535).

In Book XII (509-554) Michael discourses on the harm wrought by ecclesiastical institutions and the wrongful emphasis given to outward form. 19

The Laudian Revival left its mark at both Universities. With the opening of the seventeenth century Oxford succeeds Cambridge as the University of chief architectural interest. Sir Thomas Bodley began building the Schools (1613-1636). Wadham College (1610-1613) was in progress; and William Laud initiated the work at St. John's College and the porch of St. Mary-the-Virgin at Oxford. At Cambridge, Peterhouse under the mastership of Matthew Wren (1625-1634)
was the center of the revival; the chapel there has an affinity with St. Catherine Cree in London, as they are both Classic-Gothic hybrids.

The main reason why Gothic lingered at Oxford and Cambridge was that ecclesiastical and collegiate architecture had a tradition too strong to be easily displaced. The classical movement was associated with the Court and with the great houses usually built with a view to the reception of the Court. Patronage of this kind did not find a place at the Universities. 20

Milton speaks of these rebuildings, using the word of that day

They first re-edinifie (P.L. XII, 349)

and of the rubbish and scaffolding of such jobs he observes "no fair edifice /is/built without almost as much rubbish and sweeping," and in Eikonoklastes he writes of "a rotten building newly trimmed over." 21

Entirely new churches were rare, but there were at least two: the parish church at Hammersmith and St. Paul's at Covent Garden. Royalists lived in the Hammersmith neighborhood, near the site of the Manor of Fulham which belonged to the Bishops of London, and there constructed a new parish church 1628-1631:

The building is of brick, very spacious and regular, and at the east end is a large square tower of the same with a ring of six bells. The inside is very well finished, being beautified with several devices in painting. The ceiling also is very neatly painted, and in several compartments and ovals were finely depicted the arms of England, also roses, thistles, fleur-de- luces, etc., all of which the rebels in their furious zeal dashed out, or
daubed over; though this particular act was more the effect of their malice against his Majesty King Charles I, and the sacred kingly office, than their blind zeal against Popery, endeavouring, to the utmost, that the memory of a king should be expunged the world. The glass of the chancel window was also finely painted with Moses, Aaron, etc.; also the arms of the most considerable benefactors. 22

The parish church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, a Tuscan Temple as shown in Hollar's drawing in 1640, 23 on the west side of the market square, was designed by Inigo Jones. It was totally destroyed by fire 17 September 1795. Its architecture was not to the liking of Horace Walpole, who criticized it:

...the arcade of Covent-garden and the church; two structures of which I want taste to see the beauties: In the arcade there is nothing remarkable; the pilasters, are as errant and homely as any plasterer would make. The barn-roof over the portico of the church strikes my eyes with as little idea of dignity or beauty as it could do if it covered nothing but a barn...In justice to Inigo, one must own that the defect is not in the architect but in the order--who ever saw a beautiful Tuscan building? would the Romans have chosen that order for a temple? 24

To this Peter Cunningham retorts:

This is very true now, though hardly true in Walpole's time, when the arcade remained as Inigo had built it, with stone pilasters on a redbrick frontage. The pilasters, as we now see them, are lost in a mass of compo and white paint; the red bricks have been whitened over, and the pitched roof of red tile replaced with flat slates. 25

A recent critic, though giving Jones the help of Isaac de Caus in the house designs of the area, thinks "both the Church and houses were, in themselves, excellent as well as extremely novel. Both became classics and entered into the vocabulary of English architecture." 26
Many buildings were either in a state of decay or were falling down. St. Paul's and Old Whitehall are the prime examples, but there were others. The tower of the College of Dulwich, built at the expense of Edward Alleyn between 1613 and 1617, fell in 1638, and this so injured the revenues of the College as to occasion its being suspended for six months. Not long after this another portion of the building fell down; in 1703 the porch and other parts followed. 27 Old London Bridge, the only bridge across the river then, was noted for the houses built upon it 28 and for occasionally partly falling down. On Sunday, 26 October 1624, when a congregation of three hundred Roman Catholics were assembled in the third story of the ambassador's house in Blackfriars, the building gave way and ninety-five persons perished. 29 Young Alexander Gill of St. Paul's School, friend and correspondent of Milton, wrote a Latin poem, "In ruinam camerae papisticae Londini," about this incident, for which he was tried at court. 30 The steeple of the old church of St. James, Clerkenwell, fell down in 1623, and being badly rebuilt, fell again, when nearly repaired, the bells breaking in the roof and gallery and all the pews. 31

Can it be any wonder then that in Milton's tractate Of Education in his imaginative plan for a regional academy he suggests the boys be taught "architecture" and "engineery"? (The plan of his school was for one hundred fifty persons, including twenty servants.) He further suggests that the layout for the school be a
spacious house and grounds, such as he occupied in the Barbican 1645-1647. In this he was in advance of his age, for excepting Eton, within four miles of Horton, and to a lesser extent Winchester, there was no school in England which enjoyed good recreation grounds. 32

With little need for church buildings and with the abatement of civil strife and with the general security of life and property under Elizabeth I, not only the landed gentry were induced to erect comfortable homes, but also rich merchants in London and many of the provincial towns. People took a new delight not only in their homes but also in their gardens. Milton loved a garden where he lived and wrote knowingly on gardening. 33

As noted in Chapter II, William Harrison (Description of England 1577-1587) explained that the inward decoration and convenience of London houses made up for their plain, "not vniforme" exteriors. In 1617 Fynes Moryson, a native of London, recorded that the citizens' houses were built all inward, that the whole roome towards the streets may be reserved for shoppes of Tradesmen, /and/ make no shew outwardly, so as in truth all the magnificence of London building is hidden from the view of strangers at the first sight. 34

The traveler Peter Heylyn (Relation of Two Journeys 1656) discovered that London was sweet and clean compared with Paris and that it had many more and wealthier merchants:

The houses of the new mould in London are just after their /the French/ fashion /thanks to King James/. . . But as London now is, the houses of it in the inside are both better contrived, and more richly furnished by farre, than those of Paris: the inward beautie
and ornaments most commonly following the estate of the builders or owners.  

The author of the *Character of England* (1659) thought the English love of freedom the basic reason why they built asymmetrically rather than uniformly as did the French nation.  

In the twelfth century the houses in London had only one story above the ground floor. In the early part of the fourteenth century houses of two or three stories are mentioned, and each of these stories together with the cellar underneath occasionally formed the freehold of different persons. The party-walls of these London houses were of freestone from which the roof (covered with tiles or thatch) ran up to a point, with the gable towards the street. These stone walls were a protection against fire; the rest of the building was of wood and plaster.  

In 1598 the German traveler Paul Hentzner observed:  

their *English* houses are commonly two stories, except in London, where they are three and four, though but seldom four; they are built of wood, those of the richer sort with bricks, their roofs are low, and where the owner has money, covered with lead.  

In Hollar's "Long View of London" (1647) four and five stories are shown above ground.  

Since James I and Charles I had issued royal decrees against new buildings in the City, the only direction for expansion was up. Even though the plagues came like a holocaust to destroy the people, the traffic of trade was so very good in London that
the population grew until it burst the walls and overflowed into the suburbs. 40

Bread Street, site of Scrivener Milton's shop, was a prosperous merchant district41 just off Goldsmiths' Row (Cheapside), the main street in the City. The streets of Old London according to Paul Hentzner were

very handsome and clean; but that which is named from the Goldsmiths who inhabit it, surpasses all the rest; there is in it a gilt tower, with a fountain that plays. Near it is a handsome house built by a goldsmith and presented by him to the city. There are besides to be seen in this street, as in all others where there are goldsmiths' shops, all sorts of gold and silver vessels exposed to sale, as well as ancient and modern medals, in such quantities as must surprise a man the first time he sees and considers them. We were shown at the house of Leonard Smith (Fabri), a tailor, a most perfect looking-glass, ornamented with pearls, gold, silver, and velvet, so richly as to be estimated at 500 écus du soleil. We saw at the same place the hippocamp and eagle stone, both very curious and rare.42

An untouched specimen of a yeoman's or even a merchant's house, complete with contents, of early Stuart times is a great rarity, almost a thing unknown.43 The ravages of fire, improvements, and the ordinary course of rebuilding have destroyed town houses to a greater extent than those in country places. Restricted space and narrow frontages naturally produced houses having one gable end facing the street. 44 Before the Great Fire in London:

The Streets were not only narrow, and the Houses all built of Timber, Lath and Plaister, or, as they were very properly call'd Paper Work, and one of the finest Range of Buildings in the Temple are, to this Day, called Paper Buildings, from that usual Expression.

But the Manner of the Building in those Days, one Story projecting out beyond another was such, that in some narrow
Streets, the Houses almost touch'd one another at the Top. It will be remembered that Milton wrote of a "past-bord House built of Court-Cards" in Of Reformation (III, 47).

In Inigo Jones's drawing of the setting for William Davenant's Britannia Triumphans, performed 7 January 1638, which he called "English houses of the old and new forms... and a far off prospect of the City of London and the river of Thames" the features of the houses, in spite of their pointed gables, are Italian in detail.

In Fleet Street a town-house of 1610-1611 called "Prince Henry's Room," probably originally a tavern, has two tiers of jettied bays on its double front and above them a balustraded gallery, a Jacobean innovation tending to obscure the gables and introduce a new horizontality into town architecture. Milton's house in Petty France Street, Westminster, supposedly had a balustrade, for a piece of it is now preserved in the Pennsylvania Historical Society, but I do not find that the poet used the word "balustrade" in his writings.

Merchants' homes would have been the ones the young Milton knew best on account of his father's occupation:

In the seventeenth century the City was the merchant's residence /the Government lived at Westminster/. Those mansions of the great old burghers which still exist have been turned into counting houses and warehouses: but it is evident that they were originally not inferior in magnificence to the dwellings which were then inhabited by the nobility. They sometimes stand in retired and gloomy courts and are accessible only by inconvenient passages: but their dimensions are ample, and their aspect stately. The entrances are decorated with richly carved pillars & canopies.
The staircases & landing places are not wanting in grandeur. The floors are sometimes of wood, tessellated after the fashion of France. The palace of Sir Robert Clayton, in the Old Jewry, contained a superb banqueting room wainscoted with cedar, and adorned with battles of gods and giants in fresco. Sir Dudley North expended four thousand pounds, a sum which would then have been important to a Duke, on the rich furniture of his reception rooms in Basinghall Street. In such abodes, under the last Stuarts, the heads of the great firms lived splendidly and hospitably. To their dwelling place they were bound by the strongest ties of interest & affection... London was, to the Londoner, what Athens was to the Athenian of the age of Pericles, what Florence was to the Florentine of the fifteenth century. The citizen was proud of the grandeur of his city, punctilious about her claims to respect, ambitious of her offices, and zealous for her franchises. 49

Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum is a superbly carved bay window from a wealthy merchant's house (1624) in Bishopsgate-street. Paul Pindar (1565-1650), a great figure in the Jacobean trading world who had been ambassador to Constantinople in Milton's time. 50

Recently a painted room in another merchant's house of the seventeenth century has come to light through layers and layers of brown varnish. The room was in an old house (erected 1669, demolished 1906) in Botolph Lane, Eastcheap, between London Bridge and the Tower, probably the home of a well-to-do West India merchant because of its proximity to the wharves and warehouses and because of its thirty-nine painted panels done by R. Robinson on New World subjects:

It is difficult to state concisely what the subjects represent. They are not the "chinoiseries" which were becoming popular towards the close of the seventeenth century, although there is Chinese influence, neither are they exclusively East Indian or West Indian.
In accordance with prevailing ideas of the times, the painter, R. Robinson, is extremely vague in his representations, which embody a mass of romantic lore regarding the life, customs, occupations, fauna, and flora of remote races, both Eastern and Western. The sources upon which his work is based are not personal experiences; he owes much to traveller's tales, like those of Sir John Chardin, and much to the researches of Sir Hans Sloane and his contemporaries, which found expression in the travel-books of that generation, but his debt to the subjects depicted on cabinets and other importations from the East is no less considerable. This scattered material is combined with wonderful skill, and presents a very complete record of primitive life, which he probably intended to represent that of the West Indies... sometimes imposing buildings and magnificent cities (fancies of the painter) depict a higher state of civilization—probably that rumored of certain Mexican races—but the buildings are not Mexican, but differ little from English Renaissance style of Wren's era, except they get a free imaginative treatment. Gorgeous and fairy-like palaces include a certain Chinese element, clearly suggested by the architecture represented on cabinets imported from the East. 51

This room was surely not the only frescoed chamber in Old London, but just one of several that was fortunate enough to be preserved through the centuries. To supplement his map and atlas knowledge of geography Milton could have used paneling he had seen on cabinets imported from the Orient, such as E. W. Tristram suggested the painter Robinson used above. Scenes from cabinet designs could have suggested such details as the one of Chinese wagons in his Satan-vulture simile

_but in his way lights on the barren plaines_
_Of Sericana, where Chinese drive_
_With Sails and Wind thir canie Waggon's light._

_(P. L. III, 437 ff)_

In 1945 new facts were discovered about the house Milton
grew up in which the Elder Milton rented from Eton College. The "White Bear," as it was called, abutted on Black Spread Eagle Court in Bread Street, as the survey made 16 October 1617 by Thomas Wever and Daniel Collins when Milton was nearly nine years old shows. Scrivener Milton, the principal under-tenant, occupied the southern end of the block and had an organ and other instruments in his house. The size of the house (a cellar, a ground floor, and four storeys containing between fifteen and twenty rooms) shows a very fair degree of prosperity and was fairly spacious for the center of the City of London at that time. The Elder Milton had another house in Bread Street, called the "Rose," on which the poet renewed a lease from the Goldsmiths' Company in 1651. But it was in the "White Bear" above Mr. Milton's shop that the Miltons actually lived. 52

After Milton's return from Italy, he lived in several different houses in London and Westminster. In 1642 when he wrote his sonnet "Captain or Colonel, or Knight in Arms" and pleaded

Lift not thy spear against the Muses Bowre (p. 32)

he was living in Aldersgate Street, and used "bower" to mean cottage as he had done in L'Allegro (87-88),

And then in haste her Bowre she leaves,
With Thestylis to bind the Sheaves.

In 1655-56 when he wrote of "by the fire" after a "neat repast" in his sonnet to Mr. Lawrence (p. 85) he was living in "a pretty garden-house in Petty France in Westminster, next door to the Lord
Scudamore's, and opening into St. James's Park."53 How many hearths were in this house is not known, but there were four hearths in Milton's Bunhill Fields home according to the 1673-74 hearth-tax record. 54 The poet was evidently fond of a fireplace, for at nineteen in a "Vacation Exercise" he wrote that at the birth of Ens's oldest son "The Faiery Ladies daunc't upon the hearth" (p. 80). In Elegy VI to Charles Diodati (1629) he talks of "the delights and the joys of the countryside in the winter days, and the Gallic must, drained beside the charming hearth" (pp. 134 and 573), and in his Nativity Ode composed the same year,

In consecrated Earth,
And on the holy Hearth,
The Lars and Lemures moan with midnight plaint. (p. 7)

In Il Penseroso, perhaps recalling his father's suburban home at Horton, he recounts a charming fireplace scene:

Som still removed place will fit,
Where glowing Embers through the room
Teach light to counterfeit a gloom,
Far from all resort of mirth,
Save the Cricket on the hearth,
Or the Belmans drousie charm,
To bless the dores from nightly harm. (p. 26)

In Damon's Epitaph (pp. 164 and 599), though the setting is pastoral, the poet's imagination is relying on realism:

Who will teach me to lighten consuming cares, who to beguile the long nights with sweet converse, when the mellow pears shall be hissing by the cheery fire, and the hearth shall crackle with the nuts, the while the evil South Wind confounds all the world outdoors, and thunders down through the elm?
And finally in *Samson Agonistes* (564-567) the hero answers the chorus:

To what can I be useful, wherein serve
My Nation, and the work from Heav'n impos'd,
But to sit idle on the household hearth,
A burdensome drone.

In the seventeenth century furnishings were, according to our standards, exceedingly sparse. More emphasis was laid on hangings of all sorts, valued as much for warmth as for decoration of bare walls, than on furniture. Chairs were a luxury; stools were the customary seats. Milton mentions tables, cups, and a side-board; but he is more careful with the things to eat than with the furniture. In Eden

Rais'd of grassie terf
Thir Table was, and mossie seats had round (V, 391)

and

Mean while at Table Eve
Ministerd naked, and thir flowing cups
With pleasant liquors crown'd. (V, 443-445)

In answer to Adam's questions about life in heaven, the sociable Raphael explains

Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn
Desirous, all in Circles as they stood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
With Angels Food, and rubied Nectar flows:
In Pearl, in Diamond, and massie Gold,
Fruit of delicious Vines, the growth of Heav'n.
(P.L. V, 630-636)

Satan's feast offered to Christ in the desert was served

In ample space under the broadest shade
A Table richly spred, in regal mode,
With dishes pil'd... (P.R. II 339-341)

And at a stately side-board by the wine
That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood  
Tall stripling youths rich clad. (P.R. II, 350-352)

And Christ reminded Satan of these things that existed in Rome which
Satan forgot to show Him:

Thir sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts  
On Citron tables or Atlantic stone;  
(For I have also heard, perhaps have read)  
Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,  
Chios and Creet, and how they quaff in Gold,  
Crystal and Myrrhine cups imboss'd with Gems  
And studs of Pearl. (P.R. IV, 114-120)

Tables made of citron wood were in such request among the Romans  
that Pliny calls it "mensarum insania." The tables were beautifully  
veined and spotted. The Atlantic marble was not so celebrated.  
Crystal and myrrhine cups were often spoken of together by ancient  
authors; and as myrrhine was similar to porcelain, perhaps the words  
"imboss'd with gems/ And studs of Pearl " refer to "Gold," which was  
no unusual cup construction56 and could have been seen in the London  
Cheapside shops.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the nobility af-  
fected much silver plate. So highly was it esteemed that even farmers  
and town folk acquired as much of it as they could afford. Colleges  
and City companies had great possessions of plate, and most of their  
drinking-vessels were of sterling silver, whereas the lesser gentry and  
merchantmen used pewter, and the peasantry wooden vessels. Milton  
used different types of cups to indicate strata of society. In his  
Commonplace Book he jotted down from Campian's History of Ireland:
remarkable is the saying of a worthy knight Sr Thomas Rocksby, who beeing ordinarily serv'd in wodd'n cups was wont to say. I had rather drink out of wood and pay gold and silver then drink out of gold and make wodd'n payment. \(^{57}\)

and in his Elegy VI to Charles Diodati he thinks the priest-poet should nourish himself on herbs "that work no harm" and sober draughts of pellucid water from a pure spring "in a tiny cup of beechen wood" (p. 574). The description of his gift from Manso, two cups graven with two scenes:

In the midst are the billows of the Red Sea, and fragrance-bearing spring, the long shores of Araby, and forests dripping with balsam. Among the trees is Phoenix, bird divine, without its like on earth, gleaming darkly with parti-coloured wings, watching Aurora as she rises from the glassy billows. Elsewhere are the sky, spreading without end, and mighty Olympus. Here--who would think it?--is Love, too, with his quiver painted amidst a cloud, Love with his gleaming armoury, his torches, and his darts touched with the colour of bronze. Not trivial souls and the ignoble hearts of the rabble does he smite thence (from the cloud, or, perhaps, with these weapons): but, rolling his flaming eyes, he scatters his shafts, always straight upward, through the heavenly spheres, and never looks with glance askant to ply downward blows. Through such strokes holy minds are set ablaze, and shapes of the gods themselves, \(^{58}\) (pp. 602-603; p. 167)

could be based on goldsmiths' work he had seen in shops around the corner from his father's place in London as well as on the descriptions he had read in pastoral literature, for he speaks thus of plate in a letter to Alexander Gill 4 December 1634:

If you had made me a present of gold, or of richly chased vessels, or of anything of that sort which men admire, I should certainly be ashamed not to recompense you in my turn so far as lay within my power. \(^{58}\)

Milton's images "although not numerous, are specific enough to show the attraction this handicraft," \(^{59}\) the inlaid work of the goldsmith, had
for him:

/Neptune rules/ the Sea-girt Iles
That like to rich, and various gems inlay
The unadorned bosom of the Deep (Comus, 21-23),

One thing I cannot pass by, with which I suppose you intended to decorate the rest of this chapter as with some motto in mosaic inlay,
(First Defense, VII, 397)

and

/In Eden various flowers/ wrought
Mosaic; underfoot the Violet,
Crocus, and Hyacinth with rich inlay
Broader the ground, more colour'd then with stone
Of costliest Emblem. (P. L. IV, 700-704)

"Emblem" is used in the Greek and Latin sense for inlaid floors of stone or wood and here refers to a stone decorated with precious inlaid metal. 60 These images "make it clear that Milton can reconcile aesthetic enjoyment with moral earnestness." 61

In the History of Moscovia (X, 38) Milton speaks of the massy plate, curiously wrought with beasts, fish, and fountains, which the Russians used, but the description is quite like the work of Flemish goldsmiths whose wares were sold in London.

Silver plate is to be found at the Puritan Emmanuel College at Cambridge, just south of Milton's Christ's College:

Students' commons were eaten from wooden trenchers, as in the other colleges; but the Emmanuel high table was well provided with silver: each fellow had his tankard, winebowl, stoop, salt, and spoon--forks were unknown as yet save in noblemen's houses, and one provided one's own knife. 62

At the Inns of Court in London

They are allowed a very good table, and silver cups to drink out
of. Once a person of distinction, who could not help wondering at the great number of silver cups, is said to have exclaimed, 'He should have thought it more suitable to the life of students, if they had used rather glass or earthenware, than silver.' The College answered, 'They were ready to make him a present of all their plate, provided he would undertake to supply them with all the glass and earthenware; since it was very likely he would find the expense, from constant breaking, exceed the value of the silver.'

Milton was acquainted with the living conditions at the law schools, for the 23 September 1637 he wrote Charles Diodati:

My plan is to take rooms in one of the Inns of Court, where I hope to find a pleasant and shady spot in which to stroll, and which may afford a more convenient dwelling-place, among congenial companions, when I wish to stay at home, and a more suitable point d'appui if I prefer to roam abroad.

By 1642 vast quantities of the Cavalier silver loyally disappeared into the melting furnaces for the King's benefit; then Venetian glass was imported for drinking purposes. The plate of the first Stuart reign largely followed the designs that came from the Low Country area. Until the Civil War sent them back to the Continent, the leading silversmiths in England still were foreigners.

Let us return to the condition of architecture in Milton's London. There was a gulf between the taste of the Court and that of the City in the sixteen thirties and sixteen forties. Inigo Jones was a Court artist, and his influence (only a few of his designs were actually constructed) in his own time was restricted and clearly definable. Although to us he seems to dominate this period not all his contemporaries would have felt that to be the case. English building proceeded at its own pace and, quite independently of the great man
at Whitehall, drew influences from abroad and incorporated them in
a style which not only outlasted Jones's surveyorship and enjoyed a
mild triumph during the Commonwealth, but persisted till the last
quarter of the century. This style of building John Summerson calls
"Artisan Mannerism," the natural successor to the "Jacobean."
Easily the most distinguished mason among these artisans in the
thirty years before the Civil War was Nicholas Stone (1586-1647),
trained as a sculptor and tomb-maker in Amsterdam and associated
with Jones as principal Mason to the King. By way of the Nether-
lands came the "Artisan" Classicism which flourished among mer-
chant houses in the City of London. Italy was always the original
source of Classicism, but it arrived in England (Jones's case ex-
cepted) indirectly via France or the Low Countries. "My Lady
Cooke's house" and "Sir Fulke Greville's house," both in Holborn
and both drawn by John Smythson when he visited London in 1619,
were the work of these artisans.66 By far most of the architecture
to which John Milton was exposed in his seeing days was either
Gothic design or second and third handed classical ornamentalism
as seen through the eyes of French or Low Country designers. His
sojourn on the Continent was only an episode in his life, and then he
was more interested in people than in structural design of buildings,
and did not make a thorough study of classical architecture as did
say Nicholas Stone Junior, who was in Rome and Florence at the
same time Milton was. Indeed it was not until 1670 (thirty years
after Milton's tour) that English travelers normally included in their aims the study of the fine arts. The buildings of Old London were therefore the main fount of John Milton's knowledge of architecture.

The critical changes introduced into London house design in 1636-1641 resulted from the influence of Inigo Jones and afforded Milton his brief opportunity of seeing in his hometown classical patterns directly taken from their Italian source. The so-called Cromwell House, built 1637-38 for Richard Springnell, a Captain of Train Bands, is an example, as are the houses on William Newton's land in the suburban parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, where Milton's sister Ann (mother of Edward and John Phillips) lived, and the poet most probably knew these houses well. The Newton buildings, fourteen on the south side of Great Queen Street (1637 and later) and thirty-two on the west side of Lincoln's Inn Fields (1641), were regular and classical with Corinthian pilasters and Ionic pilasters respectively. Lindsey House, only survivor of this project, is perhaps, historically, the most important house in London. Milton himself had a house in High Holborn Street (1647-1649), which opened "backward into Lincoln's-Inn Fields."  

The documented structures designed by Jones in the London area are the Whitehall Banqueting House (Pls. 55 and 56), the Queen's House at Greenwich, Portico at Old St. Paul's (Pl. 57), Covent Garden Piazza and St. Paul's Church, and Somerset House and Chapel. The tragedy is that Jones, during his long term as surveyor to James
I and Charles I, built so little; and the astonishing thing is that, in spite of this, his reputation stood so high in the opinion of his contemporaries. The main points on which Jones differed from Palladio and Vitruvius are important; these were his thinking that columns, cornices, and the like might be used as adventitious ornaments, and not in Palladio's words "all members necessary for the structural accomplishment of the building" and his reluctance to dogmatize and draw pedantic deductions. 71

Old Somerset House on the Strand (1547-1552), modelled on French design by the Englishman John Thynne, had an interesting classical gateway, loggia, and two-storey window-units with pediments (Pl. 6). Jones had charge of reworking Somerset House and building the Chapel (1625-1639) to prepare it for Henrietta Maria, for whom it had been stipulated on her marriage that she should be allowed the free practice of her religion, having been born and brought up a pious Catholic.

The Chapel was commissioned in 1630 and inaugurated in 1635; L5050 was spent on it. It was a hundred and four feet long and thirty-six feet wide, with shallow transepts, each containing a side-chapel. The body of the building formed a double cube of thirty-six feet width, at the west end, the 'Queen's closet', supported gallery-wise on columns and having a ceiling of enriched octagonal coffers. The exterior, largely concealed by surrounding buildings, was unimportant, and everything was lavished on the inside. Here, the details, as at St. James's, were far from Palladian. A large window, of which a drawing survives, is adapted from one given by Domenico Fontana; a niche, also shown in a drawing, is reminiscent of Vignola; while the screen consisted of a Doric order with terms above, supporting a scrolled cresting resembling some of the fireplace designs and close to Jean Barbet. Everything about the Chapel was rich and
lavish, and the altar arrangements (all smashed by the Parliamentarians) were on the level of Jones's most magnificent masque scenes. 72

A contemporary report of this Chapel has been preserved:

January 8, 1636. --This last month the Queen's Chapel in Somerset House Yard was consecrated by her Bishop; the ceremonies lasted three days, massing, preaching, and singing of Litanies, and such a glorious scene built over their altar, the Glory of Heaven, Inigo Jones never presented a more curious piece in any of the Masques at Whitehall; with this our English ignorant papists are mightily taken. 73

The catafalques for Queen Anne (1619) and for James I (1625), which certainly our day would not associate with columns, pilasters, or cupolas, were remarkable designs of Jones, and all London definitely could have seen them. The capitals and much of the ornament of the Queen's hearse were worked by Maximilian Colt, a monumental sculptor. Fortunately the drawing of the King's magnificent hearse is preserved at Worcester College, Oxford. It is an octagonal temple with a cupola carried on eight Doric columns attached to as many square Doric piers, the whole resting on a square base. At each of the four corners was a large female figure bearing an emblem, and at the base of the cupola each angle held a smaller figure with hands folded on her bosom. The royal arms and numerous small flags together with panels bearing inscriptions combined to produce a rich effect. The painting was by Matthew Goodrich and the sculpture by Maximilian Colt and Hubert Le Sueur. 74

Witness Milton's observation of funerals 75 in the realistic passage in Lycidas, and the "flowry Cave" of Comus (236-240).
perhaps recalls a funeral:

Canst thou not tell me of a gentle Pair
That likest thy Narcissus are?
O if thou have
Hid them in som flowry Cave
Tell me but where.

The piazza and St. Paul's Church in Covent Garden, an enclosure north of the Strand, were laid out 1631-38 from the designs of Jones. Both are celebrated in John Gay's *Trivia* (Bk. II, 343-346):

Where Covent Garden's famous temple stands
That boasts the work of Jones' immortal hands;
Columns with plain magnificence appear,
And graceful porches lead along the square.

A painting (1638) by Samuel Scott at Wilton House shows the original state of Covent Garden with a tree standing in the middle of the square.

Allusions are constantly made to Covent Garden in the works of Stuart dramatists: Dryden's *Martin Mar-All*, Wycherley's *The Country Wife*, and Otway's *The Soldier of Fortune*. Milton used the word "piazza" in *Areopagitica* (IV, 304), but this was after he had been to Italy where he could have seen many piazzas.

Incidentally the site of Buckingham Palace was at this time a Mulberry Garden and public recreation ground; and the site of the British Museum was in pastures and cornfields, for not even the first Montagu House had been built.

Embattlements, gables, and towers formed the London downtown sky line (*Pls. 2 and 3*). Excepting ancient Athens, Milton's cities are towered ones:
Towred Cities please us then (L'Allegro, 117),

...his /Malciber's/ hand was known
In Heav'n by many a Towred structure high
(P. L. I, 732),

Huge Cities and high tow'r'd, that well might seem
The seats of mightiest Monarchs (P. R. III, 261),

...or Royal Towred Thame (p. 81).

The Tower terminated the silhouette of London on the east, and St. Paul's Cathedral on the west. The massive, embattled Tower had within a Mint; an Armory with "many fine cannon in it, yet they are full of dust, and stand about in the greatest disorder"; about one hundred pieces of arras belonging to the Crown; a display of coins, gems, and plate in the Jewel Room; St. John's Chapel; a library, for Milton knew the librarian at one time; and finally, in a house close by, a kind of zoo. 78

Paul Hentzner (1598) asserts "there /were/ fifteen Colleges, within and without the City, nobly built, with beautiful gardens ad-joining." 79 Chief of these were the Inns of Court. The Societies of the Inner and Middle Temple, of Lincoln's Inn, Gray's Inn, and the other Inns of Court occupied a favorable position in England after the Reformation, with the result that several of them were able to rebuild their halls. Gray's Inn Hall (built 1556-60, gutted 1941), the Middle Temple Hall (1562-70), and Staple Inn Hall (built 1581, de-stroyed 1944) each have an open timber hammer-beam roof, a feature of some rarity after the middle of the sixteenth century. Middle
Temple Hall is the largest (100 feet by 40 feet and 50 feet high), and the ceiling is a fully open one.  

The outstanding mercantile building downtown was the Bourse, proclaimed the Royal Exchange by Elizabeth I in 1571. Not only the workmen, but the building materials, Sir Thomas Gresham had brought from Flanders. The main feature was the courtyard, surrounded by a loggia whose arches were carried on Doric columns, with an upper storey of Ionic pilasters, with niches with statues of English Kings. Hollar etched two views of the Royal Exchange in the sixteen forties.  

A lofty Corinthian column, crested with a grasshopper, stood outside the north entrance, overlooking the courtyard. Each corner of the building and the peak of every dormer window was crowned by a grasshopper. In the upper rooms were one hundred small shops lighted with wax candles, which Gresham rented to foreign merchants as well as to local ones. Lloyd's of London, then marine assured, had rooms in Gresham's Exchange. In 1610 Nicholas Leete sent a petition to the Court of Aldermen explaining that thirty pictures of English kings and queens should have been placed in the Exchange rooms and advocating that hereafter every new alderman be fined if he did not furnish a portrait of some king or queen not to cost more than one hundred nobles. The pictures were "to be graven on wood, covered with lead, and then gilded and paynted in oil cullors." The Exchange rapidly became a vast bazaar where fashionable ladies went to shop, and sometimes to meet their lovers:
Here are usually more coaches attendant than at church doors. The merchants should keep their wives from visiting the upper rooms too often, lest they tire their purses by attiring themselves... There's many gentlewomen come hither that, to help their faces and complexion, break their husbands' backs; who play foul in the country with their land, to be fair and play false in the city. 83

Evelyn praised the London Exchange above those he saw at Amsterdam, at Paris, and on the Rialto. 84 Fynes Moryson recorded it the most stately building of its kind that he had seen in Europe or Turkey. 85

Its loss in the Great Fire was so severely felt that immediately the foundation for a new exchange was laid on 6 May 1667, 86 the year Paradise Lost was published.

The members of the trade Companies built themselves great meeting halls: Goldsmiths' Hall, Guildhall, Painters-Stainers' Hall, Leathersellers' Hall, Barber-Surgeons' Hall, and the like. The Barber-Surgeons' Hall (1636), done by Inigo Jones in Monkwell Street, was entirely obliterated in World War II. 87 Leathersellers' Hall in Bishops-gate Street got a grand porch with columns and a broken pediment in 1623. 88 Crosby Hall (54 feet by 27 feet and 40 feet high), a unique example of domestic Gothic architecture, was built as a fifteenth-century home but was turned into a Presbyterian chapel in 1672. In 1678 a sale was announced at Crosby Hall of "tapestry, a good chariot, and a black girl of about fifteen." Later the Withdrawing-room and the Throne-room were let as warehouses to the East India Company. 89

Nicholas Stone probably rebuilt in Foster Lane the Netherlands Goldsmiths' Hall (1634-40), 90 which from 1641 till the Restoration served
as the Exchequer of Parliament. All the money obtained from the
sequestration of Royalists' estates was stored here, and then dis-
bursed for State purposes. The buildings of this early hall were of
red brick, and surrounded a small square, paved court. The front
was ornamented with stone corners, wrought in rustic, and a large
arched entrance with a high pediment supported on Doric columns,
open at the top to give room for a shield of the Company's arms. The
Hall on the east side of the court was spacious and lofty, paved with
black and white marble. The walls were handsomely wainscoted, and
the ceiling richly stuccoed—an enormous flower adorning the center,
and the City and Goldsmiths' arms together with various decorations
appeared in its other compartments. There was a richly carved screen
with composite pillars, pilasters, and a balustrade with vases, termi-
minating in branches for lights. The staircase was elegantly carved
with numerous reliefs of scrolls, flowers, and instruments of music.
The court room was another richly wainscoted apartment with a ceiling
perhaps somewhat overloaded with embellishments. The chimney-piece
was of statuary marble, and very sumptuous. 91

Spacious was fifteenth-century Guildhall (the City Hall, 153
feet by 48 feet). 92 Its crypt, which escaped the Great Fire, is by
far the finest and most extensive undercroft remaining in London. The
Tudor vaulting with four centered arches is very striking, probably the
earliest of this type which belongs especially to England.
The height of the London tradesman’s self-glorification was the elaborate Lord Mayor processions and shows which usually represented in some appropriate allegory the past deeds of the Company from which the Lord Mayor-elect had been chosen. In 1672 Thomas Jordan, the City poet, in his account of the Lord Mayor procession, which anciently involved effigies of the two giants, Corineus of Britain and Gog-Magog of Albion, who, tradition said, helped the Britains against the Romans, especially mentions two giants fifteen feet high in two separate chariots "talking and taking tobacco as they ride along," to the great admiration and delight of the spectators. "At the conclusion of the show they are to be set up in Guildhall, where they may be seen all the year, and I hope, never to be demolished by such dismal violence /the Great Fire/ as happened to their predecessors." These giants of Jordan’s, built of wickerwork and pasteboard, fell to decay. Henry Peacham in lines prefixed to Coryat’s Crudities (1611) mentions these giants among the sights to see in London, "Westminster monuments, and Guildhall huge Corinæus." Ned Ward calls the giants Gog and Magog at Guildhall preposterous figures intended to "show the City what huge Loobies their Forefathers were, or else to fright Stubborn Apprentices into obedience." These effigies may have carried clubs to frighten "Stubborn Apprentices" as Milton’s "Gyant" does in his description of what T. H. Banks suggests is a reminiscence of Milton’s witnessing Lord Mayor processions, or seeing the Giants at Guildhall:
Why do we therefore stand worshipping and admiring this unactive, and lifeless Colossus, that like a carved Gyant terribly menacing to children, and weaklings lifts up his club, but strikes not, and is subject to the muting/dropping/ of every Sparrow. If you let him rest upon his Basis, he may perhaps delight the eyes of some with his huge and mountainous Bulk, and the quaint workmanship of his massie limbs; but if you go about to take him in pieces, yee marr him; and if you thinke like Pigmess to turne and wind him whole as hee is, besides your vaine toile and sweat, he may chance to fall upon your owne heads. Goe therefore, and use all your Art, apply your sledges, your levers, and your iron crows to heave and hale your mighty Polyphem of Antiquity to the delusion of Novices, and unexperienc't Christians. Wee shall adhere close to the Scriptures of God...and with this weapon, without stepping a foot further, wee shall not doubt to batter, and throw down your Nebuchadnezzars Image and crumble it like the chaffe of the Summer threshing floores, as well the gold of those Apostolick Successors that you boast of, as your Constantinian silver, together with the iron, the brasse, and the clay of those muddy and strawy ages that follow.

(Animadversions, III, 40-141)

While we are in the business district we may as well take a look at Little Britain, where Milton's Paradise Lost first appeared on the book market in 1667 when he was living in a "House in the Artillery-walk leading to Bunhill Fields." Roger North recorded:

It may not be amiss to step aside to reflect on the vast change in the trade of books between that time /about 1670/ and ours. Then Little Britain was a plentiful and perpetual emporium of learned authors; and men went thither as to a market. This drew to the place a mighty trade; the rather because the shops were spacious, and the learned gladly resorted to them where they seldom failed to meet with agreeable conversation. And the booksellers themselves were knowing and conversable men, with whom, for the sake of bookish knowledge, the greatest wits were pleased to converse. And we may judge the time as well spent there as (in latter days) either in tavern or coffeehouse...but now this emporium is vanished, and the trade contracted into the hands of two or three persons. 97

In Milton's London area were four interesting Bishops' Palaces:

Winchester, Fulham, Ely, and Lambeth. The Puritan party regarded
the Bishops' houses as "voluptuous princely Palaces," and turned them into either prisons or hospitals during the civil wars. At the age of seventeen Milton tried his hand at Latin verse in his Elegy "On the Death of the Bishop of Winchester" (pp. 125 and 565) in which Death is personified and armed with a scythe, and the aged Bishop is described as an angel among the saints—a far cry from his later attitude toward bishops. The Bishop of Winchester's House was in Southwark across the river and a little west of the Church of St. Mary Overie, the tower of which was Hollar's favorite point of view for sketching the appearance of the City. The House is prominent in the foreground of most of the views of London taken from the south side—a building of some size and Gothic in design. 98

The Bishops of London were Lords of the Manor of Fulham, four miles southwest from Hyde Park Corner. The house was Tudor style with towers and battlements, and the gardens have been famous for their beauty and scientific culture since Bishop Grindall imported the tamarisk tree in the reign of Elizabeth I. The great gardener of the palace was Bishop Compton, whom James II banished to Fulham where he planted many foreign and exotic plants. 99

At the age of seventeen Milton also wrote a Latin poem "On the Death of the Bishop of Ely" (pp. 150 and 586), which foreshadows Paradise Lost in its conception of a trip to heaven through planets and the Milky Way. The abode of the gods on Olympus is merged with the Christian Heaven. 100 Ely House was in Holborn; also Milton lived
in Holborn at two different periods, 1647-49 and 1660-61. The most remarkable things about Ely are its gardens and its chapel. The pleasant gardens of great extent included a vineyard, a meadow, a kitchengarden, and an orchard. Their special feature was strawberries, mentioned by Shakespeare in Richard III (III, iv). The chapel, still standing, is late thirteenth-century Gothic. The windows are specimens of the best Edwardian style, and the geometric tracery of the large east window is especially beautiful. The walls are strong enough to sustain the weight of the heavily timbered roof without buttresses. 101 James Howell, in one of his letters (Milton's second wife owned a copy of Howell's Familiar Letters) 102 written some fifty years after the incident related, has an allusion to this chapel which evidently in James I's time was in the hands of the Roman Catholics. 103

Ely House being spacious and suitable for entertaining on a large scale, it was often lent, as was the custom, for some important occasion. A scene almost without a parallel was arranged here, the famous masque with its attendant anti-masque, which came off during the brilliant part of the reign of the ill-fated Charles I. The affair was managed by Bulstrode Whitelocke and got up by the Inns of Court to refute William Prynne's Histro-Mastix. The year before this gorgeous display, the irrepressible Mr. Prynne had published his broadside against plays and masques, mentioning especially the
ones being performed at Whitehall—-even Queen Henrietta Maria, not long before, had engaged in some sort of theatrical performance with her maids of honor. Before Prynne took his turn in the pillory and lost his ears, the members of the Inns of Court designed a masque as "a mark of love and duty to their majesties." Henry Lawes undertook the music; Jones was the machinist; and John Selden's knowledge of antiquarian lore was used to insure accuracy in the costumes. In the afternoon on Candlemas, 1634, the masquers, musicians, dancers, and all that were actors in this business met at Ely House in Holborn. There the grand committee sat all day to order all affairs, and when the evening was come, they set forth down Chancery Lane to Whitehall. It was a sharp evening in February. The four chariots that bore the sixteen masquers were preceded by twenty footmen in silver-laced scarlet liveries, who carried torches and cleared the way. After these rode one hundred gentlemen from the Inns of Court, mounted and richly clad, every gentleman having two lackeys with torches and a page to carry his cloak. Then followed the other masquers--beggars on horseback and boys dressed as birds. The colors of the first chariot were crimson and silver, the four horses being plumed and trapped in parti-colored tissue. The Middle Temple rode next, in blue and silver; and the Inner Temple and Lincoln's Inn followed in equal bravery. The masque was most perfectly performed in the Banqueting House at Whitehall; it was The Triumph of Peace by James Shirley, a comic allegory of the social pleasures of peace,
ending with a gorgeous tableau in which the deities appeared, all grouped round the peaceful goddess Irene. The performance caused a perfect furore. Later the masques were transferred to a temporary wooden building in order that the ceiling of the Banqueting House painted by Rubens might not be injured by the smoke produced by the torches and wax candles. But Rubens' canvases were not here at the time of this masque; they were placed into position the following year.

Of course Milton could have seen the procession on its way to Whitehall, and he had an inside chance of being invited to this masque, for his younger brother Christopher was at that time a student at the Inner Temple, and Milton was a friend of Henry Lawes, who wrote the music for Comus, which was produced in September at Ludlow Castle that same year. Such an opportunity for hearing good music Milton could hardly have afforded to miss. In 1639 when he admired the Italian opera Chi sofre, sperì at the Barberini palace in Rome, he was far from sharing the spirit of William Prynne. In his Commonplace Book he jotted down:

And Lactantius by arguments no whit stronger puts a stigma upon the whole dramatic art. He does not even once seem to have reflected that, while the corrupting influences of the threatre ought to be eliminated, it does not follow that it is necessary to abolish altogether the performance of plays. This on the contrary would be quite senseless; for what in the whole philosophy is more impressive, purer, or more up-lifting than a noble tragedy, what more helpful to a survey at a single glance of the hazards and changes of human life? In the following chapter the same writer seems to be desirous of removing from social life the whole art of music.
Across the Thames from the Old Palace of Westminster and the Abbey was Lambeth Palace (Pl. 4), chosen before the close of the twelfth century by the Archbishops of Canterbury as their town residence in the immediate neighborhood of the offices of government and the tribunals of justice. Hollar's 1647 etching of Lambeth shows us what it was like to Milton. With the exception of the chapel, the whole of the present structure has been erected since the Civil War. Samuel Pepys's description of the rebuilding of the Great Hall by William Juxton in 1663, "a new old-fashioned hall as much as possible," aptly explains what contemporaries thought of its Gothic style inside. The fine hammer-beam roof, an extraordinarily late example, has pendants of acanthus leaves and scroll carving in the spandrels of the braces.

The chapel is in the earliest style of English pointed architecture, lighted on the sides by triple lancet windows and on the east by a window of five lights, set between massive and deep masonry. The one room, measuring 72 feet by 25 feet and 30 feet in height, is divided into two parts by a handsomely carved screen which is painted. Previous to the Civil War, the windows were adorned with painted glass, put up by Archbishop Morton about 1490, representing the whole history of man from the creation to the day of judgment. In their accusations against Archbishop Laud, the Protestant House of Commons charged him with setting up and repairing popish images and pictures in these windows. Laud, in his defense, urged that the Homilies
of the Reformed and Established Church allowed the historical use of images, that Calvin himself permitted them in that sense, and that the Primitive Christians approved of and had in their houses pictures of Christ Himself. 112

William Prynne took a survey of the windows at Lambeth and described the picture in each window. There were "Three Lights in a Window: the two Side-Lights contain the Types in the Old Testament, and the middle Light the Antitype and Verity of Christ in the New: And I believe the Types are not in the Pictures in the Missal." 113 Archbishop Laud answered:

The first thing the Commons have in their evidence charged against me, is the setting up and repairing Popish images and pictures in the glass windows of my chapel at Lambeth, and amongst others the picture of Christ hanging on the cross between the two thieves in the East window; of God the Father in the form of a little old man, with a glory, striking Miriam with a leprosy; of the Holy Ghost descending in the form of a dove; and of Christ's Nativity, Last Supper, Resurrection, Ascension, and others; the pattern whereof Mr. Prynne attested I took out of the very mass-book, wherein he showed their portraiture. To which I answer first, That I did not set these images up, but found them there before; Secondly, That I did only repair the windows which were so broken, and the chapel which lay so nastily before, that I was ashamed to behold, and could not resort unto it but with some disdain, which caused me to repair it to my great cost; Thirdly That I made up the history of these old broken pictures not by a pattern in the mass-book, but only by help of the fragments and remainders of them, which I compared with the story...Mr. Prynne said that I had also a Book of Pictures concerning the Life of Christ in my Study. And it was fit for me to have it. For somethings are to be seen in their Pictures for the People, which their Writings do not, perhaps dare not avow. 114

Dr. Daniel Featly, at one time Rector at Lambeth and an opponent of Laud's innovations, accused him of three things: first, of alterations like turning the Communion Table altarwise (Laud answered that royal injunctions say
to do so); secondly

That the Chappel lay nastily...was it one of my faults too to cleanse it? Thirdly he says the windows were not made up with coloured glass till my time. The truth is they were all shameful to look on, all diversely patched like a poor Beggar's Coat. One Pember, a glasier, says there was in one of the glass windows on the north side the picture of an old man with a Glory which he thinks was God the Father. But his thinking so is no proof.

Then Laud cited a statute of Edward VI which did not include glass windows:

"Any Images of Stone, Timber, Alabaster or Earth; Grauen, carved or Painted, taken out of any Church, &c. shall be Destroyed, &c." 115

Sir Henry Mildmay asserted that "there was a fair Crucifix in a piece of Hangings hung up behind the Altar, which he thinks was not used before my time. But that he thinks so is no proof." 116

The windows at Lambeth Chapel were defaced and the steps to the communion table torn up 1 May 1643, 117 the day before the Cross in Cheapside was demolished. "The pictures that were in Lambeth palace at ye breaking out of the Civil Warrs. were given by Oliver [Cromwell] to an Ancestor of... Bond Esqr a member of Parliament." 118

An interesting part of Lambeth Palace is the Lollards' Tower called by Milton "your Gehenna at Lambeth" (Animadversions, III, 117). Constructed in the early part of the fifteenth century, the top of the brick, embattled tower was used as a prison to confine Lollards and is reached by a very narrow winding staircase. Its single, narrow doorway is strongly barricaded by both an outer and an inner door of oak, each three inches and a half thick, and thickly studded with iron. It is lighted by two windows
only 28 inches by 14 inches on the inside, and about half as high and half
as wide on the outside. Both the walls and roof of the chamber are lined
with oaken planks an inch and a half thick; eight large iron rings still
remain fastened to the wood, the melancholy memorials of the victims
who formerly pined in this dismal room.\textsuperscript{119} There was also a Lollards'
prison at Old St. Paul's. \textsuperscript{120}

Since from Temple Bar westward over the Strand around the
bend in the Thames to Westminster Abbey and the government buildings is
such an important section of London, each separate building will be men-
tioned (Pl. 4). Just west of the Temple was Essex House, "large but ugly,"
once called Leicester House, with over one hundred fifty pieces of tapestry
and with its gardens toward the river (Pl. 5).

Arundel House, large and old with a spacious yard for stables,
had a porter's lodge over the gateway. Inigo Jones had built a "pergula"
(balcony) on one of the rooms at first-floor level, a novel construction in
London. In spite of its humble outside appearance, the house was one of
the finest and most convenient in London, on account of the number of rooms
and apartments on the ground floor,\textsuperscript{121} not to mention its large gardens to-
ward the Thames (Pl. 5). Hollar did two etchings of this house and also a
view of London from the top of it. \textsuperscript{122}

Somerset House has been discussed above.

The Savoy, a heavy embattled Tudor design which had a Gothic
chapel, became a hospital after 1505. There is a very scarce etching of
this by Hollar. \textsuperscript{123}
At the time of its demolition in the autumn of 1874, Northumberland House was the very last relic of all these noble mansions, which in Milton's day adorned the river front of the Strand. This sumptuous and lofty pile was built in 1605 probably by the architects Benard Jansen and Gerard Christmas. In the sixteen fifties Inigo Jones gave it a new front—the river front becoming the principal one. According to a drawing by Hollar in the Pepys Library at Cambridge done in the early part of the reign of Charles I, the house is a square, dull, and heavy-looking building with lofty towers at the four angles, ending in domes of irregular shape. It is three storeys high and has a high pitched roof. Each side is pierced with nine heavy-looking windows. The gardens between the house and the Thames are filled with a grove of trees, and alongside the river is a long wall with stairs leading down to the water. The interior of this house was mentioned in Chapter II.

Durham House was originally a Bishop's palace for that See, but at this time was a private home.

York House was the former town residence of the Archbishops of that See, but was made into a modern fashionable palace by the first Duke of Buckingham, the favorite of Protestant James I. Its Water Gate on the Thames was described in Chapter IV. The Duke did not live in York House, but used it only for state occasions. The state apartments were fitted up with "huge panes of glasse" as mirrors were then rather commonly called and pictures from the Rubens's collection. Only rarely was a Persian carpet allowed to be walked upon in those days, and rush
mats were the usual substitute. Sir Balthazar Gerbier, who was furnishing New Hall and York House for the Duke in 1625, wrote him as follows:

"Madame has not given orders about the furniture of Persian cloth of gold nor for matting the other apartments: that should be done in time, for new mats for a month or two have an ill smell. Half of our Dutch mats have come." 125 In 1634 Henry Peacham writes of York House:

At Yorke-house also, the Galleries and Rooms are ennobled with the possession of those Romane Heads, and Statues, which lately belonged to Sir Peter Paul Rubens Knight, that exquisit Painter of Antwerp: and the Garden will bee renowned so long as John de Bologna's Cain and Abel stand erected there, a peece of wondrous Art and Workemanship. The King of Spaine gave it his Majestie at his being there, who bestowed it on the late Duke of Buckingham. 126

On the present site of Scotland Yard there was formerly a palace with large pleasure grounds extending to the river, which was the residence of the kings of Scotland when they attended the English Parliament as barons of the realm. In Elizabeth I's reign it was in a state of ruin and was dismantled. Its site was devoted to some of the offices of the government as it formed a part of Whitehall. 127 Here Milton had an apartment from November 1649 to December 1651. Here was the official residence of the Surveyor of the Office of Works; therefore Inigo Jones, 128 Sir John Denham, and Sir Christopher Wren all lived here.

The Whitehall area we have already treated in Chapter II.

The Westminster area, into which we have now come, was the seat of the government. The church dedicated to St. Peter here (better known as Westminster Abbey) was, together with the ancient church dedicated to St. Paul in London, among the earliest works of the first
converts to Christianity in Britain. The Abbey is Edwardian Gothic, built mainly in the reigns of the three Edwards, the culminating period of the pointed Gothic in England, and consists of a nave, choir, aisles, transepts, and sacristy; and at the east end are Edward the Confessor's, Henry VII's, and ten other chapels, substantially the same now as they were before the Reformation. For some reason the English religious reformers from Henry VIII through the Puritans did not object to the art in this particular place. The architectural splendor of Henry VII's Chapel is of the highest order. It has in England only one rival in the richness of its decoration, namely King's College Chapel at Cambridge. The roofs of both are among the glories of the later Gothic style, and both were certainly well known to Milton, since he spent seven years at Cambridge and lived in the Westminster area over ten years all told.

The west front of the Abbey, it must be owned, is poor enough, when compared with that of most English or foreign cathedrals. In Milton's time the nave and the two western towers were unfinished, but the church was then a better piece of Gothic art than it now is with its out-of-place classical towers. Christopher Wren describes them in an architectural report addressed to Bishop Atterbury: "the two towers were left imperfect, the one much higher than the other, though still too low for bells, which are stifled by the height of the roof above them." Other parts of the Abbey were the School, the Cloister, the Jerusalem Chamber, and the Chapter House in the shape of a polygon built over a crypt. Sir Gilbert Scott writes of the Chapter House:
it singles itself out from other beautiful works as a structure perfect in itself, of a purely English type as to its plan and outline, and as carrying out the principle of window tracery in a fuller and grander degree than any part of the church. 131

St. Margaret's Church (in which Milton was married to his second wife in 1656), standing immediately beside the Abbey, causes the proportions of the larger fabric to stand out in a bold and imposing relief. In the reign of James I, St. Margaret's became the official church of the House of Commons, and before its desecration during the civil wars it must have been handsome in its details, as it still is in its proportions. The entrance porch of the nave forms the framework to a beautiful picture. Lofty arches, of a very light and elegant character, with spandrels enriched with quatrefoils and trefoils springing from twelve clustered columns, divide the nave from the aisles. On the right hand, in front of the chancel arch, is the pulpit, considered the most richly ornamented in the metropolis. The first notice of any parliamentary assistance being granted to St. Margaret's occurs in 1650 under the Commonwealth:

It is most probable that soon after the ancient Chapel of St. Stephen had been yielded up by King Edward VI to be a place no more of prayer, but for the deliberations of the House of Commons, the members of the lower House of Parliament attended divine service in St. Margaret's Church while the Lords went to the Abbey. In the reign of James I, however, we have certain proof of their partaking of the Holy Sacrament in St. Margaret's. 132

The site of the Old Royal Palace at Westminster (home of English kings from Edward the Confessor to 1530 when Henry VIII took possession of Cardinal Wolsey's York House and renamed it Whitehall) is now occupied by the modern Houses of Parliament, or to speak more correctly, by the
New Palace. But in Milton's day several buildings of the Old Royal Palace existed: The Court of Requests (where the House of Lords met); the painted Chamber; St. Stephen's Chapel (where the House of Commons met); and Westminster Hall (where the Chief Courts of Justice met). 133

The Old House of Lords was an oblong chamber, formed out of an ancient building long known as the Court of Requests, which was decorated with pinnacles but had little architectural beauty to recommend it. The interior was ornamented with tapestry, if we go by Hollar's etching of the trial of Archbishop Laud in 1644. 134 However on 1 January 1651 other hangings were placed there:

The tapestries representing the "Destruction of the Armada" were, during the reign of Charles I, disposed in the Tower, and no reference was made to them from their payment by King James I. In 1650 "The Story of Eighty-Eight," as it was styled by the Parliamentarians, was reserved for the uses of the State. On the first day of the year 1651 it was ordered that the late Lords' House be used as a place of meeting for the Committee of Parliament, and the Council of State takes special care to provide fit hangings for that house, and orders that the set concerning the "Story of Eighty-Eight" be hung up there. 135

Milton associates Parliament with tapestry in Eikonoklastes (V, 288): "nay to be blasted, to be struck as mute and motionless as a Parliament of Tapestrie in the Hangings." At one end of the House of Lords was a throne consisting of an elegantly carved and gilt arm chair, ornamented with crimson velvet. Above it was a canopy of crimson velvet, supported by two gilt Corinthian columns and surmounted by the imperial crown. Of this throne and of the one in Westminster Hall, Milton may
have thought in describing the second appearance of Satan on his throne
after he had been victorious against Eve and Adam:

   and from the dore
Of that Plutonian Hall, invisible
Ascended his high Throne, which under state
Of richest texture spred, at th' upper end
Was plac't in regal lustre.       (P. L. X, 443 ff)

Adjoining this old House of Lords and separating it from the
old House of Commons, was the ancient building called the Painted
Chamber because of its fourteenth-century murals. This was an apart-
ment in the Old Royal Palace, and was often used by the Lords and Com-
mons when they held a conference. The chamber was small. When in-
creased accommodation was required by the House of Commons about
1800 and the tapestry and wainscoting were taken down, it was discovered
that the interior had been originally painted with single figures and histor-
ical subjects, arranged round the room in a succession of subjects in
six bands, somewhat similar to Bayeaux tapestry. Careful drawings
were made by J. T. Smith for his book on Westminster and they have
since been engraved in *Vetusta Monumena* from drawings made in 1819
by Charles Stothard. 136 There was a Psychomachia, or battle between
Virtues and Vices in this chamber. 137 Needless to say Milton could
never have seen these murals.

The House of Commons met in St. Stephen's Chapel, originally
the chapel of the Old Royal Palace, but assigned by Edward VI for the
sittings of the representatives of the people. This chapel was built
again *de novo* under Edwards II and III in the best Decorated Gothic style.
Its walls were painted in fresco work with a variety of subjects, but when the House of Commons took over they were covered with wainscoting and the murals were not discovered until the renovations of 1800. In the seal for the Court of King's Bench at Westminster (1648), in that for the Common Pleas for the county palatine of Lancaster (1648), in the Parliament seal (1649), and in the Dunbar medal (1650), the walls of the House of Commons are represented as having only a plain wainscoting. However, it appears that about the year 1651 they were covered with tapestry hangings, for they are so given in the perspective view of the House of Commons on the back of the Great Seal of the Commonwealth (1651). Could the "Story of Eighty-Eight" have been hung in the House of Commons rather than in the House of Lords as W. G. Thomson stated? With tapestry the walls continued to be decorated down to the time of Queen Anne, when Christopher Wren was employed to fit the interior with galleries.

In Hollar's etching, "The Houses of Lords and Commons During Sittings" in 1643, prominent upon the table is the Speaker's mace. This would be the mace of the reign of Charles I, which doubtless perished when the Crown plate was sold in 1649. Few people (outside the Commons) are aware how important this toy is to the legislative duties of this body, but without it the House of Commons does not exist. The Commonwealth mace, which came into use in 1649, was ornamented with flowers instead of the cross and ball at the top, and with the arms of England and Ireland instead of the late King's. This was the bauble that Cromwell ordered
away when he dismissed the "rump" of the Long Parliament in April 1653. The Restoration supplanted it with a new mace, with the cross and his Majesty's arms as they formerly were.¹⁴¹

The young Milton in "On the Death of the Beadle of the University of Cambridge" (pp. 124 and 564) writes of Richard Ridding "made conspicuous by /his/ shining mace." The University still possesses the silver gilt maces which were given to the three Esquire Beadles in 1626 the year this Elegy was written.¹⁴² In Paradise Lost, Death "with his Mace petrific" brought into existence the causeway from Hell to the World:

The aggregated Soyle
Death with his Mace petrific, cold and dry,
As with a Trident smote, and fix't as firm
As Delos floating once. (P. L. X, 293-296)

In certain public appearances of the Pope, every cardinal was preceded by a gentleman carrying a great silver mace,¹⁴³ and Milton could have seen such a procession in Rome. Which mace the poet had in mind when he so armed Death could not now be ascertained.

The General appearances of Westminster Hall, the meeting place of the Chief Courts of Justice of England but originally the Great Hall of the Old Royal Palace, is given in a 1647 etching by Hollar which shows the Parliament House (Commons), Westminster Hall, and the Abbey from the river with wherries and covered boats. The interior of the huge Hall (239 feet by 68 feet and 42 feet high) may be seen in Hollar's 1641 drawing of the trial of the Earl of Strafford. The seats are tiered on the two long sides. On either side of the canopied throne
located at one end of the Hall is a piece of tapestry. 144

In another drawing Hollar shows the Palace Yard, an open square at the northern end of Westminster Hall. A quantity of sheds is against the chief entrance, which is continued on either side of the Gothic hall by wings of Tudor architecture. At the northwest corner of the square is an entrance into St. James's Park under a gateway. In the foreground, almost in the center, stands a conduit in the classical style; the center of the square is filled with heavy rumbling carriages, pedestrians, and market women. 145 In Palace Yard the pillory was frequently set up in the days of the Stuarts for such offenders as Alexander Leighton and William Prynne. Among those who suffered by the Headman's axe in front of Westminster Hall were Sir Walter Raleigh in 1618 and Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland, in 1649. Charles I was tried at Westminster Hall, but was beheaded on a scaffold at Old Whitehall. On 6 May 1660, Charles II was proclaimed King at the gate of Westminster Hall. 146

The architecture of Milton's London in the main was Gothic, but the word, "Gothic," was not used architecturally until 1641. The buildings were chiefly churches, civic halls of companies, and row houses with part-walls and gabled roofs. Low Country trained stone-masons and artisans erected the largest percentage of the buildings. Classical architecture made its way in London not as a method of building but as a mode of decorative design appearing on gateways, doorways, chimney-pieces, monuments, title-pages, and in masque scenery. This
taste for classical details as decoration on buildings is evident in Milton's
description of Pandemonium. Few truly classical buildings existed; perhaps Jones's Banqueting House and the Queen's House at Greenwich are
the only ones. In the sixteen thirties Laudian Erastianism produced
several Classic-Gothic hybrid designs; the Church of St. Catharine
Cree in London and Peterhouse Chapel at Cambridge are examples Mil-
ton would have known. The poet observed a wide range of architectural
design, the "lowly sheds / With smoaky rafters" as well as the "tapstry
Halls / And Courts of Princes" (Comus, 323-324) that existed in his
day. He showed an interest in furniture, in silver plate, and in the in-
lay work of goldsmiths, mostly Flemings who supplied the many shops
on Cheapside.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1 The Character of England (London, 1659), attributed to John
Evelyn, pp. 29-30.

2 John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830 (Baltimore,
1954), pp. 4-6.

3 Milton uses this word of Wotton in Of Education, IV, 290: "...learn-
ing and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and
of soil, for towns and tillage, harbours and ports for trade."

4 Nathaniel Lloyd, A History of the English House (London, 1931),
pp. 60 and 88.

5 H. S Goodhart-Rendel, "English Architecture During the Seventeeth
Century," Seventeenth Century Studies Presented to Sir Herbert

6 James Lees-Milne, The Age of Inigo Jones (London, 1953), pp. 159
and 185.


10 Elegy I, pp. 562 and 564; Elegy VII, p. 576; "Scazons to Sal-silli, a Roman Poet, as He Lay Ill," p. 594.


12 Ibid., p. 220.

13 Ibid., p. 468.

14 Goodhart-Rendel, p. 319.


16 Lees-Milne, p. 147.

17 Summerstone, p. 107.

18 For a picture of the interior of this church see Lees-Milne, p. 155, Plate 51. John Rushworth, Historical Collections (London, 1721-22), II, 76-77: The commencement of the ceremony as performed by Laud will be sufficient to show the course he pursued. Persons were stationed at the doors of the church to call with a loud voice on his approach, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the King of Glory may enter in." When he had reached the interior, he fell on his knees, and lifting his hands, exclaimed, "This Place is holy, the Ground is holy, In the name of the Father, Son and Holy-Ghost I pronounce it holy"; then throwing dirt from the ground into the air, he bowed to the chancel, and went in procession round the church. It should be remembered, however, that this account of the ceremonies which Laud practiced, or was supposed to have practiced, on this occasion was written by a bitter enemy of the Archbishop.


21 The Reason of Church-Government, III, 224; Eikonoklastes, V, 98.


23 A. M. Hind, Wenceslaus Hollar (London, 1922), Plate XLVII.


26 Summerson, p. 84.

27 Thornbury and Walford, VI, 300-301.


31 Thornbury and Walford, II, 338.

32 A. F. Leach, op. cit., p. 315.

33 Animadversions, III, 158-159.

34 Fynes Moryson, An Itinerary /1617/ (Glasgow reprint, 1907-08), III, 496-497.

35 Peter Heylyn, A Full Relation Of Two Journeys (London, 1656), pp. 93, 91-95.


38 W. B. Rye, England as Seen by Foreigners in the Days of Elizabeth and James I (London, 1865), p. 110. Also see engravings of Early Stuart houses in Britannia Illustrata (London, 1709) and in Kip, Badeslade, Harris, and Others, English Houses & Gardens in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London, 1908), Plates XVII-XXIII.


40 L. B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1935), pp. 11-12.

Brett-James, p. 36.

42 Rye, p. 283, note 154.

43 Lees-Milne, p. 225.


47 Summerson, p. 58.

48 "Notes," Columbia Milton, XVIII, 583.


51 E. W. Tristram, "A Painted Room of the Seventeenth Century," Annual of the Walpole Society, III (1913-14), 77; on Chinese and Indian topics see Evelyn's Diary: 30 December 1665; 9 October 1676; 30 July 1682; 13 July 1695; 23 September 1700.

53 David Masson, The Life of John Milton (London, 1859-1894), IV, 418. Masson actually saw this house before it was demolished in 1877.

54 J. M. French, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

55 Lloyd, p. 84; Rye, p. 71; Lees-Milne, pp. 225-227; Dorothy Hartley and M. M. Elliot, Life and Work of the People of England (London, 1928), II, 39, Plates 4 (a) and 4 (b).


57 Commonplace Book, XVIII, 144.


61 Banks, p. 36.

62 S. E. Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), p. 98. In Dorothy Hartley and M. M. Elliot, Life and Work of the People of England (London, 1928), II, 19: John Strype, who had the same education background as Milton, wrote to his mother of his undergraduate days at Cambridge in 1662, "We go twice a day to chapel; in the morning about 7, and in the evening about 5. After we come from chapel in the morning, which is towards 8, we go to the butteries for our breakfast, which usually is 5 farthings; a halfpenny loaf and butter and a cize of beer."

63 Rye, p. 283, note 154.


65 Lees-Milne, pp. 228-229.
66 Summerson, pp. 84, 97-100 and Plate 34.


68 Summerson, p. 101 and Plate 55A; Less-Milne, pp. 199-200 and Plates 74 and 75.

69 Gotch, Growth of the English House, p. 151 and Plate LX; Brett-James, pp. 166-169; Summerson, pp. 101-102 and Plates 56 A and B; Lees-Milne, p. 123 and Plate 37.


71 Lees-Milne, pp. 64-104, 60, 55, 56.

72 Summerson, p. 80.


76 Lees-Milne, p. 85 and Plate 20; Thornbury and Walford, III, 239-248; Summerson, pp. 83-84.

77 Wheatley, II, 555; Thornbury and Walford, IV, 62.

78 Travels of Cosmo the Third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England (London, 1821), pp. 175-176; Bumpus, pp. 53-54; Rye, pp. 19, 207, 282.

79 Rye, p. 283, note 154.

81 A. M. Hind, Wenceslaus Hollar (London, 1922), Plate XXXII, Nos. 28 and 29; Summerson, p. 113 and Plate 66A.


84 Evelyn, Diary, ed. William Bray (London, 1906), 19 August 1641; 3 February 1644; June 1645.

85 An Itinerary, III, 485.

86 Thornbury and Walford, I, 501.

87 Lees-Milne, p. 94; Walpole, Anecdotes, I, 82 and II, 151.

88 Summerson, p. 101 and Plate 54A.

89 Brown, I, 41, where the picture shows three rows of pendants hanging from the Gothic ceiling; Thornbury and Walford, II, 157; Robert Willis and J. W Clark, The Architectural History of Cambridge (London, 1886), II, 490.

90 Summerson, p. 99; but see Lees-Milne, pp. 145-146.

91 Thornbury and Walford, I, 353.

92 Brown, p. 42, bottom picture.

93 L. B. Wright, p. 34; Celia Fiennes, Journeys, pp. 283-289; Wheatley, II, 171.

94 Thornbury and Walford, I, 386-387; John Timbs, II, 312-317.

95 Coryat's Crudities /1611/ (London reprint, 1776), I, L 3.


Wilberforce Jenkinson, Royal and Bishops' Palaces in Old London (New York, 1921), pp. 58-59; Hind, Hollar, Plate XXX, No. 26; Thornbury and Walford, II, 519 and VI, 22.

Jenkinson, Royal and Bishops' Palaces, p. 57; Thornbury and Walford, III, 509.


For pictures of Ely Chapel see Thornbury and Walford, II, 522 and 523.

"Notes," Columbia Milton, XVIII, 582.

Quoted by Jenkinson, London Churches Before the Fire (London, 1917), p. 249: "It must needs be a commendable thing that they/Roman Catholics/ keep their Churches so cleanly and amiable, for the dwellings of the Lord of Hosts should be so; to which end your greatest ladies will rise before day sometime in their night clothes, to fall a-sweeping some part of the Church and deck it with flowers, as I heard Count Gondemar's wife used to do here at Ely House Chapel." Count Gondemar was the Spanish ambassador under James I and, though much favored by the Court, was hated by the people.

Milton evidently admired John Selden, for he referred to his work twice in his Commonplace Book and in his Divorce Pamphlet also.

Jenkinson, Royal and Bishops' Palaces, p. 62; Thornbury and Walford, I, 161; II, 521; III, 342.

Gotch, Inigo Jones, p. 163; Hermann Knackfuss, "Rubens," Monographs on Artists (Leipzig, 1904), IX, 136-137.

Masson, Life, I, 551.


Commonplace Book, XVIII, 207.

Hind, Hollar, Plate LI, No. 107.

Lees-Milne, p. 152.

Thornbury and Walford, III, 441.

114 Ibid., pp. 317-318. It should be remembered that Laud got a window-breaking case into the Star Chamber Court. For an account of it, see John Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, II, 153-156.


116 Ibid., p. 316.

117 Ibid., p. 203.


121 Summerson, p. 99; Thornbury and Walford, III, 74.

122 Hind, Hollar, Plate XLVIII, No. 81; Plate XLIX, Nos. 82 and 83.

123 Ibid., Plate XLIX, No. 84.

124 Thornbury and Walford, III, 135-137.

125 Lees-Milne, p. 226.

126 Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* 1634 (Oxford reprint, 1906), p. 108. There was no talk of sculpture in the 1622 edition of the *Compleat Gentleman*; therefore the collection here described was made between 1622 and 1634.

127 Thornbury and Walford, III, 330.


Thornbury and Walford, III, 413.

Ibid., p. 452.

Ibid., p. 573.

Ibid., p. 496.

Hind, Hollar, Plate LII.


Thornbury and Walford, III, 497.

Frank Kendon, Mural Paintings in English Churches During the Middle Ages (London, 1923), p. 192.

Thornbury and Walford, III, 494.

Ibid., pp. 498-500.

Hind, Hollar, Plate LIII, No. 89.

Thornbury and Walford, III, 513-514.

Milton, P. R. and Minor Poems, ed. Hughes, p. 34. For a picture of the Beadles with their maces see David Loggan, Cantabrigia Illustrata, ed. J. W. Clark (Cambridge, 1905), Plate VII.

Francis Mortoft, His Book Being His Travels Through France and Italy 1658-1659 (London, 1925), p. 76; Evelyn, Diary, 22 November 1644.

Hind, Hollar, Plate L, No. 86 and Plate LIII, No. 91; Willis and Clark, II, 490.

Hind, Hollar, Plate LI, No. 90.

Thornbury and Walford, III, 538 and 566.
CHAPTER VI

THE GARDENS AND PARKS IN AND NEAR OLD LONDON

Gardening is often equated with horticulture, the care of trees, flowers, and shrubs; but it is much more than that. Other elements are, first, the hills, slopes, depressions, and level areas of the proposed site; second, the amount of water available for the scheme, that is, the springs, brooks, cascades, or rivers; third, the natural vegetation; fourth, whatever buildings are inevitably involved in the plan; and finally, such man-made decorations as summer-houses, vases, dials, and statues. Obviously every proposed garden does not present all these materials for the gardener to work with.\(^1\) Especially in the symmetry and in the axial arrangement of Italian Renaissance gardens the gardener was a planner rather than a planter. However, formal gardens in the Italian sense were few and far between in early Stuart England, just as were classical buildings by Inigo Jones and his followers. It was not until late in the seventeenth century that this influence came to England, and then not directly from Italy but altered in form by way of France.\(^2\) The early Stuart formal garden retained many features of medieval gardens and adopted some details from Italian gardens.\(^3\) The favorite plan was a square with four paths leading to a little square in the center, where there was a statue or a fountain. The beds were laid out in extravagant and intricate designs. Though the garden was related to the house, it fell short of participating in a single organic plan for the
whole of the terrain as did the axial Italian gardens. The English
gardens were small compared with the Italian ones and enclosed by
walls. Statuary was used much less in them than in the French and
Italian gardens; it is doubtful if it existed even to the extent indicated
by some of the drawings of this period. Topiary was used, but it
had showed up in pictures of medieval gardens, was discussed by
Pliny, revived by the Italians of the fifteenth century, and ridiculed
by Alexander Pope in the eighteenth century. Francis Bacon talked
of it in his literary design of an ideal prince's garden, together with
many other features of a medieval garden: the alleys, the covered
walks, the arbors, the knots, the labyrinths, the mounts, the foun-
tains, and the walls. Only his use of symmetry, his use of terraces,
balustrades, and great flights of stairs, and his free use of statuary
were specific importations from Italy. Reginald Blomfield, an ad-
mirer of the formal garden, objected that

Walpole seems to have supposed that it was possible to import
an exotic style wholesale into the midst of a people with a
strong indigenous tradition. As a matter of fact, the advance
in garden design in the sixteenth century was, like English
architecture of the time, the result of the grafting of ideas
brought back from Italy on the vigorous stock of mediaeval art,
and the fully developed formal garden of the seventeenth cen-
tury retained features which were distinct survivals from the
mediaeval garden.

Charles II, who had been ten years in France, noticed the
backwardness of England compared with other countries in archi-
tecture and gardening. One phase of this retardation was the lack
of books on the subjects. But the French style of gardening, despite
the influence of Charles II and of Evelyn, was not universally and sud-
denly welcomed in England. The indictment of the formal garden in the
eighteenth century was by no means as revolutionary as has generally
been supposed. In Flora, Ceres, and Pomona (1665), John Rea dis-
liked "the new model of gardens," preferring "Nature alone, without
the aid of Art." In Systema Horti-Culturae (1677), John Worlidge re-
peated Rea's complaint as to the banishment of flowers and the exces-
sive use of sculpture in gardens. In Of Greatness Abraham Cowley,
who had written The Garden to John Evelyn, expressed his preferences:

Not such a stately Palace, nor gilt Rooms, or the costliest sorts
of Tapestry; but a convenient Brick House, with decent Wainscot,
and pretty Forest-work Hangings. Lastly, (for I omit all other
Particulars, and will end with that which I love most in both Condi-
tions) not whole Woods cut in Walks, nor vast Parks, nor Fountain,
or Cascade-Gardens; but Herb, and Flower, and Fruit-Gardens,
which are more useful and the Water every whit as clear and
wholsome, as if it darted from the Breasts of a marble Nymph, or
the Urn of a River God.

Especially to be noted is the fact that Henry Wotton, consider-
ed by Charles I a man of cultured taste, as early as 1624 cast his vote
for the natural garden though he had spent years viewing the continental
ones:

I must note a certain contrariety between building and gardening:
For as Fabricks should be regular, so Gardens should be irregular,
or at least cast into a very vvilde Regularity. To exemplifie my
conceit, I have seen a Garden, for the manner perchance incompar-
able, into which the first Access was a high walk like a Terrace,
from whence might be taken a general view of the whole Plot below,
but rather in a delightfull confusion, then vvith any plain distinction
of the pieces. From this the Beholder descending many steps, vvas
afterwards conveyed again by several mountings and valings, to
various entertainments of his sent and sight: which I shall not need to describe, for that were poetical, let me only note this, that every one of these diversities, was as if had been magically transported into a new Garden.  

And he adds that the "Garden of Sir Henry Fanshaw, at his Seat in Ware-Park" is "surely without parallel among forraign Nations."  

Milton was sensitive to many charms of the small formal English garden and to the variety and contrasts of nature. That he personally preferred one above the other is not recorded, but the poetry leads the writer to believe that Milton would have liked neither a garden planned too decidedly by "nice Art" nor one too "Wilde above rule or art." He writes more lines on nature's beauty (his subject matter lends itself to that), but somehow he always contrives to improve on it. The full time job of Adam and Eve was trimming and regulating the vegetation of Paradise. The pictorial tradition of the Garden of Eden to which Milton was exposed both at home and abroad was a natural garden. Only one book, of the books, paintings, and engravings which the writer examined, showed Paradise a purely formal garden and in it several illustrations involving Adam and Eve had natural scenery. Besides, presenting the garden any other way would have been a gross anachronism.  

Nature here  
Wantond as in her prime, and plaid at will  
Her Virgin Francies, pouring forth more sweet,  
Wilde above rule or art; enormous bliss.  

(P.L. V, 294-297)  

However Milton's garden was not in every way a natural one, but
rather a design "cast into a very vvilde Regularity" as Henry Wotton proposed as the ideal of English taste in his day. Paradise was enclosed by a circular wall and had one gate out of proportion in size to the rest of the garden, like those shown in medieval paintings of Paradise.

One Gate there onely was, and that look'd East (IV, 178)
...it was a Rock
Of Alablaster, pil'd up to the Clouds
Conspicuous farr (IV, 544 ff)

and

The verdurous wall of Paradise up sprung (IV, 143).

A picture showing four scenes of Adam and Eve in Paradise dated 1416 has a circular wall around the garden and a fancy gate as the only entrance. Trees and grass together with a huge, lacy Gothic structure over a fountain are within the wall. Outside the wall are hills and waste. 17 Another medieval "Paradis Terrestre" has a Gothic structure piled high as a gate that dominates a walled garden, and again there is a large Gothic fountain. 18 At the Escurial in Spain was a charming painting of Paradise by Hieronymus Bosch showing the animals among natural scenery. The fountain is especially lovely, made of various plants and flowers. The water comes from underground and runs through the stems and out the flowers to make a pool below in which the animals play while the birds perch on the plant branches. 19 Perhaps Milton saw an engraving of this delightfully imaginative fountain, for his "fresh Fountain" that rose up from a
large river through veins of porous earth and "with many a rill /
Waterd the Garden" (IV, 229) is certainly made of nature as was
Bosch's.

Milton was very particular with his description of Paradise,
since as the seat of happiness and innocence it was the scene of the
principal action of his epic. It was in a corner of the country of
Eden upon the top of a steep hill called the Mount of Paradise. The
sides of the hill were overgrown with thickets and brushes; above
these on the hillside grew the loftiest trees which, as they ascended
in ranks, "Shade above shade," formed a kind of natural theater.
Higher than the highest of these trees sprung up the "verdurous wall",20
which was not so high as to hinder Adam's prospect21 into the
neighboring country below. Within this green wall grew a circling row
of the finest fruit trees. This idea of a row of trees planted just in-
side a garden wall can be seen in the gardens at St. John's and at
Magdalene Colleges in Milton's Cambridge.22 Also within the wall
"A happy rural seat of various view" (IV, 247) displays perhaps un-
consciously Milton's feeling for symmetry, for he describes first one
side of the view and then the other. On one side were flourishing
groves of aromatics and groves of tropical fruit between which
stretched "Lawns, or level Downs" where flocks grazed peacefully.
On the other side were shady grottos and caves overgrown with vines
heavy with luscious grapes, and a placid lake reflecting the myrtles
that fringed its bank.23 Flocks grazing on lawns Milton had seen on
many English countrysides; but for the touch of symmetry in this scene (IV, 246-263), for the tropical fruit, and for the grottos and waterfall Joseph Addison's remark that "Milton would never have been able...to have laid out his Paradise, and he not seen the...gardens of Italy"\textsuperscript{24} is quite to the point. In 1656 the English traveler, John Reresby, described the Boboli gardens laid out by Tribolo in 1550 under Cosimo I for the Duke's Palace in Florence known today as Palazzo Pitti. On the left hand the garden was enclosed, containing all sorts of flowers and a grotto at each end with water springing out from several pipes at once. On the right hand there was a mount from which could be seen hills, valleys, walks, open and covered, fountains, groves, mazes, wildnesses, hedges of myrtle and cypress, lemon and orange trees, and all sorts of greens.\textsuperscript{25} Another English traveler in Florence in 1646 wrote that these gardens had the variety of a Paradise.\textsuperscript{26}

The fact that Milton puts more regularity into his design the nearer he comes to the Bower of Adam and Eve also indicates his observation of actual gardens. Indeed Satan passed some flowers planted to form borders on each bank of a stream, the handiwork of Eve, as he began his temptation of her (IX, 437-438). However the farther away and down the Mount one goes the wilder the nature becomes. Adam gives his first impression of the more orderly Paradise when God

led /him/ up

A woodie Mountain, whose high top was plaine,
A Circuit wide, enclos'd, with goodliest Trees  
Planted, with Walks, and Bowers, that what he saw  
Of Earth before scarce pleasant seemd.  

(P. L. VIII, 302-306)

Another natural scene is the shady grove in Paradise Regained where Satan served his tempting banquet:

Only in a bottom /Christ/ saw a pleasant Grove,  
With chaunt of tuneful Birds resounding loud;  
Thither he bent his way, determin'd there  
To rest at noon, and entr'd soon the shade  
High rooft and walks beneath, and alleys brown  
That open'd in the midst a woody Scene,  
Natures own work it seem'd (Nature taught Art)  
And to a Superstitious eye the haunt  
Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs. (II, 289-297)

Here again the scene is not in every way natural, for in the walks and alleys are man-made regulations.

In his early poems Milton is observant of the small English formal gardens with their medieval aspects which he saw in London (Pl. 5) and in Cambridge. 27 "Each lane, and every alley green" (Comus, 311), "the cedar'n alleys" (Comus, 990), "the smooth enameld green / Where no print of step hath been" (Arcades, 84), "Hedge-row Elms, on Hillocks green" (L'Allegro, 58), "arched walks of twilight groves" (Il Pen., 133), "the dry smooth-shaven Green" (Il Pen., 66), and "trim Gardens" (Il Pen., 50) show his alertness to the enclosed English gardens. He is acquainted with the medieval knots, for the flowers in his Paradise are not confined "in beds and curious knots" according to "nice Art," but are scattered luxuriantly "on Hill and Dale and Plaine." (IV, 241-243).
In the later poems the poet clings to medieval features of
English gardens in "Yon flourie Arbors, yonder Allies green / Our
walks at noon, with branches overgrown" (P. L. IV, 626), "the shade /
High rooft and walks beneath, and alleys brown" (P. R. II, 293), "The
Woodbine round this Arbour" (P. L. IX, 216), and "Among thick-wov'n
Arborets" (P. L. IX, 437). After the fall, Eve questions "while here
we dwell, / What can be toilsom in these pleasant Walkes?" (XI, 178).
When she hears that they must leave Paradise, she laments "Must I
thus leave... these happie Walks and Shades, / Fit haunt of Gods?"
(XI, 269-271). Milton's talk of the "studious walks and shades" (P. R.
IV, 243) concerning the academies in and near ancient Athens probably
reflects the gardens of the law schools in his London, or the college
walks at Cambridge. The Inner Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's
Inn had charming walks and shades, and the poet at one time thought
of living there:

I am thinking of migrating into some Inn of the Lawyers where
I can find a pleasant and shady walking-ground, because there
I shall have both a more convenient habitation among a number
of companions if I wish to remain at home, and more suitable
headquarters if I choose to make excursions in any direction.
(Familiar Letters, XII, 29)

Milton's knowledge of horticulture is displayed in his parable
of the gardener (Animadversions, III, 158-159) which includes

an understanding not only of the various jobs to be done in the
garden itself but also of the preliminary work in the greenhouse,
the management of seed plots, nurseries, slips, pot-herbs, and
the setting of herbs. 28

Whether he acquired this know-how from experience or from reading
herbals is impossible to say. Herbals in French, Latin, and Dutch
appeared in the sixteenth century. English ones that Milton could have known were John Gerard's *Herbal* (1597 and 1633) and John Parkinson's *Paradisi in Sole Paradisus Terrestris* (1629) with its delightful title-page of a natural Garden of Eden which may have helped Milton lay out his (Pl. 11).

Paul Hentzner recorded that "there are fifteen Colleges, within and without the City, nobly built, with beautiful gardens adjoining. Of these the three principal are—I The Temple...II Gray's Inn; and III Lincoln's Inn." The Temple Garden, three acres along the Thames and supposedly the spot where the white and red roses were chosen as the badges of two rival and royal houses, according to a 1671 engraving had a brick terrace faced with stone with a flight of steps at the north extremity. The garden was famous for its white and red roses, its cabbage, the Maiden's Blush, and lime trees delightful in the time of bloom.

Gray's Inn Walks, or Gray's Inn Gardens, had their principal entrance from Holborn by Fuller's Rents, a narrow court where "John's," one of the earliest coffee-houses, stood. Famous men who resided here were Francis Bacon, Archbishop Laud, and George Chapman; John Milton thought of doing so. Bacon's *Of Gardens* written from his "Chambers in Graie's Inn" may have been inspired by the beauty of this spot, especially the elms that lined the walks. James Howell, writing from Venice 5 June 1621 to a friend at Gray's
Inn, says:

I would I had you here with a wish, and you would not desire in haste to be at Gray's Inn; though I hold your Walks to be the pleasantest place about London, and that you have there the choicest society. 35

The fine elms of the garden at Lincoln's Inn in Holborn were well known. In the time of the old Earls of Lincoln the gardens supplied apples, nuts, and cherries as well as flowers and kitchen herbs and brought in a large annual sum to the estate. Pepys went "to Lincoln's Inn, and there walked up and down to see the new garden which they are making, and will be very pretty." 36

Other groups in London had their gardens. The College of Physicians, led by Dr. Harvey, planted a botanical garden and built an anatomical theater at the bottom of Amen Corner near St. Paul's about 1625. In 1653 when Dr. Harvey opened his museum and library here, the garden extended as far west as Old Bailey and as far south as St. Martin's Church. 37 The garden of the Grocers' Hall was a pleasant place, containing an arbor, hedge-rows, bowling alley, and an ancient tower. It was open to the citizens generally. 38 The Drapers' Hall Garden was in Throgmorton Street, a natural, profuse garden with a swan fountain and a round pool of water. 39

Many privately owned gardens lined the Strand in the first half of the seventeenth century, such as those at Arundel House and Essex House (Pl. 5). John Gerard had a famous physic garden in Holborn, near Ely Place. 40 In Hackney,
northeastern suburb of London where Milton wooed his second wife, was the attractive garden of Lady Brook. Evelyn records:

I went to Hackney, to see Lady Brook's garden, which was one of the neatest and most celebrated in England, the house well furnished, but a despicable building. Returning, visited one Mr. Tomb's garden; it has large and noble walks, some modern statues, a vineyard, planted in strawberry borders, staked at ten feet distances.  

(Diary, 8 May 1654)

Evelyn wrote Sylva, a book on gardening, and began to lay out his own garden at Sayes Court in Deptford in 1651 after the French manner—too late for Milton to have seen it. 41

Evelyn called Wilton Garden, owned by the Earl of Pembroke, "the noblest in England." 42 Isaac de Caux, who described himself as engineer, architect, and native of Dieppe, laid out this huge formal garden with elaborate waterworks, and published a series of twenty-six copper-plates to illustrate his design with the following description in Le Jardin de Wilton, 1615:

This Garden, within the enclosure of the new wall is a thousand foot long and about Foure hundred in breadth divided in its length into three long squares or parallelograms, the first of which divisions next the building, hath ffour Platts, emboyled: in the midst of which are ffour fountaynes with statues of marble in their midle, and on the sides of those Platts are the Platts of fflowers, and beyond them is the little Terrass raised for the more advantage of beholding those Platts, this for the first division. In the second are two Groves or woods all with divers walkes, and through those Groves passeth the river Nader having of breadth in this place 44 footes upon which is built the bridge of the breadth of the greate walke. In the midst of the aforesayd Groves are two great statues of white marble, of eight ffoote high, the one of Bacchus and the other Flora, and on the sides ranging with the Platts of
flowers are two covered Arbors of 300 ffoot long and diverse allies. At the beginning of thee third and last division, are on either side of the great walke, two Ponds with Fountaynes and two Columnnes in the midle, casting water all their height which causeth the moveing and turning of two crownes att the top of the same and beyond is a Com- partment of greene with diverse walkes planted with Cherrie trees and in the midle is the Great oval with the Gladiator of brass; the most famous Statue of all that antiquity hath left. On the sydes of this compartment and answering the Platts of flowers and long arbours are three arbours of either side with twining Galleryes communicating themselves one into another. At the end of the greate walke is a portico of stone citt and adorned with Pilasters and Nyches within which are four figures of white marble of five ffoote high. On either side of the sayd portico is an assent leading up to the terrasse upon the steps whereof instead of Ballasters are sea monsters casting water from one and the other from the top to the bottome, and above the sayd portico is a great reserve of water for the grotto.\textsuperscript{44}

Old Spring Garden (Pl. 7), situated at the east end of the Mall between St. James's Park and Charing Cross, was named after a natural spring which once existed on the spot. By royal patent Charles I made this garden a bowling-green in 1630, but this lasted only four years. Old Spring Garden and Mulberry Garden were rival places of amusement.\textsuperscript{45} In March 1647 Parliament decreed that Spring Garden be closed on the Lord's Day and public fast days. Evelyn recorded:

My Lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry Garden, now the only place of refreshment about the town for persons of the best quality to be exceedingly cheated at; Cromwell and his partisans having shut up and seized on Spring Garden, which till now, had been the usual rendezvous for the ladies and gallants at this season.\textsuperscript{46}

(Diary, 10 May 1654)

But five years later the author of \textit{A Character of England} speaks in the present tense of Spring Garden:

The inclosure is not disagreeable, for the solemnness of the Grove, the warbling of the Birds, and as it opens into the spacious walks at St. James's... at a certain Cabaret in the
middle of this Paradise, ... the forbidden fruities are certain trifling Tartes, Neates-tongues, Salacious meates, and bad Rhenish. 46

In 1649 Milton for a few months "lodg'd at one Thomson's next door to the Bull-head tavern at Charing-Cross, opening into Spring-Garden." 47 This was temporary, until an apartment could be made ready for the new secretary at Whitehall.

New Spring Garden across the Thames at Lambeth, first recorded in 1615, took its name and its purpose from Old Spring Garden and later became known as Vauxhall Gardens. When these grounds were first opened to the public is not known. Evelyn mentioned the place 2 July 1661 as "the New Spring-Garden, at Lambeth, a pretty contrived plantation." Pepys went by water to Fox-Hall, and there walked in Spring Gardens. A great deal of company, and the weather and garden pleasant:... cheap going thither, for a man may go to spend what he will, or nothing at all, all in one. But to hear the nightingale and other birds, and here fiddles, and there a harp, and here a Jew's trump, and here laughing, and there fine people walking, is mighty divertising.

(Diary, 28 May 1667)

Buckingham Palace now occupies the site of what in the reigns of James I, Charles I, and Charles II was known as Mulberry Garden. James I spent nine hundred pounds in 1609 for "embanking a piece of ground and for planting mulberry trees, near the palace of Westminister." Charles I by a letter dated 17 July 1629 granted to Walter, Lord Aston, on the surrender of Jasper Hallenge the custody and keeping of the Mulberry Garden near St. James's, in the county of Middlesex, and of the mulberries and silkwormes
there, and of all the houses and buildings to the same garden belonging, for his own and his son's life, or the life of the longest liver. 48

Pepys described Mulberry Garden as "a silly place, worse than Spring-garden...only a wilderness here that is somewhat pretty." 49

Royal gardens near London were those at Whitehall, at Nonesuch in Surrey, and at Hampton Court, midway between Horton and London. The Privy Garden at Whitehall covered three and a quarter acres, was situated at the rear of the Banqueting House, and was laid out into sixteen square compartments of grass, each compartment having a standing statue in the center. The garden was concealed from the street by a lofty wall, from the river by the Stone Gallery and State apartments, from the Court behind the Banqueting House by the lodgings of the chief attendants of the king, and from the bowling-green to which it led, by a row of lofty trees. It was in every respect a private garden. 50 At Nonesuch the kitchen garden and the fruit garden were separated, and the latter was surrounded by a wall fourteen feet high covered with rosemary. Hampton Court too had a garden wall covered with rosemary, 51 and in 1669 many fountains after the Italian fashion, artificial parterres of grass, and a canal were at Hampton Court. 52

In his 1626 elegy to Charles Diodati, the young Milton recounted his walks in the parks near London--most probably in St. James's--and praised the beauty of the girls he met there:
Yet I hide not always 'neath a roof or within the city, nor do the hours of spring slip by void of all profit for me. A grove, too, claims me, a grove thick grown with elms near the city, and the glorious shade of some spot not remote from the town. There o'er and o'er one may see troops of maidens pass, stars, those that breathe forth alluring fires.... (p. 563)

and again in 1628:

Sometimes I found delight in the parts of the city where our citizens promenade, sometimes in the neighbouring country-side adjoining country houses. Crowds close compacted, crowds like in faces to goddesses, moved in brilliance to and fro through the midst of the streets and the roads. (p. 576)

The three fashionable places to promenade were Covent Garden Piazza, the Mall in St. James's, and the Ring in Hyde Park.

St. James's Park was part of Henry VII's hunting ground, a large circle which ran from St. Giles-in-the-Fields up to Islington, round Highgate, Hornsey, and Hampstead Heath, and back again by Marylebone to St. Giles's and Westminster. This verdant and rural park, comprising less than ninety acres, was improved by Charles II in a French manner with avenues of trees, a canal, and a walk hung with the cages of the King's feathered pets (Pl. 7). But its rural character may be inferred by William Wycherley's comedy, Love in a Wood, Or St. James's Park (1671). The Frenchman Le Serre, in his account of a 1633 visit of the Queen-Mother, Maria de Medici, to her daughter Henrietta Maria and Charles I, mentioned St. James's Palace and Park. The Palace was surmounted with crenelles on the outside, and the apartments which he saw were hung with superb tapestry and furnished royally. Near the Palace was
a large meadow, continually green, in which the ladies walked in the summer. The gardens had many fine statues in them and were bounded by a great park with many walks, all covered by the shade of an infinite number of oaks whose antiquity was extremely agreeable. The park was filled with wild animals; but as it was the ordinary walk of the ladies of the court, the ladies' gentleness had so tamed them that the animals yielded to the force of their attractions rather than to the pursuit of the hounds. 53 Pepys noted in his Diary 11 August 1664 that a stout buck was run down in St. James's Park.

About 1536 the manor of Hyde, the property of the monks of the Abbey of Westminster until Henry VIII seized it, was made into a park by enclosing it with deer-palings. In the reigns of the Tudors and of James I it was principally a hunting ground. Under Charles I the inner circle in the center of the northern half of Hyde Park became a rendezvous of fashion and pleasure. It was known generally as the "Ring," round which it was the fashion to ride and drive. 54 The origin of this "Ring" is unknown. A Frenchman who lived in London observed:

They (the English) take their rides in a coach in an open field where there is a circle, not very large, enclosed by rails. There the coaches drive slowly round, some in one direction, others the opposite way, which, seen from a distance, produces a rather pretty effect, and proves clearly that they only come there in order to see and to be seen. Hence it follows that this promenade, even in the midst of summer, is deserted the moment night begins to fall...just at the time when there would
be some real pleasure in enjoying the fresh air. 55

During the early part of the civil wars, Hyde Park was used for exercising the trained bands, the regular forces of the City. Parliament sold the Park, containing about six hundred twenty acres, in December 1652. 56 The new owner required of every coach a fee of a shilling and of every horse, a sixpence. The entrance was guarded by porters and long staves. 57

Marylebone Park Fields, later known as Regent's Park, was stocked with deer and had much timber when James I retained it for a hunting field. Charles I made this Crown property security to certain noblemen for some of his debts. Oliver Cromwell disparked the manor and the land was leased to various noblemen.

Other parks near London were Southwark Park, Greenwich Park, and the parks at Eltham. The park adjoining Winchester House, south of the Thames, was long known as Southwark Park with its garden, fountains, and fish ponds. 58 Greenwich Park, containing nearly two hundred acres, was walled round by James I, and was improved after the French manner by Charles II. 59 The natural advantages of this park were superior to those of any other near London and the formal innovations did not do very much for it. Everywhere the scenery was different; and everywhere, beautiful. It was a favorite spot of Dr. Johnson, not equal however to Fleet Street. Two miles southeast of Greenwich were three extensive parks attached to the royal mansion Eltham and well stocked with deer. The Great Park contained five
hundred ninety-six acres; the Middle Park, three hundred thirty-three acres; and the Home Park, three hundred thirty-six acres. 60

Especially on the Mall in St. James's and the Ring in Hyde Park, Milton could have seen the latest fashions in dress. The London Dandy of 1646 (Pl. 8) shows what the fashionable young men wore. The locks of hair tied with bows of ribbon hanging from the temples are love-locks, against which William Prynne wrote "The Unloveliness of Love-locks"; 61 the stars and half moons on the young man's cheeks are ornamental patches of dark plaster; and the spurs on his boots jingled as he walked along the park just as the arrows rattled in Apollo's quiver in the first book of the Iliad. 62

The dress of James I's "Steenie," the Duke of Buckingham, was more pompous than any other noblemen's and extravagant beyond precedent:

It was common with him at any ordinary dancing to have his cloaths trimmed with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond hatbands, cockades, and earrings, to be yoked with great and manifold knots of pearl—in short, to be manacled, fettered, and imprisoned in jewels, insomuch that at his going over to Paris, in 1625, he had twenty-seven suits of cloaths made, the richest that embroidery, lace, silk, velvet, gold, and gems could contribute; one of which was a white uncut velvet, set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, valued at fourscore thousand pounds, besides a great feather stuck all over with diamond; as were also his sword, girdle, hatband, and spurs. 63

He had six horses to his coach, which made the people stare, and was the first to go about the streets carried in a sedan chair. In Spain Prince Charles had been given three sedan chairs, two of which he gave to the
Duke, his companion.

At the other extreme of fashion were the cropped hair and the puritan costume devoid of all frills and furbelows. The cousin of Abraham Ortelius, an Antwerp merchant who lived in London, noticed that "the English dress in elegant, light, and costly garments, but they are very inconstant and desirous of novelties, changing their fashions every year, both men and women." Henry Peacham was for plainness in dress:

I have much wondered why our English above other nations should so much doat upon new fashions, but more I wonder at our want of wit, that wee cannot invent them ourselves, but when one is growne stale runne presently over into France, to seeke a new making that noble and flourishing Kingdome the magazin of our fooleries: and for this purpose many of our Tailors lye leger there, and Ladies post over their gentlemens Vshers, to accountre them and themselves as you see.

Richard Brathwait, a country gentleman saturated with bourgeois ideology, advocated moderation in attire. Concerning dress, Fynes Moryson recorded that "The English...are more sumptuous then the Persians, because despising the golden meane, they affect all extreamities."

Milton's taste in clothes lay somewhere between the two extremes of fashion in his day. He preferred "garments substantial in material, perhaps even rich, but with little or no ornament, and always scrupulously neat and clean." He kept apace of some of the novelties himself for his portraits show he wore the broad, flat collar that replaced the stiff ruff in Charles I's reign, and his Dalila
wears a "silk'n veil" (Samson Agonistes, 730). Veils worn without hats became fashionable at the end of the sixteen twenties. Although stoles or tippets were originally worn by pagan priests, they were also worn in the sixteen thirties, and Milton's goddess of Melancholy has a "sable stole of Cipres Lawn" (Il Pen., 35). The poet's comment on an ancient custom of the Britons discloses his feeling on contemporary English dress:

Yet gallantrie they had, painting thir own skins with severall portratures of Beast, Bird, or Flower, a Vanitie which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many colour'd Ribands and gewgawes.

(History of Britain, X, 50)

as does his comparison of styles of writing with styles of clothing:

And from thy wardrobe bring thy chiefest treasure; Not those new fangled toys, and triming slight Which takes our late fantasticks with delight, But cull those richest Robes, and gay'st attire Which deepest Spirits, and choicest Wits desire.

(Vacation Exercise, p. 79)

The appropriate clothing disguise (much of which is conventional rather than original) is one of the symbolic themes in Milton's poetry. The poet calls clothes, "these troublesom disguises which wee wear" (P. L. IV, 740) in his defense of the unadorned nakedness, straight from the God-Head, of Adam and Eve. He deviates from the traditional in his Satan's disguises in Paradise Regained: first, as "an aged man in Rural weeds" (I, 314); second, "Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad, / As one in City, or Court, or Palace bred" (II, 299); and finally, "Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape" (IV, 449)
and "without wing/ Of Hippogrif" (IV, 541) carried Christ through the air to the pinnacle of the temple of Jerusalem.

Other symbolic clothing is the "Mantle blew" (Lycidas, 192) of the elegist; the "amice gray" (P.R. IV, 427) of the morning, a hood lined with grey fur worn by some religious orders;75 the "budge" (Comus, 707), a kind of fur on doctoral hoods used at Cambridge;76 and "Frieze" (Comus, 727), the dress of temperance according to Comus made of the plainest of coarse woolen cloth.77

Several atlases show colored pictures of the costumes of the natives of the land represented, and Milton had no further to go than to the 1612 Ortelius Atlas78 for an idea of the religious, state, and military Roman costumes back of such lines as:

Pretors...in robes of State (P.R. IV, 64),

Or Embassies from Regions far remote
In various habits on the Appian road (P.R. IV, 67),

and for Indian natives of "Dusk faces with silken Turbants wreath'd" (P.R. IV, 76).

Milton is careful with the dress of Samson. In prison he is "In slavish habit, ill-fitted weeds / O're worn and soild" (122) and "These rags" (415). As "a public servant.../ In thir state Livery clad" (1615), he makes his appearance at the festival games.

For Dalila's dramatic entrance Milton must have drawn from his remembrance of the proud warships from the Royal Yards at the "navy-building Town" of Deptford. John Payne's 1637 engraving
of the "Royal Sovereign," the first three-decker in the English Navy (PL. 19), shows that she was as rich in defense (one hundred brass cannon) and in ornament (flags, streamers, and paint) as Dalila:

But who is this, what thing of Sea or Land?
Femail of sex it seems,
That so bedeckt, ornate, and gay,
Comes this way sailing
Like a stately Ship
Of Tarsus, bound for th' Isles
Of Javan or Gadier
With all her bravery on, and tackle trim,
Sails fill'd, and streamers waving,
Courted by all the winds that hold them play,
An Amber sent of odorous perfume
Her harbinger, a damsel train behind. (710-721)

Dalila's entrance is echoed by Millamant's in The Way of the World (1700) by William Congreve, who evidently admire Milton's simile:

"Here she comes I'faith full Sail, with her Fan spread and Streamers out, and a Shoal of Fools for Tenders--Ha, no, I cry her Mercy" (Act II, Scene i).

What the poet saw in gardens, parks, and clothes around him formed a definite part in the creation of his matchless lines. This discussion has pointed out his observation of the small formal English garden containing medieval elements as well as French and Italian innovations, of the large Italian designs, and of the beauties of nature always corralled by some kind of regulation. He took more delight in a natural garden "cast into a very vvilde Regularity" than in the formal, man-made designs, small or large. The poet's taste in dress is along the same line of moderation. Obviously he knew of the extremes of
costume in his London and chose a mean, preferring substantial materials made into simple, well-fitting lines rather than gaudy, fancy disguises.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI


3 For reproductions of medieval gardens from the background of paintings and from prints in books see Frank Crisp, Medieval Gardens, ed. Catherine C Paterson (London, 1924); David Loggan, Cantabrigia Illustrata, ed. J. W. Clark (Cambridge, 1905); David Loggan, Oxonia Illustrata (Oxford, 1675). For early Stuart gardens see Plate 5; A. M Hind, Wenceslaus Hollar (London, 1922), No. 6 Plate XIV; Kip, Badeslade, Harris, and Others, English Houses & Gardens in the 17th and 18th Centuries (London, 1908); Henry Peacham, Minerva Britannia (London, 1612); Francis Quarles, Emblems (London, 1635); George Wither, A Collection of Emblemes (London, 1634-35); title-page of Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy (Oxford, 1628); Mary Symonds and Louisa Preece, Needlework Through the Ages (London, 1928), Plate LXIII. For reproductions of late Stuart gardens see John Kip, Britannia Illustrata (London, 1709). For Italian gardens see G. B. Andreini, L'Adamo Sacra Representazione (Milan, 1617); Luigi Dami, The Italian Garden, trans. L. Scopoli (New York, 1925). For French gardens see Du Cerceau, Les plus excellents Bastiments de France (1576-79); Boyceau, Traite du Jardinage (1638); and André Mollet, Le Jardin de Plaisir (1651).

4 John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830 (Baltimore, Maryland, 1954), p. 54.


6 Kip, Badeslade, Harris, and Others, English Houses & Gardens in the 17th and 18th Centuries (London, 1908), p. xii.
7 For topiary at Jesus College, Cambridge, see David Loggan, *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, ed. J. W. Clark (Cambridge, 1905), Plate XXIV.


9 Blomfield, pp. 21-22.

10 John Evelyn, *Diary*, 1 October 1661.

11 Allen, I, 124-129 and 138-139.

12 Allen, I, 143-146; Blomfield, pp. 68-70.


15 Loc. cit.


18 Charles De Tolnay, *Jérôme Bosch* (Basil, Switzerland, 1937), Plate 127.

19 Ibid., Plates 72 and 73.

20 Thomas Newton in his edition of *Paradise Lost* (London, 1770), I, 263, considered this wall a hedge, but Milton most probably meant what he wrote, a green wall—a rock wall covered with vines as many English gardens had in his day. Nonesuch Palace in Surrey had a fourteen foot garden wall covered with rosemary; Hampton Court and several other places had the like. See Blomfield, p. 29.

21 On the Englishman's love of a prospect see Allen, I, 126-129; on Milton's love of one see *P. L.* IV, 144 and 247; *P. R.* II, 285-297.
22 Loggan, *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, Plates XXVI and XXVIII.


24 Quoted by Allen, II, 116.


27 Loggan, *Cantabrigia Illustrata*, Plates VI, XXIV, XXVI, and XXIX especially.


33 Thornbury and Walford, II, 536.

34 Ibid., pp. 566 and 569.


36 Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, 27 June 1663.

37 Thornbury and Walford, I, 303.

38 Ibid., p. 432.

39 For a photograph see Thornbury and Walford, I, 517.

40 Brett-James, pp. 444-450; Blomfield, p. 51; Bliss, p. 154.
41 Thornbury and Walford, VI, 152-153.

42 Diary, 20 July 1654.


44 Quoted in Blomfield, pp. 54-56.


49 Diary, 20 May 1668.

50 Pepys, Diary, passim.

51 Blomfield, p. 29.


53 Thornbury and Walford, IV, 48-51; Travels of Cosmo the Third, pp. 168-169.

54 Thornbury and Walford, IV, 376 and 381.

55 Quoted in Thornbury and Walford, IV, 386 from Lettres sur les Anglais et les Francais (Cologne, 1727).

56 Thornbury and Walford, IV, 378 and 380.


58 Thornbury and Walford, VI, 29.

59 Evelyn, Diary, 4 March 1664; Thornbury and Walford, VI, 206-207.
60 Thornbury and Walford, VI, 239.

61 For bows worn by men in that day see Iris Brooke, English Costume of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1934), pp. 40, 42, and 54.

62 Thornbury and Walford, IV, 383.

63 Quoted in Thornbury and Walford, III, 346 from Mr. Oldy's Life of Raleigh.

64 Rye, p. 71.

65 The Truth of Our Times (London, 1638), pp. 73-74.


67 The English Gentleman and English Gentlewoman (London, 1641), pp. 181-183; 199-207; and 282. Earlier editions were English Gentleman (1630) and English Gentlewoman (1631).

68 An Itinerary (Glasgow, 1907-08), IV, 232.

69 Banks, p. 24.


71 Iris Brooke, English Costume of the Seventeenth Century (London, 1934), pp. 32 and 41.

72 Ibid., p. 36.

73 Cleeath Brooks and J. E. Hardy, Poems of Mr. John Milton (New York, 1951), 1. 258.

74 Elizabeth M. Pope, Paradise Regained (Baltimore, 1947), pp. 47-50.


76 Ibid., p. 254; see a picture of "budge" in Loggan, Cantabrigia Illustrata, Plate VII, Figure 19.

CHAPTER VII

MILTON'S CAMBRIDGE

Cambridge Town, where John Milton was admitted a Pensioner of Christ's College on 12 February 1625, was even more Gothic than London. One of the fixed ideas of the place was a sharp distinction between the "town" and the "gown." Most places in the vice-spread-ing town were off limits to the students. In 1623 the University was just short of three thousand members, and not for two hundred years was she to pass that high point.

The student's day

began at five with morning chapel, which was followed twice or thrice a week by commonplaces, ten- or fifteen-minute sermons delivered by candidates for the M.A. and B.D. degrees. At five-thirty or six came "morning bever," a breakfast of bread and beer consumed in the college buttery or in the student's chamber. The hours from breakfast to eleven o'clock dinner were devoted to lectures and study. Following dinner in hall came an hour for recreation. At one o'clock the student was supposed to retire to his study for two or three hours, unless he attended public dis-putations in the schools. At three or four he took another bite of bread and draught of beer, and then amused himself until supper at five or six o'clock. After supper came another period of relaxation, which would be spent around the hall fire in winter, or strolling in the garden or bowling on the green in summer. Students were not expected to read during the evening, in that era of crude lighting. At seven or eight o'clock the conscientious tutor assembled his pupils in his chamber for an hour's improving conversation, and packed them off to bed after leading them in evening prayer.

Sixteen colleges formed the University of Cambridge, a fed-eral Republic of Letters where no one questioned the superiority of states over the nation. Christ's College was one of the six which had
been founded since 1500. Each college consisted of one or more quadrangles. None of the Gothic buildings were over four stories high, and most only three. The older or principal quadrangle, pierced by a monumental gateway through which one entered the open court, was directly on a street. Usually on the opposite side of the court was the hall, separated from the kitchen, buttery, and pantries by a passageway into a second open court, or into the gardens. The hall was the heart and center of the college, where all the members assembled for commons, lectures, and disputations. At one end was a dais which served as a high table where the fellows dined and as a stage when plays were presented. There were no laboratories and no classrooms in Cambridge until after Milton's day. The chapel, usually on one side of the principal quadrangle, was used for lectures, disputations, and even for college plays until Archbishop Laud forbade it. Privacy there was none, except in the tiny studies. In chapel, hall, lectures, and his room, a student was constantly in the company of other students; but he was not confined to his own college for friends. Friday night, when no supper was served in hall, was the great occasion for students of different colleges to get together.

On Sundays during Term at 2:30 university assemblies consisted of sermons at Great St. Mary's, but only the clergy of the Church of England were invited to preach here. To these assemblies the University Vice-Chancellor usually came in state, preceded by the two Esquire Beadles shouldering their maces. Milton's
second elegy on the death of the Senior Beadle in 1626 (p. 564) reflects the processions he had seen at St. Mary's, as do Comus's words:

O foolishness of men! that lend their ears To those budge doctors of the Stoick Furr... Praising the lean and sallow Abstinence, (706-708)

and "You, too, Vice-Chancellor, yes, you, greater than your fostering Apollo, to whom was assigned control over the gown-clad troups,...over Pallas's flock" ("On the Death of the Vice-Chancellor, a Physician," p. 581).

If the English Reformation were not actually born in Cambridge, the Protestant Church grew up there. Near the center of town were three famous Preaching churches: St. Edward's, St. Mary's the Great, and Holy Trinity; and

During the century from 1540 to 1640 the contest between the Catholic and Protestant points of view, between Arminian and Calvinist theology, surpassed every other interest in the two universities /Oxford and Cambridge/ and no wonder, for this was no subject of abstract speculation, but a matter of immediate importance, of life and death for individuals, of glory or decay for England, of the triumph of English Protestantism or its extinction in blood, as across the Channel.

Almost all the teaching fellows in the English universities were clerics, who sought promotion and security from the Church; and a large proportion of their pupils looked forward to the same career.

During his rustication, Milton described for Charles Diodati the flat landscape at Cambridge:

I find no pleasure in fields that are naked and that refuse soft shade; how ill-adapted is such a place to the worshippers of Phoebus! (p.562)...I am resolved, also, to make my way back to the reedy marshes of the Cam, and again to face the uproar of the noisy School (p. 564).
In *Lycidas*, however, his Cambridge landscape is a conventional pastoral one:

For we werehurst upon the self-same hill,
Fed the same flock, by fountain, shade, and rill,
Together both, ere the high Lawns appear'd
Under the opening eye-lids of the morn,
We drove a field. \(23-27\)

In the University gardens there were many shades from trees planted along the walks and around the perimeters of the greens; but the hill and the high lawns are more poetic than realistic. The Fellows' Garden at Christ's was one of the most beautiful at the University; but its ancient mulberry tree, which tradition has Milton planting, was planted in 1609, \(^{13}\) the same year James I had those planted at Mulberry Garden in Westminster.

Seven years before Milton arrived in Cambridge, Simonds D'Ewes, a student at St. John's College, recorded in his diary the effect of seeing the 1618 comet:

In November this year \(1618/\), about the end of it, as I remember, having been one morning somewhat early with my tutor in his chamber at prayers, which stood eastward, we espied at the window a very coruscant and unusual star, which he, not without some presaging astonishing, presently conceived to be a comet. I believe we were the first in the University that espied it; for the same day, I meeting with one Mr. Olerenshaw, a fellow of our college, and a great mathematician, and telling him of it, he would not believe it; but told me it was Venus in the full, taking it to be a planet only, and no comet. But it soon after grew to so formidable a length, in the manner of a fox's tail, as it gave all men a sad occasion of several dismal conjectures from the view of it, for divers weeks after. \(^{14}\)

Milton was a child in London at this time; and besides the possibility of his seeing this wonder at an impressionable age, he no
doubt heard it discussed by his elders, for the comet became the subject of general interest and converted all orders of men into astronomers.

Year later Milton relied on this comet in presenting his conception of Satan, ready for action against Death at Hell's Gate:

\[
\begin{align*}
on \text{th'} \text{ other side} \\
\text{Incenc't with indignation } \text{Satan stood} \\
\text{Unterrifi'd, and like a Comet burn'd,} \\
\text{That fires the length of } \text{Ophiucus} \text{ huge} \\
\text{In th' Artick Sky, and from his horrid hair} \\
\text{Shakes Pestilence and Warr.} \ (P. L. II, 706-711)
\end{align*}
\]

Of the annual Sturbridge fair near Cambridge, which was off limits, Milton wrote as if from experience:

Re. Thus their cavills concerning Liturgy are vanish't. 
Answ. You wanted but Hey-passe to have made your transition like a mysticall man of Sturbridge. But for all your sleight of hand our just exceptions against Liturgie are not vanisht, they stare you still in the face. \textit{(Animadversion} (1641), III, 134)

Concerning Milton's "incense Clouds / Fuming from Golden Censers" which "hid the Mount" \textit{(P. L. VII, 599)} in his description of the activities in heaven on the first Sabbath, Thomas Newton noted that the idea was rooted in the smoke of incense and a golden censer in Revelations viii, 3-4 and observed:

Milton had seen too their manner of incensing in the churches abroad, and he seems to have approved something of it by transferring it to Heaven. And I have known some very good protestants wish that we had retain'd the moderate but not the superstitious, use of incense in our churches, as thinking it might contribute to the sweetness and salubrity of those places. \textit{16}

But Milton had no further to go than to Peterhouse Chapel in Cambridge to see incense used. The new chapel, Classic-Gothic hybrid in design, \textit{17} was constructed 1628-1632 in the mastership
of Matthew Wren, uncle of Sir Christopher Wren, who through catering to Archbishop Laud afterwards was, in succession, Bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely. The students of Cambridge smelt his bishopric two or three years before it fell. 13 According to the Chapel Account-Books there was some truth in William Prynne's accusation that in this chapel incense was used by Matthew Wren and by John Cosins, Wren's successor, as well as service-books in Latin. 19 Here too Milton could have seen many angels and cherubim, some probably attached to the roof. Several were made in 1631. 20

William Dowsing, whom the Earl of Manchester had appointed to execute the demolition of altars, pictures, and images in accordance with the parliamentary ordinance of 28 August 1643, kept a journal of his proceedings. 21 This journal furnishes many details of things which Milton could have seen in the chapels of the colleges and in the parish churches in the town. The iconoclastic Mr. Dowsing arrived in Cambridge Town about Christmas 1643:

We went to Peterhouse, 1643, Decemb: 21, with Officers and Souldiers and... we pulled down 2 mighty great Angells with wings, and divers other Angells, & the 4 Evangelists, & Peter, with his Keies, over the Chappell Dore--& about a hundred Chirubims and Angells, and divers superstitious Letters in gold;... & six Angells in the windowes. 22

Mr. Dowsing recorded his visit to St. Mary's the Less, the town church that had been in the old chapel for Peterhouse students:

At Little Mary's, Decemb. 29, 30, 1643. We brake downe 60 Superstitious Pictures, Some Popes & Crucifixes & God the father sitting in a chayer & holding a Glasse in his hand. 23
But the notorious Dowsing did not administer the ordinance of Parliament to the same degree in all the chapels and churches. The organs at St. John's and at Christ's were not destroyed and the beautiful storied windows at King's Chapel were left intact. This chapel, similar to a cathedral at Albi in southern France, was evidently designed for the exhibition of pictures in glass on a grand scale. There are twenty-six windows: the east window, the west window, twelve on the north side, and twelve on the south side. In an orderly sequence, the New Testament story of the life of Christ is presented, supplemented by the legendary biography of the Virgin Mary. The Crucifixion occupies the great east window. The west window was probably never filled with colored glass before 1879. The incidents pictured above the transoms in these windows (excepting the east window) are prefigurations, the Old Testament parallels which ingenious theologians found in occurrences reported in the Gospels. Concerning these windows the Dowsing journal is confusing:

King's Colledg. Decemb. 26
Steps to be taken and 1 thousand Superstitious Pictures ye layder of Christ & theves to goe upon many Crosses and Jesus write on them.

And he forbore.

At Queen's College Chapel Mr. Dowsing recorded:

We beat down a 110 superstitious pictures besides Cherubims and Ingravings, where none of the fellows would put on their Hatts in all the time they were in the Chapell, and we digged
up the Steps for three hours and brake down 10 or 12 Apostles and Saints within the hall. 29

Of Jesus College Chapel William Dowsing recorded:

Dec. 28. Mr Boleston, Fellow, being present, we digged up the Steps, and brake downe Superstitiws Saints and Angells, 120 at least. 30

On 30 December 1643 at Sidney Sussex Chapel, William Dowsing noted "We saw nothing there to be amended"; and at Emmanuel Chapel, "There is nothing to be done." 31 Sidney Sussex and Emmanuel were the newest of the colleges in Milton's day and had been founded by puritan interests. 32

Concerning Milton's college chapel the record is:

Christ's Colledg. Jan. 2, 1643
We pulld downe divers Pictures & Angells, & the Steps D. Bambridge have promised to take them down. "Orate pro animabus" on the brassen Eagle. 33

The eagle of brass that served as a lectern in Christ's Chapel was mentioned in the Account-Books from 1540 on. 34 Here too was a carved tabernacle (made from a tree forty-six feet long) for the image of Christ. 35 And the chapel had an organ. 36

During the mastership of Dr. William Beale, St. John's Chapel was beautified (1634-37) after the Laudian manner with plate, rails, candlesticks, rich coverings of velvet and cloth of silver, and a new organ. William Dowsing's visit took care of most of these, however.

There were four large figures frescoed on the walls in
Trinity College Chapel, which were perhaps "ye Figures" whitened over by Mr. Knuckle according to the 1643 Senior Bursar's account. The figures on the east wall were Christ and the Virgin Mary; on the north wall, St. James the Great; and on the south wall, St. Mary Magdalene. 38

Emmanuel College, founded by Sir Walter Mildmay (1584) as a nursery for puritan clergy, was down Preachers Street a block or so from Christ's College. John Harvard, founder of Harvard University in the New World, enrolled at Emmanuel in 1627. 39

Emmanuel's Chapel, as if in defiance of tradition and law, was oriented north and south and had never been consecrated. Many disorders in worship were proclaimed against this chapel by members of the Established Church. One especially is of interest:

All other Colleges in Cambridge do strictly observe, according to ye laws and ordinances of ye Church of England, the form of public prayer prescribed in ye Communion Booke. In Emmanuell Colledge they do followe a private course of publick prayer, after yr own fashion, both sondaies, Holy daies, and workie days. 40

Milton's Adam and Eve practiced the same unprescribed worship in Eden:

Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
Thir Orisons, each Morning duly paid
In various style, for neither various style
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
Thir Maker, in fit strains pronounc't or sung
Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
Flowd from thir lips, in Prose or numerous Verse
More tuneable then needed Lute or Harp
To add more sweetness. (P. L. V, 144-152)
The old chapel was small and wainscoted with "seats thrice round about." It had nine windows with "the Q. Armes in the greatest at the end." It was lighted by a brass chandelier of twelve branches suspended from the center of the roof, by brass branches projecting from the walls, and by candlesticks fixed to the seats. There were a pulpit and an hourglass. 41

Pembroke College Chapel 42 was the earliest English building of its kind to break entirely with Gothic conceptions. 43 Matthew Wren, while a prisoner in the Tower, had donated the money for it and had employed his nephew, Christopher Wren, as the architect. The chapel was completed in 1663--too late for Milton to have seen it.

The two major architectural accomplishments at Cambridge while Milton was there were Peterhouse Chapel (1628-32) and St. John's Library (1624-28). 44 In design both were a mixture of Gothic and Renaissance ideas, as were St. Catherine Cree Church and the Portico on Old St. Paul's in London. All of these are associated with the Laudian Revival. At Oxford too Archbishop Laud was sponsoring similar buildings. Milton perhaps associated Classic-Gothic buildings with Laud and his bishops, for architecturally Pandemonium, the glory of Hell, is such a design, as will be shown in Chapter IX.
The Hall of a college was the most important room, the center of the students' activities. In Milton's day the halls were Gothic structures with vaulted hammer-beam roofs. A dais occupied the end opposite the entrance, and a fireplace was on one side. A description of the old Hall at Trinity Hall has survived:

The whole is roofed with old Oak Beams, very black & dismal, from ye Charcoal wch is burnt in ye middle of ye Hall; & over it in ye middle of ye Roof was an old awkward kind of Cupulo to let out ye Smoak. The Fellows' Table stands on an Eminence at ye upper or S. end of ye Hall, with a Door on ye E. side to go into ye Master's Lodge. The Back of ye Table of ye Fellows had ye Arms of ye College painted pretty high against ye Wall, & below hung a large piece of Tapestry. The Scholars Tables are on both sides of ye Hall, which is paved with Stone. 45

Milton speaks of "the Gates / And Porches wide" of Pandemonium "but chief the spacious Hall" (P.L. I, 761) with "her stately hight" and her "smooth / And level pavement" (P.L. I, 723 and 725).

The old Hall at Gonville and Caius College had an open timbered, plain collar-beam roof with arched braces and pendant posts, precisely like that of the old Hall of Corpus Christi College. 46 The Hall at Jesus College was handsome and well-proportioned, having an open roof and stone corbels. 47 What the Hall of Christ's College looked like on the western exterior is shown in Pl. 48. There were an oriel and two square-headed windows, each of three lights, with a small window of two lights in the gallery. The lights are all cusped. The battlement which surmounted the walls round the
court was continued along the Hall at the same level. The oriel in the Hall at St. John's is quite similar to the oriel at Christ's, and here the Hall, Chapel, Parlor, and Kitchen were paved with stone.

Of the sixteen halls at Cambridge, Trinity College Hall (built 1604-1605) was the outstanding one, just as King's College Chapel was the outstanding chapel. The dimensions were settled by the sensible plan of examining existing halls: Hampton Court, Westminster, Guildhall, Lambeth, Lincoln's Inn, Middle Temple, and Crosby Hall. Trinity College Hall (Pl. 49) has the same dimensions as the Middle Temple Hall in London (100 feet by 40 feet and 50 feet high). The fine roofs of these two halls differ in framing and decoration (one was built in 1572 and the other in 1605), but they are both Gothic.

James I said his ideal at the University would be to pray at King's, dine at Trinity, and study and sleep at Jesus College. But at each of these places, his environment would have been Gothic in design. As yet innovations in the visual arts at Cambridge were in the form of classical decorations on gateways, fountains, and monuments, or such Classic-Gothic hybrid designs as Peterhouse Chapel and St. John's Library, the products mainly of supplies and workmen sent up from London. Truly classical structures were yet to be. The hall of any college was the center of its life, and even one built as late as 1605 was Gothic in design, based on the
civic halls in London. That the chapels were Gothic is not so aston-
ishing, since building a church was a conservative act and tradition
accepted this design. The Bible narrative was everywhere depicted
in the college chapels and in the parish churches. As the young
Milton lived and moved and had his being here for seven years, the
angels; the images of Christ; the dimly lighted chapels; the stately,
spacious halls; the medieval gardens with their walls, their sparse
planting, their walks, dials, arbors, and mounts; and many another
detail of this pictorial setting became a part of his "personal un-
conscious," as the twentieth century would put it, as well as of
his consciousness and later influenced in an undeniable but undeter-
minable way the poetry of John Milton.

Thus sang the uncouth Swain to th' Okes and rills,
While the still morn went out with Sandals gray,
He touch'd the tender stops of various Quil's,
With eager thought warbling his Dorick lay:
And now the Sun had stretch'd out all the aills,
And now was dropt into the Western bay;
At last he rose, and twitch'd his Mantle blew:
To morrow to fresh Woods, and Pastures new.
(Lycidas, 186-193)

These new pastures were probably France and Italy, to which we
now turn.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

2 Ibid., p. 91.

4 Ibid., pp. 63-64.

5 Ibid., p. 79.

6 Ibid., p. 80.

7 Ibid., p. 81.

8 Ibid., pp. 85-86.

9 B. W. Downs, Cambridge Past and Present (London, 1926), p. 43; For a picture of Gothic St. Mary's see David Loggan, Cantabrigia Illustrata (Cambridge, 1905), Plate IX; and for a picture of the Beadles with their maces, Plate VII.


12 For the truth of these lines see Loggan, Cantabrigia Illustrata, ed. J. W. Clark (Cambridge, 1905), Plate V.


15 Masson, I, 113.


17 Willis and Clark, I, 44 or Loggan, Plate XIII for an engraving of the chapel.

18 Downs, p. 113.

19 Willis and Clark, I, 46 and note 1.

20 Ibid., p. 47, note 1.
21 *Downs*, p. 114.

22 Quoted in *Willis and Clark*, I, 46.


24 *Willis and Clark*, II, 207 and 295.


26 *Willis and Clark*, I, 498 and 500.

27 *Downs*, pp. 154-155; See *Willis and Clark*, I, 501-508 for detailed listing of the subjects in each window.


29 Quoted in *Willis and Clark*, II, 39.

30 Cooper, III, 366.

31 *Loc. cit.*

32 *Downs*, pp. 239-240.

33 Cooper, III, 366.

34 *Willis and Clark*, II, 206.


39 *Steegman*, pp. 75 and 24.

40 *Willis and Clark*, II, 700.


42 For a picture of this chapel see *Willis and Clark*, I, between pages 128 and 129, or Loggan, Plate XVI.
Downs, p. 119. Mr. Downs evidently means college chapels, for Inigo Jones's design of St. Paul's Church at Covent Garden, London, broke with Gothic tradition as early as 1631.

Willis and Clark, I, 40-41; and II, 266-270

Willis and Clark, I, 233.

Ibid., pp. 196 and 263.

Willis and Clark, II, 160.

Ibid., p. 219.

Ibid., p. 241.

Ibid., p. 245.

Ibid., p. 490 and note 2.

Steegman, p. 62.
CHAPTER VIII

MILTON'S CONTINENTAL TOUR

Milton spent "a year and about three months" (Second Defense, VIII, 127) in Europe between April 1638 and July 1639. He went to see people more than things; and, however vividly remembered, his Grand Tour was only an episode in a life spent in Gothic, Protestant England. Antonio Francini of Florence wrote:

thou didst turn thy wandering feet, O Milton, away from thy native skies, in quest of Sciences and Arts. The realms of the conquering Gaul thou didst behold, and of Italy the most worthy Heroes (p. 560);

and Charles Dati, a patrician of Florence, addressed a poem to Milton, "To a man who, through his journeys to foreign lands, has viewed with care full many a place" (p. 561). On 10 September 1638, Milton wrote to Benedetto Bonmattei of Florence, "I...am so great a lover of your nation that, as I think, there is no other more so" (Familiar Letters, XII, 35). In July 1657 he wrote to Henry de de Brass:

I perceive, Sir, that you very wisely and properly follow the example of the ancient philosophers in the conduct of your travels, and aim not merely at the satisfaction of youthful curiosity, but at the acquisition of wider knowledge from every possible source. He advised in Of Education (IV, 290) that youths should "see other countries at three or four and twenty years of age, not to learn principles, but to enlarge experience and make wise observation."

Since Milton has left in the Second Defense (VIII, 121-127) a list of the main cities through which he passed on his trip, this chapter
will be a summary of a hypothetical journey through these same towns. Of necessity it will be an eclectic summary based chiefly on the objects talked about by English travel accounts of that day. Milton said he spent a few days in Paris and took ship at Nice for Genoa. From Genoa he visited Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence, where he stayed two months (August-September 1638). From Florence he traveled through Siena to Rome, where he stayed two months (October-November 1638). After a visit to Naples, where Manso showed him the sights of that city and took him to the palace of the Viceroy, he returned to Rome for another two months (January-February 1639). Then he returned to Florence for another two months (March-April 1639), and from here he made an excursion of a few days to Lucca. Crossing the Apennines he went by Bologna and Ferrara to Venice, where he spent the month of May 1639. He went through Verona and Milan, over the Pennine Alps, along Lake Leman, to Geneva, where he talked daily with John Diodati in June 1639. He returned through France to his native England.

At Paris in April 1638 Milton spent a few days. Here he could have seen the Louvre (the smaller palace of the king) after the completion of the works undertaken by Louis XIII, but before the extensive alterations and rebuilding under Louis XIV. There were several courts and galleries. In the Grand Gallery, built by Catherine de Médicis, which was to connect the Louvre with the old Palais des
Tuileries, hung the pictures of the kings, queens, and nobility of France. In the large, vaulted Salle des Antiques were the celebrated statue of Diana from the Temple at Ephesus, a statue of one of the gods of Ethiopia, a Mercury with a pipe in his mouth, a Venus with her son Cupid on a dolphin, and an Apollo lately come from combat. The Palace Royal (erected by Richelieu, 1629-34, and known as Palais Cardinal when Milton was there) had spacious gardens, and here Queen Henrietta Maria and her children had lodgings 1649-1660. The Palace of Luxemburg, built by Maria de Médicis, contained a series of paintings by Rubens on the history of the Foundress's life in the long gallery and was called by Roger Pratt the best designed villa in Paris. At the Count de Liancourt's Palace on the Seine were many Madonnas, a painting of Ceres, and a painting of a Satyr by Nicholas Poussin, which may not have been there in 1639 as Poussin was in Rome 1627-1640. Of the sixty-odd Gothic churches in Paris the principal one was Notre Dame.

The suburbs most visited by travelers were St. Denis and St. Germain. St. Denis, two miles from Paris, where some of the French kings are buried, had the richest abbey and one of the fairest churches dedicated to the tutelary saint of France. Some five miles from Paris was St. Germain, another of the kings' houses and one that reminded English travelers of Windsor. In the windows of one of the chapels were painted the fables of Ovid's Metamorphoses. Fountains and statues were
in the extensive gardens: a copy of the Cleopatra at the Belvedere, Rome, Orpheus playing on a treble viol, and a Neptune.9

Southeast of Paris was Fontainebleau, a sumptuous palace of the French kings which reminded English travelers of Hampton Court and Nonesuch. In 1595 the garden and the palace were under construction.10 This was the palace that Francis I, rival of Henry VIII, liked so much, and he invited many foreign artists to adorn the walls with frescoes.11 Here on the ceiling of the new chapel (begun 1608) were Martin Fréminet's thirty-six pictures—twenty-two representing the chief characters of the Old Testament, and fourteen, the scenes in the life of Christ.12 His "La chute des anges rebelles" on this ceiling shows the bad angels still physically beautiful (Fréminet had studied in Italy when the Michelangelo school had influence), just as Milton described his.13 The older medieval idea of representing the fallen angels as demons and monsters is shown in Dürer's Apocalypse woodcuts and in Bosch's panels at the Ducal Palace in Venice. Milton's bad angels were powerful and beautiful after the Fall like those of Fréminet. On the ceiling of the Gallery of Ulysses at Fontainebleau was "La Danse des Heures ", twelve nude females form an outer circle and three an inner circle, interspersed by three cupids with cornucopias filled with flowers,14 which recalls Milton's "Morn / Wak't by the circling Hours, with rosie hand / Unbarr'd the gates of Light" (P. L. VI, 2-4). In
other rooms were several Madonnas, a "St. Michael" by Raphael, and a white marble statue of Hercules. 15

Most travelers took ship from a southern port of France for Genoa, since the overland route was such a difficult and dangerous one. Milton sailed from Nice. "A brief description of Genoa" (Columbia Milton, XVIII, 262), attributed to Milton, points out chiefly the military location and fortification of this port when compared with such descriptions of Genoa as Evelyn's or Richard Lassels's. 16 The palaces of Genoa attracted much attention and engravings of them were published in Palazzi di Genova (1622) over the name of Rubens. This book influenced house designs in London. 17 The fronts of the palaces were adorned with all kinds of ornaments, many orders of pilasters with their architraves, friezes, and cornices—all most richly carved. The roofs were very high, contrary to the custom of the rest of Italy. The houses were painted on the outside, and the people hung their arras hangings on the outside. At the Palazzo Doria del "Principe," the ceiling fresco of the Great Hall was Perin del Vaga's "Jupiter Overthrowing the Titans," in which the giants look stunned and prone like Milton's demons, yet they retain their pleasing shape. 18 Each of the Italian towns had its Duomo, or Cathedral. The one at Genoa was called the Church of San Lorenzo. 19

From Genoa Milton went to Leghorn. The creation of this city as a refuge for the persecuted of all religions and nationalities—Prot-
estants flying from France and Spain; Roman Catholics, from England; Flemings, from Alva's atrocities in the Netherlands; persecuted Jews of all countries—was the greatest achievement of Ferdinand I (1549-1609). Grand Duke of Florence, who as Cardinal had made the sculpture collection at the Medici Villa at Rome. All travelers mention the statue in the middle of the town of Cosmo, old Duke of Florence, in marble with four life-size slaves in brass, in four several postures under the Duke. Four Turkish slaves—a father and three sons—supposedly rowed away one of the Duke's galleys some twenty miles to sea (a task which usually took a hundred men) and this statue commemorates the act. Many houses were painted à fresco on the outer walls with representations of many of the peoples' victories over the Turks.

Pisa was fifteen miles from Leghorn. Three things one could not miss seeing here were the Cathedral, the Baptistry, and the Campanile (the leaning tower). These were not far apart. The Cathedral and the Baptistry were roofed with cupolas. The pulpit in the Cathedral was the main work of Giovanni Pisano. The armed angel Michael and the pagan god Hercules are among the sculptured figures at the base of this pulpit. On the six huge doors of the Duomo, two of them iron and four brass, were carved several Bible stories. At the end of the Eastern Gallery of the Campo Santo was "The Triumph of Death." In the fresco Death is a clothed female with long flowing hair.
and bat-like wings, armed with a scythe. Another fresco was "The Last Judgment and Hell" (1350), containing many figures and narrow circles, recalling Dante's Inferno.

Some ten miles from Pisa was Lucca, an independent town of about thirty thousand people under the protection of the Duke of Florence. It made a great impression on English travelers. Founded forty years after Rome, Lucca preserved her independence until the time of Napoleon. In Epitaphium Damonis (pp. 598 and 601) Milton writes of Lucca, for Charles Diodati descended on his father's side from this city. Near the church of the Augustines were the ruins of a Temple of Saturn and the remnant of a large amphitheater. At St. Croce, a marble church without and within, was a cross valued at 15,000 pounds. The head of Christ on it was made in the time of Charlemagne by the artist Nicodemus. The tradition was that when the artist was in a perplexed state about how to form the head, and turned his back to the body of the statue, a head with the exact lineaments of Christ from heaven was clapped upon the shoulders. Lucca was some forty miles from Florence, which is in the valley of the Arno. Milton writes specifically of this territory:

Through Optic Glass the Tuscan Artist views
At Ev'ning from the top of Fesole,
Or in Valdarno (P. L. I, 288-290)

and

His Legions, Angel Forms, who lay intrans't
Thick as Autumnal Leaves that strow the Brooks
In Vallombrosa, where th' Etrurian shades
High overarch't imbower (P.L. I, 301-304).

Vallombrosa was about eighteen miles from Florence. Recollection
of Italian landscape is evident in Paradise Regained:

It was a Mountain at whose verdant feet
A spatiuus plain out strech't in circuit wide
Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flow'd,
Th' one winding, the other strait and left between
Fair Champain with less rivers interveind,
Then meeting joyn'd thir tribute to the Sea:
Fertil of corn the glebe, of oyl and wine,
With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks the hills,
(III, 253-260)

and

Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,
About the wine-press where sweet moust is powr'd,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;
Or surging waves against a solid rock,
Though all to shivers dash't, the assault renew,
Vain battry, and in froth or bubbles end;
So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
Met ever (IV, 15-22).

Ferdinand II was Duke of Florence (1620-1670) when Milton
visited there, August-September 1638 and March-April 1639. The
churches and religious houses will be described first, then the royal
palaces within the city, and finally the villas of the dukes near the city,

In the British Museum exists the Diary (Harleian MSS. No. 4049)
of Nicholas Stone, Junior, son of the Mastermason of the King under
Inigo Jones, who visited Florence and Rome at the very same time
Milton did: Florence from 28 June through September 1638 and Rome
from October 1638 to March 1639. Young Stone was studying the
visual arts. While Milton attended the literary meetings of his Florentine friends and used the Vatican Library, Stone drew statues in the Duke's Gallery at Florence and studied sculpture and architecture under Bernini in Rome. Both, however, were interested in the antiquities of Rome. What Stone saw at Rome was probably the same as what Milton saw.

The vast church of Santa Maria di fiore, with the largest double cupola in Europe, was the Cathedral of Florence. Donatello's "Singing Gallery" and Luca della Robbia's "Singing Gallery," in which angels with musical instruments of all kinds dance and sing in sort of a procession, a theme borrowed from the Psalms of David, were above the doors of the sacristies in this Cathedral. Near it is the Baptistry, for which Ghiberti did two pairs of bronze doors as an offering to God on behalf of the people of Florence for final relief in a severe city plague. He took twenty-two years on the first pair, which depict the life of Christ in twenty-eight bas-reliefs. He took twenty-eight years on the second pair, which display ten incidents in the Old Testament. This second pair Michelangelo, a hundred years later, declared "fit to be the Gates of Paradise." In pagan days this Baptistry was a round temple dedicated to Mars. Nearby is the Tower of Giotto. The bas-reliefs around the first story of the Tower present a series of stories which begin on the west side with the creation of man. Then follow the creation of woman, Eve spinning
and Adam hewing the ground into clods, 4 nomad pastoral life, 5 Jubal
with musical instruments, 6 Tubal Cain, instructor in brass and iron,
7 race of Seth, 8 Astronomy, 9 defensive architecture, the building
of a watch tower, 10 Pottery, 11 domesticating animals, 12 weaving,
13 Law from heaven, 14 Daedalus (not Icarus, but the father trying
the wings), 15 conquest of the Sea, 16 conquest of the Earth (Hercules
victor over Antaeus), 17 Agriculture, 18 Trade, 19 the sculpture
over the door of the Shepherd's Tower, 20 Geometry, 21 Sculpture,
These sculptures, many of which were done by Luca della Robbia, 31
are less the representation of a past fact than of a constant one, 32
Bas-reliefs 4-8 correspond with the posterity of Adam which Michael
showed him in Book XI. On a "spacious Plains" the descendants of
Cain practiced the nomad pastoral life: lived in "Tents of various
hue" and possessed "herds / Of Cattel grazing" (P.L. XI, 552).

Others whence the sound
Of Instruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of Harp and Organ; and who moovd
Thir stops and chords was seen: his volant touch
Instinct through all proportions low and high
Fled and pursu'd transverse the resonant fugue.
(P.L. XI, 554-559)

This tribe belonged to Cain's descendant, Jubal.

In other part stood one who at the Forge
Labouring, two massie clods of Iron and Brass
Had melted (whether found where casual fire
Had wasted woods on Mountain or in Vale,
Down to the veins of Earth, thence gliding hot
To som Caves mouth, or whether washt by stream
From underground) the liquid Ore he dreind
Into fit moulds prepar'd; from which he formd
First his own Tooles; then, what might else be wrought
Fusil or grav'n in mettle.  (P. L. XI, 560-569)

This tribe belonged to Cain's descendant, Tubal-Cain.

The descendants of Seth, who studied astronomy, were shown,
"a different sort" whose endeavor was all

bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid, nor those things last which might preserve
Freedom and Peace to men.  (P. L. XI, 573-576)

Besides the Cathedral, the four main churches were Maria Santa
Nouella, which Michelangelo called his Venus; Santa Croce, where Michel-
angelo and Galileo are buried; church of the Annunciata, in the piazza near
the south door of which stood the equestrian statue of Ferdinand I (the
statue of Robert Browning's "The Statue and the Bust"); and San Lorenzo,
whose facade was wanting but whose two Medici chapels were important:
the New Sacristy by Michelangelo (1520-24) and the chapel of the Princes,
begun by Ferdinand I in 1604.  In the Sacristy each tomb has three colossal
statues: the deceased, represented as living, and on sloping lids of the
sarcophagus two recumbent allegorical figures chosen in place of the
customary mourning virtues.  The whole conception is symbolical and its
inner meaning has had various interpretations. Nicholas Stone sketched
in this chapel of Michelangelo in San Lorenzo.

But it was the unfinished Chapel of the Princes, a Medici family
mausoleum, that most of the travelers marveled at because of its rich
inlay work of precious stones. It was begun in 1604 by Ferdinand I, who
originated the important pietra dura industry which became one of the most
prominent minor arts of Florence, now that the Florentine talent in painting and sculpture was on the wane. Ferdinand II took immense interest in this work, sending some of his pietra dura artists to the Emperor of India, who was building Taj Mahal (1630?–1648?) and other monuments at Delhi and Agra. Some of the Florentine artists stayed in India. Nicholas Stone sought permission of Ferdinand II to copy this inlay work, but he was refused. The Duke was very courteous to him, but only gave him permission to draw and study his statues and paintings. Perhaps Milton remembered the inlay work he had once seen in the Chapel of the Princes at San Lorenzo, for his images of inlay work of enamel or jewels are specific enough to show the attraction such work had for him.

Or San Michele, the church of the Trade Guilds, had statues in niches on the exterior; each was presented by one of the Arts or Guilds of Florence. The "Christ and Saint Thomas" by Verrocchio was given by the Merchant Guild. This statue is said to have the most beautiful head of Christ ever executed. At Savonarola's Monastery of San Marco was Fra Angelico's "Annunciation"; at Santa Maria del Carmine in the Brancacci Chapel was Masaccio's "Expulsion" (Pl. 38).

There were three royal palaces of the dukes within the city: Palazzo Vecchio (Old Palace) with a piazza in front and to the right the Loggia di Lanzi with many statues, the Medici Palace on Via Larga, and the Grand Ducal Palace (known today as the Pitti Palace, but the Medici did not call it that).

In the piazza of the Old Palace were the Fountain of Neptune by
Ammannati and others (1575); an equestrian statue of Cosmo I by John of Bologna; on one side of the entrance way was Michelangelo's "David" and on the other, Baccio Bandinelli's "Hercules." To the right of the piazza in the Loggia di Lanzi were a Perseus with the head of Medusa, the "Rape of the Sabines" by John of Bologna, and Donatello's group of Judith and Holofernes, regarded as symbolical of liberty and placed here as a warning to tyrants of the fate which awaits them.

The interior of the Great Hall of Old Palace had frescoes by Vasari of the Florentine wars against Siena and Pisa, which may have influenced Milton's battle scenes in heaven.

At the Medici Palace on Via Larga the family lived from the middle of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. It is now known as the Riccardi Palace, the Riccardi family having bought it in 1659. However, the State re-bought it about a hundred years later.

The Grand Ducal Palace (Pitti Palace), called by Roger Pratt the most noble palace in Florence, was at the foot of the northwestern slope of the Boboli Hill on the southern side of the Arno. The palace when Milton saw it had been lately beautified by Cosmo II (1609-1620). The façade with Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders had been extended to include thirteen windows, and two great wings (three stories high) at right angles to the back of the building were added to enclose a large central courtyard. The Boboli gardens of this palace with their variety of hills, dales, rocks, groves, aviaries, and fountains were usually compared to Paradise by travelers. The fountain of Oceanus
by John of Bologna, of Ganymede, of Venus, and of Neptune are some of those in the garden. 51 The main walk had twenty-six antique statues placed at certain distances. Other statues were "Abundance" placed at the highest point in the garden, an Adam and Eve in white marble at the end of a walk on the left side of the entrance, and a Hercules. 52

The Duke's Gallery, the Duke's repository, or the Gallery of Statues, as the travel accounts call what was to become the Uffizi Gallery, was 420 feet long and 20 broad and contained a Bacchus by Michelangelo, a Bacchus by Bandinelli, fifty-two heads, twenty-seven statues (twenty-four of which were antique), and rarities in ivory, silk, jasper, ebony, gold, and lapis lazuli. 53 To Prince Leopold, 54 most capable brother of Ferdinand II and one of Galileo's chief pupils, the world mainly owes the two great picture galleries of the Uffizi and the Pitti. 55 In Milton's time much of what is now in these galleries was in Medici private homes.

The country villas were not far from Florence. Cosmo II invited Galileo to Florence and gave him a villa at Arcetri not far from his own new villa of Poggio Imperiale. Here Galileo (1610-1633) worked out his ideas. 56 After an imprisonment, he was allowed to live at his town house, Costa San Giorgio, and later to retire to Arcetri, and probably here Milton visited him. 57 Most travelers saw Villa Poggio Imperiale, one mile out
of town. Some of the rare pictures were a copy of a Venus by Titian, a St. Jerome and an Adam and Eve both by Dürer, several Madonnas; and there were statues of the Tiber and of the Arno in marble, of Virgil, Ovid, Petrarch, Dante, and Adonis.

At the Villa Careggio, built by Cosmo the Elder two miles northwest of Florence, was the delightful fountain statue by Verrocchio of the boy with the dolphin. Now this gay statue adorns a fountain in the piazza of Palazzo Vecchio.

At Villa Castello, about two miles from the city, was a great fountain of Hercules and Antaeus designed by Niccolò Tribolo, and here may or may not have been Botticelli's "Primavera," "Pallas and Centaur," and "Birth of Venus." Since the art historians disagree about where Botticelli's paintings were and what year they were painted, the problem is beyond the province of this study. It cannot be said, however, that Milton did not see the original "Primavera" and the "Birth of Venus." They were somewhere in the Florence area in the possession of the Medici family. Milton specifically mentions the Medici as "favourers of learned men" (Familiar Letters, XII, 45). Lucretius and Poliziano with their writings provided Botticelli with the motive for a presentation of figures which is his "Primavera." The painter did not have a great literary culture, but his nature preferred to be dependent on literary authorities. The original (80 inches by 124 inches) now in the Uffizi, is a happy, harmonious picture in which the human beings are as natural
as the flowers. Venus is conceived like a Madonna; Mercury, like a St. Sebastian. The Graces represent something new in art. Their sensibility is neither Christian nor pagan. Their beauty lies in the linear rhythm of the bodies and the veils undulating continually, yet without action. It is a prodigious incarnation of the eternal ideal of the dance. Milton turned to the metaphor of music and dance when he wished to express the highest ecstasy, and in Paradise the

Universal Pan
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance
Led on th' Eternal Spring (P. L. IV, 266-268)

The Venus, the Graces, Zephyrus, and Flora of Botticelli's picture may have been in Milton's mind in the lovely, pictorial scene of Adam's awakening Eve:

he on his side
Leaning half-rais'd, with looks of cordial Love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beautie, which whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar Graces; then with voice
Milde, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. (P. L. V, 11-17)

The poet could have seen engravings of "Primavera" in London. His earlier poetry suggests the mysterious beauty of Botticelli's picture:

My mother Circe with the Sirens three,
Amid'st the flowry-kirtl'd Naiades (Comus, 253-254),

/According to Ovid the Hours resembled the Naiades in many respects/

and his entire poem, "On May morning" (p. 18):

Now the bright morning Star, Dyes harbinger,
Comes dancing from the East, and leads with her
The flowry May, who from her green lap throws
The yellow Cowslip, and the pale Primrose.
Hail bounteous May that dost inspire
Mirth and youth, and warm desire,
Woods and Groves, are of thy dressing,
Hill and Dale, doth boast thy blessing.
Thus we salute thee with our early Song,
And welcom thee, and wish thee long.

The poet could also have seen figures representing the Hours, Nymphs,
Flora, and Spring, bedecked with robes "wrought with flowers," in
masques.

In the "Birth of Venus," Botticelli's conception of Venus is not
a Greek one; it is a Renaissance Florentine one, with the shadow of
Savonarola already across it. Venus is conscious of her nakedness. 70

She is nearer Milton's Eve than are any of Titian's Venuses. Eve is
quite like Botticelli's Venus, but was addressed by Raphael in the
same manner in which the Virgin was addressed:

Shee as a vail down to the slender waste
Her una adorned golden tresses wore
Disheveled, but in wanton ringlets waw'd
As the Vine curles her tendrils, which impli'd
Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway, (IV. 304-308)

but Eve
Undeckt, save with her self more lovely fair
Then Wood-Nymph, or the fairest Goddess feign'd
Of three that in Mount Ida naked strove,
Stood to entertain her guest from Heav'n; no vaile
Shee needed, Vertue-proof, no thought infirme
Alter'd her cheek. On whom the Angel Haile
Bestow'd, the holy salutation us'd
Long after to blest Marie, second Eve. (V. 379-387)

Milton at least passed by the Pratolino Villa, 71 which was seven
miles out from Florence on the road to Bologna. The gardens in front
of this villa were the main attraction to travelers. There were many fountains, grottos, groves, and shady walks. In one grove sat a Pan "striking up a melodious tune upon his Mouth-Organ" and a Hercules with his club. Vulcan and his family were in one grotto; in another, the nine Muses played on hydraulic organs. There was a colossal statue of Jupiter. 72 Statues of Pan were in other gardens, 73 and for Milton to have a Pan dancing with the Graces and the Hours in his Garden of Eden was the taste of the day, not "out of place, like cherubs in a portrait." 74 Many seventeenth-century portraits done by the best painters had cherubs in them. 75 Seventeenth-century taste was not the same as that of the twentieth century.

Villa Poggio a Caiano, 76 some ten miles northwest of Florence, was surrounded by fine parks. 77 Villa Cafaggiolo was in the valley of the Mugello, 78 and Villa Petraia, built by Ferdinand I, had an intricate fountain designed by Tribolo and the famous ilex tree. 79 In "Manso" (p. 596) Milton wrote of Apollo's withdrawing to a pleasant grotto "under the dark ilex".

Milton went through Siena on his way to Rome. The Duomo was of black and white marble. Giovanni Pisano did many of the sculptured figures on the façade. 80 The wonderful modern mosaic pavement was "too good to be trod on." The colored marble was inlaid into pictures of Old Testament stories. 81 One of the sixteenth-century Pintoricchio frescoes in the Cathedral is the allegory of Fortune. She is a nude female
holding a sail above her head and standing with one foot on a globe and
the other on a storm-shattered bark. She has landed ten of her subjects
on a rocky island, the stony path of which leads up to a hill surmounted
by a flowery garden where Wisdom sits enthroned. Two of the men
start on the upward path to seek wisdom; others, undecided, gaze
longingly back. Fortune steps into her bark to fetch new votaries. On
the right of Wisdom, Socrates receives the palm; on her left Crates
empties a basket of jewels into the sea. 82 This fresco recalls the
Table of Cebes (Pl. 22) and the "Judgment of Hercules" as Annibale
Carracci interpreted it in the Farnese Palace in Rome. 83

In 1613-14 to see Rome Inigo Jones used Palladio's guidebooks:
L'Antichita di Roma (1554) and Le Descritione de le Chiese. 84 Henry
Peacham recommended Icones statuarum quae hodie visuntur Romae as
a guide for seeing the many statues there. 85 Nicholas Stone made a
sharp distinction between the ancient and the modern in his studying
of sculpture and architecture in Rome. 86 John Raymond in Rome in
1646 said there were many books on Rome and recommended Itinerario
d'Italia, Roma Antica, and Roma Moderna. 87 Milton may have owned
a copy of B. Marliani Urbis Romae Topographia (Venice 1588), 88 and
was detained in this city "by its antiquities and ancient renown" (Second
Defense, VIII, 123). He wrote of the hills and the river of Rome (pp.
594-595) and questioned if there was anything worth the cost of his not
being on hand when Diodati died "in the sight of buried Rome" (Damon's
Epitaph, p. 601). He recalled the topography:

Another plain, long but in brendth not wide;  
Wash'd by the Southern Sea, and on the North  
To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills  
That screen'd the fruits of the earth and seats of men  
From cold Septentrion blasts, thence in the midst  
Divided by a river, of whose banks  
On each side an Imperial City stood (P. R. IV, 27-33).

The city which he described seems to be the imperial Rome of the
first or even of a later century:

With Towers and Temples proudly elevate  
On seven small Hills, with Palaces adorn'd,  
Porches and Theatres, Baths, Aqueducts,  
Statues and Trophies, and Triumphal Arcs,  
Gardens and Groves presented to his eyes,  
Above the hight of Mountains interpos'd (P. R. IV, 34-39)

and

there the Capitol thou seest  
Above the rest lifting his stately head  
On the Tarpeian rock, her Cittadel  
Impregnable, and there Mount Palatine  
The Imperial Palace, compass huge, and high  
The Structure, skill of noblest Architects,  
With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,  
Turrets and Terrases, and glittering Spires.  
Many a fair Edifice besides, more like  
Houses of Gods (so well I have dispos'd  
My Aerie Microscope) thou may'st behold  
Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs  
Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd Artificers  
In Cedar, Marble, Ivory or Gold.  
Thence to the gates cast round thine eye (P. R. IV, 47-61).

Much of this bird's-eye view of Rome was true of the city as Milton
saw it. By mentioning "Triumphal Arcs" the poet is guilty of an anachro-
nism, for at the time of Christ the great arches of Titus, Trajan, and Constantine did not exist. The "glittering Spires" of the skyline is more descriptive of cities like London, Paris, or Venice, which had many Gothic churches, than it is of the Tiber City.

Rome was a complex walled city; this summary of what Milton may have seen there will first note the public buildings, then the churches, and finally the palaces of the popes and cardinals. Especially in the palaces was there a juxtaposition of things ancient and modern, and since Milton said he viewed the antiquities he would have seen the palaces as well as the Forum ruins, the Capitol, and the Pantheon, as the other travelers did.

The gates of Rome were many, and the seven hills were pointed out to visitors. What the Forum looked like to Milton can be seen in Claude Lorrain's 1636 painting and in a map of "The Roman Forum in 1650, by Livinus Cruyl." Several young contemporary painters were studying and working in Rome in 1638-39: Nicholas Poussin, Claude Lorrain, and Salvator Rosa. Milton would not have known many of their works, but Mario Praz has shown that Poussin and Milton were carrying out like concepts in different mediums. Poussin's work mainly influenced later poets, James Thomson for instance; but D. S. Bland asserts that Milton's poetry reflects the character of Poussin's work without a conscious reference to it. Though Milton was more interested in the antiquities of Rome than in contemporary accomplishments, it cannot be said that he did not know Poussin's work either in painting or in
prints, for the artist was in Rome and knew Cardinal Barberini.

The Capitol was built about a square court in the center of which was an equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. At the head of the stairs were statues of Castor and Pollux brought from Pompey's Theater. On the right was the courtyard of the Palace of the Conservators, where the antiquities were then kept. Here were statues of Julius Caesar, Augustus Caesar, Constantine, Urania, Plato, Socrates, the popes including Urban VIII by Bernini, Pan, Hercules in brass, a Rape of the Sabines, a Venus, Cicero, Sappho, Jupiter, Minerva, Ceres, Aeneas, and in several great balls were diverse other statues. Milton's seeing the sculptures here and elsewhere in Rome is perhaps back of his expressing the likeness of all things in efficient, matter, or form to "several statues... the same in efficient if by the same artist, in matter if of the same substance... in form if the effigy of the same man, such as Caesar or Alexander, in end if for adorning the same place" (The Art of Logic, XI, 97).

Milton could not very well have avoided seeing the great arches of Titus, Trajan, and Constantine. The ruins of Roman temples were surely antiquities. Nicholas Stone, Junior, never tired of seeing and measuring them: temples of Venus, Diana, Faunus, Hercules, Mars, Peace, Serapis, Saturn, Concord, Jupiter, Ceres, Juno, Chastity, and of Ceres and Proserpine beyond the Catacombs of Calixtus, which Francis Mortoft called "one of the rarest pieces of Antiquity in all Rome," and is now
known as the church of S. Urbano alla Caffarella. 99

The Colosseum never failed to attract visitors to Rome at this time, although the lower story was still partially buried up to the capitals of the arches. 100 The ruins of Ovid's house would have interested Milton. 101

The Pantheon, then called Santa Maria Rotonda, was the most entire antiquity of the city. It was covered with one cupola made of Corinthian brass until Urban VIII (1623-44) used the brass, together with the gilt bronze of the ceiling of the Porch, for making eighty cannon to arm the Castle of San Angelo against the Duke of Parma and for making the high altar in St. Peter's. In the rows of niches within stood the statues of pagan gods and goddesses, even though the place had been converted into a church dedicated to the Virgin. The pavement was excellent. The roof was the model for that of the Cathedral at Florence and for that of St. Peter's. 102

The Vatican was the popes' winter palace, and "is such a Sea of lodgings that 'tis said three Kings may at the same time have room enough for themselves and followers." 103 From St. Peter's one went into its Sala Regia, a great hall where the pope received Embassies of State. This hall was between the Pauline and the Sistine Chapels. What the seventeenth-century travel accounts omit about the Sistine Chapel is more thought-provoking than what they record. The sight-seers had a particular penchant for Michelangelo's "Last Judgment" on the end wall of the Chapel but took slight notice of the ceiling frescoes. Nicholas Stone
only drew the statues in Belvedere garden (perhaps Milton saw him
sketching there) and bought engravings of the "roofs in the Pope's
Chappel in the Vatticane"; 104 Francis Mortost wrote of many apart-
ments but said not a word about the chapel; 105 Richard Lassels wrote
one hundred twenty-eight words on it, spoke of the "Last Judgment," 106
but said not a word about the ceiling frescoes (Pls. 50-54). He talked
about Raphael's tapestry and about his Loggia Bible pictures however
(Pls. 29-33). 107 John Evelyn wrote two sentences about the "Last
Judgment" and observed, "The roof also is full of art work," but of
Raphael's Loggia pictures he had more to say. 108 Fynes Moryson
mentions the "Last Judgment" but not the ceiling frescoes. 109 From
what is observed in Milton's poetry (see Chapter IX), he may have
been more impressed by the "Last Judgment" also.

The travelers did not talk about Raphael's paintings in the
Stanza della Segnatura, one of the popes' official rooms. In Michel-
angelo's Sistine ceiling and in Raphael's paintings in this room Milton
could have seen an endeavor to amalgamate Platonism and Christianity
which would have been kindred to his own thinking and would not have
escaped his sensitive mind. Michelangelo introduced this idea in the
Sistine frescoes wherein he showed the human race led to Christ
through a long line of pagan Sibyls and Jewish prophets. The same
idea is elaborated in Raphael's four renowned pictures in the Stanza
della Segnatura: pictures in which the celebrated scientists, philosophers,
and poets of pre-Christian times appear together with those of the
Christian epoch, and teach the lesson that the human soul is to aspire
towards God in each of its faculties—in the exercise of reason and
scientific research ("School of Athens"), in the exercise of the
artistic and aesthetic faculty ("Mount Parnassus"), in the exercise
of the faculty of order and good government ("Secular and Ecclesiastical
Laws"), and in the exercise of the more definitely religious faculty
("Theology," the science about God). In these pictures are combined
the facts that the aspirations towards God of pre-Christian philosophers
and scientists helped to prepare the human race for Christianity and
that in man's aspiration towards God his highest intellectual faculties
are not to be excluded, but that all his faculties are to be included
and consecrated to God. 110

English travelers were charmed by Raphael's fifty-two Bible
pictures 111 in the ceiling of the arcades of one of the three open gal-
leries then at the Vatican (Pls. 29-33). Milton perhaps walked under
this gallery many times as he went to read at the Library. That he used
Raphael's idea (Pl. 30) for the creation of the animals in Paradise Lost
has been pointed out by S. T. Coleridge, but Coleridge said the idea
was from Michelangelo's Sistine frescoes: 112

The grassie Clods now Calv'd, now half appeare'd
The Tawnie Lion, pawing to get free
His hinder parts, then springs as broke from Bonds,
and Rampant shakes his Brinded main; the Ounce,
The Libbard, and the Tyger, as the Moale
Rising, the crumbl'd Earth above them threw
In Hillocks; the swift Stag from under ground
Bore up his branching head: scarce from his mould
Behemoth biggest born of Earth upheav'd
His vastness: Fleec't the Flocks and bleating rose,
As Plants (P. L. VII, 463-473).
The animals' coming up from the ground at the creation appeared in engravings in the 1568 Bishops Bible (Pl. 45) which were probably based on Raphael's picture (Pl. 30). Raphael was a great Illustrator and a great Space-Composer,113 and his painting, "The Battle of Constantine against Maxentius," on a grandiose scale in Sala di Constantino at the Vatican114 could have helped Milton lay out his battle in heaven. These paintings and those at the Ducal Palace in Venice, such as Tintoretto's "Paradise" and the many battle scenes, must have satisfied Milton and awakened in the poet as nothing else he had ever seen a longing to try in his own medium images "suggestive of vast size, limitless space, abysmal depth, and light and darkness" which show up in Paradise Lost and are appropriate "to the genius and the limitations of Milton."115

The Borgia Apartments on the first floor were already falling into disuse, for the popes preferred to live on the second floor where there was more light and air. These rooms had been left to servants, soldiers, and members of the conclave. Pintoricchio's ceiling frescoes in one of these rooms called Sala Dei Santi (Hall of Saints) glorified the heraldic ox of the Borgias by representation of the myth of Isis and Osiris in a series of episodes.116 In one panel a priest joins the hands of Isis and Osiris, forming a group almost similar to that in which painting usually represented the marriage of the Virgin. In another panel Osiris teaches the art of fructiculture to two men who set up poles to
train the vines. In two minor sectors of the ceiling space are incidents relating to Osiris, who is seated in small gilded temples with ornaments. Over one of them, a strange mingling of Scripture and mythology, stands the figure of David with his sling and under his feet the head of Goliath; over the other, the slim and willowy figure of Judith with her sword and the head of Holofernes. At the sides of the small temples of Osiris are the field industries which he taught after having assumed the government of Egypt. In another panel shines the gilded bull Apis, near a pyramid and an altar, gazing upon the tragic slaughter of Osiris, pierced through by his brother Typhon and two other warriors. Two other little temples are seen in nearby smaller sectors of the ceiling, enclosing the pyramid and the ox. The temple with the ox, on which is placed a small statue of Hercules, is transformed into a litter carried in procession by four men; this is the triumph of Osiris changed into the god Apis, representing the triumph of the emblem of the Borgias. At the side of the other temple containing the pyramid studded with precious stones and surmounted by a little figure of Neptune, Isis is seen in white drapery, finding the scattered members of her husband's body. Lifting in her hands the bloodless head, she turns away her face at the horrible sight.

M. E. Seaton has pointed out that Milton's comparison of man's attempt at finding Truth with Isis's act of gathering the parts of the body of her husband in Areopagitica (IV, 337-338) may have been influenced by the poet's seeing these frescoes in the Sala dei Santi. Areopagitica was written five years after his return from Italy, and here alone does Milton
give the symbolism of the Osiris-Isis myth a sympathetic treatment.
The whole image persuades the imagination that licensers are violating
man's deepest religious instincts by attempting to prevent authors from
seeking the torn body of their martyred saint, "Truth." The significance
is heightened by the skillful way in which the story of Typhon and Osiris
is woven into the pattern of the image, so that a reader's sympathy for
the wronged Osiris is attached to "Truth" and his dislike of the cruel
Typhon attached to the licenser. Milton mentions Isis early in his
poetry: "In quintum Novembris" (p. 585) and "De Idea Platonica quem-
admodum Aristoteles intellexit" (p. 590). In The Hymn (pp. 7-8)

In dismall dance about the furnace blue,
The brutish gods of Nile as fast,
Isis and Orus, and the Dog Anubis hast.

Nor is Osiris seen
In Memphian Grove, or Green,
Trampling the unshow'r'd Grasse with lowings loud:
Nor can he be at rest
Within his sacred chest,
Naught but profoundest Hell can be his shroud,
In vain with Timbrel'd Anthems dark
The sable-stoiled Sorcerers bear his worship Ark;

later in Paradise Lost

After these appear'd
A crew who under Names of old Renown,
Osiris, Isis, Orus and their Train
With monstrous shapes and sorceries abus'd
Fanatic Egypt and her Priests, to seek
Thir wandring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
Rather then human (I, 476-482),

and in Paradise Regained

As for those captive Tribes, themselves were they
Who wroght their own captivity, fell off
From God to worship Calves, the Deities
Of Egypt (III, 414-417)
he is harsh and unsympathetic with the legend. As said in Chapter III, Milton could have seen the Osiris-Isis legend related to the figure of Truth on the 1621 title-page of Sandys's Relation of a Journey. At the Barberini Palace he could have seen a statue of Osiris; and both at the Ghisi Palace and the Farnese Palace, a statue of Isis, knowing first hand the "brutish forms / Rather then human" of the principal deities of Egypt. Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris and mother of Orus (a sun god frequently confused with Apollo), was usually represented by the Egyptians with the disk of the sun and a cow's horns on her head (Pl. 39). Truth in the emblem books was represented holding a disk of the sun (Pls. 23 and 39).

From the huge Gallery of the Conclave at the Vatican one could enter into the Library. Milton expressly stated that he was here (Familiar Letters, XII, 39). The great hall (220 feet by 50 feet) had its walls gilded and painted with emblems, diagrams, and effigies of learned men. Angels were painted on the roof. There were statues. No books or manuscripts were visible; they were all enclosed in illuminated cupboards, so that of a library there was no appearance whatever. The whole establishment must have been a festival to the eyes. Evelyn preferred its decorations to those of the Bodleian.

Passing from the Library into the long Gallery of the Conclave, one could go into the Belvedere (Vatican gardens), where the choice statues of the world were locked up in niches and the square court was set with lemon and orange trees. The chief statues were the "Torso of
Hercules" in the middle of the Court, a Tiber on one side and a Nilus on the other, the "Laocoön," the "Apollo Belvedere," a Venus coming out of a bath, "Antinous," the favorite of Emperor Hadrian, a dying Cleopatra, and a Romulus and Remus. There were exotic trees, curious fountains, shady walks, and a variety of grottos. One fountain near the gate had water gushing out of the mouths or proboscis of bees (the arms of Urban VIII). 121

Of the seven churches most famous in Rome according to the travel accounts, the Basilica of St. Peter (Pl. 59) was both ancient and modern. The demolition of Old St. Peter's was begun by Julius II (1503-13) but the facade and the front part of the nave remained standing until Paul V (1605-21) built the new facade, which was completed in 1614. The cupola was completed in 1590 and the golden ball was placed on the lantern on 18 November 1593. The church was dedicated in 1626 by Urban VIII (1623-44). When Milton saw it the building was practically complete except for Bernini's colonnade, finished in 1667, and the Sacristy, which was erected by Pius VI in 1780. 122

Of the stupendous canopy of Corinthian brass from the Pantheon built in 1633 over the high altar which is in the center of the church under the cupola, Evelyn observed that it consists of four wreathed columns, partly channelled and encircled with vines, on which hang little putti, birds, and bees (the arms of the Barberini), sustaining a baldacchino of the same metal. The four columns weigh an hundred and ten thousand pounds, all over richly gilt; this with the pedestals, crown, and statues about it, form a thing of that art, vastness, and magnificence, as is beyond all that man's indu
try has produced of the kind; it is the work of Bernini, a Florentine sculptor, architect, painter, and poet, who a little before my coming to the city, gave a public opera (for so they call shows of that kind), wherein he painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, composed the music, writ the comedy, and built the theatre.

(Diary, 19 November 1644)

The theater referred to is perhaps the one Milton went to in the Barberini Palace, but Bernini did not write the drama which he saw there.

Rebecca Smith compares Milton's Pandemonium with St. Peter's, his hell with Rome, and his Satan with the pope, but warns against pushing this allegory too far. With a knowledge of Milton's political and religious views in mind it is tempting to think of Pandemonium as St. Peter's, and the two do have several points in common; but architecturally the two are not the same. Milton saw edifices "Built like a Temple" in many other places. The most convincing arguments Rebecca Smith makes are the general effect of the vastness and magnificence of the two, Milton's use of "conclave" and "consistory", and his bee metaphor (P. L. I, 759-776), for there were bees on the vines of the four pillars of the canopy over the high altar and bees on the fountain near the gate in the Belvedere. St. Mark's (Pl. 60) was vast and magnificent too. Evelyn, prejudiced as he was towards classical design, said of St. Mark's:

This church is also Gothic; yet for the preciousness of the materials, being of several rich marbles, abundance of porphyry, serpentine, &c., far exceeding any in Rome, St. Peter's hardly excepted. (Diary, June 1645)

Many features of Pandemonium Milton could have seen in several places: gates and porches wide, a facade with pilasters, architrave, cornice,
and frieze, a spacious great hall, a high arched roof from which hung many oil lamps, and a smooth and level pavement. Nowhere does the poet speak of a cupola, the type of roof St. Peter's has. Pandemonium is more accurately a composite of many edifices Milton had seen in London, Cambridge, and Europe: St. Peter's and many other churches, great halls, buildings on masque scenery, and pagan temples which he had seen and read about. No one source will do; but, in the main, Pandemonium is a product inspired by the visual arts.

The Basilica of St. Giovanni in Laterano, the popes' Cathedral, was on Celio Hill. Close by this church was the Baptistry of Constantine, beautified by Urban VIII with many murals relating to his battles and his conversion. The fount where he was baptized is enclosed by eight pillars of porphyry. 124

The Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore on the Esquiline Hill contained the remains of St. Matthew and had beautiful chapels. The ceiling was splendidly gilded with the first gold brought from America, presented to the pope by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. 125 Mortoef describes the incense here on St. Matthew's Day 1659:

wee saw a head exposed in a Christal Cupp, which is affirmd to be the head of St Mathew...Here was also very good Musicke by some 8 or 10 Voyces, to stirr up the people to be the more devout; and that it might smell the sweeter, the Priest came and cast the smoake of Frankincense against the outside of the cupp. In the Chappell of Paul the 5th were exposed the Heads of the 12 Apostles in silver, with some reliques of saints, as Armes, fingers, and such like things, and the Picture of the Virgin Mary, which is affirmed to be drawne by the hand of St Luke, was open, and every one might have
a sight of it, to which thousands, I thinke, this day made there prayers, and all the place was full of Candles upon silver Candle-stickes, so that the Chappell seemed like a little Paradise. 126

Milton has incense in his heaven similar to what he had seen in Catholic churches, where the excellent music must have pleased him as it did many other travelers:

/ The prayers of Adam and Eve / clad
With incense, where the Golden Altar fum'd,
By thir great Intercessor, came in sight
Before the Fathers Throne: Them the glad Son
Presenting, thus to interecede began.
   See Father, what first fruits on Earth are sprung
From thy implanted Grace in Man, these Sighs
And Prayers, which in this Golden Censer, mixt
With Incense, I thy Priest before thee bring.
   (XI, 17-25)

The Basilica of San Lorenzo, built by Constantine, had the Catacombs of Cyriaca under it, and both Mortoft and Lassels went down into them. 127 They are now inaccessible, having been destroyed by the works in the modern cemetry. 128 Milton would have been interested in the lives of the early Christians, and a visit to these catacombs or to the more extensive Catacombs of Calixtus under the Basilica of St. Sebastiano may play a part in the description of the Lazar-house (P. L. XI, 477-492), the "grim Cave" of Death "all dismal,... sad, noysom, dark."

The Basilica of St. Croce in Jerusalem on Celio Hill was built by Constantine in honor of the Holy Cross to repair the injury which the Infidels had done to the Holy Cross in Hierusalem, by placing the statue of Venus upon mount Calvary, and striving to bolt out the name of Mont Calvarie, and bring in
that of Mont Venerie. 129

The relics in the Sacristy were three pieces of the Cross, one of the nails, two thorns from Christ's crown, a part of the inscription in three languages on the Cross, and one of the thirty pieces of silver. 130 Milton's visit to this church is perhaps back of such sentences in Of Reformation as this one, "Part of the Crosse, in which he / Constantine/ thought such Vertue to reside, as would prove a kind of Palladium to save the Citie where ever it remain'd, he caus'd to be laid up in a Pillar of Porphyrie by his Statue" (III, 24).

The Basilica of St. Paul, some two miles out of the city, was founded by Constantine over the grave of St. Paul. Evelyn admired the classical design (one hundred vast Corinthian columns); Mortoft admired the gigantic mosaics over the altar of Christ and his twelve Apostles. 131

The Basilica of St. Sebastiano, some four miles out of Rome on the Appian Way, was entirely rebuilt in 1611. It was all paved with marble. 132 Underneath were the extensive Catacombs of Calixtus, which Lassels thoroughly inspected. 133

Other smaller churches were of interest because of special works of art they possessed. Over the high altar in S. Pietro in Montorio was Raphael's "Transfiguration," which has since been moved to the Vatican. 134 In the Church of the Capuchins near the Barberini Palace was Guido Reni's "Michael" (Pl. 36). 135 Michelangelo's "Moses" was in S. Pietro in vincoli on the Quirinal Hill. Just back of the Pantheon was S. Maria sopra Minerva, the only ancient Gothic church in
Rome (1280). Near the high altar was Michelangelo's "Christ with the Cross" done in 1521. The monastery adjoining was the headquarters of the Inquisition. Here in 1633 Galileo aged seventy was tried before its tribunal for heresy. 137

The palaces of the Cardinals had many antiquities in them. All travelers saw the Farnese Palace, called by Roger Pratt the best Palazzo in Rome. 138 The palace was in Campo Floro and belonged to the Duke of Parma. In the piazza in front were two noble fountains whose granite basins came from the Baths of Caracalla. 139 In the Court were the "Farnese Hercules" by Glycon, 140 brought from Athens by Caracalla to adorn his Thermae and found among the ruins in 1540. To the left was another Hercules, but not so admirable. On the right was the "Farnese Flora," also found in the Baths of Caracalla. Nicholas Stone Junior in 1638 said, "The rare statues of Hercules and the other of Flora, being so rare that they take the luster of all other thinkes away after one has sene them." 141 There were statues of gladiators, of Julius Caesar, of Fortune, and two recumbent figures of "Age" and "Youth," which could have flashed through Milton's mind, together with Paul Veronese's painting of "Old Age and Youth" in the Room of the Council of Ten at the Ducal Palace in Venice, as he wrote Michael's explanation to Adam concerning temperance in living:

So maist thou live, till like ripe Fruit thou drop
Into thy Mothers lap, or be with ease
Gathered, not harshly pluckt, for death mature:
This is old age; but then thou must outlive
Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change
To witherd weak & gray; thy Senses then
Obtuse, all taste of pleasure must forgoe,
To what thou hast, and for the Aire of youth
Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reigne
A melancholly damp of cold and dry
To waigh thy spirits down, and last consume
The Balme of Life. (P. L. XI, 532-543)

A room on the first floor was decorated with frescoes by Annibale Carracci, which are "generally considered his best performance." His brother Agostim worked here too, as did the young Guido Reni, who accompanied Annibale to Rome to help him decorate the Farnese Palace. Annibale's "Galatea and Aurora" in this room probably influenced Guido Reni's more famous "Aurora." Here was Annibale's design of the "Judgment of Hercules", in which Virtue points to the arduous ascent up a hill, which may have been in Milton's thinking as he penned

How would one look from his /Christ's/ Majestick brow
Seated as on the top of Vertues hill,
Discount'nance her /Venus/ despis'd, and put to rout
All her array. (P. R. II, 216-219)

Milton could have seen prints of the Annibale Carracci paintings as they were sold at the Stationers shops.

In another court were two statues of Abundance; a Tiber; a Nilus; a Dolphin wound about a Boy; two Venuses; the child Hercules strangling a serpent; the Egyptian Isis in hard, black ophite stone, taken out of the Pantheon and greatly celebrated by the antiquaries; a fine head of Christ; and the famous "Farnese Bull," found in the Baths of Caracalla in 1546.
Milton wrote of the Farnese family as "favourers of learned men" (Familiar Letters, XII, 45) in March 1639, and the English College where he had dinner 30 October 1638 was near the Farnese Palace. The scholars of the College used a piece of the Palatine Hill on which the Farnese gardens were situated for their vineyard and recreation ground. 145 Henry Wotton had many friends at the English College, 146 and perhaps Milton carried a letter of introduction to one of them. One of the rooms in the College had pictures of their martyrs which had been sent into England from 1581-1638. The church adjoinning the College was small; therefore music sounded admirable in it, where on Sundays and holydays it was maintained constantly. Plays were given at the College, and there was a library. 147

The Ludovisi Palace, not far from the Palazzo Barberini, dates from the seventeenth century; and its park of extraordinary extent was exceedingly beautiful. Along the garden walks were many ancient statues: several Venuses, a Cleopatra, a Hercules, a Proserpine by Bernini, four Seasons of the year by Michelangelo, the "Dying Gaul" (discussed in Chapter IV), and many Roman heads. In various rooms within were a Madonna by Raphael, "Conversion of St. Paul" by Guido Reni, a beautiful angel Lucifer (Pl. 37), and many another painting. 148

On Mons Pincius one half mile outside the city walls was the Borghese Casino. The extensive garden on the hill had three enclosures, and the third was almost natural country. 149 Milton's Paradise on a hill
had only one enclosure and then verged likewise into natural country.

So many were the statues and pictures that they were published in a
book in octavo. The outstanding statues were the new Daphne and Apollo,
Aeneas carrying Anchises, and a David—all by Bernini; the so famous
Gladiator, a copy of which was at St. James’s, London; a Diana; a
Bacchus; an Hermaphrodite; the Twelve Caesars; an Apollo; two Venuses;
a Hercules; a Saturn; and a Ceres. In the great Hall was a painting of
Eve giving the apple to Adam. In other rooms were "Hercules and
Anteus," a "Last Supper" by Titian, and another picture by Titian's
own hand that was unnamed, which may have been his "Sacred and
Profane Love" which is now in the Borghese Museum. The distinction
between sacred and profane love, the objects of both of which might be
a woman, was a widespread theme in Renaissance painting and poetry.

Raphael advises Adam

What higher in her societie thou findest
Attractive, human, rational, love still;
In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
Wherein true Love consists not; love refines
The thoughts, and heart enlarges, hath his seat
In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale
By which to heav'ly Love thou maist ascend,
Not sunk in carnal pleasure, for which cause
Among the Beasts no Mate for thee was found.

(P. L. VIII, 586-594)

The Villa Pamphili, outside the walls, was a new palace, and the
"Crucifixion of St. Peter" and the "Conversion of St. Paul" were the
outstanding paintings there.

The Barberini Palace, designed by Bernini and situated on a
hillside, had a double portico ascended by two pair of stairs. One stair
led into the great Hall, where there was a ceiling fresco done by Pietro Berretini il Cortone. Annexed to the Hall was a gallery full of statues and pictures and a library with many rare manuscripts. The outstanding statue in the gallery was "the old, old Egyptian Idol Osiris, of a black strange stone." John Raymond drew a picture of it. In the Court was a broken obelisk with hieroglyphics. The theater at the palace was built in 1633. Oratorios on religious subjects were performed here on special occasions. The Barberini theater emancipated itself from sacred subjects and gave in 1637 "Il Falcone," and in 1639 a comic opera, "Chi soffra speri," written by Cardinal Giulio Rospigliosi [later Clement IX (1667-70)], whose favorite singer was Leonora Baroni, whom Milton heard and to whom he wrote sonnets (pp. 578-579). But he did not hear Leonora sing at the Barberini theater, for women were not permitted on the stage there—indeed not even admitted as spectators. Milton had been introduced to the "Eminentissimum Cardinalem" (eldest nephew of Urban VIII, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, who was Protector of the English in Rome) through Lucas Holstenius, formerly of Oxford and London, secretary to this Cardinal, and librarian at the Vatican.

On the ceiling in the garden pavilion of the Rospigliosi Palace on the Quirinal Hill was Guido Reni's "Aurora Preceding the Chariot of Apollo," "famous over all Rome." Perhaps Milton thought of this painting of the sun's chariot, with the dawn flying before it and seven nymphs—who correspond in number with the Pleiades—trooping along—
side when he had the Pleiades dance before the sun at his creation: 160

First in his East the glorious Lamp was seen,
Regent of Day, and all th' Horizon round
Invested with bright Rayes, jocond to run
His Longitude through Heav'n's high rode; the gray
Dawn, and the Pleiades before him danc'd
Shedding sweet influence. (P. L. VII, 370-375)

These lines intimate that the creation was in the spring according to
common opinion. In the marginalia of his Euripides, Milton noted
that it is spring when the Seven Stars rise in the morning and the sun
is in Taurus (Columbia Milton, XVIII, 313). Perhaps Guido Reni's
seven nymphs represent the Pleiades more accurately than they do
the Hours and his Dawn is a spring one, or so Milton interpreted it
or the guide explained it to the sight-seers. Perhaps Milton meant the
Pleiades to have a double meaning: the jolly hours as well as the Seven
Stars. In O Nightingale! "the jolly hours lead on propitious May" (p. 28)
and in the "Gardens fair / Of Hesperus," where the Genius lived:

Along the crisped shades and bowres
Revels the spruce and jocond Spring,
The Graces, and the rosie-boosom'd Howres,
Thither all their bounties bring,
That there eternal Summer dwells. (Comus, 984-988)

The Medici Palace, on the brow of Mons Pincius, was the seat of
Ferdinand I when he was a cardinal at Rome. His collection of sculptures
was later sent to adorn the corridors of the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

A fountain of Mercury by Giovanni, Bologna was in the garden. 161 Some
of the statues were the "Apollino"; three Bacchuses; three of Hercules;
the "Two Wrestlers"; a Cupid; the "Medici Venus," found in the Villa of
Hadrian at Tivoli; the "Knife-whetter"; "Hercules and Telephus";
several more Venuses; a Niobe and her Children; and in the Long Gal-
ldery twenty-six statues of Roman gods and goddesses.

Other villas were the Palazzo di Chigi, in Trastevere, famous
for Raphael's "Amours of Cupid and Psyche" on the ceiling of the portico
towards the garden; Palace Mattei, built in 1615, with statues of a
Hercules, an Apollo, three of Ceres, "Hercules Killing the Hydra,"
and one of Augustus Caesar; Monte Cavallo on the Quirinal Hill, a
summer palace of the popes; and Castel St. Angelo, a well fortified
palace of the popes, formerly the tomb of Emperor Hadrian.

The fairest street in Rome was the Corso, where in carnival
time horses ran against horses, Jews against Jews, and masqueraders
marched and made merry. Mortoft described the Carnival he wit-
nessed there in February 1659. It was a mad revelry, and

Coaches, men, horses and Asses, of which there was the greatest
Number, marched along the streets to the gate del Popolo, and re-
turned againe to the upper end of the streete, Neere which Prince
Pamphilio, that was nephew to the last Pope Innocent, hath made
a handsome standing for the Ladyes, adjoyning to his Pallace, to
see the Races.

The races were run by Jews, Barbs, and "other unclean beasts for
six pieces of stuffes." Naked Jews were forced to run every day during
the Carnival, being first well supplied with wine. This degrading spec-
tacle was continued until 1668, when Clement IX (formerly Cardinal
Giulio Rospigliosi) put an end to it. Barbs were horses from Barbary and
Morocco who ran without riders. Pieces of wood with nails sticking out
were strapped on the horses’ backs. The pain produced and the yells of the populace sent the horses down the Corso, the first arrival gaining a prize. Milton was in Rome at carnival time (February 1639), and lines from Samson Agonistes reflect the degradation of the Jews which the poet must have seen there:

Have they not Sword-players, and ev'ry sort
Of Gymnic Artists, Wrestlers, Riders, Runners,
Juglers and Dancers, Antics, Mummers, Mimics,
But they /the Philistines/ must pick me (1323 ff),

the people on thir Holy-days
Impetuous, insolent, unquenchable (1421 ff),

The other side was op’n, where the throng
On banks and scaffolds under Skie might stand (1609 ff),

and when Samson appeared

before him Pipes
And Timbrels, on each side went armed guards,
Both horse and foot before him and behind
Archers, and Slingers, Cataphracts and Spears.
At sight of him the people with a shout
Rifted the Air clamouring thir god with praise,
Who had made thir dreadful enemy thir thrall (1616 ff).

About fifteen miles from Rome was Frascati, a summer resort, noted for three villas: Villa Torlonia of the Ludovisi family, Villa Belvedere of the Aldobrandini built in 1603, and Monte Dragone owned by the Borghese family. The prospect from the Palace of the Aldobrandini was lovely, having Rome itself in sight on one side and on the other a hillside covered with trees, six fountains, and many statues. The water-works were elaborate. Pan played two different tunes on his pipes. Apollo
sat on Parnassus Hill and below him were the nine Muses who played tunes on musical instruments driven by a wind tunnel. 170

About sixteen miles northeast of Rome was Tivoli, site of the famous Villa d’Este,171 built 1549-1569. This sixteenth-century garden’s essential feature was its harmonious connection with the landscape. Water never appeared here in its natural form but through artificial contrivances: fountains (of Leda, Tethys, Escluspius, Arethusa, Pandora, Pomona, Flora, and the like),172 cascades, and basins.173 It is not improbable that Milton’s comparing Eve in Paradise to such pagan goddesses as Pandora

\[
\text{in naked beauty more adorn’d,}
\]
\[
\text{More lovely then Pandora, whom the Gods}
\]
\[
\text{Endowed with all thir gifts} \quad (P. L. IV, 713-715)
\]

and Pomona

\[
\text{To Pales, or Pomona, thus adornd,}
\]
\[
\text{Likest she seemd, Pomona when she fled}
\]
\[
\text{Vertumnus} \quad (P. L. IX, 393-395)
\]

had a connection with sculptures he had seen in the Italian gardens. The poet wrote of the Este family as "favourers of learned men" (Familiar Letters, XII, 45), and their gardens at Tivoli were called Elysian Fields by travelers.174 The statue of Pan at Frescati and that at the Pratolino Villa near Florence may have contributed to the poet’s "Universal Pan" in the Garden of Eden. The many statues of Ceres in courts and gardens may have influenced Milton’s comparing Eve before the Fall

\[
\text{to Ceres in her Prime}
\]
\[
\text{Yet Virgin of Proserpina from Jove} \quad (P. L. IX, 395)
and the statues of Diana may have been remembered in this comparison:

from her Husbands hand her hand
Soft she Eve withdrew, and like a Wood-Nymph light
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's Traine,
Betook her to the Groves, but Delia's self
In gate surpass'd and Goddess-like deport,
Though not as shee with Bow and Quiver armd.

(P.L. IX, 385-390)

In England Ceres, Pomona, and Flora had appeared on title-pages of garden books which Milton could have known. 175

Milton spent December 1638 in Naples, one hundred twenty miles south of Rome. By an eremite friar with whom he fell in on the way he was introduced to John Baptista Manso, nearly eighty and one of the very few munificent private patrons of art and letters still alive in Italy. 176 Manso conducted the young poet "over the city and the viceregent's court and more than once" visited Milton at his own lodgings (Second Defense, VIII, 125). The Cathedral was a most magnificent pile, and except St. Peter's in Rome, Naples exceeded all cities for stately churches and monasteries. 177 The main street was Strada di Toledo, paved with freestone and flanked with noble palaces and houses. The chief palaces were the Palace of the Viceroy, of Gravina, Caraffa, Ursino, Sulmone, and Toledo. 178 John Raymond thought the Vice King's Palace the fairest in Naples. 179 It had a large and most sweet garden, and delicate walk, paved with divers coloured and engraven marbles. And in this garden are two ban-quetting houses whereof one is very stately built, and hath a sweet fountaine close to the table continually powring out water. Also there is a delicate cage of birds, wrought about with thick
wyer, and it is as big as an ordinary stil-house, delicately shadowed round about, wherein are many kinds of singing birds, as well of Italy as forraigne Countries. 180

This delicate mosaic walk at the Viceroy's Palace, together with other similar mosaics, very probably had a part in these lines:

   each beauteous flour,
   Iris all hues, Roses, and Gessamin
   Rear'd high thir flourisht heads between, and wrought Mosaic; underfoot the Violet,
   Crocus, and Hyacinth with rich inlay
   Broiderd the ground, more colour'd then with stone
   Of costliest Emblem. (P. L. IV, 697-703)

Most travelers visited Puteoli and its environs, west of Naples. 181 The mountains of this area were by the Greeks called Leucogaei and the fields Phlegraean and have been for centuries the scene of tremendous volcanic activity, resulting, because of geological peculiarities, in a series of low craters rather than in a single great volcanic mountain like Vesuvius, which is to the east of Naples. The historical association of this area with the Hellenic civilization (Cumae is slightly north of Puteoli) would have made it of special interest to a poet of Milton's epic taste. Majorie Nicolson has presented a convincing argument of Milton's turning back to his experience of viewing the Phlegraean Fields, in addition to literary sources, when he penned his description of hell in Book I of Paradise Lost. 182 Here Hercules vanquished the Giants, assisted by lightning. Here dwelled the "sunless Cimmerians" near Lake Avernus, whose great crater was the entrance to the infernal regions through which Aeneas descended to the Underworld. Here was the Court of Vulcan and nearby the ruins of a
stately theater (177 feet by 80 feet) consecrated to Vulcan, which may have suggested the idea of a huge building on the plains of hell to Milton. Legend had it that after the 1538 volcanic activity a Monte Nuovo raised itself a mile high in one night from the ashes which came out of Solfatara. Miss Nicolson surmises that this New Mountain or Vesuvius may correspond to Milton's "Hill not far" (P. L. I, 670).

Besides the legends associated with this area, Virgil and Cicero had villas here, and St. Paul spent seven days at Puteoli on his way to Rome. Most travelers visited Virgil's tomb, Cicero's tomb and Baths, the Solfatara where the very highway under their horses' feet in several places smoked with heat like a furnace, Grotto del Cave (Charon's Cave), Lake Avernus, Grotto of the Sibyl at Cumae, the Elysian Fields, and the many ruins of Roman temples—temples of Apollo, Pluto, Neptune, Hercules, Diana, and Venus. Here the travelers found ores and minerals, but instead of "ribs of Gold," Sandys and Evelyn found a great deal of sulphur, alum, salt, and flowers of brass.

John Raymond, Evelyn, and Lassels climbed to the top of Vesuvius, an eight mile walk from Naples involving trouble and fatigue. In 1630 the mountain had erupted, burying some nearby towns and scattering ashes more than a hundred miles. Raymond wrote of his view of the stupendous pit at the top in 1646:

the Vorago is so terrifying a spectacle, that if I would paint Hell, this would be the best Patterne; It is a hole about three mile in
compasse, and about half as much in depth, in the midst is a new hill that still vomits thick smoke, which the fire within hath rais'd within few yeares, it daily increaseth, and when tis grown to a fuller Bulke caveat Neapolis. 188

Milton had his hell look like a crater of a volcano (Mt. Aetna) after an eruption:

\[
\text{till on dry Land} \\
\text{He \_Satan\_/ lights, if it were Land that ever burn'd} \\
\text{With solid, as the Lake with liquid fire;} \\
\text{And such appear'd in hue, as when the force} \\
\text{Of subterranean wind transports a Hill} \\
\text{Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side} \\
\text{Of thundring Aetna, whose combustible} \\
\text{And fewel'd entrails thence conceiving Fire,} \\
\text{Sublim'd with Mineral fury, aid the Winds,} \\
\text{And leave a singed bottom all involv'd} \\
\text{With stench and smoak: Such resting found the sole} \\
\text{Of unblest feet.} \\
\]  

(P.L. I, 227-238)

Milton returned to Rome January-February 1639, and revisited Florence in March and April of that year. Then crossing the Apennines, he went through Bologna and Ferrara to Venice.

Bologna was situated at the foot of the Apennines; and Lassels compared the arches of the buildings to those at Covent Garden, London. 189 Travelers compared the sky line of the city to a ship, since it was long and low with the high Torre d'Asinelli (447 feet) in the middle which represented the mainmast. 190 Perhaps this view of the city played some part in Milton's metaphor concerning the size of Satan's spear:

\[
\text{to equal which the tallest Pine} \\
\text{Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the Mast} \\
\text{Of some great Ammiral, were but a wand.} \\
\]  

(P.L. I, 292-294)

In the midst of the town stood the Palace of the Legate, and the piazza
before it was the most stately in Italy, St. Mark's at Venice only excepted. In the center of it was John of Bologna's Fountain of Neptune (1566) with its superb bronze statue of the naked mythological god displaying his muscles. Below at each corner of a high pedestal were four joyous children seizing leaping dolphins. At the base four sirens displayed their magnificent nudity and clasped closely their swollen breasts to force out the jutting water. On the main portal of the Church of San Petronio were marble reliefs by Jacopo della Quercia (1425-28) representing the creation of Adam, creation of Eve, the Temptation, and the Expulsion. These grand figures with vigorous nude bodies, pagan in action and in shape, have been pointed out as sources of Michelangelo's figures on the Sistine ceiling.

Some thirty miles from Bologna was Ferrara, formerly the home of the Este family and the birthplace of Savonarola. The inn where Evelyn lodged had "an Angel for its sign." The church of St. Benedict, where Ariosto lies buried, was the chief place of interest.

Doge Erizzo (1631-1646) was the ruler of Venice while Milton was there in May 1639. Most travelers wrote of seeing the Arsenal, the Ducal Palace, and St. Mark's piazza and church. Lassels described two arsenals: the little one just off the Senate Rooms in the Doge's Palace where arms for a thousand men were kept in case of treason against the state, and the public arsenal environed by the sea and a wall about three miles in compass with twelve towers for the watch.
Here were made and stored armor, saddles, oars and masts, galleys and ships, and ordnance of many kinds, especially cannon. So many men worked here that a cannon weighing 16,573 pounds was cast and put into a galley built, rigged, and fitted for launching while Henry III of France dined in the arsenal. 197 Perhaps Milton's visit to this huge arsenal contributed to

the sword
Of Michael from the Armorie of God
(P. L. VI, 320-321)

and to the invention of cannon over-night in heaven:

These /ores/ in thir dark Nativitie the Deep
Shall yeild us, pregnant with infernal flame,
Which into hallow Engins long and round
Thick-rammed, at th' other bore with touch of fire
Dilated and infuriate shall send forth
From far with thundring noise among our foes
Such implements of mischief as shall dash
To pieces, and orewhelm whatever stands
Adverse (P. L. VI, 482-490),

as well as to

Chariots wing'd,
From the Armoury of God, where stand of old
Myriads between two brazen Mountains lodg'd
Against a solemn day, harness at hand,
Celestial Equipage. (P. L. VII, 199-203)

The Doge's Palace near St. Mark's contained the Senate House and the Courts of Justice as well as many paintings and statues. John Ruskin observed, "The multitude of works by various masters which cover the walls of this palace is so great that the traveller is in general merely wearied and confused by them," and suggested a list of fourteen paintings that were worthy his attention: nine by Tintoretto,
three by Paul Veronese, one by Titian, and one by an unknown
artist. Milton perhaps saw the paintings here, but to what ex-
tent he studied them, as Ruskin suggested, cannot be ascertained.
He admired the government of the Venetian Republic and most
probably visited its state chambers.

Andrea Rizzo's marble statues of Adam and Eve were in
niches on either side of Arco Foscari by the Giants' Staircase. Erwin Panofsky thinks these statues influenced Dürer's 1507 paint-
ing of Adam and Eve, a copy of which Milton may have seen at
Poggio Imperiale near Florence. Adam is young, has heavy
hair but no beard, and his mouth is opened with a yearning sigh.
Perhaps Milton thought of this statue in describing Adam's expres-
sion on learning of Eve's "fatal Trespass":

/Adam/ amazed
Astonied stood and Blank, while horror chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joynets relax'd;...
Speechless he stood and pale. (P. L. IX, 889-894)

The Eve statue is young, her hair twisted in two parts hangs down
the sides of her head and she holds the apple in her right hand.

Nicholas Stone Junior recorded of these that they were "/e/nowned
statues by some thaire but by me not so well approued of." At
the foot of the Giants' Stair were two great statues of Neptune and
Mars.

Statues of Atlantis and Hercules flanked the doorway to the
golden staircase from which there was access to the Criminal Quar-
antia, the Hall of Four Doors, the Anti-College, the College Hall,
the Senate Rooms, the chapel, the small room with Bosch's panels, the Room of the Council of Ten, the Great Council Hall, and the Voting Hall. 203

The Hall of Four Doors, a reception room of the Senate, was one of Andrea Palladio's most charming achievements; the ceiling frescoes, symbolic figures of Venice and of cities and provinces subjected to the Republic, were painted by Tintoretto. 204 The interior of the Anti-College was gilt with much gold. 205 In the College Hall, where the Doge attended by his counsellors and the Council of Ten gave audience to the Ambassadors, Paul Veronese painted the medallions on the ceiling (figures of Fortune, Faith, Mildness, Justice, Plenty, Watchfulness, Industry, Moderation, etc.,) and the picture over the Ducal throne of Christ in Glory surrounded by angels. 206 The walls were painted by Tintoretto.

In the Senate Rooms the richly carved and gilded wooden ceiling had many allegorical paintings, "Truth" by Tintoretto being one. 207

Across the corridor from the Hall of Four Doors was a small room on the walls of which hung eleven canvases, including four panels of Hieronymus Bosch: the "Ascension of Souls to Heaven"; the "Earthly Paradise"; the "Fall of the Rebel Angels"; and "Hell." 208 Since Milton could have known the Protestant Bosch's painting, "Hell," at Whitehall, he may have paid special attention to these panels. His possible indebtedness to Bosch for the idea of a solid outside to the
Universe, taken from the first panel, "Ascension of Souls to Heaven," is shown in Chapter IX.

The Council of Ten was elected by the Great Council; its members were noblemen of different families. Their duties were punishing plots against the State, noblemen's crimes, and all people convicted of felony. They had jurisdiction over monasteries and brotherhoods. The ceiling of their assembly room was full of allegories, chiefly of gods and goddesses and of Venice done by Giambattista Ponchino and Paul Veronese. Here is "Old Age and Youth" by Veronese.209

Across the corridor is the Great Council Hall (150 feet by 73 feet).210 The decoration here was done after the great fire of 1577. Not only the meetings of the Great Council, but many festivals and banquets, took place in this hall. The compartments of the ceiling were decorated by various painters. The wall canvases (except the one above the throne) illustrated pompous episodes in military triumphs of Venice, such as the Fourth Crusade and conquests of Zara and Constantinople.211 Milton would have known this history, and these large frescoes of battles (which are not exact chronologically as sixteenth-century buildings and costumes express twelfth-century happenings in some of them), together with those in the Sala di Constantino in the Vatican and those in the Great Hall of Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, may have influenced his idea of battle scenes in heaven:
And now thir mightiest quelld, the battel swerv"d,
With many an inrode gor"d; deformed rout
Enter"d, and foule disorder; all the ground
With shiverd armour strow"n, and on a heap
Chariot and Charioter lay overturnd
And fierie foaming Steeds; what stood, recoyld
Orewearied. (P.L. VI, 386-392)

and

Arms on Armour clashing bray"d
Horrible discord, and the madding Wheeles
Of brazen Chariots rag"d; dire was the noise
Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss
Of fiery Darts in flaming volies flew,
And flying vaulted either Host with fire.
(P.L. VI, 209-214)

The canvas over the throne was Jacopo Tintoretto’s "Paradise," begun in 1587. There are five hundred or more figures arranged in ellipses according to the order of the Litany, Angels, Saints, and Blessed in increasingly larger circles around the Virgin who is praying before Christ as the center. The figures are freely hovering and revolving celestial bodies, who perform motions, radiant from an inner light, each one animated and driven by his own spiritual power. Perhaps Milton was impressed by Tintoretto’s interpretation of the heavenly regions, for he wrote of the mystical dance of countless angels about the sacred Hill:

That day, as other solemn days, they spent
In song and dance about the sacred Hill,
Mystical dance, which yonder starrie sphære
Of Planets and of fift in all her Wheeles
Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
Eccentric, intervolv’d, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem:
And in thir motions harmonie Divine
So smooths her charming tones, that Gods own ear
Listens delighted. (P.L. V, 618-627)
Tintoretto conceived of his Paradise as existing now, not in the future.

Raphael is there and under him are the four Evangelists. Beneath them on the left is Noah; on the right Adam and Eve, both floating unsupported by cloud or angel. People know Michelangelo's "Last Judgment" and not Tintoretto's "Paradise" for the same reason that they read Dante's "Inferno" and not his "Paradise."²¹⁴

The piazza at St. Mark's Church commonly passed as the best in Europe. The buildings were mostly Gothic. Marble columns, gold mosaics, and gilded cupolas formed a delightful silhouette against a blue Italian sky (Pl. 60). Inside St. Mark's travelers tread on nothing, but what was precious. The floor is all laid with agates, lazulis, chalcedons, jaspers, porphyries and other rich marbles, admirable also for the work; the walls sumptuously in-crusted, and presenting to the imagination the shapes of men, birds, houses, flowers, and a thousand varieties. The roof is of most excellent mosaic.²¹⁵

The mosaics in the central cupola of the roof depict the Ascension; those in the second cupola, the story of Abraham; those in the fourth, the history of Joseph.²¹⁶ The mosaics in the first cupola of the atrium are of most interest to the present problem. They represent the history of the Creation and the Fall:

In the compositions, which were suggested by a fifth century Greek Bible in the Cottonian collection of the British Museum, Our Savior is represented throughout as "the Lord" of the Old Testament, distinguished by the triple-rayed nimbus or glory. There is no likeness of God the Father in any of the mosaics. The Byzantine workers did not dare attempt to make a figure of Him who is invisible: "whom no man hath seen or can see," but always in His stead put Jesus Christ, "He whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." And Christ is so brought before us in various aspects: as "the visible image of the invisible God," as he through whom God manifests
Himself and works, every act of creation being here represented as wrought by Christ, "by Him all things were made"; as He through whom every communication between God and man took place; and as the great Archetype of man, wearing, before time began, that image after the pattern of which man was made. 217

Throughout Paradise Lost, God the Father is the passive, contemplative aspect of Deity and Christ is the active aspect, creating the Universe, expelling the rebel angels, and judging Adam and Eve. It is not improbable that these mosaics contributed to the poet's thoughts.

The space in the pendentives below this cupola is filled by four large seraphs represented merely as heads with six wings. This emblem of the celestial hierarchy--intended to represent a pure spirit glowing with love and intelligence, in which all that is bodily is put away and only the head, the seat of the soul, and wings, the attribute of spirit and swiftness, retained--is of Greek origin.

Evelyn thought St. Mark's "too dark and dismal," and Coryate spoke of the many "Candlestickes, hanged vp with chains," and of its five cupolas, "These fiue roofes are fairely leaded in the outside, and doe make very goodly faire globes as it were, seene a pretie way off, which yeeld a great grace to the church." 218

John Ruskin was reading Milton's poetry at Venice at the time he was writing volume two of The Stones of Venice, and in a letter of 10 January 1852 wrote:

I must quote his /Milton's/ description of the temple in my chapter on St. Mark's:

And higher yet the glorious Temple reared
Her pile, far off appearing, like a mount
Of alabaster, topt with golden spires.
Exactly what St. Mark's is. It was all gilded at top—in old time.  

In Deucalion (I ch. vii, "The Iris of the Earth") Ruskin says of St. Mark's that it was once "a sea-borne vase of alabaster full of incense of prayers; and a purple manuscript, --floor, walls, and roofs, blazoned with the scrolls of the gospel."  

In Paradise Lost, when Satan has his first view of the World, and Milton compares his sight to that of a scout who has had a rough journey all night, but

at last by break of cheerful dawne
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing Hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of som forein land
First-seen, or some renowned Metropolis
With glistening Spires and Pinnacles adornd,
Which now the Rising Sun gilds with his beams

(P. L. III, 545-551),

the prospect is similar to that described by Lassels from the top of the steeple or belfry, as the travel accounts called the campanile about fifty paces from St. Mark's in the piazza:

Its built forty foot square on all sides, and two hundred and thirty six high. The top of it is covered with gilt tiles, which in a Sun-shine day, appear gloriously afar off....From the top of this Campanile we had a perfect view of Venice under us, and of all its neighboring Islands, Forts, Seas, and Towns about it; as also of the outside of S. Marks church, its Frontispiece, its Cupolas, and the four horses of brass gilt which stand over the Frontispiece.  

Nicholas Stone, Evelyn, Lassels, and Fynes Moryson climbed to the top of this campanile. Moryson further described the pinnacle:

It is built foure square, each square containing forty foot, and it is three hundred thirty three foot high, of which feet the pinnacle contains ninety sixe, and the wooden Image of an Angell above the pinnacle covered with brasse and gilded, and turning with the wind
contains sixteene feete. 222

This may have been the pinnacle on which Satan challenged Christ to stand:

The holy City lifted high her Towers,
And higher yet the glorious Temple rear'd
Her pile, far off appearing like a Mount
Of Alabaster, top't with golden Spires:
There on the highest Pinacle he set
The Son of God. (P.R. IV, 545-550)

Just above the first floor pillar on the outside corner of the Ducal Palace opposite the column with the winged lion on it were two interesting statue groups: Adam, Eve, and a fig tree, and Noah, his sons, and a grape vine. These carvings are a part of the older Gothic part of the palace, not the Renaissance part of it. Ruskin took a special interest in these and interpreted the Adam and Eve as Presumptuous Sin—disobedience against known command and therefore against Faith and Love; the Noah group as Erring Sin—sins of ignorance or weakness, but not against Faith or against Love. Above Presumptuous Sin is carved a Michael with a lifted sword; above Erring Sin, Raphael leading Tobias, and his dog. 223 Perhaps it is to contrast Adam's sin with Noah's sin that Milton has Michael take so many careful lines to tell Adam of the flood (P.L. XI, 708-897). D. C. Allen thinks Milton's treatment of Noah out of proportion to his treatment of Abraham (thirty-five lines), of Moses (less than a hundred), and of David (about thirty), and that there should be a reason for this difference. 224 Perhaps the symbolism in the story appealed to Milton artistically: the ark and its contents, the "triple-
colour'd Bow, " the waters, and the dove with "an Olive leaf. " The
Noah story was usually represented in Bible paintings and bas-reliefs,
but was not over-emphasized.

In the piazza at the sea-brink stood two pillars of granite,
brought from Greece. On one was the winged lion of St. Mark; on the
other, a statue representing St. Theodore. These two saints were the
patrons of this city. Between these two columns malefactors were
executed to show that they deserved not the protection of these two
patrons. Evelyn was an eye witness to a beheading here in June 1645.225
These pillars may possibly play a part in the setting of Samson's
murder of the Philistines--and himself, between two columns.

West of Venice about twenty-five miles was Padua. Although
Milton does not list it on his journey, he no doubt passed through it
and through Vicenza, eighteen miles from Padua, on his way to Verona.
Padua was a University town. The most remarkable place was Palazzo
della Ragione, the Hall of Justice (256 feet by 86 feet). This would be
greater than Westminster Hall in London (239 feet by 68 feet). The
ceiling was painted with astronomical figures. The Cathedral, at one
corner of which was Donatello's equestrian statue of Gattamelata;226
the church of St. Anthony paved with polished marbles; and St. Justina,
designed by Palladio with a stately cupola, were the main churches.
At the garden of Mantua was a colossal statue of Hercules, and not far
away were the ruins of an ancient amphitheater. 227

Most of the architecture at Vicenza was done by Andrea
Palladio, whose birthplace it was. Evelyn commented, "this sweet town has more well-built palaces than any of its dimensions in all Italy." The most conspicuous building was Palazzo della Ragione (Hall of Justice) built in imitation of that at Padua but a more modern design with Doric pillars (Pandemonium had Doric columns). The piazza was large enough for tournaments and had two pillars in imitation of those at St. Mark's—one bearing a winged lion, the other a statue of St. John the Baptist. Here were the ruins of a Roman amphitheater and a new Palladian theater with Corinthian columns. Half a mile down the river was the Rotunda, belonging to Count Martio Capra and so called because Palladio copied its cupola from the Pantheon. This was Palladio's masterpiece, for it was so contrived that it contained geometrically a circle, a cross, and a square.

The most entire of ancient remains then extant was L'Arena at Verona, an amphitheater over 1400 years old, with Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite pillars. At the Senate House were statues of Vitruvius and Julius Caesar Scaliger, who were born here.

At Milan the things to see were the Cathedral, the Hospital, St. Ambrose's Church, the Ambrosian Library, and the Monastery of S. Maria delle Grazie. In the center of the city was the Cathedral in the midst of a fair piazza. The outside of the lacy, Gothic church was full of sculpture. The magnificent Hospital, a quadrangular cloister of a vast compass, caused travelers to "wish to be a little sick here." The high altar of the Church of St. Ambrose was "wonderfully rich,"
supported by four porphyry columns. In the Ambrosian Library were so many rare paintings that it was a fit school to make the ablest artists. Among the treasures was the "Four Elements" by Hans Breugel. On the end wall of the Refectory in the Monastery of S. Maria delle Grazie was Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper" (1495-98), but "this incomparable piece is now (in 1646) exceedingly impaired." 233

Milton was in Geneva by 10 June 1639; 234 therefore he must have crossed the Alps either late in May or early in June. If the destination were Geneva, travelers usually crossed by way of Mount Simplon or by Mount Gothard. Lassels, Raymond, and Evelyn went by Mount Simplon and along Lake Leman. 235 September, October, or November was the best time to cross; the trails were impassable in December, January, or February. Milton recorded nothing of the grandeur of the Alps, nor of their danger; but he recalled the keen purity of Alpine air thirty years later when he described Samson's thoughts which

Exasperate, exulcerate, and raise
Dire inflammation which no cooling herb
Or medicinal liquor can assuage,
Nor breath of Vernal Air from snowy Alp.

(Samson Agonistes, 625-628)

Lake Geneva was eight miles broad and about fifty miles long. Many natives of Lucca lived in Geneva. 236 The spacious Gothic St. Peter's, formerly the Cathedral, had pictures of the twelve Prophets engraved in wood on one side of the Quire and of the twelve Apostles on the other. 237 The painted windows, full of pictures of saints, and the
stalls, carved with the history of Christ, were not at all defaced. 238

At Geneva Milton "had daily intercourse with John Deodati, the very learned professor of divinity" (Second Defense, VIII, 127), as Evelyn did in September 1646. From here Milton returned through France to London. He was now ready to embark on the consummation of his great literary plans; but the pamphleteering of 1641-42 and after prevented him from doing so. All his training, instincts, desires, and circumstances point to what should have been the beginning of his supreme literary activity at about this time. 239

In conclusion, Milton took the usual route and most probably saw the same things in France and Italy as other English travelers of his day. Many of the principal objects in the cities he could not have avoided seeing. With his extensive reading, his mind must have been more sensitive to the close association of the visual arts with literature in subject matter than the minds of most other travelers who recorded mostly what they were told and admired what they were told to admire. Then the average stay in Rome was three months. 240

Milton spent four months there viewing the antiquities and four months in Florence. In that time he could have revisited many sites several times (as Stone, Evelyn, and Lassels did), for a more appreciative observation of the outstanding treasures. Sight-seeing on a trip is not the same kind of experience as living a lifetime among those surroundings. That Milton saw the best in painting, sculpture, and architecture in Italy there can be little doubt; that he made it his careful study, as
Nicholas Stone did, not only for months but for several years is of course not true. The general effect of vast compositions on large wall spaces; colossal, ideal figures in sculpture; classical designs of innumerable buildings; and axial garden layouts show up in the organization of Milton's epics more consistently than do particular references to individual works of art which he had seen and remembered vividly over a long period of time. Specific references, however, do show up in his poetry, as this chapter has indicated. It is not altogether improbable, as William Hayley pointed out, that the visual art which Milton saw in Italy considerably determined the choice of subject he made for his epics. To the broad canvases of these epics—to such topics as his God the Father, his Christ, his angels, his Adam and Eve, and others—attention is now invited.
NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII


5 Evelyn, I, 70; Mortoft, p. 6.


7 Evelyn, I, 59-60.

8 L. Dimier, Le Primatice (Paris, 1900), Planche LIIV; Reresby, p. 7; Coryate, I, 44-48; Moryson, I, 417-418.

9 Heylyn, 80-84; Evelyn, I, 49, 56-58.

10 Moryson, I, 419.


13 L. Dimier, Histoire de la Peinture Française des Origines au Retour de Vouet 1300 à 1627 (Paris, 1925), Planche LX.

14 L. Dimier, Le Primatice, Planche XVI.

15 Evelyn, I, 61-63.


19 *Wonders of Italy*, pp. 28-29; Lassels, I, 86.


21 Mortoft, pp. 47-48; Reresby, p. 99; Raymond, pp. 24-26.


24 Reresby, p. 97.

25 *Wonders of Italy*, pp. 324-327.

26 Reresby, pp. 94-95; Mortoft, pp. 46-47; Evelyn, I, 191-192.

27 Young, pp. 37-38.

28 See photographs in "Donatello," *Klassiker Der Kunst*, XI (Stuttgart, 1907), 50-54; Leo Planiscig, *Donatello* (Wien, 1947), Nos. 57-60.

29 See photographs in Leo Planiscig, *Luca Della Robbia* (Wien, 1941), Nos. 5-21.

30 Young, p. 86; see photographs of these doors in Leo Planiscig, *Lorenzo Ghiberti* (Wien, 1940).


33 Young, p. 642.

34 Reresby, pp. 84-87.


36 Stone, p. 162.

37 Reresby, p. 87; Mortoft, p. 54; Stone, p. 162; Raymond, p. 140; Evelyn, I, 196.

38 Young, pp. 637-639, 682-691.

39 Stone, pp. 162, 164.

40 Banks, pp. 35-36.

41 Young, p. 206; see photographs in Leo Planiscig, Andrea del Verrocchio (Wien, 1941), Nos. 62-67 and Wonders of Italy, pp. 230-232.

42 "Fra Angelico," Klassiker Der Kunst, XVIII (Stuttgart, 1911), 139; Wonders of Italy, pp. 248-252.


46 Lassels, I, 177; Wonders of Italy, pp. 200-203.

47 Young, pp. 47, 103.

48 Gunther, p. 300; Luigi Dami, Italian Garden, Plates LXVIII-LXXI.

49 Stone, pp. 163-164; Young, p. 650; Evelyn, I, 96; see photographs of the palace and gardens in 1599 in Wiles, Fig. 35.

50 Evelyn, I, 96-97; Reresby, pp. 80-81; Raymond, p. 37; Stone, p. 164.
51 Wiles, Figs. 110-116, 106, 119, 164.

52 Stone, p. 164; Young, p. 611.

53 Stone, p. 163; Lassels, I, 167-175.

54 Evelyn mentions Prince Leopold's fine private collection in May 1645 in the Diary, I, 195.

55 Young, pp. 692-700.

56 Young, p. 673.


58 Stone, pp. 166-167; Reresby, pp. 88-89; Lassels, I, 205; Evelyn, I, 193; Dami, Plate CCLIV.

59 Lassels, I, 205-206; Evelyn, I, 193.

60 Photograph in Wonders of Italy, p. 312.

61 Photographs in Planiscig, Verrocchio, Nos. 48-54; Wiles, Fig. opposite the title-page.

62 Wiles, Fig. 36 is a photograph in 1599; Dami, Plates XL-XLV.

63 Moryson, I, 330.

64 Wiles, Figs. 39, 45, 46; Dami, p. 15 and Plates XLI and XLIV.

65 Reproductions of "Primavera": E. Gebhart, Sandro Botticelli (Paris, 1907), Plates 14-22; "Botticelli," Klassiker Der Kunst, XXX (Stuttgart, 1926), 30-32; Botticelli (Pitman Publishing Corporation, New York, 1948), Plate 4; Botticelli (Oxford University Press, New York, 1937), Plate 25. Reproductions of the "Birth of Venus": Gebhart, Plates 23-27; Klassiker Der Kunst, XXX, 33-35; Botticelli (Pitman Publishing Corporation), Plate 6; Botticelli (Oxford University Press), Plate 34. Reproductions of "Pallas and the Centaur": Klassiker Der Kunst, XXX, 56; Botticelli (Oxford University Press), Plate 64.

Yukio Yashiro, *Sandro Botticelli* (Boston, 1925), I, 172.


Wiles, Fig. 204 for photograph of villa in 1599; Dami, Plates CXXXVI-CXLIV.

Reresby, pp. 90-91; Lassels, I, 206-208; Evelyn, I, 197; Moryson, I, 327-330.

Lassels, I, 310.


For a photograph see *Wonders of Italy*, p. 312; Dami, Plate VI.

Reresby, p. 89; Moryson, I, 331.


Wiles, Figs. 40, 43, 44; Young, p. 641; Moryson, I, 330; Dami, Plates CXLV-CXLVI.


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86 Stone, pp. 172 and 176.

87 Raymond, p. 69.


89 See map of the gates of Rome in Morison, I, 264-265.

90 Mortoft, pp. 95-96; Morison, I, 267-269; Lassels, II, 210-211.


92 Mortoft, map is opposite title-page.


95 Mortoft, pp. 63-68; Lassels, II, 137-146; Morison, I, 297-299; Evelyn, I, 109-111.

96 Mortoft, p. 74; Stone, p. 175; Lassels, II, 48.

97 Stone, pp. 173-175

98 Mortoft, p. 117.


100 Stone, pp. 174-175; Lassels, II, 120-122; Mortoft, p. 75; Morison, I, 296.
101 Mortoft, p. 121.

102 Lassels, II, 235-238; Mortoft, p. 158; Evelyn, I, 175-176; Raymond, pp. 96-97; Stone, pp. 176-179.

103 Raymond, p. 88; Mortoft said the Vatican had 16,800 chambers, p. 155.

104 Stone, pp. 171 and 193.

105 Mortoft, pp. 155-158.


107 Lassels, II, 48-69.

108 Evelyn, I, 144-145, 143.

109 Moryson, I, 279.


114 "Raffael," Klassiker Der Kunst, I, 58.

For a photograph of the entire ceiling, Goffin, Pintoricchio, p. 49, Plate 4.


Vatican, Its History and Treasures, p. 302.

Lassels, II, 59-67; Evelyn, I, 146; Mortofo, pp. 131-132; Wonders of Italy, p. 426.

Mortofo, pp. 129-131; Lassels, II, 67-69; Evelyn, I, 147-148; Dami, Plates XCV-XCV.

Mortofo, pp. 78-79; Wonders of Italy, pp. 400-407; Lassels, II, 26-48; Stone, p. 176; Evelyn, I, 124-130.


Mortofo, pp. 87-89; Evelyn, I, 130; Lassels, II, 100-107; Morison, I, 275; Stone, p. 173.

Wonders of Italy, pp. 410-413.

Mortofo, pp. 140-141.

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133 Lassels, II, 91-95


135 Lassels, II, 182-183; Wonders of Italy, p. 423.


137 Stone, p. 176; Wonders of Italy, p. 421; De Tolnay, The Medici Chapel (Princeton, 1948), Plates 68-70.

138 Gunther, p. 299; Dami, Plates XLVI-XLVIII.

139 Rodolfo Lanciani, Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome (Boston, 1897), pp. 533-540.

140 Photograph in Wonders of Italy, p. 490.

141 Stone, p. 170.

142 Milton's Paradise Regained, ed. Thomas Newton, I, 71.

143 Lassels, II, 221.

144 Mortoft, pp. 146-149; Lassels, II, 218-224; Evelyn, I, 149-150; Raymond, p. 98; Morison, I, 300; see photograph of "Farnese Bull" in Wonders of Italy, p. 491.


147 Evelyn, I, 142, 183-184.

148 Mortoft, pp. 124-128; Stone, p. 171; Lassels, II, 176-182; Evelyn, I, 114-115; Dami, Plates CXG-CXCI.

149 Dami, p. 26 and Plates CLXXXIII-CLXXXIX.

150 Mortoft, pp. 151-154; Evelyn, I, 122, 138-139, 184; Lassels, II, 171-174; 238-240; Raymond, pp. 94-95.
151 Aldo de Rinaldis, La Galleria Borghese in Roma (Rome, 1948), pp. 116-117.

152 Lassels, II, 73-74; Dami, Plates CXCIII-CCV.

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158 Gasquet, p. 200.

159 Lassels, II, 150.


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164 Evelyn, I, 140, 169; see photographs in "Raffael," Klassiker Der Kunst, I, 82-88 and Wonders of Italy, pp. 460-461.

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166 Lassels, II, 151, 186; Evelyn, I, 140.

167 Moryson, I, 281; Lassels, II, 22-24; Wonders of Italy, p. 465.

169 See photographs of these villas in Wonders of Italy, p. 473.

170 Raymond, pp. 117-119; Morteo, pp. 163-166; Lassels, II, 307-313; Evelyn, I, 185-186.

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172 Wiles, Figs. 30, 31, 33, 34.

173 Dami, Italian Garden, pp. 16-19.

174 Raymond, pp. 167-171; Evelyn, I, 186-188; Stone, p. 176; Lassels, II, 313-316; Moryson, I, 225; Morteo, p. 167.

175 A. F. Johnson, Catalogue of Engraved and Etched English Title-Pages (Cambridge, 1934), Loggan No. 4 and Payne Nos. 9 and 13; Salaman, p. 24.


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178 Lassels, II, 272.

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180 Moryson, I, 237.

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184 Evelyn, I, 162; Raymond, p. 150; Lassels, II, 296; Sandys, p. 209.

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186 Sandys, p. 210; Evelyn, I, 163.

187 Misson I, 430-431; Evelyn, I, 160.

188 Raymond, p. 162; Evelyn, I, 160; Lassels, II, 287.

189 Lassels, I, 142.

190 Stone, pp. 183-184; Evelyn, I, 198.

191 Evelyn, I, 199; Reresby, p. 76.

192 See photographs, in Wonders of Italy, p. 173; Wiles, Fig. 96.


196 Lassels, II, 392-393.

197 Evelyn, I, 214; Lassels, II, 408.


199 Max Ongaro, The Ducal Palace of Venice (Venice, 1927), pp. 6-7 for photographs of these statues; Wonders of Italy, pp. 116-117.

200 Erwin Panofsky, Albrecht Dürer (Princeton, 1948), I, 120.

201 Evelyn, I, 193.

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204 Ongaro, pp. 34, 38.

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CHAPTER IX

VISUAL ART IN THE POEMS

For Milton's aesthetic sensibility, his love of the beautiful, we have his own words:

what besides God has resolved concerning me I know not, but this at least: He has instilled into me, if into any one, a vehement love of the beautiful. Not with so much labour, as the fables have it, is Ceres said to have sought her daughter Proserpina as it is my habit day and night to seek for this idea of the beautiful, as for a certain image of supreme beauty, through all the forms and faces of things (for many are the shapes of things divine) and to follow it as it leads me on by some sure traces which I seem to recognize. (Letter to Charles Diodati, 23 September 1637, Familiar Letters, XII, 27)

These words are both an aesthetic and a religious affirmation. In the poet there was a guiding faith, ultimately Platonic, which led him constantly and fearlessly to look beyond the seen to the unseen, and without hesitation to associate outer beauty or ugliness with an inner counterpart. Satan says to Christ, "thy heart / Conteins of good, wise, just the perfect shape" (P.R. III, 11). Satan, when rebuked by Zaphon, "Severe in youthful beautie" and "grace Invincible," after being caught at the ear of Eve, "felt how awful goodness is, and saw / Vertue in her shape how lovly, saw, and pin'd / His loss" (P.L. IV, 847). The Lady in Comus saw the "unblemish't form of Chastity,... visibly" (215-216). In the prose he writes of the shape of Virtue:

And certainly discipline is not only the removall of disorder, but if any visible shape can be given to divine things, the very visible shape and image of vertue, whereby she is not only seene in the regular gestures and motions of her heavenly paces as she walkes,
but also makes harmony of her voice audible to mortall eares.  
(Church-Government, III, 185)

He wrote of "the charm of Beauties powerful glance" (P. L. VIII, 533) and thought that "beauty, though injurious, hath strange power" (S. A., 1003).

"The Arts that polish life" (P. L. XI, 606) influenced Milton's pictorial imagination, which according to E. E. Kellett dominated him and was unable to conceive the non-corporeal. His heaven and hell are actual places. It is true that Milton does not, like Dante, take a tape measure into hell, but his hell is a particular, material place below chaos, made of "solidity and compound mass," as well as a state of mind:

The mind is its own place, and in it self  
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n  
(P. L. I, 255)

Which way I flie is Hell; my self am Hell (P. L. IV, 75)

His angels are of an "airy" substance but with a certain proportion of earth and water in it. When Raphael tells Adam "what surmounts the reach / Of human sense, I shall delineate so, / By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms," Milton asks the question,

what if Earth  
Be but the shaddow of Heav'n, and things therein  
Each to other like, more then on earth is thought?  
(P. L. V, 571-576)

To illustrate Milton's pictorial imagination in his poetry, this chapter will first discuss such topics in the heavenly regions as heaven and the golden chain or stairs that connected it with the solid
crust of the universe; God the Father; Christ; the angels Raphael, Michael, and Gabriel; and the Virgin Mary. In the infernal regions, such topics as Pandemonium, Satan, Sin, and Death will be mentioned. After some possible associations of Adam and Eve with pictorial sources are shown, Milton's dependence upon visual representations for such miscellaneous topics in the poetry as the legend of Hercules; the legend of Orpheus; geometric figures and battle formations; nature's exuberance; the theater at Gaza; allegorical figures of Justice, Truth, Mercy, Peace, Chastity, Fame, Fortune, and the like; the landscape in L'Allegro; the goddess Melancholy; Urania; the Gothic church in II Penseroso; and the rocky, narrow road leading up the hill of Virtue will be indicated.

Milton's "Empyreal Heav'n" is a concrete place—in form not very different from cities he had seen—a "Chrystall" walled place with high towers "filled / With Armed watch" (P. L. II, 130), designed by the same architect that designed Pandemonium. God's seat was four square compared with the spherical universe, for Sin tells Satan that God may

henceforth Monarchie with thee divide
Of all things, parted by th' Empyreal bounds,
His Quadrature, from thy Obicular World.
(P. L. X, 379-381)

Heaven's "Opal Tovrs and Battlements adorn'd / Of living Saphire"
(P. L. II, 1049) showed up in the distant prospect Satan had of his former home when he emerged from chaos. There was "a Kingly
Palace Gate / With Frontispice of Diamond and Gold / Imbe-
lisht, thick with sparkling orient Gemmes" (III, 505), which "self-
open'd wide / On golden Hinges" (V, 254). There were "the Courts / And Temple of / the / mightie Father Thron'd / On high" (VI, 890)
and "at the holy mount / Of Heav'ns high-seated top, th' Impereal
Throne / Of Godhead" (VII, 585), "whence light and shade / Spring
both...for Night comes not there" (V, 640). Festivals and triumphs
occurred in heaven:

`And Heav'n as at som festivall,
Will open wide the Gates of her high Palace Hall

and let Truth and Justice with "Mercy set between" "down return
to men." (The Hymn, p. 5)

After Christ had created the universe:

The Heav'ns and all the Constellations rung,
The Planets in thir stations list'ning stood,
While the bright Pomp ascended jubliant.
Open, ye everlasting Gates, they sung,
Open, ye Heav'ns, your living dores; let in
The great Creator from his work returnd...

The glorious Train ascending: He through Heav'n
That open'd wide her blazing Portals, led
To Gods Eternal house direct the way,
A broad and ample rode, whose dust is Gold
And pavement Starrs. (VII, 562-578)

There was a variety of landscape in Milton's heaven:

Thir Arms away they threw, and to the Hills
(For Earth hath this variety from Heav'n
Of pleasure situate in Hill and Dale). (VI, 639-640)

This variety in scenery Satan could not enjoy when he encountered it
on Earth:
With what delight could I have walkt thee round
If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange
Of Hill and Vallie, Rivers, Woods and Plaines,
Now Land, now Sea, & Shores with Forrest crownd,
Rocks, Dens, and Caves. (IX, 114-118)

Even as a young poet Milton visualized heaven as a particular place

and merged the abode of the pagan gods with it:

Through the ranks of the wandering stars I /soul of the Bishop of Ely/ was borne, and through the Milky stretches, marvelling oft at my new-found swiftness, until we came to the shining portals of Olympus, and to the palace of crystal and the halls paved with emeralds. But here I /Milton/ will hold my peace, for who, if born of human sire, would have the strength to set forth in full the loveliness of that place?


Once in Paradise Lost Milton has the visible universe suspended from empyrean heaven by a golden chain:

Farr off th' Empyreal Heav'n, extended wide...
And fast by hanging in a golden Chain
This pendant world, in bigness as a Starr
Of smallest Magnitude close by the Moon (II, 1047 ff)

and another time connected with heaven by steps resembling Jacob's ladder:

farr distant hee /Satan/descrives
Ascending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of Heaven a Structure high
At top whereof, but farr more rich appeerd
The work as of a Kingly Palace Gate... (III, 501-505)

The Stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw
Angels ascending and descending, bands
Of Guardians bright... (III, 510-512)

Each Stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
There alwales, but drawn up to Heav'n somtimes
Viewless... (III, 516-518)
Satan from hence now on the lower stair
That scal'd by steps of Gold to Heav'n Gate
Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
Of all this World at once (III, 540-543)

and

In contemplation of created things
By steps we may ascend to God (V, 511-512).

In one of Ripa's emblems, the chain from heaven which man is clasp-
ing represents the connection whereby God is pleased to draw men
to himself and raise the mind to heaven; in another emblem, "Theory,"
stairs represent the order of intelligible things which proceed by
degrees from things near to things far off. 3 Milton could have seen
Jacob's ladder connected with heaven in woodcuts, engravings, maps,
tapestry, and painting. 4

Though Milton was acquainted with the Copernican astronomy
and apparently willing to accept it, yet he had no scruple against using
the Ptolemaic system—but he juggled that. He thought of the Ptolemaic
spheres as ten in number, but these are not Dante's ten heavens, for
to Dante the empyrean heaven is the tenth sphere while for Milton the
empyrean is quite apart from the universe. With heaven above, hell
below, and the universe a sort of island in chaos, Milton had to find
some way of bounding the universe, lest it be mingled with chaos.
Moreover without limits it would not be harmonious with his walled
heaven and hell. Hence he gives to the universe a static, hard outside
shell to protect the orderly creation inside. It is not in accord
with Ptolemaic astronomy to make a sphere solid. 5 "On the bare
outside" (III, 74) of "this goodly Frame" (VIII, 15),

the firm opacious Globe
Of this round World, whose first convex divides
The luminous inferior Orbs, enclos'd
From Chaos and th' inroad of Darkness old,
Satan alighted walks. (III, 418-422)

Sin and Death created

Over the foaming deep high Archt, a Bridge
Of length prodigious joyning to the Wall
Immoveable of this now fenceless world
Forfeit to Death; from hence a passage broad,
Smooth, easie, inoffensive down to Hell. (X, 301-305)

This idea of a solid crust limiting the universe is in at least three paintings, all of which Milton could have seen engravings of and for one, the original. In the "Last Judgment" (1555) by the Westphalian painter Hermann tom Ring, the universe is shown as the interior of a tremendous solid sphere:

Its vault is cut by a circular opening; the lid sinks down and hangs freely in the air carrying Mary, St. John, and the Angels who announce the Last Day. Christ floats on the globe as a separate little sphere. Above him hovers a ring with angels who hold the instruments of the Passion, rotating around the dove of the Holy Ghost. Beyond the inner circle with the figures of the Apostles extends an amphitheater of blessed souls. This building of concrete supplants the usual ranges of clouds. It is supplemented by a spiral staircase on which the blessed souls mount to heaven. 6

In an earlier painting (c. 1465), Giovanni di Paolo's "The Creation of the World," God or Christ with a retinue of angels is in the upper left of the panel; in the center is a section view of the solid crusted universe and its various spheres; in the lower right, the explosion of Adam and Eve by Michael. This extraordinarily brilliant panel was admired for its "vitality as an objectification of cosmic matter
mystically in motion and mystically controlled. Hieronymus Bosch's panel at the Ducal Palace in Venice representing the Ascension of Blessed Souls to Paradise, the original of which Milton could have seen, depicts the universe as a concrete cosmic shell. The souls of the blessed, accompanied by angels, are leaving a dark universe and ascending towards a bright area (heaven) through a tunnel, which breaks through the solid crust of the universe as a circle. Such a connection is comparable to the one opening into Milton's universe, from which the chain or ladder ascended to heaven. Bosch represented this long tunnel by gradations of light, going from dark to the magic realm of light beyond. These gradations are similar to Milton's degrees or steps up to God. Milton probably had a special interest in Bosch's panels because Bosch was a Protestant Fleming and his painting of Hell, which Milton could have known well, hung at Whitehall. Bosch's "Hell" may have furnished Milton with the idea of a bridge from heaven to hell, for in its right foreground was a large funnel which bridged a chasm and had forms entering it.

Concerning God the Father, who ruled empyrean heaven, the poet wrote:

God is light,
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from Eternitie (III, 3-5)

Thee Father first they sung Omnipotent,
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
Eternal King; thee Author of all being,
Fountain of Light, thy self invisible
Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sit'st
Thron'd inaccessible (III, 372-377)
thy self how wondrous then!
Unspeakable, who sitst above these Heavens
To us invisible.  

Milton would have agreed with Henry Peacham that

there be some things that ought to be free from the pencill, as the
picture of God the father: or (as I haue seene) the whole Trinitie
painted in a glasse window: which hee [an artist/cannot do without
artificiall blasphemy, and reviving from hell the old heresie of
the Anthropomorphites who supposed God to be in the shape of an
old man, sitting vpon his throne in a white Robe, with a triple
crowne on his head.  

The triple crown was also worn by the pope in pictures, which recalls

"On the late Massacher in Piemont":

Their martyr'd blood...
...and ashes sow
O're all th' Italian fields where still doth sway
The triple Tyrant: that from these may grow
A hunder'd-fold, who having learnt thy way
Early may fly the Babylonian wo.  (p. 84)

As E. E. Kellett has pointed out, Milton's view of the Father
is much the same as that of the Italian painters (Pis. 29-31, 50-53),
for to him the Almighty is an infinite human being, invisible because
of the light that surrounds His throne, having skirts dark with ex-
cessive brightness (III, 380). Milton believed that God, if not in
fashion like unto man in all His parts and members, is of that form
which He attributes to Himself in the sacred writings--at least as
far as we are concerned to know and that man should entertain such
a conception of Him as He, in condescending to man's capacities, has
shown that He desires man ought to conceive.  

God has, so far as
man has a right to inquire, passions, parts, dimensions; He repents, is weary, rests from toil, walks in a garden in the cool of the day. God in his essence, of course, is not thus human, but it is not fitting for men to use any other image to represent Him than such as He himself has chosen as the most appropriate for man's faculties. Thus the Scriptures, not Milton, must bear the blame if one objects that the picture of the Father in *Paradise Lost* is an unworthy representation. 12 Scripture was no doubt the guide for the numerous medieval and Renaissance painters who fashioned God the Father as an infinite human being and the Holy Spirit as a Dove. Milton was as guilty as Archbishop Laud in representing the third member of the Trinity as a Dove, 13 but he was not so indicted by William Prynne. 14 The poet had an affinity with believers in Catholicism that should not be thrown aside in studying him: his grandfather was a Catholic and his brother became one. He himself visited for four months the seat of Catholicism and "viewed with care full many a place" ("To John Milton," p. 561). He could have seen the Father and the Dove symbols in many places.

Milton used far more lines to indicate the power of Christ as a perfect judge than he used to depict the meek, gentle, and merciful aspect of man's Messiah. Both characteristics he could have seen in church paintings and in engravings. Christ is the hero of *The Hymn* and is presented as a "dreadfull Judge" who "in middle Air shall spread his throne" (p. 6), as well as a Babe in a "Courtly Stable"
where "bright-harnest Angels sit in order serviceable" (p. 8). He is divine Justice seated on a rainbow as judge (Pl. 20) in this early poem:

Yea Truth and Justice then
Will down return to men,
Th' enameld Arras of the Rainbow wearing,
And Mercy set between. (The Hymn, p. 5)

Two aspects of the Messiah are presented in Paradise Lost: Christ as Avenger and relentless Judge and Christ as the merciful Redeemer, but the first aspect is the one emphasized. There were many last judgments (Pl. 20) as well as many paintings of the benign Christ (Pl. 33). The dominating characteristic of Milton's Son of God was his power as a stern and inexorable Judge. The Father even assigned to Him the overthrow of the rebel angels, which undertaking in Revelations xii, 7-12, is given to the warlike Archangel Michael. Such a picture of Christ Milton could have seen in Michelangelo's "Last Judgment" in the Sistine Chapel. Like most other English travelers of his day, he was perhaps deeply impressed by this painting, for years later he expressed the same relentless and inexorable power, shown in Christ's arm uplifted in denunciation in this painting, in the description of his Christ:

My Bow and Thunder, my Almightie Arms
Gird on, and Sword upon thy puissant Thigh;
Pursue these sons of Darkness, drive them out.

(P. L. VI, 713-716)

When God addresses the newly created Son, He emphasizes the fact of His own transmitted power:
Son, thou in whom my glory I behold  
In full resplendence, Heir of all my might (V, 716-717).  

The vital note of the predominating characteristic of Milton's Christ  
in *Paradise Lost* lies in the pregnant words addressed to the Father:  

> whom thou hast, I hate, and can put on  
Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on (VI, 734-735).

The Father explains to the Son:

> All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide  
In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell;  
When thou attended gloriously from Heav'n  
Shalt in the Skie appeare, and from thee send  
The summoning Arch-Angels to proclaime  
Thy dread Tribunal: forthwith from all Windes  
The living, and forthwith the cited dead  
Of all past Ages to the general Doom  
Shall hast'n, such a peal shall rouse thir sleep.  
Then all thy Saints assembl'd, thou shalt judge  
Bad men and Angels, they arraigned shall sink  
Beneath thy Sentence.  

*(III, 321-332)*

These lines are an adequate summary of Michelangelo's "Last  
Judgment"—the turbulent fall of the condemned, dragged down in  
torment. Milton may have seen the Sistine paintings several times  
during his stay in Rome. These paintings are characterized by the  
grand manner if any products of the human intellect are, and  
must have appealed to Milton and influenced his plans for his own  
epic which he already had in mind to write, not only in specific  
lines but also in the spacious vastness of the organization. Milton's  
lines of Uriel's eye-witness account of the creation to Satan bring  
to mind certain of the ceiling frescoes (Pls. 50-51):

> I saw when at his Word the formless Mass,  
This worlds material mould, came to a heap:
Confusion heard his voice, and wilde uproar
Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd:
Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
Light shon, and order from disorder sprung:
Swift to thir several Quarters hasted then
The cumbrous Elements, Earth, Flood, Aire, Fire.
(III, 708-715)

Uriel would have been one of those angels accompanying Christ (in Milton's poem, God in the ceiling fresco) in Plate 50. The energy and movement of Michelangelo's figure of Darkness fleeing (Pl. 51) is very likely to stay forever in the memory once it has been seen; Milton's "at his second bidding darkness fled, / Light shon, and order from disorder sprung" (III, 712) expresses the same idea as tersely and dynamically as words can.

Our age has drifted far from the vivid realization of God's awfulness and the severity of the divine Son as Judge of the world—if, indeed, it can be said to be mildly occupied with these themes at all. No longer do the terrors of the judgment and of hell hold us dumb and paralyzed, but in Michelangelo's age and in Milton's age this was not the case. It suits our time to emphasize the mercy of Christ, His gentleness and tender loving-kindness, to the exclusion of His stern attributes. Such characteristics are difficult to present in words in a dramatic and forceful way. The reader is conscious of Milton's less colorful Christ in Paradise Regained, where the poet is careful not to give Him even a scepter, much less a sword on his "puissant Thigh." Milton no doubt was acquainted with the calm, meek, and merciful tenderness of Christ, which he had seen in Renaissance
painting and sculpture, and his Christ is calm, meek, and merciful:

Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious, in him all his Father shone
Substantially express'd, and in his face
Divine compassion visibly appeared,
Love without end, and without measure Grace

(III, 138-142),

his meek aspect
Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love
To mortal men

(III, 266-268),

with calm aspect and clear
Light'ning Divine, ineffable, serene (V, 730-731).

Concerning the disobedience of Adam and Eve the Almighty pondered

But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee
Vicegerent Son, to thee I have transferr'd
All Judgement, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell,

(X, 55-57)

and with "mild / And gracious temper he /Christ/ both heard and
judg'd / Without wrauth or reviling" (X, 1047) the repentant pair.

Throughout Paradise Regained the power and glory of kings is associated with evil. Wealth, power, and pomp, which in Paradise Lost made glorious the courts of God, Satan, and earthly kings, are in

Paradise Regained the bait of Satan, scorned by Christ as vain

ornament. Though the reader is perfectly aware that power and kingship are Satanic, he considers them more attractive than the abstract characterization of the meek and just Christ. Evil so lends itself to more sensuous poetry than does the presentation of good. Triumphant virtue is negative, unimaginative.

The idea of using a pair of golden compasses for either a
heavenly creation or for a heavenly inspired creation was prevalent in the seventeenth century:

whether Heav'n move or Earth, Imports not, if thou reck'n right, the rest From Man or Angel the great Architect Did wisely to conceal (VIII, 70-73)

and in his hand
He took the golden Compasses, prepar'd In Gods Eternal store, to circumscribe This Universe, and all created things: One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd Round through the vast profunditie obscure And said, thus far extend, thus farr thy bounds, This be thy just Circumference, O World. (VII, 224-231)

Milton considers God the Architect of the creation plan. He would have known that in portraits of architects, sculptors, and engravers of that day a pair of compasses was used to indicate the creative ability of the sitter,²⁰ and that in emblem books a pair of compasses was the favorite symbol in allegorical figures of astronomy, geography, architecture, and the like.²¹ Incidentally Milton himself owned an arc and a pair of dividers.²² Many gold gilt compasses appear in atlases. The example shown in Plate 41 is a title-page of the second volume of the 1633 Mercator Atlas in which a figure of an old man who resembles God the Father of Renaissance painting marks out the confines of a globe. In Dürer's engraving, "Melencolia I," (Pl. 17) the contemplative goddess holds a pair of compasses. The ninth Muse in Tintoretto's "Muses" at old Whitehall had in her right hand a pair of compasses.²³ Urania was pictured similar to Dürer's "Melencolia I" with a pair of compasses in her hand.²⁴ A popular
design which Christopher Plantin made his trade mark was a divine hand coming from a tuft of clouds and drawing a circle with a compass, on the left side of which was a man with a spade and on the right a woman with a cross, and above the entire design the words, "Labore et Constantia." Milton almost certainly owned Plantin's 1558 printing of Olaus Magnus's Historia, but he could have seen this Plantin trade mark in many books he examined at the book stalls. Archbishop Laud got a case about the breaking of a window in St. Edmund's Church into the Star Chamber Court in February, 1633. The design in this window was an old man representing God the Father with a pair of compasses in his hand. Golden compasses associated with heaven appeared in Inigo Jones's masque scenery for Albion's Triumph, performed 8 January 1632:

at the foot of the pillasters, on each side, stood two Women, the one young, in a watchet Robe looking upwards, and on her head, a paire of Compasses of gold, the poynets standing towards Heaven: the other more ancient, and of a venerable aspect, appareled in tawney, looking downwards; in the one hand a long ruler, and in the other, a greate paire of iron Compasses, one poynet whereof, stood on the ground, and the other touched part of the ruler. Above their heads, were fixt, compartiments of a new compositon, and in that over the first, was written Theorica, and over the second Practica, shewing that by these two, all works of Architecture, and Ingining have their perfection. Milton makes a distinction in the iron (material) and gold (spiritual) scepters of God in Beelzebub's suggestion that the Almighty will

over Hell extend
His Empire, and with Iron Scepter rule
Us here, as with his Golden those in Heav'n.
(II, 327-328)
In Milton's early poetry there are chariots of gods and goddesses which he could have seen in masques. Cotytto rode with Hecate in a "cloudy Ebon chair" (Comus, 134), Sabrina's sliding chariot is "Thick set with Agat, and the azurn sheen / Of Turkis blew, and Emrauld green" (Comus, 893-94), and the triple-bodied goddess (Diana as Luna) "with golden reins /sought/ to check her dragon team" ("In the Death of the Bishop of Ely," p. 587). Processions through the streets of London on the occasion of the presentation of a masque contained triumphal chariots, somewhat similar to modern day floats in a Rose Parade. In a Middle Temple masque procession in 1613 two triumphal chariots were the vanguard and at the end was another even more embellished, its "whole frame fill'd with moulded worke, mixt with paintings and glittering scarffings of silver, over which was cast a Canopie of golde borne up with antick figures, and all compos'd a la Grotesca." In The Masque of Queens (1609) the twelve masquers were driven in three "triumphant Chariots": the first drawn by eagles; the second, by griffons; the last, by lions. The processional chariots in the 1634 Triumph of Peace (discussed in Chapter V), each had "a glorious Canopy over their heads, all bordered with silver Fringe and beautified with Plumes of Feathers on the top," wrought "all after the Romane forme." In Albion's Triumph (1632) Diana's glorious chariot was seen on the stage. In Tempe Restored (1632) appeared the chariot of Divine Beauty, "of gold-smithes workes richly adorned
with precious Iemmes" and surmounted by "a brightnesse, full of small starres that inviron'd the top of the Chariot, striking a light round about it." Two similar cars appeared in *Luminalia* (1638): one, of Night; the other, of Aurora. In *Salmacida Spolia* (1640) from the heavens descended "a silver chariot," lowered between two foremost posts.²⁹ A chariot plays a part in Milton's picture of Satan on entering the "wilde Abyss":

> At last his Sail-broad Vannes  
> He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoak  
> Uplifted spurns the ground, thence many a League  
> As in a cloudy Chair ascending rides. (II, 927-930)

Triumphant chariots Milton could have seen in engravings: in Titian's "Triumph of Faith"; Holbein's "Triumph of Riches and of Poverty"; Mantegna's "Triumph of Julius Caesar"; Dürer's "Triumph of Emperor Maximilian"; Guillio Romano's "Triumph of Silenus"; Giovanni di Paolo's "Triumph of Death"; and Perugino's chariots of the pagan gods in a ceiling decoration at Perugia.³⁰

Twice in *Paradise Lost* Christ uses "The Chariot of Paternal Deitie" with its "flaming Chariot wheels" (III, 394), its "servid wheels" (VII, 224), to expell the rebel angels and to perform the creation:

> forth rush'd with whirl-wind sound  
The Chariot of Paternal Deitie,  
Flashing thick flames, Wheele within Wheele undrawn,  
It self instinct with Spirit, but convoyd  
By four Cherubic shapes, four Faces each  
Had wondrous, as with Starrs thir bodies all  
And Wings were set with Eyes, with Eyes the Wheels  
Of Beril, and careering Fires between;
Over thir heads a chrysal Firmament,
Whereon a Saphir Throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colours of the showrie Arch...

And twentie thousand (I thir number heard)
Chariots of God, half on each hand were seen:
Hee on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
On the Crystallin Skie, in Saphir Thron'd.
(VI, 749-759 and 769-772)

The chief source of this glorious picture of the "Portatile Throne of Jehovah" is Ezekiel i, 4-28, 31 but Milton may have remembered
the Greek emblem of the celestial hierarchy painted in the pendentives below the first cupola at St. Mark's, which are filled by four
large seraphs represented merely as heads with six wings, indicating pure spirit glowing with love and intelligence—only the head,
the seat of the soul, and the wings, the attribute of spirit and swiftness are here used to express celestial existences. 32

The three good angels which Milton treats in most detail
were given much attention in Renaissance painting and engraving:
Gabriel, Raphael, and Michael (Pls. 35 and 36). In The Hymn
"Bright-harnest Angels sit in order serviceable" in "the Courtly
Stable" (p. 8). "An angel each man—such be your belief, ye peoples—
has as his lot, a winged angel from the heavenly ranks" is noted in
"To Leonora, as She Sings at Rome" (p. 587). "Thousands of
angels/ at his bidding speed / And post o're Land and Ocean without
rest" in Sonnet XVI (p. 85). Adam explains to Eve, "Millions of
spiritual Creatures walk the Earth / Unseen, both when we wake, and
when we sleep" (IV, 677-678).
From pictorial art Milton most probably got his conception of the "Gentle... and affable" (VIII, 648) "Godlike Angel... milde" (VII, 110),

Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deign'd
To travel with Tobias, and secur'd
His marriage with the seaventimes-wedded Maid (V, 221-223)

by displeasing

Asmodeus with the fishie fume,
That drove him, though enamourd, from the Spouse of Tobias Son (IV, 168-170):

six wings he wore, to shade
His lineaments Divine; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad, came mantling o're his brest
With regal Ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a Starrie Zone his waste, and round
Skirted his loines and thighes with downie Gold
And colours dipt in Heav'n; the third his feet
Shaddowd from either heele with featherd maile
Skie-tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's son he stood,
And shook his Plumes, that Heav'nly fragrance fill'd
The circuit wide. (V, 277-287)

The Tobit story occurred often in art. Milton could have seen it in the windows at King's College Chapel, in tapestry at Hampton Court, in the 1568 Bishops Bible, and in numerous Rembrandt etchings (Pl. 35), not to mention Italian art. For some reason representations of Tobias and the angel Raphael became popular in Florence in the fourteen sixties, and illustrations in the Kitto Bible show that the story kept on being illustrated in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

Some outstanding pictures of the Archangel Michael subduing Satan which Milton may have seen were Guido Reni's in the
Church of the Capuchins at Rome (Pl. 36), Raphael's Michael, and Dürer's Apocalypse woodcut of the Archangel Michael and his angels overpowering Satan and his dragons. Always in painting
"the sword / Of Michael from the Armorie of God" was emphasized.
Milton's Archangel took on the form of man when he came "to seise /
Possession of the Garden" (XI, 221):

\[
\text{th' Arch-Angel soon drew nigh,}
\text{Not in his shape Celestial, but as Man}
\text{Clad to meet Man; over his lucid Armes}
\text{A militarie Vest of purple flow'd}
\text{Livelier then Melibaeus, or the graine}
\text{Of Sarra, worn by Kings and Hero's old}
\text{In time of Truce; Iris had dipt the wooff;}
\text{His starrie Helme unbuckl'd shew'd him prime}
\text{In Manhood where Youth ended; by his side}
\text{As in a glisterning Zodiac hung the Sword,}
\text{Satans dire dread, and in his hand the Spear. (XI, 238-248)}
\]

Like the compassionate Michael in the illustrations of Andreini's

L'Adamo, Milton's Archangel

\[
\text{In either hand...caught}
\text{Our lingering Parents, and to th' Eastern Gate}
\text{Led them direct, and down the Cliff as fast}
\text{To the subjected Plaine; then disappe'red.}
\]

(XII, 637-640)

There were several Renaissance paintings of Gabriel's part
in the annunciation, and Milton's Gabriel is used for relating

\[
\text{that solemn message late,}
\text{On which I /God/ sent thee to the Virgin pure}
\text{In Galilee, that she should bear a Son}
\text{Great in Renown, and call'd the Son of God.}
\]

(P.R. I, 133-136)

The charming "Annunciation" by Fra Angelico at Savonarola's
monastery of San Marco in Florence Milton may have seen. His
treatment of Mary is similar to that of the many Madonnas he could not have avoided seeing in the churches:

the Son of Heav'ns eternal King,
Of wedded Maid, and Virgin Mother born
(The Hymn, p.1),

Virgin Mother, Haile,
High in the love of Heav'n (P.L. XII, 379-380),

her brest though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head (P.R. II, 63-64),

and she wondered if she were worthy of

that salute
Hale highly favour'd, among women blest
(P.R. II, 67-68).

Let us descend to the infernal regions where, as was indicated in Chapter VIII, Milton most probably remembered the landscape around Naples in presenting the topography. Paintings of that concrete place, such as Bosch's two Hells, one at old Whitehall and the other at the Ducal Palace at Venice, perhaps added their influence to Milton's rugged landscape. Hells appeared in masque scenery; a "Hell" in The Masque of Queens (1609) suddenly disappeared and gave place to a House of Fame, and the entrance to the horrid Hell in William Davenant's Britannia Triumphans (performed 7 January 1638) was one part of a scene where not far away

the earth open'd and there rose up a richly adorn'd palace, seeming all of Goldsmith's worke, with Portico's vaulted on Pillasters running farr in: the Pillasters were silver of rusticke worke, their bases and capitels of gold, in the midst was the principall entrance, and a gate; the doores leaves with figures of Base-relieve, with Jambs and frontispiece all of gold, above these ran an Architraue, Freese, and Coronis of the same; the Freese enricht with Jewels;
this bore up a Ballesstrata, in the midst of which, upon a high
tower with many windes, stood Fame. 41

Jones's House of Fame near hell's entrance is similar to Milton's
House of Infamy, "Built like a Temple," rising "like an Exhalation"
with "pillars overlaid / With Golden Architrave; nor did there want /
Cornice or Freeze" (I, 71 ff) and not too distant from the gates of
Hell. Milton's use of architectural terms in this passage suggests
a taste for the decorative use of columns and pilasters, with their
architraves, cornices, and friezes, 42 which he would have seen on
Classic-Gothic buildings in London and on engraved title-pages
(Pls. 39-42), rather than a taste for the functional use of pillars and
pilasters as seen in the structural design of a truly classical build-
ing.

In considering the factors which enabled Inigo Jones to re-
volutionize architectural design in England it is probably right to
allow at least as much influence to his introduction of the new manner
through stage scenery for masques as to the effect produced by act-
tual buildings which he designed. 43 Milton could have seen Jones's
scenery in Britannia Triumphans, for he stated in the first Elegy
(p. 563) that he went to plays and to a "public musical entertainment
with truly Roman magnificence" at the Barberini theater (Familiar
Letters, XII, 41). He compared the frontispiece of Eikon Basilike
(Pl. 47) to "a Masking Scene" at "some Twelf-nights entertainment
at Whitehall" (Eikonoklastes, V, 67-68) and wrote of a Morris dance
of great beauty:

The Sounds, and Seas with all their finny drove
Now to the Moon in wavering Morrice move
(Cornus, 115-116).

From his house in Aldersgate Street he issued out every few weeks
with "some Young Sparks of his Acquaintance, the chief whereof were
Mr. Alphry, and Mr. Miller, two Gentlemen of Gray's-Inn, the Beau's
of those Times," with whom "he would so far make bold with his
Body, as now and then to keep a Gawdy-day."\textsuperscript{44}

Milton warms to the description of Pandemonium, \textsuperscript{45} de-
signed by Mulciber, who had "built in Heav'n high Towrs" (I, 749).
It is not a facsimile of St. Peter's (Pl. 59), \textsuperscript{46} but an imaginative
composite of many buildings the poet had seen, or even read about.
Especially the roof and lighting recall Gothic structures in his
England. \textsuperscript{47} How many stories of Doric pilasters and pillars is
not given, but the "ascending pile" had a "stately hight," "her ample
spaces" were covered with an "arched roof" as were the roofs of
many great halls Milton would have known\textsuperscript{48} that have already been
discussed in this study. The chief room was "the spacious Hall"
(I, 762), and when Satan returned from the temptation he

\begin{verbatim}
from the dore
Of that Plutonian Hall, invisible
Ascended his high Throne, which under state
Of richest texture spred, at th' upper end (X, 443-446).
\end{verbatim}

Afterwards "dreadful was the din / Of hissing through the hall,
thick swarming now / With complicated monsters" (X, 521-522).
Milton evidently liked the hall area of a building; he has "halls paved with emeralds" in his early Olympian heaven (p. 587) and the wide gates of heaven's "high Palace Hall" in The Hymn (p. 5). God's Thunder rolled "With terror through the dark Aereal Hall" (X, 667). Old bards tell their "Tale or Song" in "Hall, or Bower" (Comus, 44). After tournaments, occurs a "marshal'd Feast / Serv'd up in Hall with Sewers, and Seneshals" (IV, 37-38). Sabrina was born in the "aged Nereus Hall" (Comus, 835): Comus's palace was "the necromancers hall" (Comus, 649). Milton gives Pandemonium's hall an arched roof, that is, a vaulted roof in the Gothic manner. Henry Wotton explained that "an Arch is nothing indeed but a contracted Vault, and a Vault is but a dilated Arch."49 By an "arched roof" Milton would not mean a domed roof as we think of it. "Domed" was not used in this sense until the eighteenth century.50 Cupola was the word that indicated a hollow globe roof in that day,51 but Milton speaks of no cupolas. In fact arched Gothic roofs so permeated his English environment that he is guilty of the anachronism of giving the Greek temple of Apollo at Delphi an "arched roof" (The Hymn, p. 6). He gives the "spacious Theatre" in Samson Agonistes an "arched roof" (1634), the church described in Il Penseroso has one, and at holiday time music filled the "vaulted, perfumed chambers" in the sixth Elegy (p. 574). Pandemonium's roof, with "Pendant by subtle Magic many a row / Of Starry Lamps and blazing Cressets," was most probably Milton's
remembrance of the open, hammer-beam Gothic roof at Whitehall or Hampton Court lighted for masques, or at Trinity College Hall (Pl. 49) lighted for plays.

The usual exterior facade of Renaissance buildings had the first story of columns of Doric design; the second, Ionic; and the third, Corinthian. Pandemonium has only Doric pilasters and pillars; how many stories is not indicated. Milton could have seen pilasters and columns on London buildings as well as on French and Italian ones.\(^{52}\) The exterior "Golden Architrave" and the roof of "fretted Gold" are more like exteriors in masque scenery than any exteriors of actual buildings. However, the poet may be transferring what he had seen of the interiors at St. Peter's, the Vatican, St. Mark's, or the Ducal government chambers at Venice to the exterior of his "high Capital / Of Satan and his Peers" (I, 756). Milton adds to the architrave, a cornice and frieze "with bossy Sculptures grav'n" (I, 716), and John Ruskin commented that Milton's "bossy" as applied to Greek bas-relief is

as is generally the case with Milton's epithets, the most comprehensive and expressive of this manner, which the English language contains, while the term which specifically describes the chief member of early Gothic decoration, \(f\text{euille}\), foil or leaf, is equally significative of a flat space or shade.\(^{53}\)

Except for the lighting, "the smooth / And level pavement" (I, 725), and the seats, not much is said of the interior decoration of Pandemonium. Far within sat the "great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim...on golden seat's" (I, 794) and Satan exalted sat
High on a Throne of Royal State, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showed on her Kings Barbaric Pearl & Gold.

(II, 1-4)

In this description Milton may have thought of the Paradise Room
at Hampton Court, the Princes Chapel of the Medici at San
Lorenzo in Florence, or any of the many Thrones in the Vatican
or those at the Ducal Palace in Venice.

It is probable that the base source of Pandemonium is a
description of an Egyptian great hall built like a temple and var-
iously described by Vitruvius, Palladio, and Henry Wotton.54

Perhaps Milton had his amanuensis reread to him Wotton's ver-
sion, which excepting the roof and the lighting bears a striking
resemblance to the design of Pandemonium:

I will therefore close this part touching Compartment, as
cheerfully as I can, with a short description of a Feasting or
entertaining Room, after the Egyptian manner, who seem
(at least till the time of Vitruvius) from the ancient Hebrews
and Phoenicians (where all knowledge did flow) to have re-
tained with other Sciences, in a high degree, also the
Principles, and practice of this magnificent Art. For as far
as I may conjecture by our Masters Text, lib. 6. cap. 5.
(Where as in many other places he hath tortured his
Interpreters) there could no Form for such a Royal use be
comparably imagined like that of the foresaid Nation, which
I shall adventure to explain.

Let us conceive a Floor or Area of goodly length,
(for example, at least of 120 foot, with the breadth somewhat
more then the half of the Longitude, whereof the reason shall
be afterwards rendred. About the two longest Sides and Head
of the said Room shall run an Order of Pillars, which Palladio
doeth suppose Corinthian, (as I see by his design) supplying
that point out of Greece, because we know no Order proper
to Aegypt. The Fourth Side I will leave free for the Entrance:
On theforesaid Pillars was laid an Architrave, which Vitruvius mentioneth alone: Palladio addstherunto (and withreason) both Frezze and Cornice, over vvhich vvent up a continued Wall, and therein half or three quarter Pillars answering directly to the Order below, but a fourth Part less: and between these half Columnes above, the vwhole Room vvas vwindowed round about.

Now, from the lowest Pillars there vvas laid over a Contignation or Floor born upon the outward Wall, and the Head of the Columnes with Tarrace and Pavement, Sub dio (saith our Master;) and so indeed he might safely determine the matter in Aegypt, vwhere they fear no Clouds: Therefore Palladio, (vwho leaveth this Tarrace uncovered in the middle, and ballised about) did perchance construe him rightly, though therein discording from others: Alwayes vve must understand a sufficient breadth of Pavement left between the open part and the Windows, for some delight of Spectatours, that might look down into the Room: The Latitude I have supposed, contrary to some former Positons, a little more then the half of the length; because the Pillars standing at a competent distance from the outmost Wall, vwill, by interception of the Sight, somewhat in appearance dimish the breadth; In vvhich cases, (as I have touched once or twice before) Discretion may be more licentious then Art. This is the description of an Aegyptian Room for Feasts and other Jollities. About the Walls vwhereof vve must imagine entire Statues placed below, and illuminated by the descending Light from the Tarrace, as likewise from the Windows between the half Pillars above: So as this Room had abundant and advantageous Light; and besides other garnishing, must needs receive much State by the very height of the Roof, that lay over two Orders of Columns.

Egypt was in the poet’s thoughts, for he compared Pandemonium with the shrines of the gods and the seats of the kings in Egypt:

Not Babilon,
Nor great Alcairo such magnificence
Equal’d in all thir glories, to inshrine
Belus or Serapis thir Gods, or seat
Thir Kings, when Aegypt with Assyria strove
In wealth and luxurie. (P. L. I, 717-722)

Concerning the ruler of Pandemonium John Ruskin wrote:

Malice, subtlety, and pride, in their extreme, cannot be written upon noble forms; and I am aware of no effort to represent the
Satanic mind in the angelic form which has succeeded in painting. Milton succeeds only because he separately describes the movements of the mind, and therefore leaves himself at liberty to make the form heroic; but that form is never distinct enough to be painted.\(^5^6\)

Milton’s heroic Satan differs from most pictorial representations.\(^5^7\)

There were heroic paintings of Satan, however. Satan is a figure of beauty though in hell in the so-called Caedmon MS;\(^5^8\) he still has a glorious form in Martin Fréminet’s "La Chute des anges rebelles" on the ceiling of the new chapel at Fontainbleau;\(^5^9\) and Plate 37 is a copy of Lucifer as Milton could have seen him in the Ludovisi Villa in Rome. In the early poetry Satan is not glorious, but is conventional and quite like Dürer’s devil in the bottomless pit (Pl. 15):

```
from this happy day
Th' old Dragon under ground
In straiter limits bound,
Not half so far casts his usurped sway,
And wrath to see his kingdom fail,
Swindges the scaly Horror of his foulded tail.
(The Hymn, p. 6)
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When Satan disguised himself to ask the Archangel Uriel on which orb Man dwelt, he resembled the Lucifer in Plate 37:

```
And now a stripling Cherube he appeers,
Not of the prime, yet such as in his face
Youth smil’d Celestial, and to every Limb
Sutable grace diffus’d, so well he feignd;
Under a Coronet his flowing haire
In curles on either cheek plaid, wings he wore
Of many a colourd plume sprinkl’d with Gold,
His habit fit for speed succinct, and held
Before his decent steps a Silver wand.
(III, 636-644)
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It cannot be stated that Milton did not follow painting when he did not
give the demon-possessed Serpent a woman's head (Pls. 32 and 54), 60
for two of the earliest pictures of the Fall which he most likely knew
the longest and best, Mabuse's "Adam and Eve" at old Whitehall 61 and
Dürer's 1504 engraving (Pl. 13), show Satan all serpent. Except for
his upright carriage Milton's Satan is merely a serpent in appearance,
having no human quality but the power of speech. His last form too is
a serpent:

His Visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
His Armes clung to his Ribs, his Leggs entwining
Each other, till supplanted down he fell
A monstrous Serpent on his Belly prone,
Reluctant, but in vaine, a greater power
Now rul'd him, punisht in the shape he sin'd.

(P. L. X, 511-516)

Milton's Satan is sometimes armed with darts, rather than a spear and
shield, Michael instructs Adam that the Holy Spirit and faith will arm
him against "Satans assaults, and quench his fierie darts" (P. L. XII,
492). After Christ derided his offer of the learning of ancient Greece,
Satan was "Quite at a loss, for all his darts were spent" (P. R. IV, 366).
Satan was armed with darts on the world map of Jodocus Hondius. 62

The "two maine armes" (P. L. XII, 431) of Satan were Sin and
Death; these three compose an infernal trinity which Milton contrasted
with the divine Trinity. 63 Sin, Death, and the Devil are pictured to-
gether combating a Christian Knight on the iconographic world map of
Jodocus Hondius. 64 Milton may have seen this map around his father's
house as he grew up in London and it may have influenced his epic plans, for he confesses he is thinking over "what K. [king] or Knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian Hero" (Church-Government, III, 237). Personifications of Sin, Death, and the Devil were not fresh creations in literature. Milton would have precedents in allegorical figures of Error in masques, and conventional pictures of them on engravings, maps, and emblems. But Hondius's map design of the three together opposing a Christian hero is unique and expresses more possibilities than a mere illustration of single figures ever could. The ugly Devil of this map is armed with a bow and three darts. Death is a conventional skeleton with a huge scythe. Sin (labeled "Peccatum") is similar to Ripa's emblem, "Peccato," (Pl. 24):

A blind, naked, and black Youth walks through precipitous and crooked paths, entwined about the loins by spiral serpents and penetrated on the left side by a worm that eats at his heart.

Sin is depicted young and blind, because of the arrogance and blindness of the one who commits it; sin of itself is nothing else but transgression of the laws, or as it is also put, a deviation from the good.

Sin is that Error that the will wills
In which Reason does not control or repress
But agrees with sense in action and in habit.

Sin is depicted naked and black because it takes away the grace of virtue and deprives one completely of the candor of virtue, always being in danger of falling because of the uncertainty of death which pulls him into hell if he does not help himself with penitence or suffering.

Sin is entwined by the serpents because sin is under the lordship of the devil who makes a continual effort to deceive us with false appearances of good, always hoping to have the same success which he had with our first unfortunate mother.

Milton most probably knew this emblem book, which went through many editions and which was the source for allegorical figures used in court
masques--especially the masques of Ben Jonson. Milton's Sin, besides
being half woman and half serpent, had the snaky-haired Scylla's peculiar-
ity of barking dogs at her loins where her body met the waves, 69 which the
poet could have seen in engravings as well as read about. 70 The fact
that he gave Sin the key to the bottomless pit may have its roots in Dürer's
woodcut of the Apocalypse (Pl. 15), which was based on Revelations xx, 1-2.

In pictures Death was conventionally represented as a skeleton
with various weapons--especially the dart, the spade, the scythe, or the
hour-glass. 71 In Milton's poetry Death is armed with a dart in the second
Elegy (p. 565) and Paradise Lost (II, 672), but with a scythe in the third
Elegy (p. 565). His Death in "on the Death of the Bishop of Ely" is not
horrible:

Death is not, as you, poor, deluded mortal, fancy, the swarthy
daughter of Night, nor was she born of Erebus as sire, or of
Erinys as mother within illimitable chaos. Rather does she,
dispatched from the starry skies, everywhere gather the harvests
of God; souls hidden under a mass of flesh she calls out into the
light, and into the air, even as the swiftly-fleeting Hours, daughters
of Themis and of Jove, rouse the day; such souls Death leads to the
face of the Everlasting Father. (p. 587)

Milton emphasized the negativeness of Death's horror, which he could
have found everywhere in Renaissance literature, 72 in his personified
figure in Paradise Lost however. Ruskin commented:

whatever emotions depend absolutely on imperfectness of conception,
as the horror of Milton's Death, cannot be rendered in art; for art
can only lay hold of things which have shape, and destroys by its
touch the fearfulness or pleasurableness of those which "shape have
none" (II, 667). 73

There are a few specific details about "the grim Feature" who scented by
upturning "His Nostril wide into the murkie Air" (X, 280). He "shook a dreadful Dart" (II, 672) and "The likeness of a Kingly Crown had on" "what seem'd his head" (II, 673). There were mural paintings in English churches during the middle ages which depicted the Royalty of Death. The paintings were in reality non-Christian rather than anti-Christian, and might appear with propriety as adjuncts of any other ethical-religious system. 74 Later figures of death with a crown on were circulated on engravings. 75 The famous engraving by Dürer (Pl. 16) shows the armored Christian knight pressing forward at his life's work in spite of Death with a crown on and the Devil. Death's crown was only "The likeness of a Kingly Crown"—spectral, the shadow only of royalty, hollow as death. 76 Milton may, when picturing the official arrival on earth of Sin and Death,

Too soon arriv'd, Sin ther in power before,
Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant; behind her Death
Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale Horse  

(X, 586-590)

have had in mind "The Four Horsemen" (Pl. 14), one of Dürer's Apocalypse woodcuts in which Death rides on a pale horse.

Concerning Milton's Adam and Eve, 77 E. M. W. Tillyard stated

"the triumph is that /Milton/ can be so subtle and perceptive and yet not destroy the pair's essential generality." 78 T. S. Eliot observed:

These are not a man and woman such as any we know: if they were, they would not be Adam and Eve. They are the original Man and Woman, not types, but prototypes: if they were not set apart from ordinary humanity they would not be Adam and Eve. They
have the general characteristics of men and women, such that we can recognize, in the temptation and the fall, the first motions of the faults and virtues, the abjection and the nobility, of all their descendants. They have ordinary humanity to the right degree, and yet are not, and should not be, ordinary mortals. Were they more particularized they would be false, and if Milton had been more interested in humanity, he could not have created them.

Douglas Bush summarized:

In *Paradise Lost*, Adam and Eve are at first artificial beings in an artificial world, but they are humanized by sin and suffering, and their author is too when he contemplates them.

From Michelangelo's "Creation of Adam" at the Sistine Chapel

(Pl. 52) Milton may well have derived his first visual conception of the dignity, the vitality, and the reserve energy of his own Adam, an embodiment of calm reason and flawless physical power. Like all the Neo-Platonizing theologians of the Renaissance, Milton understood the biblical saying that man was made in God's image as referring to man's reason.

Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
Godlike erect, with native Honour clad
In naked Majestie seemd Lords of all,
And worthie seemd, for in thir looks Divine
The image of thir glorious Maker shon,
Truth, Wisdome, Sanctitude severe and pure,
Severe, but in the true filial freedom plac't;
Whence true autoritie in men (IV, 288-295).

Milton's Adam and Eve are natural aristocrats. Their majesty is insisted on, but it is independent of man-made pomp or accouterments. They are "with native Honour clad" and possess simplicity, grace of movement, and courtesy of address. They are Michelangelic figures.

Milton could have seen and owned a print of Dürer's 1504 "Adam and Eve" (Pl. 13), a model of human beauty, two classic specimens of the nude human body as perfect as possible both in proportions and in pose.
The engraving has a quality which can be defined only as "statuesque."

This Adam and Eve are similar to Mabuse's at old Whitehall and to an illustration in Andreini's L'Adamo.

His fair large Front and Eye sublime declar'd
Absolute rules; and Hyacinthin Locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad:
Shee as a vail down to the slender waste
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Disheveld, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
As the Vine curles her tendrils, which impli'd
Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway. (IV, 300-308)

His hair hung "clustering," or like bunches of grapes, and hers was like the young shoots or "tendrils" of the "vine"—exactly so in Dürer's engraving. By "Hyacinthin Locks" Milton referred to the curliness and perhaps the color of Adam's hair. The hyacinth was a favorite flower of the poet, and he probably grew hyacinths in his own garden. John Parkinson in Paradisi In Sole (1629) explains five species of hyacinths (Pl. 12) that grew in English gardens. Number four, "the faire haired branched Lacinth," was a dusky "blewish purple colour." Number five, "the faire Curld-haire Lacinth," had three or four leaves,

somewhat like vnto the leaues of the Muske Grape-flower, but lesser; betwenee which riseth vp the stalke abofte a hohte high, or somewhat more, bearing at the toppe a bush or tuft of flowers, which at the first appearing, is like vnto a Cone or Pineapple, and afterwards opening itselue, spreadeth into many branches, yet still retaining the forme of a Pyramid, being broad spread below, and narrow vp aboue: each of these branches is againe diuided into many tufts of threedes or strings, twisted or curled at the ends, and of an excellent purple or Dove colour, both stalkes and haires. This abideth a great while in his beauty, but afterwards all these flowers (if you will so call them) do fall away without any seeds at all, spending it selue as it should seeme in the abundance of the flowers.
The colors of the other varieties of hyacinths Parkinson lists are "a
darke whitish color, with some blacker spots about the brimmes on the
inside," a "duskie greenish purple," a light "blewish purple color." 87
None of these would be very attractive as the color of hair, but the
plant from the very title of the species indicates how it resembles
Adam's hair as shown in Plate 13 and in Mabuse's "Adam and Eve;"
both of which Milton had ample opportunity to know well. In both of
these Adam has no beard and the serpent has a natural head, just as
in Paradise Lost. The majority of the illustrations of Adam which I
have examined showed Adam beardless; however in some he had a beard.
Michelangelo gave him a short one in the "Last Judgment" (but see
Plates 52 and 53). In the Dürer print, the tense relation between Adam
and Eve is paralleled by the mouse and cat crouching to spring in the
foreground, and the animals in the background are symbolic of the un-
balanced humors in man after the fall. The twig of a mountain ash which
Adam still holds signifies the Tree of Life 88 and may correspond to
Milton's "Garland wreath'd for Eve" which "Down drop'd, and all the
faded Roses shed" (IX, 892).

"Accomplisht Eve" (IV, 660) was "with perfet beauty adornd"
(IV, 634). She was "Heav'ns last best gift" (V, 19),

O fairest of Creation, last and best
Of all Gods Works, Creature in whom excell'd
Whatever can to sight or thought be form'd,
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!  (IX, 896-899)

God like a sculptor formed her:
God like a sculptor formed her:

The Rib he formd and fashond with his hands;
Under his forming hands a Creature grew. (VIII, 469-470)

Many Venuses and Madonnas which Milton could have seen in France and
Italy were pointed out in Chapter VIII, and no doubt they played a part in
the statuesque, ideal nude beauty of his Eve (Pls. 31 and 54). He com-
pares his lovely Eve with the Virgin, Nymphs, Pomona, Pandora, Diana,
and Ceres—all of which he could have seen as statues in courts and gar-
dens.

Hercules as the symbol of Christ appears both early and late
in Milton's poetry; he could have seen the Hercules myth depicted in
tapestry, engravings, and emblem books in England and in numerous
sculptures in Europe. The comparison is implicit in "The Passion", where
Christ is a

Most perfect Heroe, try'd in heaviest plight
Of labours huge and hard, too hard for human wight (p. 12),

and implicit in The Hymn:

Our Babe to shew his Godhead true,
Can in his swadling bands controul the damned crew (p. 8)

of pagan gods, as the infant Hercules strangled the serpents of Hesperides.
The hold that the story of Hercules had on Milton's imagination, no doubt
from visual form as well as from literature, is further illustrated by his
referring at the end of Comus to Hercules's labor of attaining the golden
apples, the three heroic Virtues, from the tree in Hesperides (Pl. 26).
Indeed Hercules was "nothing else but Vertue" just as Christ's "heart /
Conteins of good, wise, just the perfect shape" (P. R. III, 11). He questions the Hercules myth in painting his own Paradise:

Groves whose rich Trees wept odorous Gumms and Balme,
Others whose fruit burnisht with Golden Rinde
Hung amiable, Hesperian Fables true,
If true, here onely, and of delicious taste. (IV, 248-251)

In the sonnet to his saintly wife he thought of Hercules:

Methought I saw my late espoused Saint
Brought to me like Alcestis from the grave,
Whom Joves great Son to her glad Husband gave,
Rescu'd from death by force though pale and faint. (p. 86)

The wild sports of the rebel angels are like the convulsions of Hercules when he put on the poisoned robe that Nessus ignorantly brought him:

Others with vast Typhaean rage more fell
Rend up both Rocks and Hills, and ride the Air
In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wilde uproar.
As when Alcides from Oealia Crown'd
With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Thessalian Pines,
And Lichas from the top of Oeta threw
Into th' Euboic Sea. (II, 539-546)

The comparison of Christ with Hercules is explicit at the climax of Paradise Regained:

To whom thus Jesus: also it is written,
Tempt not the Lord thy God, he said and stood.
But Satan smitten with amazement fell
As when Earths Son Antaeus (to compare
Small things with greatest) in Irassa strove
With Joves Alcides, and oft foil'd still rose,
Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,
Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple joyn'd
Thrott'l'd at length in the Air, expir'd and fell;
So after many a foil the Tempter proud,
Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride
Fell whence he stood to see his Victor fall.

(P. R. IV, 560-571)
Before he wrote this Milton could have seen the bas-relief of Hercules as victor over Antaeus on Giotto's Tower in Florence, the Great Fountain of Hercules and Antaeus at Villa Castello near Florence, and many other sculptures of Hercules about his various labors.

Orpheus was likewise identified with Christ by the medieval and Renaissance allegorists, primarily because of their similar attributes of gentleness and their power to subdue and reconcile hostile and mutually antagonistic forces. Giles Fletcher's Christ's Victory and Triumph (1610) and a Catholic book of emblems, A. P. Chesneav's Orpheus Evcharisticus (1657) are examples, as is the death of Orpheus in Lycidas. 93 The Orpheus myth was a favorite in Renaissance painting and engraving, and in masques and tapestry. 94 Dürer and Baldini did engravings of the death of Orpheus. 95 Milton appears to be unique among his contemporaries and predecessors in making a poetic adaptation of the death of Orpheus. Most poets in his day used Orpheus for his power to establish order and maintain harmony. 96 Milton identified himself with Orpheus in the sixth Elegy (p. 574), in "To My Father" he admired Orpheus as a model on which to shape his own career (p. 591), and in L'Allegro (145-150) he refers to Orpheus's descent into Hades. In his second poetic adoption of the death of Orpheus, he identifies himself with Orpheus at the moment when the singer was destroyed by the Bacchides:

still govern thou my Song,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few,
But drive farr off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his Revellers, the Race
Of that wilde Rout that tore the Thracian Bard  
In Rhodope, where Woods and Rocks had Eares  
To rapture, till the savage clamor dround  
Both Harp and Voice; nor could the Muse defend  
Her Son. So fail not thou, who thee implores:  
For thou art Heav'nlie, shee an empty dreame.  

(VII, 30-39)

Milton had an eye for geometric figures. The fallen angels  
are summoned "From every Band and squared Regiment" (I, 758) to a  
meeting at Pandemonium. Raphael and the angels guarding Hell during  
the creation were "Squar'd in full Legion" (VIII, 232). "A Globe of  
fierie Seraphim" (II, 512) surrounded Satan after the Stygian council.  
During the battle in heaven the faithful angels  

In Cubic Phalanx firm advanc't entire,  
Invulnerable, impenitibrably arm'd (VI, 399-340).

Some migratory birds  

rang'd in figure wedge thir way,  
Intelligent of seasons, and set forth  
Thir Aerie Caravan high over Sea's  
Flying, and over Lands with mutual wing  
Easing thir flight. (VII, 426-430)

Satan shows Christ the army of the Parthian king:  

See how in warlike muster they appear,  
In Rhombs and wedges, and half moons, and wings.  

(P. R. III, 308-309)

To Milton the circle was the conventional symbol of unity and eternity;  
the pyramid and the cone interested him. In The Reason of Church-  
Government he has the pyramid, "the most dividing and schismaticall  
forme that Geometricians know of" (III, 217-218), stand for the  
organization of the Church of England and the cone for the miters of
the bishops. There is a "Star-ypointing Pyramid" in "On Shakespear" (p. 18); Satan "Springs upward like a Pyramid of fire" (II, 1013) on leaving Chaos. The palace of Lucifer set up in heaven was

High on a Hill, far blazing, as a Mount
Rais'd on a Mount, with Pyramids and Towrs (V, 754).

The poet probably recalled the diagram of shaded cones in Caxton's Image du monde (Pl. 28), which helps clarify the explanation of why we have day and night, when he wrote:

Now had night measur'd with her shaddowie Cone
Half way up Hill this vast Sublunar Vault,
And from thir Iorive Port the Cherubim
Forth issuing at th' accustomed hour stood armd
To thir night watches in warlike Parade,
When Gabriel to his next in power thus spake. (IV, 776-781)

This is a poetical way to mark time. It was nine o'clock, half way towards midnight, the usual hour for the angels to set their sentries. Milton could have seen pyramids in masques, sculpture, and engravings. In masque scenery, gardens sometimes appeared with "Piramides garnished with golde and siluer." Paul Hentzner wrote of two fountains at Hampton Court—one was a round, the other a pyramid. The tomb of Caius Cestius at Rome was "built like a Pyramid of Egypt, and all of pure white marble." In the piazza of the church of S. Maria del Popolo in Rome was a great pyramid with Egyptian hieroglyphics on it fronting three several streets; in the piazza of St. John Laterano, a pyramid brought out of Egypt. The high Pyramid now set up by the Maderno fountain at St. Peter's was formerly brought out of Egypt by the Romans and placed in the Circus of Maxentius until the Earl of
Arundel put up some money to buy it and the Italians got to thinking it was valuable. Milton could have been well acquainted with the engravings of the pyramids in Egypt which appeared in Sandys's Relation of a Journey.

Milton would have been familiar with the military formations of the Trained Bands which drilled in Hyde Park during the Civil War. He has Satan show Christ the triumphs of Pompey and Julius Caesar (P. R. III, 31-42) and the kings of Parthia (P. R. III, 299-344).

The mighty Parthian army Christ

saw...in thir forms of battell rang'd,  
How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them shot  
Sharp sleet of arrowie showers against the face  
Of thir pursuers, and overcame by flight;  
The field all iron cast a gleaming brown,  
Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn,  
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight;  
Chariots or Elephants endorst with Towers  
Of Archers, nor of labouring Pioners  
A multitude with Spades and Axes arm'd  
To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,  
Or where plain was raise hill, or over-lay  
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;  
Mules after these, Camels and Dromedaries,  
And Waggons fraught with Utensils of war. (P. R. III, 322-336)

The poet could have seen Mantegna's impressive canvases of "The Triumph of Julius Caesar," retained by Cromwell from the collection of Charles I to adorn the walls at Hampton Court, and engravings of Hieronymus Bosch's elephant with the tower of archers helping an army storm a walled town (Pl. 21).

Milton took delight in nature's exuberance as did his contemporary
Peter Paul Rubens. In his fifth Elegy (p. 572) he writes of abundant nature as well as in Paradise. The poet could have seen the canvases of Rubens on the ceiling of the Whitehall Banqueting Hall (Pl. 56), his painting of "War and Peace" done in England 1629-30, and engravings of such paintings of his as "Adam and Eve" (c. 1620), "The Plenty" (1630-32), and "Nature attired by the Three Graces" (1613-14). In the banquet scene in the desert (P.R. II, 339-366) the "Tall stripling youths rich clad" recall the cupids in the trees of "The Plenty"; the "Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades / With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn, / and Ladies of th' Hesperides" bring to mind the three graces in "Nature attired by the Three Graces" and the many cornucopias Milton could have seen on title-pages, maps, and elsewhere in painting. This liking for the excess of nature could have been further encouraged by engravings and statues of the figure of Abundance. Holbein's paintings, "Triumph of Riches" and the "Triumph of Poverty," perhaps play a part in the picture Satan described to Christ of poverty and riches (P.R. II, 413-431):

Fortune is in my / Satan's/ hand;  
They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,  
While Virtue, Valour, Wisdom sit in want. (II, 429-431)

In describing the building Samson destroyed (Pl. 46), Milton most probably recalled actual ruins of theaters and columns he had seen in his travels. In Judges xvi, 27-30 the building was a "house," in Quarles's Historie of Samson, a "common hall," in Sandys's Relation of
a Journey, "the Theatre of Sampson." Milton wrote that Rome was adorned with theaters (P.R. IV, 36), some entire, others in ruins; and as pointed out in Chapter VIII Jews were used for sport at Roman festivals as well as at Philistine ones. A.W. Verity thought Milton's theater "peculiar" as "in the middle, probably of the diameter of the semi-circle are the two pillars supporting the roof: they must be close together, because Samson can embrace them in his arms." 113 Milton does not say there are only two columns bearing the weight of the roof:

The building was a spacious Theatre  
Half round on two main Pillars vaulted high,  
With seats (1605-1607)  

and later Samson leaned awhile  

With both his arms on those two massie Pillars  
That to the arched roof gave main support (1633).

There were other columns supporting this roof; those against which Samson leaned were in the key position for maintaining a balance of the thrusts of the weight. It may be mentioned that northern artists seem to like the Samson story; Milton could have seen engravings of paintings on this subject by Dürer, Rembrandt, Rubens, and Van Dyck. 114

Allegorical figures of Justice, Truth, Mercy, Peace, Chastity, Fame, Fortune, and the like appeared in classical statues and on Roman coins, and were utilized in emblem books, masques, paintings, engravings, title-pages, and statues which Milton could have seen. 115 The poet speaks of Justice early and late in his poetry. In The Hymn the picture of
Truth, and Justice then
Will down return to men,
Th' enameld Arras of the Rainbow wearing,
And Mercy set between,
Thron'd in Celest'iall sheen,
With radiant feet the tissued clouds down stearing (p. 5)
is similar to Bosch's "Last Judgment" (Pl. 20) with Christ sitting on
a "triple-colour'd Bow" (P. L. XI, 893) representing Divine Justice. 116

The figure of Justice in The Hymn should be compared with Truth and
Justice with Cupid in between from the Blaue Atlas (Pl. 23) and with
Ripa's emblem of Justice (Pl. 25) underneath which is written:

A naked old man sitting on a rainbow and holding in his hands
a square, a rule, and a plummet. Since judgment is nothing else
but a cognition of the intellect by which the actions of men are duly
measured and since the above instruments are used by artisans in
order to make geometric measurements, it is appropriate that these
instruments represent accurate reasoning and correct choice which
the intellect must make in order to judge all sorts of things, for he
who measures everything in the same manner cannot judge rightly.

In regard to the rainbow we dare say that he who would mea-
sure all kinds of human actions must learn to evaluate them from
various human experiences, just as the rainbow derives its appear-
ance from the many and diverse colors brought together by the rays
of the sun. 117

In the moving and pathetic passage in which Adam prays for immediate
deadth, the poet thinks of Truth and Justice together, as he did in The
Hymn many years before:

Why comes not Death,
Said hee, with one thrice acceptable stroke
To end me? Shall Truth fail to keep her word,
Justice Divine not hast'n to be just?
But Death comes not at call, Justice Divine
Mends not her slowest pace for prayers or cries.
(X, 854-859)

The figure of Truth has been discussed in connection with the Osiris-
Isis myth in Chapter VIII. Mercy is usually allied with Justice in

Paradise Lost (III, 131 and 407; X, 59 and 78). His "meek-eyed Peace"
who

crown'd with Olive green, came softly sliding
Down through the turning sphere
His /Christ's/ ready Harbinger,
With Turtle wing the amorous clouds dividing,
And waving wide her mirtle wand (The Hymn, p. 2)

was most probably seen in a masque; however Townsend's Tempe

Restored (1632) and James Shirley's Triumph of Peace (1634) must be
ruled out, 118 since The Hymn was written in 1629.

Milton's "pure-ey'd Faith" (Comus, 213) pointing "with her
golden rod" (Sonnet XIV, p. 84) may have generated from figures he had
seen on title-pages, in emblem books, or even in embroidery. 119 His
"white-handed Hope, / Thou hovering Angel girt with golden wings"
(Comus, 213-214) was most probably seen in a masque figure which in
its turn came from an emblem book. His "unblemish't form of Chastity"
(Comus, 215) seen visibly, 120 "like a quiver'd Nymph with Arrows
keen" (Comus, 421) and "Sun-clad power" (Comus, 782) stepped perhaps
out of Ripa's Iconologia 121 into a masque where Milton saw her.

The title-pages and masques presented two kinds of Fame, bona
et mala. 122 Rumour in "On the Fifth of November" (p. 585) is Bad Fame,
with uncountable ears and eyes, sitting in a high tower. Fame is mascu-
line in Samson, and one black and one white wing could have been sug-
gested by the polka-dot effect of Fama mala on the title-page of Sir
Walter Raleigh's *History of the World*, or a figure of Rumor with differently colored wings in some masque: 123

Fame if not double-fac't is double-mouth'd,
And with contrary blast proclaims most deeds,
On both his wings, one black, th' other white,
Bears greatest names in his wild aerie flight.

(*S. A.*, 971-974)

In *Lycidas* Milton speaks of Fama bona as opposed to Fama mala:

Fame is the spur that the clear spirt doth raise
(That last infirmity of Noble mind)
To scorn delights, and live laborious dayes;
But the fair Guerdon when we hope to find,
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind *Fury* with th' abhorred shears,
And slits the thin spun life. But not the raise,
*Phoebus* repl'd, and touch'd my trembling ears;
Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
Nor in the glistening foil
Set off to th' world, nor in broad rumour lies,
But lives and spreds aloft by those pure eyes,
And perfet witnes of all judging *Jove*:
As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
Of so much fame in Heav'n expect thy meed. (pp. 39-40)

The Renaissance distinguished between sacred and profane Love (discussed in Chapter VIII), and real and feigned Religion, as well as between Fame and Infamy. Milton distinguishes between the Cupid of Ovid, a wanton boy with irresistible arrows appearing in *Sonnet II* (p. 557), *Sonnet VI* (p. 558), the first *Elegy* (p. 563), "On the Coming of Spring" (p. 571), the seventh *Elegy* (pp. 575-576), and the cosmic Cupid akin to the Heavenly Eros of Plato124 appearing in *Comus* (1003-1010) and *Damon's Epitaph* (p. 602). The popular Cupid of Ovid he could have seen in emblem books.125 Samson discriminated
between types of religion:

I thought where all thy /Dalila's/ circling wiles would end;
In feign'd Religion, smooth hypocrisy. (871-872).

Feigned Religion was represented in emblem books as a wanton woman with dishevelled hair and clothes; true religion was a veiled woman with fire in her left hand and a Bible and cross in her right hand, with an elephant back of her. She is veiled because she has been secret, and the elephant is a symbol of pious religion since the ancients thought he adored the sun and stars. 126

In presenting Fortune, Milton used the wheel as her accouterment in the prose and the sphere (Pl. 22) in the poetry. 127 Engravings seem to prefer Fortune and her wheel; paintings, Fortune and her sphere. 128

The amount of landscape painting Milton could have seen before he wrote L'Allegro was negligible. 129 Some of Rubens's landscapes he may have seen in engravings (Pl. 9). 130 One sees what he looks for, and what one looks for is no matter of instinct but of training. Milton's eye was trained by such pictorial compositions as were familiar in England in stained glass, tapestry, portraits, engravings, and the living pictures of pageant and procession. That his lines in L'Allegro,

Streit mine eye hath caught new pleasures
Whilst the Lantskip round it measures,
Russet Lawns, and Fallows Gray,
Where the nibling flocks do stray,
Mountains on whose barren brest
The labouring clouds do often rest;
Meadows trim with Daisies pide,
Shallow Brooks, and Rivers wide.
Towers, and Battlements it sees
Boosom'd high in tufted Trees, (p. 22)
have all the parts necessary to a landscape, but are not presented
in a pictorial order has been pointed out by D. S. Bland. Milton's
order of the parts is: foreground, distance, middle distance, fore-
ground, and middle distance; 131 but that is not a landscape painter's
way of presenting the picture. Milton's order is more like that seen
in the Hatfield Tapestries. 132 "Landscape" was a technical term
borrowed from Holland about 1600, and its spelling in English was
still unsettled. 133 Milton liked a variety in landscape, which he disdained
to let Satan enjoy (P. L. IX, 114-118). His landscapes of sunrise and
sunset appealed to J. M. W. Turner, who quoted Milton's lines:

Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise
From Hill or steaming Lake, duskie or grey,
Till the Sun paint your fleecie skirts with Gold,
In honour to the Worlds great Author rise
(P. L. V, 185-188)

under his painting "Morning among the Coniston Fells," exhibited at
the Royal Academy in 1798 and

Now came still Evning on, and Twilight gray
Had in her sober Liverie all things clad
(P. L. IV, 598-599)

under his painting, "Harlech Castle," in 1799. 134 Milton's landscapes
were distant rather than vague and indicate that luminous veils of air
come between the spectator and the foreground and middle distance of a
natural scene, and rob objects of their neat precision. 135 Many critics
have spoken of Milton's vagueness in his descriptive passages. The
world of the heroic poet is consciously viewed in a long perspective
rather than in a "close-up." 136 Ruskin was sensitive to this vagueness,
this delightful suggestive aspect of Milton's descriptions, for pre-
judiced though he was toward Dante, he wrote:

Dante thinks immeasurably finer things than Milton but draws
them more hastily; in this respect he is a good deal like Tintoret
beside Titian...P.S.--When I say that Dante paints more hastily,
I don't mean less distinctly. Far more so. Dante would never
write a piece of rank nonsense--like the expression "Sat honor,
plumed" (IV, 989). He would either have told you nothing, or told
you that the crest was of such and such a shape. But for this
very reason, he often does not excite the imagination to help him
out, as Milton does. 137

The lesson allegedly learned from the poetry of Spenser, "Where more
is meant then meets the ear" (Il Penseroso, 120), is more applicable
to Milton's own work than to Spenser's allegory. The more accurate
formula for "allegory" would be "where something other is meant than
meets the ear." 138

Several of the allegorical figures in L'Allegro and Il Penseroso
have been discussed as derived from figures seen in masques. 139 For
his goddess Melancholy Milton would have had a long tradition both in
engravings and in literature. Dürer's "Melencolia I" (Pl. 17) is a kind
of artist's summary of that tradition. The Renaissance held two con-
ceptions of melancholy: the Galenic tradition of miserable melancholy
associated with black gall and the phlegmatic humor, and the
Aristotelian tradition of admirable melancholy, scholarly, philosophical,
and sober but not at all sorrowful or despondent. Dürer's "Melencolia
I" has many points in common with the latter, but does not exactly rep-
resent it. 140 Milton's L'Allegro illustrates the Galenic tradition of
melancholy; his Il Penseroso, the Aristotelian tradition. In L'Allegro,
melancholy is associated with hell and midnight, with "horrid shapes, and shreiks, and sights unholy"; is banished to an "uncouth cell" in a "dark Cimmerian desert"; is rejected as utterly loathsome. In **Penseroso**, on the other hand, Milton personifies melancholy as a "pensive Nun, devout and pure, / Sober, stedfast, and demure," a "Goddes, sage and holy...divinest Melancholy." She is appropriately Saturn's daughter (as in Dürer), and is fittingly dressed in "a robe of darkest grain," "staid Wisdoms hue." Dürer's "Melencolia I" is a winged woman placed in a chilly, lonely spot not far from the sea and accompanied by a little putto (Milton's Cherub Contemplation) who, perched on a disused grindstone, scribbles something on a slate. Melencolia may be called super-awake, for her eyes are raised in a lowering stare which indicates intensive though fruitless searching. She is inactive because her energy is paralyzed by thought. Neglectful of her attire, with dishevelled hair, she rests her head on her hand and with the other mechanically holds a compass, her forearm resting on a closed book. Perhaps each tool in the engraving has an allegorical meaning. Even though Milton depicts divine Melancholy in **Penseroso**, he remembers the swarthy complexion of the Melancholy of the Galenic tradition:

\[
\text{Whose Saintly visage is too bright  
To hit the Sense of human sight;  
And therfore to our weaker view,  
Ore laid with black staid Wisdoms hue.} \quad (p. 24)
\]

Dürer accomplished practically the same thing by substituting a luminary
effect for the discoloration of the skin. The face of his Melencolia is not so much a dark as a darkened face, overcast by a deep shadow and made all the more impressive by its contrast with the startling white of the eyes. Milton could have known Dürer's engraving well, and perhaps such a goddess is meant in these lines:

Wisdoms self
Oft seeks to sweet retired Solitude,
Where with her best nurse Contemplation
She plumes her feathers, and lets grow her wings
That in the various bussle of resort,
Were all to ruffl'd, and somtimes impair'd.

(Comus, 375-380)

Pictorially Urania was represented quite like Dürer's Melencolia. In William Marshall's engraving of Milton for the 1645 Poems the figure of Urania is a similar design to Coltzius's engraving, a draped female with a globe and a pair of compasses sits contemplating. At her bare feet are a square, rule, book, and measuring instruments which recall Dürer's Melencolia. These figures are similar to Ripa's emblem, "Theory," a young woman looking upward with her hands clasped together. A pair of compasses, upside down, is over her head. She is nobly clad in purple, and is descending a stair. The color of her garment indicates that the sky terminates our sight; her face, that the intellect is taken up with celestial things; the stairs, that things intelligible have order, proceeding by degrees from things near to things far off; the compasses, the most proper instrument for measuring which perpetuates the name of the author. Milton's Urania was
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top  
Of old Olympus dwell'st, but Heav'nlie borne,  
Before the Hills appeer'd, or Fountain flow'd,  
Thou with Eternal wisdom didst converse,  
Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play  
In the presence of th' Almighty Father, pleas'd  
With thy Celestial Song. (P. L. VII, 6-12)

Although Milton knew the college chapels at Cambridge and  
Great St. Mary's there, it was probably as a boy attending St. Paul's  
School and Cathedral (Pl. 58) that he learned to

    love the high embowed Roof,  
    With antick Pillars massy proof,  
    And storied Windows richly dight,  
    Casting a dimm religious light.  
    There let the pealing Organ blow,  
    To the full voic'd Quire below,  
    In Service high, and Anthems cleer,  
    As may with sweetnes, through mine ear,  
    Dissolve me into extasies,  
    And bring all Heav'n before mine eyes. (p. 28)

Few appreciations of the Gothic were written in this transition age to  
the classical design in building. Besides Milton's there is William  
Congreve's in The Mourning Bride (1697), which Dr. Johnson esteemed  
"the finest poetical passage he had ever read; he recollected none in  
Shakespeare equal to it": 146

    all is hush'd, and still as death--'tis dreadful!  
    How reverend is the face of this tall pile,  
    Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,  
    To bear aloft its arch'd and pond'rous roof,  
    By its own weight made stedfast and immoveable,  
    Looking tranquility. It strikes an awe  
    And terror on my aking sight; the tombs  
    And monumental caves of death look cold,  
    And shoot a chilliness to my trembling heart.  
    Give me thy hand, and let me hear thy voice;  
    Nay, quickly speak to me, and let me hear  
    Thy voice--my own affrights me with its echoes.  
    (Act II, scene 1)
The idea of Virtue seated on a hill, as in Holbein's illustration of the Table of Cebes for the title-page of Erasmus's Bible, while men and women climb a rocky path in order to be crowned by true felicity, is prominent in Milton's poetry. There were many reproductions of Holbein's original engraving (Pl. 22). In Cebes, Virtue originally sat on the hill to award the crown. Hercules appears as Judge on a similar hill in Annibale Carracci's "The Judgment of Hercules" at the Farnese Palace in Rome. Wisdom sat at the top of a similar hill in a fresco at the Cathedral of Siena. Always a winding, difficult road led to the top. In Sonnet IX (p. 32) Milton extols the

Lady that in the prime of earliest youth,  
Wisely hath shun'd the broad way and the green,  
And with those few art eminently seen,  
That labour up the Hill of heav'nly Truth.

In Comus the Genius, who was always represented as an old man just outside the entrance gate in the Table of Cebes illustrations, says the people of "this dim spot, / Which men call Earth" are

Unmindfull of the crown that Vertue gives  
After this mortal change, to her true Servants  
Amongst the enthron'd gods on Sainted seats. (Comus, 9-11)

and the Spirit epiloguizes:

Mortals that would follow me,  
Love Vertue, she alone is free,  
She can teach ye how to clime  
Higher then the Spheary chime;  
Or if Vertue feeble were,  
Heav'n it self would stoop to her. (Comus, 1018-1023)

In "To the Lord General Cromwell May 1652," Cromwell

Guided by faith & matchless Fortitude
To peace & truth /his/ glorious way hast plough'd,
And on the neck of crowned Fortune proud
Hast reard Gods Trophies, & his work pursu'd.  (p. 88)

Satan in Paradise Regained speaks like this:

Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk (I, 478)

and

most men admire
Vertue, who follow not her lore      (I, 482).

Thomas Newton has associated Satan's words,

How would one look from his /Christ's/ Majestick brow
Seated as on the top of Vertues hill,
Discount'nance her /Venus/ despis'd, and put to rout
All her array                          (II, 216-218)

with Annibale Carracci's "The Judgment of Hercules" in the Farnese Palace. 150

These examples of the "Arts that polish life" (P.L. XI, 606) as they show up in Milton's poetry are on the whole implicitly ex-
pressed, and perhaps never wholly constitute the source of the poetic lines; but that they form a part of Milton's broad cultural background from which he drew consciously or unconsciously to create his match-
less lines is the contention of this study. Knowing them may serve not only to establish a closer relationship between Milton and the life of his time, but may also illuminate the passages themselves.
NOTES TO CHAPTER IX


3 Caesar Ripa, Iconologia (London, 1709), pp. 16 and 74.


8 Ludwig von Baldass, Hieronymus Bosch (Vienna, 1943), Plate 20; Charles De Tolnay, Jérôme Bosch (Bâle, 1937), p. 31 and Plate 28; Benesch, p. 127.

9 See Chapter II, 44-45.


12 Kellett, pp. 112-113, 139, 144-145.

13 See Chapter III, 106.


15 Michelangelo's in Ludwig Goldscheider, Paintings of Michelangelo (London, 1948), Plates 114-133; Rubens's in Klassiker Der Kunst
(Stuttgart, n. d.), V, 118; Palma il Giovane's in Max Ongaro, Ducal Palace of Venice (Venice, 1927), p. 89; Fra Angelico's in Klassiker Der Kunst, XVIII, 152-156.


17 Ibid., p. 40.


21 Cesare Ripa, Iconologia (Padua, 1630), passim.

22 "Notes," Columbia Milton, XVIII, 584.


24 Raimond van Marle, Iconographie (Hague, 1932), II, 275, Figure 309; Sidney Colvin, Early Engraving and Engravers in England (London, 1905), p. 123.
25 See Chapter III, 106; a copy of Plantin's original title-page with this press mark is to be seen in Whitney's Emblemes (London, 1866).

26 "Notes," Columbia Milton, XVIII, 579.


32 Wonders of Italy (Florence, 1930), pp. 97-98.


35 "Rembrandt," Klassiker Der Kunst, II, 158, 159, 218, 253, 256; VIII, 36, 75; XXVII, 2, 67; XXXI, 239-277.


38 See an engraving in the Kitto Bible, LX, No 11045.


40 John Summerson, Architecture in Britain 1530 to 1830 (Baltimore, 1954), p. 70.

41 Inigo Jones, Designs, p. 112.


47 See Chapter II, 43A and Chapter III, 108.

48 Westminster Hall, Guild Hall, Middle Temple Hall, Crosby Hall, Lambeth Hall, the halls of each college at Cambridge—especially Trinity College Hall (Pl. 49), Hampton Court Hall, Whitehall, perhaps the hall of Ludlow Castle, great hall at Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, the halls at the Capitol in Rome, the Hall of the Great Council at the Ducal Palace in Venice, and the great Hall of Justice at Padua.


50 See N. E. D.


52 There were Doric and Ionic pilasters on the London Royal Exchange (see Summerson, pp. 113-114); Doric pilasters on Somerset
House chapel screen (Summerson, p. 80), on James I's hearse, and on the Goldsmiths' Hall; Ionic and Corinthian pilasters and columns on Jones's Banqueting Hall (Pl. 55); Corinthian pilasters on the houses in Great Queen's Street (Summerson, Plate 56a).


54 See Chapter II, 35-38.


57 Rubens's 1622 "Fall of the Rebel Angels," in Klassiker Der Kunst V, 241: De Tolnay, Bosch, Plate 29; Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer, ed. Willi Kurth.


59 Louis Dimier, Histoire de la Peinture Francaise des Origines au Retour de Vouet 1300 à 1627 (Paris, 1925), Planche LX.


61 See Chapter II, 44.

62 See Chapter III, 117-118.


64 See reproductions in A. M. Hind, Engraving in England in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries (Cambridge, 1952), I, Plate 95 and in Sidney Colvin, Early Engraving in England, p. 44.


66 Nicoll, Stuart Masques, p. 203.

67 See the same emblem in Henry Peacham, Minerva Britanna (London, 1612), p. 146.
For this translation of Cesare Ripa, Iconologia (Padua, 1630), pp. 558-559 I am indebted to Mr. Joseph Battista, Associate Professor of Italian at The Rice Institute.


Paradise Lost, ed. Hughes, p. 63.

Works of Ruskin, IV, 291-292.

Frank Kendon, Mural Paintings in English Churches during the Middle Ages (London, 1923), p. 199.


Works of Ruskin, XVIII, 110.

Some of the visual representations of Adam and Eve which Milton could have seen are Mabuse's at old Whitehall in Collins Baker, Catalogue of Hampton Court, Plate XVI and in M. J. Friedlander, Altniederländische Malerei, VIII, 152; Durer's 1504 engraving, 1507 painting, and woodcut in Klassiker Der Kunst, IV, 127, 46, 286; illustrations in Andreini's L'Adamo, passim; Tintoretto's "Fall of Adam and Eve" and the figures of them in his "Paradise" at the Ducal Palace; bas-reliefs numbers 1-3 on Giotto's Tower in Klassiker Der Kunst, XXIX, 216-217; the sculpture above the columns at the corner on the outside of the Ducal Palace at Venice in The Works of Ruskin, XXIX,
34-35; H. Knackfuss, "Tizian," Künstler-Monographien, p. 124; "Palma Vecchio," Klassiker Der Kunst, XXXVIII, 31-33; Paolo Veronese, George Newnes Limited (London, n. d.), p. 25; Baccio Bandinelli's statue of Adam and Eve; Michelangelo's Sistine ceiling frescoes (see Plates 52-54) and his Adam and Eve in the "Last Judgment" (Fritz Knapp, Michelangelo (Munich, 1923), Tafel 94); Adam and Eve statues in the Boboli Gardens in Florence ("Diary of Nicholas Stone, Junr.", The Walpole Society, VII, 164); Andrea Rizzo's statues at Arco Foscari at the Ducal Palace in Venice in Max Ongaro, Ducal Palace of Venice (Venice, 1927), Figures 6 & 7; engravings of genealogies in the front pages of the 1612 Authorized Versions of the Bible; title-page of John Parkinson, Paradisi In Sole (1629); 1611 (?) World Map of Jodocus Hondius; in domestic needlework, Seligman and Hughes, Domestic Needlework (London, 1926), Plates XXA, 62, 78A & B, 83A, 99A; Adam and Eve depicted on a lady's fan (Paradise Lost, ed. Hughes, p. xxxv); Raphael's Bible pictures (Pls. 31 & 32) and his "Original Sin" on the ceiling of Stanza della Segnatura at the Vatican in Klassiker Der Kunst, I, 45; Rubens's "Adam and Eve" in Klassiker Der Kunst, V, 219 and in M. J. Friedlander, Niederländischen Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts (Berlin, 1926), p. 77; Holbein's "Adam and Eve", Klassiker Der Kunst, XX, 14; the 1638 etching of Adam and Eve attributed to Rembrandt, Klassiker Der Kunst, VIII, 153; Masaccio's "Expulsion" (Pl. 38); illustrations in the Kitto Bible, II, Nos. 248, 264, 267, 268, 302-305, 309, 316, 319, 321, 326, 331, 333, 338, 340-341; Ghiberti's second pair of doors, Leo Planiscig, Ghiberti, Nos. 48 and 84; Nicholas Poussin's "Le Paradis Terrestre" (Pl. 10); marble bas-reliefs on main portal at the Church of San Petronio in Bologna by Jacopo della Querce in Wonders of Italy, p. 174; Lucas Cranach's "Adam and Eve" in The King's Pictures (London, n. d.), II, No. 75; Raimond van Marle, Iconographie, I, Figures 494 & 495; Adam sculpture on Chartres Cathedral in C. M. Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, p. 200; Adam and Eve in the tapestry of the Creation at Hampton Court in Ernest Law, History of Hampton Court (London, 1888), II, 72-73 and in Rye, England as Seen by Foreigners, p. 167; a painting of Adam and Eve at Villa Borghese in Francis Mortoft, His Travels Through France and Italy 1658-1659 (London, 1925), p. 151; a copy of Dürer's 1507 painting at Villa Poggio Imperiale at Florence in Evelyn's Diary, ed. William Bray (London, 1906), I, 193 and Richard Lassels, Voyage of Italy (London, 1670), I, 205.

78 Tillyard, Studies, p. 15.

80 Douglas Bush, The Renaissance and English Humanism (Toronto, 1941), p. 120.


82 Paradise Lost, ed. Hughes, p. xxxii.


85 Andreini, L'Adamo, p. 65.


87 Ibid., pp. 115-116.

88 Panofsky, I, 84-85.


94 A. M. Hind, History of Engraving & Etching (London, 1927), pp. 72, 92, 94; Panofsky, I, 32 and "Mantegna," Klassiker Der Kunst, XVI, xxxix; A. P. Chesneav, Orphevs Evcharisticvs (Paris, 1657); Ottley, I, 403-404; II, 573, 803, 805, 809; Peter Heylyn, A Full

95 Panofsky, I, 32; Ottley, I, 403-404.

96 Mayerson, op. cit., p. 194.


98 For this idea I am indebted to Professor Kester Svendsen of the University of Oklahoma.

99 B. S. Allen, Tides in English Taste, I, 130.


101 Lassels, II, 85.

102 "Diary of Nicholas Stone, Junr.," The Walpole Society, VII, 174 and 173.

103 Mortoft, pp. 79 and 95.


105 "Mantegna," Klassiker Der Kunst (Stuttgart, n.d.), XVI, 52-60.


107 See Chapter II, 47-48.


110 "Diary of Nicholas Stone, Junr.," The Walpole Society, VII, 164; Marle, Iconographie, II, Figures 203 and 204.

111 See Chapter II, 30-31.


116 See also Johnson, Title-Pages, Faithorne No. 5.

117 For this translation of Cesare Ripa, Iconologia (Padua, 1630), p. 296 I am indebted to Mr. Joseph Battista, Associate Professor of Italian at The Rice Institute.


119 Johnson, Title-Pages, Payne No. 2; Ripa, Iconologia (Padua, 1630), passim; M. Symonds and L. Preece, Needlework through the Ages, Plate LXX.

120 See Chapter II, 108.

121 Ripa, Iconologia (Padua, 1630), Book III, 176, 178, 179.

122 See Chapter III, 109; Nicoll, p. 187; Johnson, Title-Pages, Delaram No. 4, Elstrack No. 6.


124 Paradise Regained, ed. Hughes, pp. 30 and 334.
125 Andreae Alciati, Emblemata, Flumen abundans (London, 1871), passim; Francis Quarles, Emblemes (London, 1635), passim.

126 Ripa, Iconologia (Padua, 1630), Book III, II; see Chapter III, 110-111.

127 See Chapter III, 104.


130 See Chapter II, 41.


132 Thomson, History of Tapestry in England, pp. 59-64 and Figures 12 and 13; Symonds and Preece, Needlework Through the Ages, Plate LXXVIII.

133 L'Allegro, 70; P. L. II, 491; P. L. V, 142; Paradise Lost, ed. Hughes, p. 56; in Henry Peacham's Gentleman's Exercise (1612) at the end of the book in "A Short Table of some hard words, and phrases, with a few breife notes," he spells the word, "Landskep" and defines it: "All that, which in a picture is not of the body, or argument thereof, is Landskep, Parergon, or By-work. As in the table of our Sainiaours passion; the picture of Christ upon the Rood (which is the proper English word for Crosse) the two Theives, the blessed Virgin Marie, and Saint Iohn, are the argument: But the Cittie Jerusalem, the country about, the Clowdes, and the like are By-work."

134 Works of Ruskin, XIII, 126, 316, 406 and VII, 391.


137 Works of Ruskin, X, 308.

138 Brooks and Hardy, p. 252.

139 See Chapter III, 109.

140 Lawrence Babb, "Background of Il Penseroso," SP, XXXVII (1940), 266.

141 Panofsky, I, 156-170.

142 Ibid., p. 163.

143 Marle, Iconographie, II, 275, Figure 309; Colvin, Early Engraving and Engravers in England, p. 123; Henry Peacham, Minerva Britannia, pp. 126, 177; Ripa, Iconologia (Padua, 1630), Book III, 124.

144 See Chapter III, 87.


147 Paradise Regained, ed. Hughes, pp. 341, 377.

148 Marle, Iconographie, II, 157, Figure 182; Johnson, Title-Pages, Marshall No. 29.

149 See Chapter III, 83-84.

CHAPTER X
CONCLUSION

Milton drew on a rich deposit of Renaissance art as well as literature, but probably in no era have the riches been more disorderly. Libraries were not well catalogued; art museums did not exist. The arts were closely allied with literature in subject matter. In fact there was a very much closer relation between literature and the visual arts in the later sixteenth and earlier seventeenth centuries than has ever existed since. Both were supposed to serve some more than human purpose and to lift up the thoughts of men. The Bible narrative, classical mythology, and medieval allegories appeared in tapestries, title-pages, masques, engravings, sculpture, and paintings as well as in literature. Milton was writing from a store of impressions, better remembered because they had been seen as well as read. With Milton, as well as with most anyone else, the overwhelming majority of his sense impressions were visual; even after his blindness, his images remained prevailingly visual. He himself tells us the sources of his chief nourishment:

'It began to feel/ that by labour and intent study (which I take to be my portion in this life) joyn'd with the strong propensity of nature, I might perhaps leave something so written to afertimes, as they should not willingly let it die.../this is/ a work not to be rays'd from the heat of youth...but by devout prayer to that eternall spirit who can enrich with all utterance and knowledge...to this must be added industrious and select reading, steddy observation, insight into all seemly and generous arts and affaires, till which in some measure be compound, at mine own peril and cost I refuse not to sustain this expectation from as many as are not loath to hazard so much credulity upon the best pledges that I can give them. (Reason of Church-Government, III, 236-241)'

413
That Milton usually presented his visual images as distant prospective views rather than as "close-ups" indicates that he thoroughly understood his own genius and limitations as well as his epic purpose. Milton was interested in the movement and the space-composition of his pictures more than in their tactile values. Bernard Berenson has pointed out that movement and space-composition are as essential in visual art as are tactile values, and they evidently interested Milton more than the tactile values.

The poet was an artist in the tradition of Sidney and Spenser, a man who shut out the importunities of business and worthless enjoyment, but who opened himself to the ennobling influences of the arts. Though Milton was sensitive to beauty, he always kept this sensuousness subservient to his moral purpose, to the profound religious spirit that pervaded his life and work. He was an admirer of the apostle Paul and would have agreed with his words, "All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any" (I Corinthians, v, 12).

Ida Langdon has showed that Milton believed that all that is best in civil life advances together with all that is most pure and edifying in the arts, and that he was convinced that in the right performance of their function, the arts all serve to beautify and purify the social organism. The evolution of the arts, he thought, was bound up with the strength and order of the State on which they rely for support, and to its freedom and vitality they steadily contribute.
Milton spent two-thirds of his seeing life in Old London, and visited there much of the time he was at Cambridge and Horton. He was in Europe about fifteen months. This study was planned in proportion to the amount of time he spent in his various habitats. By comparison with Italy, it is obvious that Old London fell far short in the visual arts. The political and religious upheaval under the Tudors had done away with the declining workshops of art in the religious houses. Under Elizabeth I when trade declined with Italy and increased with the Low Countries, artistic ideas came to England through Holland, Germany, and the Netherlands. It is significant that neither Holbein in the sixteenth nor Van Dyck in the seventeenth century brought into being a native school of painting on English soil. From 1540 to 1650 foreign arts and artists were imported, chiefly from the Low Countries. Though Italy was on everybody's lips, the engravings and architectural decorations that Englishmen knew best were pouring in from the Protestant Low Countries that traded heavily with England. Some critics have wondered why Milton did not write of Italian painters by name. The surprising thing is not that he did not mention Italian painters; but that he did not mention Van Dyck, who lived several years in London, nor Rubens, whom he probably saw the year he was in England. However writing of contemporaries was not a habit of the poet—Galileo excepted.

Milton saw few buildings after the classical manner in Old London. His was a transition age in architecture. The stone masons and artisans were constructing Classic-Gothic designs with the aid of
Low Country pattern books; Inigo Jones, John Evelyn, John Webb, Roger Pratt, and Henry Wotton were advocating the Renaissance manner of building. The young Milton was influenced by Henry Wotton's taste and ideas and believed as Wotton did that some arts, especially painting and sculpture, considered by that age the handmaidens of architecture, could have a lascivious and superstitious use. Milton preferred these arts used to commemorate the noble deeds of men rather than to aid religious worship. He wrote more specifically of architecture and of gardening than of the other visual arts. His subject matter had something to do with this, but mainly he was better acquainted with these two. The English tradition in building and in gardening was never destroyed as was their tradition of painting and sculpture. The poet wrote a moving appreciation of a Gothic church, and his Pandemonium has a Gothic roof and decorative, not structural, Doric pilasters and pillars. Many were his references to the halls of Gothic design; he even wrote of the "high Palace Hall" in heaven (The Hymn, p. 5).

From the evidence in the poetry it cannot be said that Milton changed his taste in architecture, liking Gothic before his continental tour and preferring classical design after it. It is nearer the truth to say he was sensitive to and appreciative of both Gothic and Classical design, and had no scruples against combining the two. He had seen many more Gothic and Classic-Gothic buildings than he had purely
Classical ones. Although he saw a few Classical designs in London and a great number of them in Italy, his poetry describes no building altogether of Classical planning and structure. He wrote of the medi-eval features of small English gardens even in describing God's natural Garden of Eden. He took delight in a natural garden which had some degree of regularity in its design, but he did not change his taste for a natural English garden after he went to Italy to a taste for the axial formal garden any more than he cast off his appreciation of Gothic design for a new taste for purely Classical buildings.

That Milton had an interest in a wide range of the visual arts should be emphasized. He showed his interest in portrait painting by sitting to Corneliaus Johnson in 1618, to William Marshall for an engraving for the 1645 Poems, and to William Faithorne in 1670 for the frontispiece of the History of Britain. He liked tapestry well enough to decorate his apartments at Whitehall with some hangings from the collection of Charles I. Even in needlework he showed an interest. He was a lover of books and commented directly on two engraved frontispieces. He would have known woodcuts, engravings, and etchings in single sheets at the bookshops as well as in books. In his poetry he made use of allegorical figures taken from emblem books by way of the masque. He wrote of masque scenes from the point of view of the spectator. His use of contemporary, picturesque maps has been established. His poetry indicates a knowledge of monuments and tombs. It is thought
that about 1651 he had a bust made of himself, which is now at Christ's College, Cambridge. An essay, "Of Statues & Antiquities," found among his papers indicates his interest in the new activity for Englishmen of collecting the ruins of Greek statues. A fondness for architecture and a familiarity with architectural detail may be traced in his poetry. He had an eye for the rich colors and delicate designs of the inlay work of the goldsmith shops he could have visited in Cheapside, London. Elaborate inlay work and mosaic he could have seen at Florence, Italy. He was observant of the furniture of that day, sparse though the pieces might seem to us. He wrote knowingly of the art of gardening and always liked to have a garden at the house where he lived. His taste in clothes was a moderate one, somewhere between the lovelocks and ribbons of the London dandies who paraded at Covent Garden Piazza or at the Mall in St. James's Park and the clipped hair and somber costume of the Roundheads. Milton even remarked on the streamers, flags and painting of the Royal Navy's ships of the line.

Compared with the years Milton spent in Old London, his continental tour was but an episode in his life, but as far as the visual arts are concerned it was a liberal education. By comparing the paucity of artistic items mentioned in Chapters II through VI with the eclectic summary of those brought out in Chapter VIII, the reader will have some idea of the new experience Milton had in Italy. The impact of such vast pictures as Michelangelo's "Last Judgment," Raphael's frescoes in the
Stanza della Segnatura and Sala di Constantino at the Vatican, Vasari's frescoes in the great hall at Palazzo Vecchio at Florence, the battle scenes on the walls of the Great Council Hall at the Ducal Palace in Venice, and Tintoretto's "Paradise" above the throne in the same room, on the well-informed and observant mind of John Milton must have convinced him that the like on such a scale had not yet been done in literature. In churches, in palaces, in gardens he saw the Bible narrative and classical mythology related in the visual arts by glowing color and flowing lines. Perhaps while viewing some of the many pictures of Adam and Eve (Pl. 38, for instance) he began to ponder the idea of the Fall of Man as a possible subject for the epic which he had had in mind since 1628. But regardless of when and where he planned this artistic achievement, it is Milton's poetry itself that contains the actual implications of his delight in the visual arts, for

In his life and work, nourished by a richer culture than we know, dedicated to high aims, and touched to profound issues, there are qualities infinitely rare and precious; the charm of old gardens under sunshine or gentle rain, the solemnity of temples planted round with shade "Of laurel ever green, and branching palm," the sublimity of cloud castles built by the sun upon the summer seas, the spiritual wind that sweeps away the clouds and mists from this dim spot called earth and admits by "Cleer Spring, or shadie Grove, or Sunnie Hill" gleams of that radiant light which is the essence of divinity.

Milton's observation of the visual arts, as implied in his poetry, is far more considerable than has heretofore been thought. The close relationship of literature and art in his age and his extensive reading argue that he would have reacted sensitively to the Gothic art of his London and the Renaissance art of Italy.
NOTES TO CHAPTER X


2 The italics are mine. See this quote in Banks, p. 249.


5 Banks, p. 45.


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Visscher's Long View (Eastern Half)
pagoda, consisting of seven pyramidal storeys.

"The pagoda to be illuminated with gas lights; and brilliant fireworks, both fixed and missile, to be displayed from every division of the lofty Chinese structure. Copious and splendid girandoles of rockets to be occasionally displayed from the summit, and from other parts of this towering edifice, so covered with squibs, Roman candles, and pots de brin, as to become in appearance one remembered in connection with humorous frolics. In passing daily along the Mall he noticed a careworn-looking man, with threadbare clothes, whom he discovered to be an officer on half-pay, with a wife and a large family, whom, for the sake of economy, he had been obliged to send down into Yorkshire. One day the duke sent a message asking him to dine with him next Sunday, and when his guest arrived he told him that he had

As shown in the diagram, the plan of St. James's Palace and Park in the time of Charles II.


column of brilliant fire. Various smaller temples and columns on the bridge to be vividly illuminated; and fixed fireworks of different devices on the balustrade of the bridge to contribute to heighten the general effect." The fireworks set light to the pagoda and burnt its three upper storeys. The canal was well provided with handsomely decorated boats at the disposal of those who wished to avail themselves of this amusement. The whole margin of the lawn was surrounded with booths for refreshment, open marquees with seats, &c. The Mall and the Birdcage Walk were illuminated with Chinese lanterns.

Among the residents in St. James's Park was the eccentric Duke of Montagu, whose name is still asked a lady to meet him who had a most tender regard for him. On entering his Grace's dining-room he found his wife and children, whom the duke had brought up to London from Yorkshire; and before he left the house the duke's solicitor brought out, and the duke signed a deed settling on him an annuity of £200 a year. It is a pity that such practical jokes are not more often played by wealthy dukes and noble lords.

Here, at one time, used to take his daily walk the jovial and genial wit and poet, Matthew Prior, whom Gay calls, "Dear Prior, beloved by every muse." Swift and Prior were very intimate, and the latter is frequently mentioned in the "Journal to Stella." "Mr. Prior," writes Swift "walks to
and being taken prisoner by the Roundheads, was executed.

In the first year of Charles's reign a strange scene was witnessed in the Park. The young queen, Henrietta Maria, just wedded, went through it barefoot, and clad in sackcloth, to Tyburn gallows, an event of which we shall have to speak more fully in our account of Tyburnia.

In the reigns of our early Stuart kings there was in Hyde Park a large number of pools or ponds, all communicating with each other, and variously given as ten, eleven, and twelve. They were fed by a small stream, the Westbourne, which, rising on the western slope of Hampstead, passed through Kilburn and Bayswater, and then intersected the Park, which it quitted at Knightsbridge on its way to join the Thames at Millbank and Chelsea. These pools used to supply the western parts of London with water, until a complaint was made that they were drained so much that there was no water for the deer. This at least, was stoutly asserted by the keepers, and as stoutly denied by the citizens, who petitioned the king to allow the supply to continue. But Charles I. preferred the word of his keepers to the petition of his loyal and faithful subjects; he chose rather to see his subjects than his favourite deer lacking water, and so he rejected the petition—a step which much increased his unpopularity at the time.

During the early part of the Civil Wars in the time of Charles I. Hyde Park was largely used for exercising the "trained bands," as the regular forces of the City were called. This body of men was first enrolled—or, as the phrase went, "drawn forth in arms"—on the side of the monarch: yet, subsequently, the citizens supported the popular cause, and it was principally by their aid that the House of Commons obtained its decided preponderance. So early as November, 1642, within three months after Charles had set up his standard at Nottingham, the "trained bands" were marched out to join the Earl of Essex, on the heath near Brentford. "where," says Clarendon, "they had indeed a full army of horse and foot, fit to have decided the title of a crown with an equal adversary." In the further progress of the war, several auxiliary regiments, both of foot and horse, were raised by the City; and to a part of these forces, joined to two regiments of the "trained bands,"" or whose inexperience of danger," remarks the historian just quoted, "or any kind of service beyond the easy practice of their postures in the Artillery Garden, men had till then too cheap an estimation," the Parliament army was indebted for its preservation in the first battle of Newbury, "for they stood as a bulwark and rampart to defend the rest, and, when their wings of horse were scattered and dispersed, kept their ground so steadily," that Prince Rupert himself, who charged them at the head of the choice royal horse, "could make no impression upon their stand of pikes, but was forced to wheal about." The same historian designates London as "the devoted city of the Commons, and their inexhaustible magazine of men."

"In April, 1662," says Mr. Allen, in his "History of London," "about six weeks before the restoration of Charles II., and when the artful management of General Monk had disposed the current to countenance the measures he was pursuing in favour of royalty, a muster of the City force was held in Hyde Park: the number of men then assembled amounted to about 18,600—namely, six regiments of "trained bands," six auxiliary regiments, and one regiment of horse: the foot regiments were composed of eighty companies, of two hundred and fifty men each; and the regiment of cavalry of six troops, each of one hundred men. The assembling of this force was judged to have been highly instrumental to the success of the effort for restoring the monarchy. Within a few weeks afterwards the king granted a commission of inquisition for the City of London, which invested..."
Bolswert's Engraving of a Rubens Landscape
PARADISI IN SOLE
Paradisus Terrestris.
A Garden of all sorts of pleasant Flowers which our English Gaze will force to be naturalized with
A Kitchen garden of all manner of herbs, roots, & fruits,
for roots or sauce or fit with vines,
and
An Orchard of all sorts of fruit-bearing Trees
and shrubs fit for our Land
together
With the saving ordering & preparing
of roots and other right products,
Collected by John Parkinson.
Agreed at London.
Five Species of English Hyacinths
Dürer's 1504 Engraving of Adam and Eve
Dürer's "Angel with the Keys to the Bottomless Pit"
Dürer's "Knight, Death, and the Devil"
Videntur & alia quaedam cete ex eodem Balanis adnumeranda, quae ipse simpliciter cete no minat, cum prater magnitudinem balanis præcipue conveniuntém, nulam in se corporis parte sem raram aut monstruam habeat. Eiusmodi sunt:

Woodcut in Gesner's History of Animals of a Ship Anchored to a Whale
"THE SOVEREIGN OF THE SEAS." FROM THE ENGRAVING BY JOHN PAYNE (1817)
Emblematical Tableau of Human Life, from thebes the Theban B.C. 390.
Truth and Justice and Cupid Set between, from a Map in the 1663 Blaeu Atlas
Della nouissima Iconologia:

558

che cade nella mente dell'huomo, o per malcontentolza, o per invidia, o per dolore, o per timore, o che viene da imperfezione naturale.

Giouane scarsigliata, & scalza si dipinge, perciocchè il pazzio non stima le medesime, né altri, & è lontano d'ogni politica contemplazione, per non conoscere il bene di quella, & non per fine di contemplazione, o dispregio del Mondo per amore di Dio; e ciò dico per rispetto di quelli, che hanno già domati gli affetti loro per la contemplazione, si ritirano a vita solitaria.

Il colore changeante del vestimento denota instabilità, che regna nella pazzia.

La pelle d'Orso, significa che i pazzi per il più si reggono dall'ira, perciocchè si venera quasi continuamente far dicerie e parassagione.

Tiene con la finitra mano una candella accesa vicino il Sole, perché è legno veramente di pazzia pretarsi di vedere più per forza d'un picciolo lume che per mezzo della gran virtù del Sole, che si mirabilmente riplende.

PECCATO.

GIOVANE cieco, ignudo, & nero il quale mostrò di camminare per vie precipitose, & morte, cinto & travestito da vase terpe, con un verme, che penetrando il lato manco, gli roda il cuore.

Il Peccato si dipinge giovane, & cieco per l'iniquità, & cecità di colui che lo commette, non essendo il peccato per sé stesso altro, che una trasfigurazione delle leggi, & uno uscir dal bene, com'unco dice.

Peccato è quell'error, che'il voler vuole,
E la ragion non regala, o reprime,
Ma confessa col senso all'arte, e l'occhio.
Sì sta ignudo, & nero, perché il peccato per gli errori della gratia, & forza affatto del carattere della virtù, flando in pericolo di precipitare per l'incertezza della Morte, che lo piglia all' inferno, e non si giusta con la penitenza, & al dolore.

Emblem of Sin in Ripa's Iconologia
Della nouissima Iconologia

GIOVANNA.

Omni di bella età inghirlandata di fior, 
& nella destra mano tenga una coppa d'oro, 
perché da' poeti è detta fior de' giudici, 
è preziosa, come la coppa dell'oro, 
& cosi fia, in pinta Hebe Dea della Giovvanità. 
Anzi più che l'oro Tibullo elegg. 8. Carer et amore umani.

GIOIA D'AMORE.

Vedi Contento Amoroso.

GIVBIO.

Vedi Allegrezza.

GIVDITIO.

HUMO ignudo attennente a sedere sopra l'Iride, verso arco celeste, recendo in mano la squadra, il regolo, il compasso, & l'archipendolo.

Non essendo altro il Giudizio, che una consapevolezza fatta per disporre della debita maniera di tutte le azioni, come in qualunque altra operazione che nasce dall'intelletto, & essendo tal suo mezzo rimanuto da gli Artifici, per essere notizia nell'opere di Geometria, ma censu alcun.
To the right worshipfull Sir David Murray Knight.

Thus Hercules, the Romanes did devise,
And in their Temples, him a place assign'd:
To represent unto the peoples eyes,
The image of, th' Heroique virtuous mind:
Who like Alcides, to her lasting praise,
In action still, delight to spend her dayes.

Within whose hand, three apples are of gold,
The same which from th' Hesperides he tetcht,
These are the three Heroique vertues old,
The Lions skinne, about his shoulders stretc'hed,
Notes fortitude, his Clubbe the crabbed paine,
To braue atcheiements, ere we can atteaine.

Virtutem præsumus hominem
Tacent lib 4,
1. Moderation
of anger;
2. Contempt of
pleasure;
3. Abstinence
from covet-
ousnes.

Mecum honor et laudes, et tuto gloria velut,
Et decus, et niveis Victoria concolor aliis:
Me cinclus Laura pudent ad alta triumphant,
Caela nulu domus, et cella flam coele penates.

Emblem of Hercules as Heroic Virtue
Emblem of Chaos

William, and Air, and Earth, and Water, all wasted
Before this world's creation was wrought, which now was
looked upon.

There was no form of things, but a confused mass:
A lump, which Chaos men did call; wherein no order was,
The Clouds, and Heaven, did bring the Heavie things, and Light
The Air, and Sea, the West, and East, for none had shape anight.
But when they were diffus'd, each one into his room: "I know:
The Fire, had Heaven; the Tree, had Light; the Earth, with fruits did
The Sea, had water: which things, so past, thus brought:
Beholding, of this vast martial, the world now was wrought.
Then all things did drunk, that earth the vic of name:
The Rivers great, with wine, and clod, and matke, and hayse, name
The Trees did yield their fruits: thought these planting then unknown,
And Chaos in her body, through her veins was unformed.
The Passion; Summer was: the Graces were always green;
And many beasts, did bear the badge of fragrant flowers.

The iron age was large, a fearefull cursed romance:
Then, arrows came of mischief in: and fill'd the world with tryme.
Then fire, and reaunt, did spring in wallhowe:
And ev'n of mischief, did murder all, and poison cowboy with power.
And hear, that mischief was, his words, did take for laws.
And when the poore did pleuche, and known the rich away did drive.
None think of their miss, their daughter's, or their good.
No, nor their lust, such tyrants brooke, did foe to spill their bloody.
Then verses were the first, and dim'd with views vile,
Then revenge, did make up in choke of rigth, then bad, did good end
Then falsehood, and shameful reach; and that, naught do to science.
Then pittie, and compassion died; and blest and foul, woe was borne.
So that no verses then, their proper shapes did bear:
Nor could from verse, nor design, did strange they missed verse.
That now is the world's, an other Chaos came:
But God, that of the former shape, the homed and earth the frame.
And all things placed therein, his shape to declare:
Some verses downe vers the earth, such love to man, a virtue
Who, if once the world, with such an heavenly verse:
That quickely verses them advance, and verse did subdue.
And, of that verse, did sanguine, a passion; of bliss:
By which verse once in: That verse to verse fared Goddes is.
That land doth nothing fill, and gladding; there doth grow:
Because that, to God, and Prince, by her such dam's known.
All verse was done with vengea, her name, rage, and wrath.
And Rhodoscan can not long endure, that doth that lady lacke.
Then happy England now, where verses is embraced:
And reck to many famous men, within their chains are plac'd

"In caprice of woe,"
Nor this quiet times, fell only with sacrifice,
Unaeas, among them, their reaults benefic.
Diagram of Shaded Cones in Carton's Image du monde

Plate 28

Cartographic form is not true by progressive typographical

Examination.
Raphael's "God Creating the Heavens and Earth"
Raphael's "God Creating the Animals"

ET FECIT DEUS BESTIAS TERRAE
HUNT SPECIES SUAS Gen.Capt.

Plate 30
Raphael's "Temptation"
Rembrandt's "The Angel Raphael Leaving the Tobit Family"
Guido Reni's "Michael Overpowering Satan"
"Lucifer, a Gorgeous Angel" at the Villa Ludovisi in Rome
Masaccio's "Expulsion"
A RELATION of a Journey begun An Dom 1616.
FOUR BOOKES.
Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Egypt, of the Holy Land, of the remote parts of Italy, and Ireland adorning.
The second edition
LONDON.
Printed for W. Barke. 1621.
THEATRO DEL MONDO
DI ABRAHAMO ORTELIO:
Da lui poco inanzi la sua morte riucuito, & di tavoie nuove, et commenti adorno, & arricchito, con la vita dell'Autore.

Traslato in Lingua Toscana
dal Sig. Filippo Pigafetta.

IN ANVERSA,
SI VENDE NELLA LIBRARIA PLANTINIANA,
M. D. C. X I I.

Title-Page of Ortelius's 1612 Theatro del Mondo
ATLAS
ou
REPRÉSENTATION DU MONDE
UNIVERSEL ET DES PARTIES
D'ICELUI, FAIT EN TABLES
ET DESCRIPTIONS TRES AMPLES
Tome seconde.

Title-Page of 1633 Mercator Atlas
ITALIE,
QUI EST
LE XVI. LIVRE
DE L'EUROPE.

Frontispiece to the Italy Volume of the 1663 Blaeu Atlas
Title-Page of the Old Testament in a 1612 King James Bible
Title-Page of the New Testament in a 1612 King James Bible
Engraving of the Creation of the Animal in the 1568 Bishop's Bible
The Explanation of the EMBLEME.

Though clogged with weights of miseries,
Palm-like Depress'd, I higher rise.

And as th' unmoved Rock, out-bravo,
The boisterous Windes and raging Waves,
So triumph. And shine more bright,
In sad Affliction's Darksom night.

That Splendid, but yet toilson Crown,
Regardless I trample down.

With joys I take this Crown of thorns,
Though sharp, yet eanie to be born.

That heavenly Crown, already mine,
I view with eons of Faith divine.

I slight vain things: and do embrace
Glorie, the just reward of Grace.

Frontispiece to the 1649 Eikon Basilike
Interior of Trinity College Hall, Cambridge
Michelangelo's "The Creation of the Sun, Moon, and Plants"
Michelangelo's "Creation of Man"
Michelangelo's "Temptation and Expulsion"
on the Puritan age which followed so soon after the execution of the ceiling. On either side of this central compartment are oblong panels, on which the painter has endeavoured to express the peace and plenty, the harmony and happiness, which he presumed to have signalised the reign of its boldness and success. These paintings have been more than once re-touched, on one occasion by no less an artist than Cipriani; and though there is an immense distance between this artist and Rubens, there is no apparent injury done to the work. The Banqueting House cost £17,000.

James I. In other compartments Rubens’ patron and employer, Charles, is introduced, in scenes intended to represent his birth, and as being crowned King of Scotland; while the oval compartments at the corners are intended, by allegorical figures, to show the triumph of the Virtues, such as Temperance, &c., over the Vices. Vandyck was to have painted the sides of the apartment with the history of the Order of the Garter. The execution of particular parts is to be admired for Rubens received for his paintings upon the ceiling—about four hundred yards of work—the sum of four thousand pounds, or nearly £12 a yard; while Sir James Thornhill, three quarters of a century later, was paid only three pounds a yard for his decorations on the ceiling of Greenwich Hospital. Cipriani had two thousand pounds for his re-touching. This noble building was turned into a chapel by George I., and in it divine service is performed every Sunday morning and afternoon.
a balustrade, with attic pedestals in their places crowning the whole. The building consists chiefly of one room, of an oblong form, a double cube of 55 feet. The stone for building it was drawn from the quarries at Portland, under authority of the sign-manual of James I.

Charles I. commissioned Rubens to paint the ceiling, and by the agency of this great artist the King was enabled to secure the noble cartoons of Raffaelle, which are preserved at the South Kensington Museum. Charles also collected a considerable number of paintings by the best masters but these were seized by order of Parliament, who sold many of the paintings and statues, and ordered the “superstitious pictures” to be burnt. After Sir P. Lely’s death, his noble collection of drawings and pictures was exhibited in the Royal Banqueting House, and in consequence realised, when subsequently put up for auction, the very large sum of £26,000. Rubens’s painted ceiling is divided by a rich framework of gilded mouldings into nine compartments, the subjects being what are called allegorical, the centre one representing the apotheosis of James I., or his supposed translation into the celestial regions. The king, supported by an eagle, is borne upwards, attended by figures as the representatives of Religion, Justice, &c. His Majesty appears seated on his throne, and turning with horror from War and other such-like deities, and resigning himself to Peace and her natural attendants, Commerce and the Fine Arts—a curious commentary
ECCLESIA CATHEDRALIS
S. PAULI
AB OCCIDENTE PROPECTVS.
Ecclesia Paulina moles fieri
Pietatis avita documentum,
Semper et saeculo quieta
Sequor, quasi approbriam
Tandem pietae pehall

ORIENTALIS PARTIS ECC. CATII & PAVLI PROSPECTVS INTERIOR
Western Facade of St. Peter's at Rome

Vestibule of St. Peter's