Paradise Revised:

The Formal and Material Revision of *Paradise Lost*

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the

University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy

by

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For Mom and Dad

who taught me to read

sine quibus non

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INTRODUCTION

Until quite recently, the reprinting of *Paradise Lost* has reflected a three-century editorial consensus that Milton's final intention to publish it as 'A Poem in Twelve Books' should be regarded as preferable to its original published form as 'A Poem Written in Ten Books'. Periodic questioning of that assumption finally resulted in the publication two years ago of the first edition of the poem as a scholarly text, rather than a facsimile.[1] To celebrate the landmark, a volume of essays treating the circumstances and particular virtues of its original publication supplemented the edition of the poetic text.[2] The present thesis arises from a similar scepticism that the revisions to the second edition, both material and formal, have been accepted unquestioningly as improvements without sufficient interrogation of their contribution to the poem. Besides the re-division into twelve books, Milton also inserted a total of fifteen lines in five places, amid other revisions and corrections that are not necessarily authorial, but these additions are usually mentioned by editors and critics only in passing, without discussion of their poetic merits. The aim of this thesis is to reassess both the formal and material revisions of *Paradise Lost* and provide an explanation that accounts for each of them individually as well as in toto.

The figure of the author looms large over the Miltonic texts, so much so that it might seem impossible to prise them from the grip of the authorial persona. Milton's presence is strong partly because his life is so well documented in comparison to his contemporaries, and partly because he interpolates

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[1] John Milton, *'Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books': An Authoritative Text of the 1667 Edition*, ed. by John T. Shawcross and Michael Lieb (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007).
[2] Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross, eds, *'Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books': Essays on the 1667 Edition* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007).

autobiographical elements in his texts, even in his epic fiction. His authorial presence in *Paradise Lost* is forcefully felt because his persona in the poem is not that of a diegetic character easily distinguished from the author, such as Dante, but apparently that of the epic poet he evidently is. So capable does Milton present himself, and indeed proves himself to be at all turns in *Paradise Lost*, that it is difficult for some critics to conceive of a change in the text that the poet did not predestine from the beginning. Thence the belief that the twelve-book reorganisation 'was planned from an early stage'[3] or, even more immutably on Milton's part, 'was planned from the start'.[4]

A predestinarian view of Milton's textual superintendence—authorial superintention, we might call it—is problematic. For one thing, his publisher testifies that Milton did not foreordain either the apologia for blank verse or the prose arguments prefixed to later issues of the first edition; rather, Simmons himself commissioned them. Exit Milton the autonomous visionary; enter Milton the happy collaborator: 'In light of Simmons's note in the reissue', muses Stephen Dobranski, 'it is pleasing to speculate whether some of the other revisions may also be owing to his recommendations'.[5] Was Simmons then Milton's must trusted critic? It is true that Simmons's note 'confirms that Milton was willing to revise *Paradise Lost* according to readers' responses', which therefore 'helped to create a text different than the one Milton "first intended"', but Milton's condescending tone in 'The Verse' characterises these paratexts as reluctant concessions on his part, rather than

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[3] Alastair Fowler, 'Introduction', in *Paradise Lost*, 2nd edn (Harlow, England: Longman, 1998), p. 27.
[4] Fowler, 'Introduction', in *The Poems of John Milton* (Harlow, Enland: Longman, 1968), and *Paradise Lost*, rev. ed. (Harlow, England: Longman, 1971), p. 24, and Christopher Butler, *Number Symbolism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1970), p. 158n59, where the identical wording is used after citing Fowler but not quoting him.
[5] Stephen B. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999), p. 36.

products of the eager collaborator portrayed by Dobranski.[6] He presents Simmons's acceptance of Milton's revisions for the second edition of the poem as a financially expensive courtesy on the part of the publisher, but the history of reprints in the seventeenth-century book trade suggests that it was commercial concerns originating with the publisher rather than artistic considerations originating with the author that were the catalyst for the second edition to be a revised edition in both form and matter.[7]

In the most literal sense, this thesis could be taken as an elaboration of Dobranski's suggestion that the revisions of *Paradise Lost* 'may also be owing to [Simmons's] recommendation'. However, I would make that claim not in the narrow sense Dobranski seems to convey, but in the general sense that John Shawcross has consistently asserted for the past 45 years. Indeed, one of the aims of this thesis is to substantiate from a book-historical perspective the plausibility of Shawcross's claim that Milton was pressured by Simmons to provide revisions of some kind to make the second edition more commercially viable.[8] Specifically, I do not think Simmons would have recommended particular revisions, as Dobranski implies, but 'a revision' generally, preferably with additions—ideally with lots of additions—as was customary if not obligatory for second editions of poetry as well as of prose. No doubt this would have been mildly affronting to the poet who had finished corrections to the printer's copytext more than two years before he signed the contract for its publication.[9] This was not a hastily written pamphlet like *The readie*

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[6] Ibid., pp. 34–35.
[7] In Dobranski's words, 'Having purchased the exclusive rights to publish *Paradise Lost*, Simmons did not have to undertake the considerable expense of adding sixteen pages of front matter to the reissue of the first edition, nor did he have to incorporate the other slight revisions that Milton made to the epic for the second edition' (p. 35).
[8] For documentation of Shawcross's claims please see the introduction of the first chapter.
[9] Based on Edward Phillips's departure to Wiltshire in February 1665 to become Philip Herbert's tutor for four years (Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 324–36).

and easie way which was rewritten in five or six weeks for an urgent second edition.[10] After completing *Paradise Lost*, Milton had two more years to reconsider every part of the poem before it went to press for the first time. Now he was expected to produce a 'Revised and Augmented' version of an already carefully considered and painstakingly executed masterpiece? When contrasted with the apparent addition of two full books' worth of new material, as implied by the title-page, the relative minutia of the actual additions to the poem suggests a stark discrepancy between Simmons's wishful thinking for a revised edition and what he actually got. The division of the seventh and tenth books each in half seems to have been a clever compromise between the demands of the bookseller to meet market expectation, and the resolve of the artist not to alter his poem—much. If a parallel between Milton and the divine Father must be made it is that, like the author of creation 'whose wisdom had ordained / Good out of evil to create' (VII.186–88), the author of *Paradise Lost* took the opportunity that Simmons cynically meant for profit and brought out of it an artistically satisfying, if imperfect in this case, result.

Methodology

Although the purpose of this thesis is not to make recommendations for editorial practice with regard to the poem, the theoretical orientation from which this study approaches its subject is the sociologies of print culture and the influence of booksellers' concerns on the textual commodity. In particular, my first chapter addresses the advertising strategies of the early modern book trade in England and how the title-page came to be the primary locus of marketing texts both in and remote from the physical volume. In research, however, my practice is not

[10] For the first edition, Campbell and Corns identify 'the *terminus a quo* for its publication at 22 February [...] and the *terminus ad quem* 3 March' (p. 294), while the second was published 'probably in the first week of April' (p. 298).

theoretical but documentary. My attempt to reconstruct a picture of the marketability and advertising of reprints is drawn from primary examples of such reprints, supplemented by contemporary discourse about such editions, sometimes from the same texts. Contemporary testimony also provides evidence of the advertising practices of booksellers in London. What I believe emerges from this examination of book history is a Culture of Revision in which texts are rarely reprinted without amendment, but usually with revisions, enlargements, or other augmentations that are rarely left unpublicised. Indeed, the temptation of booksellers to falsely advertise straightforward reprints—or simply extra copies of the original edition!—as being revised in some manner reveals just how valuable to sales booksellers considered a title-page's announcement of new and improved ingredients.

Having established this context, I then turn to analysis of the Miltonic texts. But before addressing *Paradise Lost* specifically, I first survey, in Chapter II, Milton's practice of post-publication revision in his other English poems. The relative brevity of this chapter reflects Milton's overall satisfaction with his published poetry and his reluctance to make extensive verbal revisions other than apparent corrections or obvious improvements. My approach to Milton's poetry in this chapter, as in the following two on *Paradise Lost*, is critical and evaluative. The focus in these chapters is on the poetic revisions made by Milton, but it is accompanied by discussion of other textual changes that affect the volumes in which the poetry appears, such as (in Chapter III) the title-pages and preliminary material of *Paradise Lost*.

In the last two chapters I also present theories that answer my primary research questions: Why did Milton insert only fifteen additional lines in total to a poem of ten and a half thousand? (Chapter III) and why did he add the lines

specifically in the passages he did? (Chapter IV). The concomitant mystery—Why did Milton reorganise the ten-book poem into twelve books?—is also addressed in Chapter IV. Throughout the thesis I allege that the splitting of two books into four was primarily an editorial sleight of hand to produce the illusion of significantly increased content, which necessarily implies that the ten-book format was considered satisfactory by Milton and without need for adjustment. Since it is a commonplace of criticism that the twelve-book structure, following Virgil, is the most appropriate expression of Milton's epic ambitions, it is necessary to defend the ten-book organisation as the superior framework for the themes of the poem, which I do in the first half of Chapter IV with reference to past interpretations of the alternative systems of organisation.

This discussion of the poem's formal 'macrostructure' is followed by discussion of its formal 'microstructure', the endlessly variable verse-paragraph. As a point of entry to this topic, I begin with an analysis of 'At a Solemn Musick', not only one of Milton's first two attempts at the verse-paragraph format but also the only poem in his hand which is extant in multiple stages of composition. The interpretation I propose of this short poem is the beginning of an extended argument about form in the verse-paragraphs of *Paradise Lost* which culminates in a new theory: it is formal rather than material considerations that best account for the specific location of each addition to the second edition of the poem.

Chapter I

THE CULTURE OF REVISION IN THE EARLY MODERN ENGLISH BOOK TRADE

Stanley Morison said that 'the history of printing is in large measure the history of the title-page', and Wytze Hellinga that 'the history of the title-page in large measure reflects the history of the distribution of books'.[1] While both statements are provocative, they admirably convey the fact that the resourceful exploitation of the title-page, if not its absolute origin, was unique to printed books, and that the evolution of its form was a series of practical responses to challenges posed by the new technology and to the marketing requirements of the book trade. The present thesis could be summarised as claiming that the 1674 revision of *Paradise Lost* was a response to the commercial demands of its own title-page.

How could a title-page command any influence over the form taken by the text it covers? It might be natural to assume that the form of a title-page is completely contingent on the work it announces, and that any influence exerted between them originates from the main text and affects the title-page, resulting in such identifying marks as the number of that edition. But one of the aims of this thesis is to suggest another influence, minor though it may be in comparison, that is exerted in the other direction, like the relationship between the Earth and the Moon. Although the Lunar orbit is controlled by the Earth's greater mass, the Moon's own gravitational pull nonetheless affects the tides on this planet in a reciprocal, if not equal, relationship. Likewise, even while Simmons's title-page remains at the

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[1] Stanley Morison, *First Principles of Typography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), p. 16; Wytze Gs Hellinga, *Copy and Print in the Netherlands: An Atlas of Historical Bibliography* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Company and Federatie der Werkgeversorganisatien in het Boekdrukkersbedrijf, 1962), p. 112.

service of Milton's poem, the second edition's need of a sales incentive to be trumpeted on its title-page cannot be excluded as the catalyst for the poem to be 'Revised and Augmented' in the first place.

That Milton was influenced by commercial considerations is not in itself a hypothesis original to me. To begin with, we have Simmons's testimony in his note from 'The Printer to the Reader' that in response to public criticism he requested the summarising 'arguments' from Milton for the later bindings of the first edition, and in 1965 John Shawcross postulated that likewise in the second edition Milton 'must have been reasoned into reorganisation: sell more books, reach more people. The publication of seven college prolusions two months before in order to fill up a slim volume of familiar letters is not far removed from such hucksterism.'[2] Shawcross has renewed the assertion in passing on many occasions since,[3] and most recently Gordon Campbell and Thomas Corns have surmised that 'presumably Simmons entertained the aspiration of attracting some trade from customers who had already bought the first edition'.[4] My purpose in this thesis is to provide the context for why the reorganisation would have been expected to 'sell more books' and to explicate in more detail why and how this hucksteristic impulse was implemented, not only in the structural re-division but also in the verbal revisions, in order to justify an enticing claim on the second edition's title-page.

In order to justify my own claim about this 1674 title-page, I think it is necessary to begin two hundred years before *Paradise Lost* in order to demonstrate

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[2] John T. Shawcross, 'The Balanced Structure of *Paradise Lost*', *Studies in Philology*, 62.5 (October 1965), 696–718 (p. 711).
[3] For example in *With Mortal Voice: The Creation of 'Paradise Lost'* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1982), pp. 63 and 65; 'Commercialism: Early Editors of Milton and Their Publishers', *Milton Quarterly*, 33.3 (October 1999), 62–66 (p. 62); and '"That which by creation first brought forth Light out of darkness!": *Paradise Lost*, First Edition', in *'Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books': Essays on the 1667 Edition*, ed. by Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007), pp. 213–27 (p. 213).
[4] Gordon Campbell and Thomas N. Corns, *John Milton: Life, Work, and Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 371.

how the title-page became so inextricably bound up with the marketing of the book. A comprehensive and perfectly accurate history of the title-page is difficult to reconstruct insofar as it is impossible to determine absolutely whether the need for marketing necessitated title-pages or the appearance of title-pages allowed for a new type of marketing. Therefore it is best to begin by simply identifying several trends that arose more or less concurrently, and then to venture some inferences as to causal relationships between them.

A. Emergence of the Textual Commodity

1. The Earliest Title-Pages

The development of the title-page is integral to the emergence of the book as a mass-produced commodity advertised by its financiers to prospective readers rather than produced as individual manuscripts were for the same financier-reader. But before analysing the title-page's origin in the blank leaf, a brief description of the earliest printed title-pages will be a useful outline for the following discussion.

a. The promotional nature of colophons

The place and date of publication were integral to the earliest colophons, but not as important as they became to imprints on title-pages. The degree to which colophons could be considered embryonic imprints is easily demonstrated by quoting the first few colophons. The earliest extant colophon appears in the *Psalmorum codex* published by Fust and Schöffer in Mainz on 14 August 1457:

> P[rese]ns spalmor[um] [*sic*] codex. venustate capitaliu[m] deco[r]āt[us] | Rubricationibusq[ue] sufficienter distinctus, | Adinuē[n]tione artific[i]ōsa imp[re]mendi ac caracterizandi. | Absq[ue] calami vlla exarac[i]ōne sic effigiatus, Et ad euse- | biam dei industrie est [con]summatus, Per Joh[ann]em fust | Ciuē[m]

> magū[n]tinū[m]. Et Petrū[m] Schoffer de Gernszheim, | Anno d[omi]ni Millesi[m]ō. cccc. lvij. In vig[i]lia Assū[m]pt[i]ō[n]is.[5]
>
> [The present copy of the Psalms, adorned with beauty of capital letters, and sufficiently marked out with rubrics, has been thus fashioned by an ingenious invention of printing and stamping without any driving of the pen, And to the worship of God has been diligently brought to completion by Johann Fust, a citizen of Mainz, and Peter Schoffer of Gernsheim, in the year of the Lord 1457, on the vigil of the Feast of the Assumption.[6]]

This device was evidently inspired by the medieval practice of the scribe adding his name, the date, or other information at the end of a completed manuscript. As the successors to the scribal function, printers naturally adopted the practice of suffixing such credits, which were added to impressive Latin books much more frequently than to vernacular ones.[7]

Yet the second extant colophon credits neither the printer—who was probably Gutenberg[8]—nor the author, Johannes Balbus. In terms of publication information, the first ten lines of the fourteen-line colophon name the title of the text with the location and date of press, amidst an encomium on the city:

> Altissimi presidio cuius nutu infantium lingue fi[-] | unt diserte. Qui q[ue] nū[mer]o sepe p[ar]uulis reuelat quod | sapientibus celat. Hic liber egregius, catholicon, | d[omi]nice incarnacionis annis M cccc lx Alma in ur[-] | be maguntina nacionis inclite germanice. Quam | dei clemencia tam alto ingenij lumine, dono q[ue] g[ra-] | tuito, ceteris terrar[um] nacionibus preferre, illustrare | q[ue] dignatus est Non calami, stili, aut penne suffra[-] | gio, s[ed] mira patronar[um] formar[um] q[ue] concordia [pro]por[-] | cione et modulo, impressus atq[ue] confestus est.[9]
>
> [By the help of the Most High, at Whose will the tongues of infants become eloquent, and Who ofttimes reveals to the lowly that which

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[5] Otto Mazal, *Der Mainzer Psalter von 1457. Kommentar zum Faksimiledruck 1969* (Dietikon-Zürich, Schweiz: Josef Stocker, 1969), fol. 175v.
[6] Alfred W. Pollard, *An Essay on Colophons with Specimens and Translations* (Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1905), p. 12. See pp. 12–13 for Pollard's discussion of the interpretive cruces of this colophon and a defence of his translation of it.
[7] Ibid., pp. 6–7.
[8] S.H. Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years of Printing*, new edn, rev. by John Trevitt (London: The British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 1996), p. 67.
[9] Johannes Balbus, *Catholicon*, 2 vols (Mainz, 1460), Huntington Library RB 104610. The last four lines of the colophon are a verse dedication to the Trinity and address to the pious reader.

> He hides from the wise, this noble book, Catholicon, in the year of the Lord's Incarnation 1460, in the bounteous city of Mainz of the renowned German nation, which the clemency of God has deigned with so lofty a light of genius and free gift to prefer and render illustrious above all other nations of the earth, without help of reed, stilus, or pen, but by the wondrous agreement, proportion, and harmony of punches and types, has been printed and finished.[10]]

But the third extant colophon returns to the pattern, *sans* title, established five years earlier (to the day) by Fust and Schöffer. Such a return might be expected because it was Fust and Schöffer who also printed this colophon at the end of a two-volume Bible. In the course of essentially paraphrasing their previous colophon, they again identify themselves, Mainz, and the Eve of the Feast of the Assumption, 1462:

> P^ns hoc opusculū Artificōsa adinuentione | imp^mendi seu caracterizandi. absq[ue] calami | exaracōn. in ciuitate Magunt^n^ sic effigiatū. | [et] ad eusebiā dei industrie per ioh^e^ē fust ciuē | et Petrū schoiffher de gernsheym clerucū di- | oces eiusdem est consummatū Anno dn^i. M. | cccc. lxij. Invigilia assumptōis virg^. marie.[11]

In the face of just completing this monumental undertaking, it seems to have been a whim of impish self-deprecation that tempted Fust and Schöffer to call their huge Bible *hoc opusculum*, 'this little work', but it reinforces the nature of the colophon as a personal address to the reader, rather than a documentary record.

As can be seen, while colophons by their very location in a volume could not have been intended to draw the attention of prospective purchasers, Fust and Schöffer do seem to have begun the practice in order to raise their profiles as producers of fine printed books in a fifteenth-century form of brand promotion.[12] Gutenberg's omission of his own name was not an oversight in 1460 but a consistent preference throughout his career which he seemed to practice on principle, a professional humility that contrasts starkly with Fust and Schöffer's apparent

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[10] Pollard, *Essay on Colophons*, p. 14.
[11] *Biblia Latina*, 2 vols (Mainz, 1462), Huntington Library RB 92587.
[12] It is telling that colophons appeared most often in Latin books and rarely in vernacular books (Pollard, *Essay on Colophons*, pp. 6–7).

purposes in originating the device. And yet, despite this nominal modesty, Gutenberg mythologises his city of operations more elaborately even than Fust and Schöffer do.

b. Title-pages in print

In 1463 Schöffer printed a papal bull of Pius II with a title-page, making him responsible, within six years, for both the first colophon and the first title-page in print.[13] But Schöffer never attempted another title-page until 1486[14] and it was not until 1470 that the second known title-page appeared in Cologne—in Arnold ther Hörnan's printing of Werner Rolevinck's *Sermo ad Populum*.[15] For S.H. Steinberg, Schöffer's choice of document to test the first title-page—a pamphlet rather than, say, one of his Bibles—is further proof of Schöffer's 'failure to grasp the inherent potentiality of this device'.[16] The first printer to exploit that potential was Erhard Ratdolt who in 1476 printed a title-page for an astrological calendar of Joannes Regiomontanus.[17] Margaret Smith notes its exceptional nature because the title-page is wholly in verse form, resembling a commendatory poem, but Steinberg partially credits the international popularity of this calendar, which begat not only Latin

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[13] Pius II, *Bulla cruciata contra turchos* (Mainz, 1463); German edition: *Bul zu Dutsch wider die snoden ungleubigen Turcken* (Mainz, 1463), John Rylands University Library, 16122; see Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927; corr. impr. 1928; repr. Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1994), p. 89; Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 67; Margaret Smith, *The Title-Page: Its Early Development, 1460–1510* (London: The British Library; New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2000), p. 38.

[14] Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 40; it is the *Coronat[i]o ... regis Maximiliani* ([Cologne], [1486]), British Library, I.A.245.

[15] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 67, calls it the '*Sermo de praesentatione Mariae*', apparently adapted from the colophon which reads 'sermo de presentacione gloriosissime virginis marie', but the title-page itself actually reads 'Sermo ad populum predicabilis. In festo p[re]sentacionis. Beatissime marie semper virginis [...]' (BL shelfmark IA.3102). The online catalogue entry for the copy in the British Library still includes an evidently out-of-date note stating, 'This is the first book having a titlepage'.

[16] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 67; although, as Smith observes (*Title-Page*, p. 38n6), it is not a broadsheet as Steinberg refers to it here.

[17] Joannes Regiomontanus, *Calendarium* (Venice, 1476), Huntington Library, RB 21992.

reprints but also Italian and German editions, with conditioning book-buyers to expect title-pages on books.[18]

Even though Ratdolt's decorative woodcut-framed title-page included all the information which later came to be associated with title-pages, the earliest ones in English books in 1485 and 1492 bear simply descriptive titles on two or three lines. The first was printed by William de Machlinia and titled 'A passing gode lityll boke necessarye [&] | behouefull ayenst the Pestilence'.[19] It was an English translation of *Regimen contra pestilentiam*—issued by Benedictus Kanuti during his short term as Bishop of Arosia between 1461 and 1463—which was itself an adaptation and abridgement of the *Tractatus de pestilentia* written ninety years beforehand by Johannes Jacobi.[20] The intriguing disappearance of the title-page from subsequent editions of the English treatise on the *Pestilence* will be returned to later in this chapter,[21] but about seven years after their publication by Machlinia, Wynken de Worde printed the second English title-page in the *Chastising of God's Children*.[22] Though Caxton is known to have kept first leaves blank presumably as protective covers, as in the *Pylgremage of the sowle*,[23] he never printed a title or any other information on an empty first page. But Caxton's successor de Worde, unlike

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[18] Smith, *Title-Page*, pp. 43–44; Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 68.
[19] STC 4591.
[20] Confusion over this textual lineage has led to contradictory attributions of authorship in bibliographies. For example, Margaret Smith seems to conflate Jacobi and Kanuti into a single figure whom she identifies as 'Johannes Jacobi ('Canutus')' in *Title-Page*, p. 62. Fortunately the relationship of Machlinia's text to its sources has now been clarified by Lotte Hellinga, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century Now in the British Library*, BMC vol. XI (Netherlands: Hes & de Graaf Publishers BV, 2007), p. 257.
[21] See pages 17–19 below.
[22] STC 5065. H.S. Bennett dates this text 1492 (*English Books & Readers, 1475–1557*, 2nd edn [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969], p. 212), while Martha W. Driver dates it 1493 ('Ideas of Order: Wynken de Worde and the Title Page', in *Texts and Their Contexts: Papers from the Early Book Society*, ed. by John Scattergood and Julia Boffey [Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1997], pp. 87–149 [p. 88]), but in any case de Worde printed *Chastising* soon after taking over the press of Caxton upon his death.
[23] STC 6473.

Machlinia, persisted in using title-pages after *Chastising* and, in the last five years of the fifteenth century, three quarters of English books had title-pages.[24]

c. Manuscript title-pages not a causal precedent

Like the colophon, the title-page also had its precedent in manuscripts, though its use was hardly an established practice. After the turn of the ninth century, when a Latin manuscript of the four Gospels produced in Germany included a decorative one,[25] title-pages do not appear again until they surface in Florentine manuscripts about 1460, only three years before the first title-page in print.[26] But because title-pages in manuscripts are found most commonly on the verso side of leaves—and in the case of the aforementioned Gospels in Latin, moreover, on the back of the codex's *twelfth* folio—they seem to have been intended, as Ronald McKerrow surmises, 'much more as an embellishment than as a label to say what the book contained'.[27] Because of this crucial difference of location within the volume, and implicit difference of purpose, we are justified in regarding the appearance of title-pages in printed books as a phenomenon functionally independent of their appearance in manuscripts, each being the result of different sets of contributing factors. In other words, the precedence of title-pages in manuscripts to those in print is a chronological but not necessarily causal priority.

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[24] Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 59. Generalisations about de Machlinia's practice are based on a paucity of evidence, however, because many of his editions have survived incomplete. Nonetheless, Smith is able to citie four editions in which he used leading blank leaves (Duff 379, 415, 419, and 422) in contrast with his single extant title-page in the *Pestilence* treatise (Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 62n).

[25] British Library, Harley MS 2788, fol. 12v.

[26] A.W. Pollard reproduces a few of these manuscript title-pages in 'The Title-Pages in Some Italian Manuscripts', *The Printing Art*, 12.2 (October 1908), 81–87. According to Ronald McKerrow, 'it is not impossible that there may be a connexion in descent between the Italian MS. title-pages of the fifteenth century and their predecessors of the time of Charlemagne' (*Introduction to Bibliograpy*, pp. 88–89).

[27] McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 89.

2. The Origin of the Print Title-Page

a. The blank leaf

The precipitous rise of title-pages in the incunabula period began as a result of their practical rather than representational or commercial value. Concern for the tendency of the first leaf to soil in every unbound volume probably gave rise to the leading blank page or blank leaf in order to keep clean the beginning of the text.[28] Alternatively, it is possible that the purpose of the leading blank was not to provide protection so much as distinction between individual volumes in a stack of multiple unbound copies, perhaps for the sake of the binder.[29] But whether its function was primarily protective or distinctive (or both), the solution of the blank leaf brought with it the problem that, once the sheets were folded, the text that it covered could no longer be identified at a glance by a bookseller or customer.[30] Inventories dramatically increased in the 1480s, with a single bookseller capable of accumulating hundreds of titles, and the more titles in stock, the greater the confusion.[31] Therefore the need arose for a simple label on the blank leaf to identify the text it covered.

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[28] Konrad Haebler, *The Study of Incunabula*, trans. by Lucy Eugenia Osborne (New York: Grolier Club, 1933; repr. New York: Kraus Reprint, 1967), p. 140; Lucien Paul Victor Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing, 1450–1800*, trans. by David Gerard, ed. by Geoffrey Nowell-Smith and David Wootton (London: NLB, 1976), p. 84; Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 67; James McLaverty, 'Questions of Entitlement: Some Eighteenth-Century Title Pages', *The Margins of the Text*, ed. D.C. Greetham (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 173–198 (p. 177); Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 16n14. Cf. also Rudolf Hirsch, 'The Earliest Development of Title-Pages 1470–1479', rpt. in *The Printed Word: Its Impact and Diffusion (Primarily in the 15th–16th Centuries)* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1978), XVII, pp. 1–13 (p. 3).

[29] Driver, 'Ideas of Order', p. 105.

[30] Seán Jennett, *The Making of Books* (London: Faber & Faber, 1951), p. 323.

[31] Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, p. 72. See pp. 72–73 for contemporary documentation of increasing stock sizes, for example: 'When Sigismondo dei Libri, bookseller and publisher, died in 1484, an inventory of his stock contained well over 300 volumes, and an undated catalogue of an unnamed philosopher in Tours from the late XVth century listed 267 titles, manuscript and printed, all in French, and primarily in history and literature. The fragmentary account book of Peter Drach, extending from 1480 to 1503, lists hundreds of titles in thousands of copies' (p. 73).

b. The label-title

The earliest appearances of titles on their own pages served as labels, unaccompanied by identification of the author, publisher, printer, or location and year of publication. The resultant title-page was thus comparable not to the modern title-page but instead to the modern half-title.[32] The curious fact that many of de Worde's editions had label-titles not just on the front but also on the back of their volumes is explained for Driver by the need for distinction and identification when they were stacked in unbound sheets.[33] The assumption of this theory is that the identification provided by label-titles was primarily an aid to production rather than to retail. For example, Smith doubts the marketing value of early label-titles:

> On the basis of its content and treatment, it seems fair to characterise the role of the label-title as that of an identifier, rather than anything more. It could have done little to attract or interest a potential purchaser by means of either its content or its layout.[34]

However, the example she later offers as an illustration of the similarity of early label-titles to incipits—'A passing gode lityll boke necessarye & behouefull agenst the Pestilence'[35]—is written more like an advertisement to prospective readers than an in-house identification of contents, with promotional adjectives outnumbering the sole descriptor of subject matter by four to one. The fact that this is the complete text on the first English title-page suggests some business savvy at play even at this early stage in the development of the title-page, though perhaps not as overt as it would soon become.

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[32] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 67.
[33] Driver, 'Ideas of Order', p. 105. She supports this account by citing Paul Needham's observation that 'we know from surviving notes from inventories, [printers] usually kept their stock in unbound sheets rather than ready-bound' (*Twelve Centuries of Bookbindings 400–1600* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1979), p. 89).
[34] Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 60.
[35] Ibid., p. 62. The title is of the aforementioned treatise published by de Machlinia c. 1485.

Despite the intended address to book buyers, however, there are shortcomings to such long titles. Referring to a ballad with a long title of 52 words, Marjorie Plant observes: 'There was little hope that the reader to whom this ballad had been recommended would remember its name by the time he reached the bookshop!'[36] She sees briefer titles as a marketing invention to facilitate the oral transmission of a book's identity:

> The title-page, with its possibilities of advertising by making known the author's qualifications and his works previously published, in the earlier years of printing gave only the name of the book, without reference even to the author's name. It was many years before publishers began to realise the value of a short, pithy title as a means of popularising a work.[37]

Plant seems to find the worth of a title in its efficiency as a shorthand reference, a meme to be disseminated, but early label-titles, even long ones, would still have been effective as visual advertisements intended for the browser at the bookstall, if not adaptable to oral advertisement by the public.

Alternatively, the same evidence also hints that the label-title might have arisen as a kind of filling of empty space,[38] as suggested by the first English title-page which appeared with, then disappeared from, consecutive editions of the Treatise of the Pestilence. In 1485, assuming the sweating sickness outbreak in the summer was the impetus for their undated publication, De Machlinia printed three editions with formats of 12 leaves (STC 4591), 10 leaves (4589), and 8 leaves

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[36] Marjorie Plant, *The English Book Trade: An Economic History of the Making and Sale of Books* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1939), p. 248.
[37] Ibid., pp. 247–48.
[38] Febvre and Martin, *Coming of the Book*, p. 84. Konrad Haebler suggests that the rare use of end-titles, like that of a printer's device on its own page, was perhaps 'only an attempt to make of some use to the book a blank leaf left over at the end' (*Study of Incunabula*, p. 146).

(4590). Only the 12-leaf edition has a dedicated title-page with the text beginning on the recto of the second folio, while in the others the text begins on the first recto with an incipit. As Smith remarks, 'it would be nice to be able to argue that the edition with the title-page was the latest, possibly representing a conscious alteration which allowed for the title-page', but recently Lotte Hellinga has convincingly demonstrated that the 12-leaf edition with the title-page was actually the earliest, followed by successively shorter editions in an attempt to 'save paper through modifications of layout and text in a progressive development which seems irreversible'.[39]

To exemplify the progressive revision of text, Hellinga compares a passage in each version, whose differences imply a single chronology. Where the 12-leaf edition reads, 'Take the q[uan]titie of a pese of Tryacle &. ij. sponefull of clere wyn or rosewater or ale or byre',[40] the 10-leaf edition truncates the text by removing 'or byre' and 'of a pese'. The latter excision also requires 'Take the' to be changed to 'Take a', producing the 10-leaf text: 'Take a quantitie of Tryacle and .ij. sponefull of clere wyn or rosewater or ale'.[41] Its derivation from the 12-leaf edition is also suggested by the capitalised 'Tryacle' which is reduced in the third version. The 8-leaf edition's omission of 'or byre' seems to be a remnant from the 10-leaf version, but proof that the 8-leaf followed rather than preceded the 10-leaf edition lies in the improper position of 'of a pese', which must have resulted from a failed attempt to replace the precise amount of treacle: 'Take a qua[n]titie of tryacle of a pese & .ij. sponeful of clere wyn or rosewater or ale'.[42] Despite the attempted clarification, the

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[39] Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 62; Lotte Hellinga, *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century*, p. 257.
[40] *A passing gode lityll boke necessarye & behovefull agenst the Pestilence* ([London], [1485]), STC 4591, sig. [A]8r.
[41] Transcription by Hellinga, p. 257, because STC 4589 is not available on EEBO.
[42] *Here begynneth a litill boke necessarye & behouefull agenst the Pestilence* ([London], [1485]), STC 4590, sig. [A]5v.

indefinite 'a quantitie' also appears to have been retained from the 10-leaf version instead of the original's 'the quantitie' being restored. When the differences between all three texts are taken together, the relationship between them must be that the 12-leaf edition was the earliest and the 8-leaf the latest, meaning that the original title-page was sacrificed in the process of reducing paper usage.

The likelihood of this chronology is further validated by independent instances of a book losing its title-page in the second edition. Baldassare Azzoguidi's 1475 reprinting of Antoninus Florentinus's *Confessionale* did not include a title-page as the first edition had done in 1472. Rudolf Hirsch takes this 'as proof that neither he nor his customers considered the addition of such a separate page at the beginning of the volume important'.[43] But this treatment of the title-page like a vestigial organ of the book that may be excised without harm to the volume lasted only until the marketing potential of the title-page was realised and seized upon. After 1500 the title-page was no longer a redundant curiosity but now an integral part, if not of the text proper, then of the book as a commodity. McKerrow, Febvre and Martin, and Steinberg all cite 1500 as the time by which the title-page had become nearly ubiquitous.[44] But in the last five years of the fifteenth century, according to Smith's statistical analysis, one quarter of the editions published still lacked title-pages.[45] This broad but not universal conquest of incunabula by the title-page is reflected in the later estimate of 1520 that Eleanor Shevlin offers as the date by which 'the title page became a firmly ensconced feature of books'.[46] Still, after

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[43] Hirsch, 'The Earliest Development of Title Pages', p. 4.
[44] McKerrow: 'By the beginning of the sixteenth century some sort of title-page is almost always present' (*Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 89); Febvre and Martin: 'At the end of the 15th century nearly all books had title pages' (*Coming of the Book*, p. 85); Steinberg: 'By 1500 the title-page had established itself; and in any book of the sixteenth century or later it is its absence rather than its presence that requires comment and explanation' (*Five Hundred Years of Printing*, p. 68).
[45] Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 59.
[46] Eleanor F. Shevlin, '"To Reconcile *Book* and Title, and Make 'em Kin to One Another": The Evolution of the Title's Contractural Functions', *Book History* 2.1 (1999), 42–77, p. 46.

1500 it is the title-page's 'absence rather than its presence that requires comment and explanation'.[47]

3. Theories of the Relationship between the Blank Leaf and the Label-Title

Thanks to dated imprints and colophons, the bare chronology of early title-pages is easy enough to reconstruct accurately, but it is impossible to reconstruct with certainty the reasons that motivated the relatively quick rise of the title-page from obscurity to ubiquity within fifteen years. With recourse only to induction from the extant evidence, ultimately we can conclude merely that the blank leaf was probably intended for either protection or distinction, while the label-title might have appeared on that blank leaf for the purpose of either identification or simply the filling of empty space. Historians of print have endorsed all of the four possible combinations of these factors that led to the blank leaf and label-title. For example, Smith cites protection and identification as the needs that the title-page was originally intended to provide, while Driver describes distinction and identification as the relevant factors.[48] Jennett also cites 'distinction and identification' as the functions that quickly came to be valued even if they were not the initial impetus for the origin of the title-page, and narrates the theory of protection and identification only to dismiss it as 'too neat and too plausible'.[49] Febvre and Martin, citing Konrad Haebler, claim three out of four of these factors were germane to the earliest title-pages:

> Since the recto of the first leaf always had a tendency to soil, printers conceived the idea of starting the text on the verso, leaving the recto

[47] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 68.
[48] Driver, 'Ideas of Order', p. 105; Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 16 n. 71.
[49] Jennett, *Making of Books*, p. 322; p. 323.

> blank. Then, from a quite natural desire to fill in the blank, they printed a short title on it and this helped to identify a book.[50]

But what all of these book historians agree on is that the early title did not spontaneously appear on its own page, but the leading blank originated first and it was this page that acquired a label-title on it.

Leading blank leaves (that is, both the recto and verso are blank) outnumber leading blank pages (that is, a blank recto with the text beginning on the verso) by a 3-to-1 ratio among all incunable editions, and blanks of either kind comprised more than half of editions in the 1470s.[51] In the first half of the 1480s, over 62 percent of editions had leading blanks (either a page or a full leaf) compared to 3.5 percent with title-pages, but in the second half of the same decade, blanks had decreased to 40 percent while title-pages had increased tenfold to a third of all editions.[52] This trend continued in the 1490s, with leading blanks representing only 20 percent of editions in the first half of the decade, falling to 5.5 percent in the second half, while title-pages comprised 57.4 percent in 1490–94, rising to 75 percent from 1495 to 1500. These figures lead Smith to doubt the protective purpose of the blank leaf because it was so quickly replaced by the title-page,[53] but the inverse relationship between the numbers of blanks and title-pages equally supports the theory that the title-page originated simply from an impulse to fill in the empty face of the protective leaf.[54] The resulting title-page did not necessitate a new blank leaf to protect it, as Smith implies would have happened if the blank leaf were truly

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[50] Febvre and Martin, *Coming of the Book*, p. 84.
[51] Smith estimates that 22.1% of incunabula have blank leaves while 7.3% have blank rectos only (*Title-Page*, p. 49).
[52] These figures are my calculations based on the data provided by Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 50, accompanied by a graph depicting the dramatic rise in title-pages after 1485.
[53] Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 52.
[54] Smith later acknowledges the possibility of this account: 'It could be that the title was *replacing* the blank, but it would perhaps be better to interpret it a little differently—that title information was *moving on to* the blank. [...] it is possible that the label-title might be better regarded as a blank-with-a-label, than as a title-page' (*Title-Page*, pp. 55–56, her italics).

intended for protection of the text, because the space-filling title was not yet ontologically on a par with the beginning of the text. It would take a hundred years before the title-page became elaborate enough that its status matched that of the rest of the text, which was expressed by the emergence of a new blank leaf to protect the title page. Indeed, the history of the title-page is inextricable from the history of the protective blank leaf. By 1500 the first protective blank leaf has gained a short label-title that, over the course of a hundred years, evolves into the late Elizabethan title-page, now so elaborate that it necessitates a further protective blank leaf which itself, within another hundred years, gains its own label-title on it, and with it a further protective blank leaf.[55] This 'bastard title' which has preceded the full title-page since about 1700 still remains in its place as the modern half-title, despite the fact that ever since it became common practice to bind books immediately after their printing, the half-title's purpose has been redundant and it persists only as a relic.

The filling-of-empty-space theory may be an anachronistic importation from the late sixteenth-century fashion of cramming the title-page with as much information as possible, just as the protection theory might be an anachronism from the role the bastard-title eventually did take on, as reflected in its German name, the *schmutztitel* (dirt title).[56] But whether continuity of intention can be assumed between the title-page's origin and its later developments is a matter of interpretation. In any case, after the incipit-function found its way onto the blank leaf in the form of a label-title, it was eventually joined on the same page by the publication information heretofore found in the colophon, to create what we would

[55] Jennett, *Making of Books*, p. 323, and McLaverty, 'Questions of Entitlement', p. 177. Steinberg also sees continuity between the first label-titles and the modern half-title: 'All these early title-pages, and quite a number of later ones, took in fact the place of a modern "half-title" and probably served the same purpose, namely to prevent the first printed leaf from becoming dirty while lying about in the printing shop before passing into the hands of the binder' (*Five Hundred Years*, p. 67).
[56] Jennett, *Making of Books*, p. 323.

recognise today as a full title-page.[57] This migration of the printer, place, and year of publication to the title-page, where it is known as an imprint instead of colophon, occurred about 1530, and by 1542 it was a legal requirement that the printer's and author's names and publication date be identified on 'any English book, ballad or play'.[58] Because imprints soon included the location of purchase, they acquired an additional commercial value absent from the colophon's more documentary nature.[59]

By this time titles themselves were already becoming unwieldy in length, more descriptions of the book's contents than what we consider conventional titles, and usually written to highlight the text's most sensational features. Thus the title-page's incipient potential for a book's self-promotion was now seized upon more consciously as a site for advertising directly to the prospective reader. Indeed, advertising of some form had always played some role in title-pages, as evidenced by the fact that the earliest title-pages appeared on new books in need of introduction to the public, not on texts previously known to the public. In Europe, the first reprinted text to acquire a title-page was a Venetian edition of the Vulgate in 1487, twenty-four years after the first title-page in print.[60] But full exploitation of the title-page as a site for advertising became permanent as commercial factors transformed the book into a fully fledged commodity.

B. The Title-Page as Advertisement

1. The Commercial Demands of Printing on Speculation

The close association between the title-page and its commercial value has long been observed by historians of print. A.F. Johnson wrote of early title-pages

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[57] Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1475–1557*, p. 212.
[58] James Raven, *The Business of Books* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 55.
[59] Smith, *Title-Page*, p. 143.
[60] Steinberg, *Five Hundred Years*, p. 68.

that 'The first page could then be used for the purpose of advertising the book, for the fully-developed title-page arose out of a kind of commercial need'.[61] Seán Jennett is unsure whether commercial necessity gave birth to the title-page or the title-page gave birth to advertising.

> The increasing importance of the title as a means of distinction and identification, of the author's name as a commercial asset, and of the publisher's name as a brand of value, must early have made itself felt, and if it did not of itself suggest the wisdom of setting aside a separate page for the display of those items, it must have caused the suggestion to be seized upon when it was made.[62]

The necessity of advertising on the title-page was influenced by various commercial factors. Before subscription began to take hold in the mid-seventeenth century as a method of financing publication, books were produced entirely on a speculative basis, whether it was the author or bookseller who funded the printing.[63]

a. The difficult calculus of the print run

Implicit in printing on speculation was the difficult calculus of determining the print run. Every edition was either over- or under-printed by some margin, and the goal was always to keep that margin of either unsold copies or missed sales, respectively, as small as possible. Hirsch reminds us that over-printed editions were just as common in the earliest period of publishing as under-printing:

> It would seem fair to assume that the earliest printers commonly under-produced, and that in the second stage, from about 1470 on,

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[61] A.F. Johnson, 'Title-Pages: Their Forms and Development' [1928], *Selected Essays on Books and Printing*, ed. by Percy H. Muir (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1970), pp. 288–97 (p. 288).
[62] Jennett, p. 322.
[63] Cf. Graham Parry, 'Patronage and the Printing of Learned Works for the Author', *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV: 1557–1695*, ed. by John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 174–88.

> they frequently overproduced. But the 1469 list of books of Schöffer makes us wonder whether already the earliest printers were not at times overly optimistic, printing more copies than could be sold. The Catholicon of 1460, of which copies remained available after nine or ten years, may have been such an item. On the other hand, the frequent reprinting of the same text by one and the same printer clearly indicates that the producer had originally underestimated the demand.[64]

The fact that this inexact science remained unperfected 150 years later is reflected in a statement by Thomas James:

> I knowe their paines are great, and the money in a manner aduentured: for, the Poet saith well, *Pro captu lectoris, habent sua fata libelli*; Bookes are bought and sold oftentimes, rather according to their estimation then their worth. Sometimes, toyes and trifles are regarded, when precious Gemmes and peerlesse Pearles are troden vnder foote: but yet I must needs say this, that the aduenture beeing alike in all Bookes, (the wisest Printer of them all, not knowing what will be the successe) [...].[65]

In order to enforce a fair distribution of labour between compositors and pressmen, the Stationers Company set the maximum size of the print run for most books at 1500 copies per edition. In 1635 the limit was raised to 2000 copies, but exceptions were still granted, as before, for large editions such as ABCs (10,000 copies in the 1680s and '90s), Psalters (two duodecimo impressions of 9000 copies each and two

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[64] Hirsch, *Printing, Selling and Reading*, p. 65.
[65] Thomas Iames, *A Treatise of the Corrvption of Scripture, Councels, and Fathers, by the Prelats, Pastors and Pillars of the Church of Rome* (London, 1611), STC 14462, part 5, sigs. C4r–v (pp. 23–24).

24mo impressions of 18,000 copies each in 1684), and Bibles (40,000 copies of Guy and Parker's 1691 edition).[66] It is likely that only pirates exceeded the Company's rule persistently since, if overprinting were practiced on a regular basis by a particular printing house, it would have quickly become common knowledge.[67]

b. The urgency of liquidating unsold copies

Editions that sold out, depending on demand, might justify a reprinting. But for every edition that did not sell out, the unsold copies would need to be liquidated. Faced with such a situation, inventive printers would simply repackage the same edition with a new title-page. Unscrupulous printers would use the opportunity to embellish its contents, claiming that the text was revised or corrected. Others would try to breath life into sales with a new title or, depending on the reporter, deceptively portray it as a completely different book, as George Wither described unprincipled stationers: 'He makes no scruple [...] to imprint nevv Titles for yt, (and so take mens moneyes twice or thrice, for the same matter vnder diuerse names) is no iniury in his opinion.'[68] The fact that printed books, unlike manuscripts, were produced on speculation—indeed, were the first example of mass-produced consumer-leisure goods[69]—necessitated the regular practice of advertising in order to generate the market for an already-printed book. The most obvious and convenient means of advertisement for a book was its own title-page.[70]

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[66] Raven, *Business of Books*, pp. 92–93.
[67] Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1603–1640*, p. 227.
[68] George Wither, *The Schollers Pvrgatory, Discouered In the Stationers Common-weath* ([London], [1624]), STC 25919, p. 121.
[69] John Feather, *English Book Prospectuses* (Newton, PA: Bird & Bull Press, 1984), p. 22.
[70] Shevlin, "'To Reconcile *Book* and Title'", p. 48.

2. Marketing practices

Dedicated outlets for advertising, such as press notices appearing in periodical publications, would emerge by the mid-seventeenth century,[71] but before the book trade established such an institutional system of marketing, booksellers had long employed their own guerilla tactics for promoting books.[72] The diversity of advertising practices is recorded in Robert Heath's epigram 'To my Book-seller', which reveals four types of common marketing still in use by 1650:

> I'ave common made my book; 'tis very true;
> But I'd not have thee prostitute it, too;
> Nor show it barefac'd on the open stall
> To tempt the buyer: nor poast it on each wall
> And corner poast close underneath the Play
> That must be acted at Black-Friers that day:
> Nor see some Herring-cryer for a groat
> To voice it up and down, with tearing throat.
> Nor bid thy 'prentice read it and admire,
> That all i'th' shop may what he reads enquire;
> No: profer'd wares do smel: I'd have thee know
> Pride scorns to beg: Modestie fears to wooe.[73]

Here in a single location we have contemporary evidence for four distinct methods of promotion used by the shrewd bookseller, who would (a) consider the title-page

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[71] Plant, *English Book Trade*, p. 249.

[72] 'Apart from displaying the book on their stalls they could do but little to advertise their wares. The cry of the apprentices, "Buy a new book", or the title-pages of new books displayed on convenient posts or walls, helped to draw the attention of passers-by and of book collectors to what was for sale' (Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1603–1640*, p. 216).

[73] Robert Heath, 'To my Book-seller', in *Clarastella; Together with Poems occasional, Elegies, Epigrams, Satyrs* (London, 1650), pp. 36–37 (4th pagination); also quoted by Plant (apparently from a copy with different spelling and punctuation) to demonstrate the posture of modesty authors presumably took towards the vulgarity of marketing methods (*English Book Trade*, p. 249).

exposed on an unbound volume standing on display to be an advertisement to browsers, (b) post the title-page alone on walls and posts like a playbill, (c) employ a crier, and (d) have an apprentice conspicuously read a volume in the shop in order to raise interest among browsers! This last method of marketing is difficult to document with further contemporary evidence because it requires a cynical interpretation of a potentially innocuous pastime. But there is ample evidence documenting the other practices: employing criers; enticing browsers; and using posters.

a. Criers

A 1602 paraphrase of the typical cry of an apprentice outside his bookstall is, 'What lacke you Gentle-man? See a new Booke new come foorth, sir: buy a new Booke sir'.[74] A 1593 French phrase book translating typical English scenarios depicts London apprentices approaching potential customers by saying, 'Buy some new booke sir, there are the last newes from Fraunce' and 'Honest man what booke lacke you?'[75] Apprentices would also offer to do the legwork for a prospective client in search of particular titles: 'I go to see in the Churchyard if I can find them'.[76] But our primary concern is with the remaining two methods of marketing because they are dependent on the efficacy of the title-page as an advertisement.

b. Browsing

As books became commodities in a market, the custom developed of customers browsing the bookstalls in and around St Paul's Churchyard to discover a new book worthy of purchase, without necessarily having a particular title in mind to seek out. In 1577, for example, Nicholas Breton compares books to cheeses on a

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[74] Samuel Rowlands, *Tis Merrie vvhen Gossips meete* (London, 1602), STC 21409, sig. A3r; quoted without citation (and with typographical errors) by Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1558–1603*, p. 261 (cf. p. 269), and *English Books & Readers, 1603–1640*, pp. 216–17.
[75] John Eliot, *Ortho-Epia Gallica Eliots fruits for the French* (London, 1593), STC 7574, pp. 67–68.
[76] Ibid., p. 67; slightly misquoted by Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1558–1603*, p. 260.

number of levels, including the fact that both are usually sampled multiple times before being purchased:

> The Cheese once out of the Presse, shortly after comes to market to be solde: where (perhaps) it is tasted of many, before it be bought. And bookes once imprinted, are presently in shoppes, where many peruse them, ere they be solde.[77]

Bennett suggests that browsing was a habit of bookmen that 'had to be tolerated' by booksellers since their stalls were their 'most valuable outlet', and Plant also concludes that the 'fashionable pastime, although exasperating enough to the booksellers, may also at times have recompensed him by the publicity which it afforded to his stock'.[78] Dialogues involving browsers at the bookstall are portrayed by John Eliot (quoted above) and Samuel Rowlands in 1593 and 1602, respectively.[79] Thomas Churchyard complains in 1594 that browsers misjudge books based on a cursory glance that is not necessarily representative of its content or worth:

> Some reades awhile, but nothing buyes at all,
> For in two lines, they giue a pretty gesse:
> What doth the booke, [*sic*] contayne such schollers thinke,
> To spend no pense, for paper, pen, and inke.[80]

The 'two lines' need not be read from the text within the volume, since the title-page itself usually contained a description of the contents, advertising the book like a

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[77] N[icholas] B[reton], *The workes of a young wyt* ([London], 1577), STC 3715, sig. A.ii.
[78] Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1558–1603*, p. 263; Plant, *English Book Trade*, p. 248.
[79] Eliot, *Ortho-epia Gallica*, pp. 66–69; Samuel Rowlands, *Tis Merrie vvhen Gossips meete*, A3r–A4v.
[80] Thomas Churchyard, *The Mirror of Man, And manners of Men* (London, 1594), STC 5242, sig. [A2]v; quoted from the reprint in Alexander Boswell, ed., *Frondes Caducæ*, 7 vols (Auchinleck Press, 1816–18), II (1816).

modern dust-jacket.[81] In fact, Thomas Nashe alleges precisely this, that some will presume to judge a book even though the furthest point into the text they have read is the imprint:

> Gentlemen (according to the laudable custome) I am to court you with a few premisses considered: but a number of you there bee, who consider neither premisses nor conclusion, but piteouslie torment Title Pages on euerie poast: neuer reading farther of anie Booke, than Imprinted by *Simeon* such a signe, and yet with your dudgen iudgements will desperatelie presume to run vp to the hard hilts through the whole bulke of it.[82]

Nashe's reference to 'Title Pages on every post' brings us to the next method of advertising practiced by booksellers, which was to paste individual copies of a title-page onto public posts and walls all around town but especially within the churchyard.

c. Posting of individual title-pages as advertisements

Contemporary references to posting various types of sheets provide evidence of the practice from the 1580s all the way through the eighteenth century. Edward Vaughan comments in 1591 that 'There are diuers Baiardly books & peeuish Pamphlets, pinde on euery poste'.[83] A short 1596 treatise on surveying by Ralph 'Radolph' Agas proudly announces right on the title-page that it is now 'published in stead of his flying papers, which cannot abide the pasting to poasts', apparently

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[81] The comparison is made by Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1558–1603*, pp. 291–92, and *English Books & Readers, 1603–1640*, p. 216.
[82] Thomas Nashe, *The Terrors of the night Or, A Discourse of Apparitions* (London, 1594), STC 18379, f. [A4]r.
[83] Edward Vaughan, *Nine obseruations, howe to reade profitably, and to vnderstand truly, euery booke, chapter and verse, of the holy Bible* (London, 1591), STC 24598, sig. *4r.

referring to a previous iteration as single-sheet broadsides, no longer extant.[84] The concentration of such activity in St Paul's Churchyard is reflected in Edward Guilpin's reference to 'euery paper-clothed post in Poules'.[85]

But the custom of posting title-pages specifically is also widely documented. One of Joseph Hall's satirical poems in 1598 refers to '*Mœuios*[']s first page of his poesy, / Nayl'd to an hundreth postes for noueltie, / With his big title, and Italian mott / Layes siege vnto the backward buyers grote'.[86] In 1611, John Davies of Hereford writes in 'Papers Complaint': 'What should I speake of infant-*Rimers* now, / That ply their Pen as Plow-men do their Plow: / And pester Poastes with Titles of new bookes; / For, none but Blockes such wooden Titles brookes.'[87] Some years after Davies' death, 'Papers Complaint' was reprinted as *A Scourge for Paper-Persecutors* (1624) without any of the other items from the 1611 *Scourge of Folly*, but instead followed by 'A Continued Inquisition against Paper-Persecutors' by Abraham Holland. His satire laments the practice of pasting numerous types of single-sheet texts on walls and posts. Among the examples he cites are rhymed accounts of funerals and eulogies in bad taste—'To see each Wall and publike Post defil'd / With diuers deadly *Elegies,* compil'd / By a foule swarme of *Cuckoes* of our Times, / In Lamentable Lachrymentall Rimes'[88]—and broadside newssheets:

> To see such *Batter* euerie weeke besmeare
>
> Each publike post, and Church dore, and to heare

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[84] Ralph Agas, *A Preparative to Platting of Landes and Tenements for Surveigh* (London, 1596), STC 195.
[85] Edward Guilpin,'To Deloney', epigram 8 in *Skialetheia. Or, A shadowe of truth, in certaine epigrams and satyres* (London, 1598), STC 12504, p. A4r (line 3).
[86] Joseph Hall, *Virgidemiarum. The three last Bookes. Of byting Satyres* (London, 1598), STC 12718.5, p. 63 (Lib. 5, Sat. 2, ll. 45–48).
[87] J[ohn] D[avies] (d. 1618), 'Papers Complaint', in *The Scourge of Folly, Consisting of satyricall Epigrams* (London, [1611]), STC 6341, pp. 230–46, (p. 233, ll. 95–99).
[88] A[braham] H[olland or Hartwell], 'A Contrived Inquisition against Paper-Persecutors', *A Scourge for Paper-Persecutors, or Papers Complaint* [...] *With A Continued Inquisition against Paper-Persecutors* (London, 1624), STC 6340 (1625 issue), p. 5 (2nd pagination), ll. 97–100.

These *shamefull lies,* would make a man in spight
Of Nature, turne *Satyrist,* and write
Reuenging lines, against these *shamelesse men,*
Who thus torment both *Paper, Presse,* and *Pen.*[89]

But Holland also singles out title-pages for special treatment. Indeed when introducing his target, the booksellers of St Paul's, his first point of mockery is the sheer quantity of loose-leaf title-pages in the Churchyard, as if their presence is the yard's primary identifying characteristic:

It is no wonder
That *Pauls* so often hath beene strucke with Thunder:
T'was aimed at these Shops, in which there lie
Such a confused World of Trumpery,
Whose Titles each Terme on the Posts are rear'd,
In such abundance, it is to be fear'd
That they in time, if thus they goe on, will
Not only *Little* but *Great Britaine* fill[90]

The nation is in danger of suffocation from the endless profusion of just the flyers advertising new books, to say nothing of the volumes themselves.

In an epigram 'To my Booke-seller', Ben Jonson claims to reject the various marketing strategies common at the time, including the posting of title-pages, in a poem worth quoting at length:

Thou, that mak'st gaine thy end, and wisely well,
Call'st a booke good, or bad, as it doth sell,
Use mine so, too: I giue thee leaue. But craue

[89] Ibid., p. 7, ll. 145–50.
[90] Ibid., pp. 2–3, ll. 9–16.

For the lucks sake, it thus much fauour haue.
To lye vpon thy stall, till it be sought;
Not offer'd, as it made sute to be bought;
Nor haue my title-leafe on posts, or walls,
Or in cleft-sticks, aduanced to make calls
For termers, or some clarke-like seruing-man,
Who scarse can spell th'hard names: whose knight lesse can.
If, without these vile arts, it will not sell,
Send it to *Bucklers-bury*, there 'twill, well.[91]

Later in the seventeenth century, a report in the *Impartial Protestant Mercury* about a crime against two apprentices of Richard Baldwin records that Saturday night was the customary time for apprentices to make the rounds posting title-pages of the books due to be bound that week.[92] The practice evidently continued into the eighteenth century, as mentioned by Alexander Pope on more than one occasion.[93]

The practice of posting title-pages may be the very reason why title-pages were so often the last part of a book to be printed, so that the type for the rest of the book could be distributed and used for other projects while that of the title-page could be kept around and reprinted for posters as needed.[94] It must have been the act of posting title-pages detached from the advertised text that was responsible for

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[91] Ben Jonson, 'To my Booke-seller', epigram 3 in *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson* (London, 1616), STC 14751 and 14752, pp. 769–70. Bucklersbury is the street where spices and drugs were sold—in paper wrappers.
[92] *Impartial Protestant Mercury*, 10 January 1681/2, reported by Plant, *English Book Trade*, p. 248.
[93] Pope, *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, ll. 215–16; *Dunciad*, i. line 40 (35 in 1728a version). Other references to the practice appear in Thomas Lodge, *Scillaes metamorphosis: enterlaced with the vnfortunate loue of Glaucus* (London, 1589), STC 16674, sig. *1v; Thomas Nashe, *Haue vvith you to Saffron-vvalden. Or, Gabriell Harueys hunt is vp* [. . .] *Or, Nashe his confutation of the sinfull doctor* (London, 1596), STC 18369, sig. R1v; Edward Willis, *The blinde mans staffe, or the poore mans comfort* (London, 1615), STC 25743; and Henry Parrot, 'Ad Bibliopolam', in *The mastiue, Or Young-Whelpe of the Olde-Dogge* (London, [1615]), STC 19333, sig. A4v.
[94] McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, pp. 90–91; cf. W.W. Greg, 'On Certain False Dates in Shakespearian Quartos', *The Library* (2nd ser.), 9.36 (1908), 381–409 (pp. 400–01).

detailed descriptions of shop locations to be added to imprints.[95] Each of the first three title-pages of *Paradise Lost*'s first edition, for example, lists three booksellers and their locations, and four booksellers are identified on the fourth title-page.[96] Such information is utterly redundant for the browser holding a complete volume in his hands, since he has already found where copies are sold. Locations of sale on the title-page are valuable only when that title-page is remote from the volume and can direct its reader to where the book can be found.[97] The types of places to which titles would have been affixed probably included the walls of the Inns of Court, the pillars in St Paul's, whipping posts in the street, on church doors and over shop doors, and as Jonson mentioned above, on cleft-sticks.[98] However, the circulation of detached title-pages was not necessarily limited to local distribution. Shevlin estimates that hundreds or even thousands of extra title-pages were run off per edition, and she figures that many of them were intended for dissemination in the provinces.[99]

A single title-page therefore had to serve three functions simultaneously which today are performed by separate texts each dedicated to a sole function: the poster intended for everyone not in a bookshop, the dust-jacket intended for browsers inside a bookshop, and the title-page for legal identification of the book. Because the legal requirement was the most minimal of the three and could be subsumed by the others, it was the greater demands of its role as an advertisement that determined the form taken by any title-page.

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[95] McKerrow, *Introduction to Bibliography*, p. 91.
[96] Please see pp. 84–85 below.
[97] A title-page that is part of a volume would still have some limited advertising potential after purchase, but its exposure to likely customers would be negligible by comparison.
[98] Plant, *English Book Trade*, p. 248; Shevlin, '"To Reconcile *Book* and Title"', p. 48.
[99] Shevlin, '"To Reconcile *Book* and Title"', pp. 48–49. Other discussions of the custom of posting title-pages are in Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1558–1603*, p. 260; Paul J. Voss, 'Books for Sale: Advertising and Patronage in Late Elizabethan England', *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 29.3 (1998), 733–57, p. 737; E.H. Miller, *The Professional Writer in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1959), p. 2.

3. Too Much Information on the Title-Page

The use of title-pages as advertisements encouraged printers to use as many different types as possible to attract attention and to show off their typographical resources, implicitly advertising for future printing business beyond the immediate book.[100] Sean Jennett directly attributes the proliferation of information on title-pages to the practice of posting them up as advertisements, but then argues against so much information being good poster design:

> The wording scrambled over the page, crammed and crowded and tautological, so that it is to be wondered what sort of mind deemed such a portal necessary for a plain book. These were pages of dual purpose: the printer struck off a number of copies of the title-page alone, to be used as posters and stuck up on hoardings or in shop windows for advertisement. Hence the wealth of wording: these people did not know, or did not heed, the notion that posters should be so managed that he who runs may read, and perhaps they were not wrong. But they did confound principles: a title-page is not an advertisement in this sense, and it serves a purpose the antithesis of that of the poster. The two cannot be combined.[101]

Jennett seems to assume that the purposes and style of modern posters applied equally to those of the seventeenth century without considering they might have served a different purpose than the modern billboard, indeed have belonged to a different genre of advertisement.

Evaluating seventeenth-century title-pages by the criteria of twentieth-century graphic design theory and practice would only be anachronistic if not for the

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[100] Johnson, 'Title-Pages', p. 297; Jennett calls such title-pages 'a conspectus of types in the printer's office' (*Making of Books*, p. 330).
[101] Jennet, *Making of Books*, pp. 330–32.

fact that many modern posters are likewise crammed with more information than is expected to be read without stopping. Modern posters with very detailed information in small print include those advertising stageplays and musicals, which contain showtimes and box office information, and those advertising films, which list dozens of artists and craftsmen who contributed to the production. As H.S. Bennett observes, 'The fullness of the title-pages, so distressing to us in their overcrowded display, had an immediate purpose in tempting the reader to purchase the volume, just as his modern equivalent is tempted by the sensational cover of the latest story in crime or passion, or is lured by the publisher's blurb which promises so much'.[102]

C. The Culture of Revision

1. Root Cause: Too Many Books on the Market

As early as the 1570s the sense was emerging that the market was glutted with books. In the second edition of his English translation of Heliodorus' *Aethiopian Historie*, Thomas Underdown writes 'To the gentle reader' that 'I am not ignorant that the stationers shops are to [sic] full fraughted with bookes of small price, whether you consider the quantatie or contents of them'.[103] Yet this cognisance on the part of the translator does not prevent future editions from being marketed unscrupulously by various booksellers. The title-page advertises it as 'newly corrected and augmented, with diuers and sundrie new additions by the saide Authour',[104] wording that would be repeated but without further additions in the

[102] Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1603–1640*, p. 216.
[103] Thomas Underdown, trans., *An Aethiopian historie* by Heliodorus (London, 1577), STC 13042, sig. ¶.iii.r.
[104] Ibid., sig. ¶.i.r (title-page).

next edition in 1587, also by Francis Coldocke, as well as in the fourth and fifth editions by William Cotton in 1605 and 1606, likewise without actual changes.[105]

In 1580, Samuel Byrd begins his prefatory 'epistle to the reader' with an observation about the number of books in print: 'IT maie (perhaps) seeme somewhat straunge, there being so manie learned and godlie bookes set out, that I haue not bene discouraged thereby from writing'.[106] He therefore feels obliged to defend the existence of his book, *A friendlie communication or Dialogue betweene Paule and Demas, wherein is disputed how we are to use the pleasures of this life*, and does so by arguing that, far from just another book among many, it is actually unique: 'It ought therefore (as I said before) the lesse to be accounted an vnnecessarie worke, which speaketh of that, that so few haue spoken of, especiallie in our English tongue.'[107]

Three years later, Philip Barrough prefaces his *Method of Physicke* with the complaint that 'I knovv not hovv it commeth to passe, yet vve see it dailie, that ridiculous toyes and absurde pamphlettes being put forth vvithout any colour, be neuerlesse plausiblie and pleasingly accepted'.[108] In another five years, James Aske laments in his preface 'To the gentle Reader' that 'the Booke-binders shops, and euery Printers presse are so cloyed and clogged with Bookes of these and such-like matters, that they are good for nothing (as they say) but to make wast-paper'.[109]

In contrast to Aske's evaluation that most books are fit for the waste-bin, Robert Hitchcock, the 1590 translator of Francesco Sansovino's *Concetti Politici*

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[105] Heliodorus, *An Aethiopian historie*, [3rd edn] (London, 1587), STC 13043; [4th edn] (London, 1605), STC 13044; [5th edn] (London, 1606), STC 13045.
[106] Samuel Byrd, *A friendlie communication or Dialogue betweene Paule and Demas* (London, 1580), STC 3086, sig. A.ii.^{r}.
[107] Byrd, *A friendlie communication*, sig. A.iii.^{r}.
[108] Philip Barrough, *The Method of Phisicke* (London, 1583), STC 1508, sig. *vii^{r}.
[109] James Aske, *Elizabetha Trivmphans* (London, 1588), STC 847, sig. A3r–v.

(originally published in 1578), considers the unprecedented variety of books to have ushered in a new golden age of access to a wealth of knowledge:

> alwaies they filled the Printers shops full of great vollumes, and maintained the worldes knowledge with an innumerable number of bookes, and neuer in any age bookes were more sought for and better esteemed (if the authors thereof be of sound iudgement) then in these our flourishing daies, where flowing wittes abound [...].[110]

Nonetheless, the 'innumerable number of bookes' still makes authors feel it necessary to justify the publication of yet another book. In the 1601 publication of a sermon he preached that same year, John Dove claims he would have 'not published my late Sermon, the world being alreadie so full of bookes, had I not bene mistaken by some which understood it not, & uniustly traduced by others which heard it not'.[111]

A couple of decades later, the profusion of low quality publications draws an exclamation out of George Wither:

> Good God! how many dung-botes full of fruitles Volumnes doe they yearely foyst vpon his Maiesties subiectes, by lying Titles, insinuations, and disparaging of more profitable Books! how many hundred reames of foolish prophane and sensles Ballads do they quarterly disperse abroade? And howe many thousande poundes doe they yearely picke out of the purses of ignorant people, who refer the Choyce of their books to the discreations and honesties of these men![112]

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[110] Robert Hitchcock, trans., *The Quintesence of Wit* by Francisco Sansovino (London, 1590), STC 21744, sig. A2v.
[111] John Dove, *Of Diuorcement* (London, 1601), STC 7083, sig. A3r.
[112] Wither, *The Schollers Pvrgatory*, p. 29.

In all of these observations about the quantity of books, what is resented is not that so many books should exist, but that the low quality of most of them detracts attention and sales from the more worthy entries in the market.

Other authors are equally disapproving of the overabundance of books but are less surprised insofar as they consider the production of books to be a given of human creativity and folly. Ecclesiastes 12:12 became a popular sententia that was applied to the early modern book trade, as John King does in his 1597 preface to his lectures on the book of Jonah:

> The number of bookes written in these daies without number, I say not *more then the worlde can holde*, (for it even emptieth it selfe of reason and moderation to giue place to this bookish folly, and serveth vnder the vanitie thereof) but more than well vse, the titles whereof but to haue red or seene, were the sufficient labour of our vnsufficient liues, did earnestlie treate with mee, to giue some rest to the Reader, and not to devide him into more choice of bookes, the plenty whereof hath already rather hurte than furthered him, and kept him barer of knowledge. For *much reading is but a wearinesse to the flesh, and there is no ende of making* or perusing *many bookes.*[113]

All of the main points highlighted in King's preface are covered three years later in Thomas Jackson's preface to his sermons on Psalm 23, beginning with quoting Ecclesiastes in reference to the book trade:

> the wise Preacher hath long since said, *There is none end of making of bookes, and much reading is a wearines of the flesh.* Eccles. 12. 12. which is most true in this bookish age, wherein as one saith, *It*

[113] John King, *Lectvres vpon Ionas, Delivered at Yorke In the yeare of our Lorde 1594* (Oxford, 1597), STC 14976, sigs. *3r–v.

> *would require a mans whole life, but to read ouer the titles or inscriptions:* for now is the old Poets saying verified, *Learned and vnlearned, euerie one setteth pen to Paper.*[114]

That King was in fact Jackson's source is suggested by his repetition of King's play on the words 'presses oppressed':

> And hereby it commeth to passe, that the world is ouerladen, and the Presses oppressed with an innumerable companie of friuolous Pamphlets, the fruits of idle braines, sauouring of nothing but vngodlinesse, and carnall vanitie, and tend to none other end but the nourishment of all maner vice and prophanesse; oh that there were amongst vs, some zealous Ephesians, that bookes of so great vanitie might be burned vp: Acts. 19, 29.[115]

Jackson's appeal for modern Ephesians to burn unworthy books also echoes King's reference to 'vnhonest treatises fitter for the fire then the bookes of Protagoras'.[116]

In the same year as Jackson's book, Stephen Egerton reprinted a sermon fourteen years after its original publication, which is 'now againe perused, corrected and amended by the Author'.[117] Like both King and Jackson, Egerton—to whom King's book was itself dedicated—also uses the Ecclesiastes passage to describe the proliferation of textual material:

> Besides, I haue euer in this case remembred the saying of the wise man, that *there is no end in making many bookes, and much reading*

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[114] Thomas Jackson, *Davids Pastorall Poeme: or Sheepeheards Song. Seven Sermons, on the 23. Psalme of Dauid* (London, 1603), STC 14299, sigs. ¶4v.
[115] Ibid., sigs. ¶4v–¶5r.
[116] King, *Lectvres vpon Ionas*, sig. *3v.
[117] Stephen Egerton, *A Lectvre preached by Maister Egerton, at the Blacke-friers, 1589* (London, 1603), STC 7539. Furthermore, the title-page advertises, 'Herein the point of RESTITUTION or SATISFACTION, is enlarged for the instruction of such as are, or may be perplexed about that point.' The 1603 edition was printed 'by V. S[immes] for Walter Burre' instead of 'by Iohn Windet for Iohn Dalderne' in 1589 (STC 7538).

> *is a wearinesse of the flesh:* to this may be added the infinite number of learned & godly books, already extant, as in all other languages, so in our English tongue, which are more in number than the leisure of any man of calling wil permitte him to reade, or the strength of any ordinary memorie can be able to beare away.[118]

The late Elizabethan perception that there were too many books magnified the urgency with which booksellers sought to ensure that their titles, especially reprints, were set apart from others in a crowded marketplace.

2. The Commercial Cachet of the 'New'

In tandem with the complaint of too many books was the lament that the reading public cared only about the latest books despite their lack of quality, to the detriment of better books that should have the misfortune of their title-page, if not their content, being out of date. This obsession with novelty earned its own biblical comparison, the 'Athenian humour'.

a. The 'Athenian humour'

In his *Lectvres vpon Ionas* cited above, John King compares Elizabethan readers to the Areopagites who, as described in the Acts of the Apostles 17.21, 'spent their time in nothing else, but either to tell, or to hear some new thing':

> a kinde of *Athenian humor* both in learned and vnlearned of harkning after the Mart, and asking of the Stationers, *what new thinges?*

[118] Egerton, *A Lectvre*, sig. A3v. Another transcription error by Bennett, who misquotes Egerton as 'godly books that are extant' (*English Books & Readers, 1558–1603*, p. 268).

> thereby threatning as it were continually to giue over reading, if there want variety to feede and draw them on [...].[119]

Jackson follows the model of King's critique of the book trade by adopting the same term, 'Athenian humour', to describe contemporary book-buyers:

> Lastly, it is no small discouragement, to consider the vanitie of Readers in these dayes (which is not the least cause of so many idle and vaine bookes) who as if they were possessed with the Athenian humour, to delight in nothing but either to tell, or heare some newes: the first question at euery Stacioners shoppe is, what new thing?[120]

Even worse, according to Jackson, new books are valued no matter how bad, and old books discarded no matter how good:

> if it smell of the presse, and haue a goodly title (be the matter neuer so base and vnprofitable) it is a booke for the nonce; but be it neuer so good, if once the Calender be chaunged, that it beare the date of the former yeare, it is neuer enquired after, [...] thus most men esteem of vaine books, more then of those that are profitable, but none almost esteeme of the best, but as men doe of a flower, whilest it is newly gathered, but afterwards it is throwne in the window corner, and regarded no more [...] O Lord, how many excellent bookes are there, which had perished amongst the Mothes and Wormes, and neuer seene the light of the Sunne.[121]

How could a publisher meet the public's voracious demand for new product, while also profiting from his investment in an exclusive copyright to a particular text? Is

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[119] John King, *Lectvres vpon Ionas*, sigs. *3v. The four subsequent editions in 1599 (STC 14977), 1600 (14978), 1611 (14979), and 1618 (14981) each state on their title pages that they are 'Newlie corrected and amended.'

[120] Jackson, *Davids Pastorall Poeme*, sig. ¶5v.

[121] Ibid., sigs. ¶5v–¶6r.

there a way he could market reprints of an already popular book as a new book, or even shift leftover copies of an undersold book—like the first edition of *Paradise Lost*—in a more substantial manner than just printing a new year on the title-page?

b. The 'Athenian humour' exploited: the commercially safe reprint repackaged with new and improved ingredients

Bennett states that reprinting 'was not a venture to be entered on without care, for a new book quickly ousted that of yesterday. "Buy some new book sir", was the cry of the apprentices at their stalls, and there can be no doubt that it was the new book that attracted attention.'[122] There is ample evidence of the special attraction that the 'new' brought with it, but it must also be appreciated that brand new texts carried more risk for the publisher than titles already proven to be good sellers. Indeed, in the sample year of 1668 surveyed by D.F. McKenzie, about one third of the raw materials of production, that is, in terms of the number of sheets, were used in reprints.[123] This might be explained by the fact that with 'paper being the most expensive element and once printed not re-usable, it made better sense to test the market with small editions and then to print a work again if demand warranted it'.[124] Reprints were safe bets because they were already market-tested, yet as Thomas Jackson testifies in 1603, 'The first question at euery Stacioners

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[122] Bennett, *English Books & Readers, 1558–1603*, p. 269. Though he does not cite any source for his quotation, Bennett seems to have in mind the 'Conference betweene a Gentle-man and a Prentice' that appears in the frontmatter of Samuel Rowlands' *Tis Merrie vvhen Gossips meete* (London, 1602), STC 21409, which begins with a stationer's apprentice engaging a customer by asking, 'What lacke you Gentle-man? See a new Booke new come foorth, sir: buy a new Booke sir' (sig. A3r).
[123] D.F. McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700: Constraints on the London Book Trades', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume IV: 1557–1695*, ed. by John Barnard, D.F. McKenzie, and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), pp. 553 –67 (p. 564); and McKenzie, 'The Economies of Print, 1550–1750: Scales of Production and Conditions of Constraint', in *Produzione e commercio della carta e del libro secc. XIII–XVIII: Atti della 'Ventitreesima Settimana de Studi' 15–20 aprile 1991*, ed. by Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1992), pp. 389–425 (pp. 398–99).
[124] McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700', p. 556.

shoppe is, what new thing?'[125] Therefore canny bookseller-publishers developed an ingenious method of benefiting from the commercial safety of the reprint while simultaneously exploiting the cachet of the 'new'. They could maximise the sales potential of a book by first using a previously successful text to anchor the volume, and then adding supplementary material in order to promote it as new. This practice was so widespread by 1624 that it was one of the grievances held by George Wither against stationers in *The Schollers Pvrgatory*: 'Moreouer, they annexe Additions to bookes formerly imprinted, and increase the pryses of them accordingly, though y[e] matter be altogither impertine[n]t'.[126]

An example of how this commercial scheme would develop in practice can be seen in the case of Sir Thomas Overbury's poem about the ideal wife. Laurence Lisle first printed *A Wife Now a Widow* by itself in 1614, not long after the author's death in the Tower in September 1613, foul play being at the time unsuspected.[127] A second edition, in the same year as the first, included the author's name and therefore an adjustment in the title itself, now with one definite article, *A Wife Novv The Widdow of Sir Thomas Overbvrye*. The title-page further adds the statement, 'Wherevnto are added many witty Characters, and conceited Newes, written by himselfe and other learned Gentlemen his friends', which is repeated verbatim through the fifth edition, all in 1614, although the false claim of Overbury's authorship of any of these Joseph Hall-inspired 'characters' persists through the tenth edition in 1618. Lawrence Lisle introduces these supplementary features in the preface to the second edition:

> The surplusage, that now exceeds the last edition, was (that I may bee honestly impartiall) in some things only to be challenged by the first author,

[125] Thomas Jackson, *Davids Pastorall Poeme*, sig. ¶5v.
[126] Wither, *The Schollers Pvrgatory*, p. 29.
[127] STC 18903.5.

> but others now added, (little inferior to the residue) being in nature answerable, and first transcrib'd by Gentlemen of the same qualitie, I have upon good inducements, made publicke with warrantie of their and my owne credit.[128]

The preface is dated 'May 16. 1614', a rare instance of documentary precision in the seventeenth-century book trade, and both preface and date are preserved in the next two editions. However, the date in the fifth edition is suspiciously amended to 'August, 24. 1614' even though the text of the preface is reprinted again without revision.[129]

The third of five editions in 1614 is the first to identify itself as such, and even after repeating the second title-page's accurate description of added 'characters', it alleges the inclusion of even more new material: 'The third Impression; With addition of sundry other new Characters.'[130] The next edition sets itself apart from its predecessors—'The fourth Impression, enlarged with more Characters, *than any of the former Editions*'—and the next repeats the same claim: 'The fift Impression, enlarged with more Characters, *than any of the former Æditions*.'[131] Despite this appearance of progressive enlargements, all three of these editions contain the same content as the second edition. The rest of Lisle's editions, however, were truthful in their claims of continued augmentation. The title-page of the sixth edition, the only edition in 1615, dramatically reflects the true attraction of a new edition by the reversed order of the items in the title itself: 'New and Choice Characters, *of seuerall Authors*. Together with that exquisite and *unmatcht Poeme*, The Wife, Written by Syr *Thomas Ouerburie*.' Below a rule it states: 'With the

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[128] *A Wife Novv The Widdow of Sir Thomas Overbvrye* (London, 1614), STC 18904, A2v.
[129] STC 18905, sig. A2v.
[130] STC 18905.
[131] STC 18906 and 18907.

former Characters and conceited Newes, All in one volume. With many other things added to this sixt Impression.'[132] A new, shorter preface of only three sentences is provided by Lawrence Lisle.

After just one edition in 1615, the murder trials in October and November of 1615 that resulted in four executions, and the trials of the Earl and Countess of Somerset in May 1616, presumably supplied the public interest that led to three editions in 1616.[133] The title-page of the seventh edition restores a version of the sub-titular statement of the second through fifth editions—'Whereunto are annexed, new Newes and Characters, written by himselfe and other learned Gentlemen'—but it follows a differently formulated main title. The identification of the featured poem is now much briefer, and the title advertises six new elegies written in light of the recent verdict that the author's death in the Tower was the result of murder by poisoning: 'Sir *Thomas Ouerburie* His Wife, With New Elegies vpon his (now knowne) *vntimely death.*'[134] A new, third preface written by Lisle (this time undated) appears in the seventh and is reprinted in all subsequent editions, although the wording of the title-page is repeated only in the eighth edition.[135] The ninth adjusts it to emphasize another increase of content. I reproduce its use of capitals in order to clarify the weight given to the word 'addition': 'S^ir *Thomas Ouerbury* HIS WIFE. *WITH* ADDITION OF many new ELEGEIES vpon his *vntimely and much lamented death.* AS ALSO *New Newes, and diuers more Characters*, (neuer before

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[132] STC 18908.
[133] Richard Weston, James Franklin, Anne Turner, and Sir Gervase Elwes were convicted and hanged while Frances Howard and Robert Carr were indicted in January 1622 and convicted but pardoned and released from the Tower six years later. Interest in the defendants of the autumn trials is evidenced by several publications in 1615: Gervase Helwys, *The lieutenant of the Tower his speech and repentance* (STC 7626, 7626.5, 7627); *The Picture of the unfortunate gentlemen, Sir Geruis Euies, Knight* (STC 7627.5); *The bloody dovvnfall of adultery, murder, ambition, at the end of which are added Westons and Mistris Turners last teares* (STC 18919.3); *The iust dovvnfall of ambition, adultery, murder* (STC 18919.7, cf. also 18920); *Mistris Turners farewell to all women* (STC 24341.5); and Thomas Brewer, *Mistres Turners repentance* (STC 3720).
[134] STC 18909.
[135] STC 18910.

annexed) written by himselfe and other learned Gentelemen. *The ninth impression* augmented.'[136]

The tenth edition in 1618 repeats the same title-page wording as the ninth but truncates the reference to elegies—'[. . .] HIS WIFE. *WITH* ADDITONS OF NEW NEVVES, and diuers more Characters, (*neuer before annexed*) [. . .]'—while the eleventh in 1622 shortens it further: 'His Wife. *With* Additions of Nevv Characters, and many other *Wittie Conceits neuer before Printed.*'[137] This phrasing, on the title-page of the last edition published by Lawrence Lisle, is repeated word-for-word (with variations only in typography and spelling) on the title-pages of the twelfth edition, printed in both Dublin (1626) and London (1627), the thirteenth (1628), fourteenth (1630), fifteenth (1632), sixteenth (1638), Williams Shears's unnumbered edition (1655), and the 'seventeenth Impression' with separate title-pages for John Playfere and Philip Chetwin (both 1664).[138] The endurance of the phrase 'never before printed' on the title-pages of all the post-Lisle editions, which are decidedly reprints of the eleventh edition without any new material—but in the case of the Dublin version of the 'twelfth impression', a reprint of the eighth edition!—is an example of an advertising meme that, although a vestige of a once-true advertisement, has become false.

The third edition of *Paradise Lost* is itself an example of the disingenuous reuse of the promotional statements of previous editions. The hypothesis that it was commercial rather than poetic necessity that prompted Milton's revision is supported by the title page of the third edition, which advertises itself like the second edition as 'Revised and Augmented by the same Author', even though Milton had died soon

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[136] STC 18911.
[137] STC 18912 and 18913.
[138] STC 18914 (Dublin, 1626), 18915 (London, 1627), 18916, 18917, 18918, 18919, Wing O610, O611 (Playfere), and O611 Variant (Chetwin).

after the second edition and made no further revisions to the third. Simmons is therefore squarely in the tradition of publishers silently permitting promotional expressions from previous title-pages to pass unchanged onto those of subsequent editions even though the vestigial statement could be misleading. Insofar as the earlier title-page is the copy-text for the later one, it could be considered an innocent perpetuation on the part of the compositor. But insofar as the title-page is the product of a complete resetting of type, and considering how much attention Simmons gave to making changes between six different title-pages for the first edition, it is the very absence of changes between the title-pages of second and third editions that is conspicuous. Since for the third edition Simmons himself fulfilled all three roles of publisher, printer, and retailer, there is no other party involved whose influence could be cited as either wholly or partially responsible for the text of the title-page without Simmons's personal approval.[139]

b. 'Never before printed'

The origin of the common title-page phrase 'never before printed' or 'published' seems to date to 1580. In John Hooper's *Certeine comfortable Expositions of the constant Martyr of Christ*, the publisher 'A.F.' writes:

> I commende vnto thy mind (good reader,) a good work of this so good a ma[n]: namely, *Certaine expositions vpon the 23. 62. 72. and 77. Psalmes of the Prophet Dauid*, of the which the three last (being gathered together by a godly professor of the trueth M. Henrie Bull) were neuer before printed.[140]

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[139] The imprint of the third edition reads, 'Printed by *S. Simmons* next door to the *Golden Lion* in *Aldersgate-street*, 1678'.

[140] John Hooper, *Certaine comfortable Expositions* (London, 1580), STC 13743, sig. ¶.iiii. recto.

This finds its way onto the title-page in the form of an unqualified statement: 'Newly recognised, and neuer before published.'[141] A history of the increasing usage of this particular meme would show how quickly an initially honest description became a commercialised catchphrase in the seventeenth century, but as it was not used in reference to *Paradise Lost*, such a history is not of immediate relevance to the present study. The phrase was, however, used to advertise other Miltonic texts.

Rather than being used for completely new texts, the phrase was most commonly used in editions that included previously published material, for example, John Trundle's second 1617 edition of Middleton and Rowley's *A Faire Quarrell*, whose title-page continues, 'With new Additions of Mr. *Chaughs* and *Trimtrams* Roaring, and the Bauds Song. *Neuer before Printed.*'[142] But an exception to this practice is the separate printing of Milton's *Character of the Long Parliament*, which Henry Brome published in 1681 with the title-page declaration: 'Omitted in his other Works, and never before Printed, And very seasonable for these times.'[143] Milton had written it as part of his *History of Britain* but it was not included in the first publication of that work in 1670 and would not be restored to its original text until the 1738 edition. But the practice is maintained in other posthumous editions of Miltonic texts, such as the 1694 edition of his *Letters of State*, 'To which is added, An Account of his Life. Together with several of his Poems; And a Catalogue of his Works, never before Printed.'[144] This feature, which lists 25 long titles in English and eight in Latin, is only six octavo pages long, but a collection of Milton's official papers presumably needed all the help they could get from novelty supplements.[145]

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[141] Ibid., sig. [¶.i.].
[142] Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, *A Faire Quarrell* (London, 1617), STC 17911a.
[143] *Mr John Miltons Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines. In MDCXLI.* (London, 1681), Wing M2098.
[144] Milton, *Letters of State* (London, 1694), Wing M2126.
[145] Ibid., sigs. b4r–b6v.

3. The Marketability of Revision

Publisher's catalogues in the back of books are revelatory of the consistency with which the key advertising phrases we have seen throughout this chapter were used. In the back of the 1673 edition of Milton's *Poems*, Thomas Dring lists a selection of 39 law books printed over the last ten years and still available for sale at his shop.[146] More than one third of the entries advertise enlargements, additions, or previously unprinted material: (2) 'newly amended and much enlarged'; (5) 'with very large Additions since Mr. *Daltons* death'; (6) 'with Additions'; (8) 'never before in print'; (9) 'with a Table never before printed with it'; (17) 'the third Edition, very much enlarged'; (18) 'the third Edition corrected and enlarged'; (21) 'corrected and amended'; (22) 'the second Edition very much enlarged'; (23) 'the third Edition, enlarged'; (24) 'with Additions'; (27) 'whereunto is added a large Treatise by way of Supplement'; (31) 'carefully corrected and amended'; (36) 'never before printed'; and (39) 'in a more accurate and facile Method than ever yet was published'. A few particular examples of revised texts will highlight the marketability of the Culture of Revision.

a. Posthumous revisions

One of the most common types of enlarged books is the posthumous collection which includes previously unpublished material. As we have just seen, such an edition has an obvious selling point and, while it constitutes not so much a revision of the already published text as merely the addition of new material, it still participates in the Culture of Revision because rather than being published separately, the additional material contributes to an edition that offers something more than a standard reprint. In 1615, five years after the death of the Bishop of

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[146] Milton, *Poems, &c. upon Several Occasions* (London, 1673), Wing M2161A.

Worcester, a thousand-page collection of his commentaries on the Pentateuch, expositions on the Apostles' Creed, Ten Commandments, and Lord's Prayer, plus three sermons, were published together in *The Workes of the Right Reverend Father in God, Gervase Babington.* Most of the material had been published before, except for the exposition on the articles of the creed and the *Comfortable Notes upon the Bookes of Numbers and Deuteronomie* which boasts a separate title-page midway through the volume. This title-page is immediately followed by a note from 'the publisher to the readers', apparently written by Henry Fetherstone who begins:

> Having found by experience, how deare are the writings of this Right Reuerend and godly Father, *Gervase Babington*, late Bishop of *Worcester*; and how much esteemed by your religious affections, in that you haue bought vp the former Impressions of his Labours, and still seeke for more: I was incouraged as well by your pious desire, which can scarcely be satisfied, as more especiallie by this happie supply of New Labours, now lately come to my hands, to make a New and New-inlarged Impression.[147]

H.S. Bennett quotes a portion of the same statement from the third edition of Babington's *Workes* as if it had been first added to the collection in 1637, but the message had been simply reprinted from its appearances in the first and second editions in 1615 and 1622.[148] The persistence of this preface in the second and third editions demonstrates how valuable to the publisher was the appearance that this section was newly published, the title-page on the preceding leaf being dated 1622 or 1637. But despite their duplication of the publisher's note without amendment,

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[147] *The Workes of the Right Reverend Father in God, Gervase Babington* (London, 1615), STC 1077 and 1078, sig. A2r–v (tipped in immediately preceding sig. Aaa).

[148] Gervase Babington, *The Workes of the Right Reverend Father in God* (London, 1637), STC 1080, sig. Aaa2r; qtd. by Bennett, *English Books & Readers 1603–1640*, pp. 214–15. See also Babington, *Workes* (London, 1622), STC 1079, sig. Aaa2r.

the second and third editions admirably refrain from repeating the declarations of the first edition that advertise the material 'not before published' (on the title-page at the beginning of the volume) and 'Neuer before published' (on the title-page before the relevant section).

Sometimes previously published texts are in need of revision after the author's death. The publisher Ralph Mab details the pains he has gone to in enlisting expert assistance in the process of revising John Guillim's *Display of Heraldrie*. The first edition was published in 1610 and reissued in 1611 but in 1632 a new edition was published, eleven years after Guillim's death, with a title-page declaring 'Corrected and much enlarged by the Author himselfe in his life time: Together with his owne Addition of explaining the Terms of *Hawking* and *Hunting*'.[149] The particular emphasis on the deceased author's own hand in the revision is elaborated upon in the preface from 'The *Publisher* to the Iudicious READER':

> our worthy *Author*, well knowing *Second thoughts excel their forerunners*, and *Nothing equally borne and perfect*, had amended such slips as alwaies to the immaturity of first Inuentions are necessary attendants, adding withall such select obseruations as might bring a lustre to the *rarity*, rather than a foile to the *beauty* of the *Worke*.[150]

Great care is taken to insist that the present book is an authorial product whose process of revision was initiated by the author to yield a perfected text. Its publication eleven years after the author's death, however, raises the question of why the publication of the author's revised text was delayed, and the volunteered emphasis on Guillim's authority potentially undermines the validity of the editorial

[149] John Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie* (London, 1632), STC 12502. The 1610 and 1611 texts are STC 12500 and 12501, respectively.
[150] Ibid., sig. A3r.

process after his death. Both points are implicitly addressed in the rest of the preface.

Mab is not willing to let the travails of the editorial process be lost on his readers, and if his efforts are compared to the editorial negligence common among his contemporaries, his diligence is perhaps deserving of special appreciation. Mab relates a blow-by-blow account of how his first consultant's claims of heraldry expertise turned out to be fraudulent, and how the final product transpired due only to his unwavering dedication to preserving the quality expected by an admirer of the first edition:

> [Guillim's corrections] were by me (*wholy* vnskilful in that *Art*) committed to one professing himselfe an *Artist*, for reducing them to the order of our *Authors Method*, till discouering his defects therein almost equall to mine owne, I remain'd in as great a maze as at first beginning. In which perplexity, by vnexpected happinesse (such was the Fate of my good *Genius*) I became acquainted with an *Officer of Armes*, whom intreated to peruse what the other had confusedly peec'd together, and finding at first glimpse of his *Iudicious* eye the present distractions, with much solicitation and many friendly endearements at last I procur'd to venter vpon it, though the shortnesse of Time and Printers haste did (not vniustly) much deterre him: who with incessant paines hath not only reduc'd the said Collections to their primitiue purenesse, but also endeuoured to purge and preuent the *mercenary Insertions* of vnworthy *Armes*, which by

> the first man imploied herein were *sordidely* scraped together, contrary to mine owne intent and knowledge.[151]

Of course the publisher-editor is the hero of his own narrative, made only slightly less self-aggrandising because his efforts are presented as being in the service of the author's interests, like a knight defending the integrity of his lady. His conclusion reinforces the concept of the 'primitive pureness' of the author's text, to which the editorial process is devoted:

> Thus (*Courteous Reader*) you shall againe enioy your *Author* in his owne *naturall perfections* without fraud or alteration, except only in such inserted *Additions* as haue varied since his death [...].[152]

This short statement exhibits the tension between an editorial posture of fidelity to authorial intent, including authorial revisions, and the paradoxical desire to promote further additions (capitalised and italicised), posthumous though they are. What unites these incongruous impulses is that they both have commercial appeal.

b. Improvement fatigue yields apologetic posture and promise of no 'further enlargements' after the present ones

Simply put, it became expected of reprint editions that they offer the reader something more than was available in the first edition. But when authors continued to enlarge their works, such as in the third edition of *The Practice of Piety*, they did so apologetically and with a promise that they have finally finished with it. A kind of twist on the appeals to authorial intention we saw above in *A Display of Heraldrie* appears in the 1613 edition of Lewis Bayly's book, which the title-page advertises as

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[151] Ibid., sig. A3r–v.

[152] Ibid., sig. A3v. Another example of an editor detailing his pains at correcting a text appears in George Baker's preface to his edition of Giovanni de Vigo's surgical texts, *The vvhole work of that famous chirurgion Maister Iohn Vigo: Newly corrected, by men skilfull in that Arte. Whereunto are annexed certain works, complied and published by Thomas Gale, Maister in Chirurgerie* (London, 1586), STC 24723, sig. ¶.ii^{r-v}.

'Profitably amplified by the Author'. The Bishop of Bangor felt it necessary to assure his readers that the present amplification of his popular text was completely unpremeditated:

> I Had not purposed to enlarge the *last Edition*, saue that the *importunitie* of many *deuoutly* disposed, preuailed with mee, to *adde* some points, and to *amplifie* others. To satisfie whose godly requests, I haue done my best *indeuour*: and with all *finished* all that I entend in this *argument*.[153]

The rhetoric is that of the reluctant encore, but implicit in this version of a humility topos, which credits the readers with responsibility for a revised edition, is the suggestion that it is the readers who are to blame for demanding an enlarged text, not the vanity of an author who abuses the goodwill of his readership by expecting them to repurchase the same book, even though they are explicitly identified as the intended market of the new edition. The fact that at least 33 subsequent editions of *The Practice of Piety* reprint Bayly's preface without a date—rendering false its reference to 'the last Edition'—is typically misleading.[154]

The culture of publishing revised editions of books was so prevalent at this time that it engendered 'improvement fatigue' in the reading public who came to resent their purchases being so quickly surpassed by new and improved editions of the same work. In the preface to his collected *Workes* of 1630, Thomas Adams not only sympathises with buyers whose purchases are soon made obsolete by subsequent editions, but also promises that the present volume will never be superseded by an enlarged edition. His note 'To the Candid and Ingenious Reader' begins:

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[153] Lewis Bayly, *The Practise of Pietie* [...] *The third edition* (London, 1613), STC 1602, sig. A7r–v.
[154] The 36th edition (Wing B1496) was published in 1684.

> These Meditations, which before were scattered abroad in Parcels, are now presented to thee in one entire volume. I cannot but take notice, that much iniurie hath beene done to the buyers of such great bookes, by new additions: so that by the swelling of the later impressions, the former are esteemed unperfect. Be satisfied and assured, that to this Volume nothing shall ever bee added. If the Lord enable me to bring forth any other worke of better use to his Church, it shall be published by it selfe, and never prejudice this.[155]

That this apologetic preface follows a title-page which advertises the book as 'Collected and Published in one intire Volume. With Additions of some New, and Emendations of the Old', demonstrates how desirous publishers were to repackage old texts as a fresh book, and even re-sell it to previous purchasers, under the auspices of new and improved ingredients.[156]

Like Adams, Peter Heylyn finds it necessary to assure readers of the 'Augmented and revised' second edition of *Mikrokosmos* (1625) that they will have no opportunity for buyer's remorse:

> These additions and corrections have swelled the volume bigger than I expected: yet if to thee the length of it be not offensive; to me it shall not. It is now come to a just growth, and hath recreation, and hath receaved my last hand. Hereafter I will looke on it, only as a

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[155] Thomas Adams, *The Workes of Tho: Adams. Being the svumme of his sermons, meditations, and other divine and morall discovrces* (London, 1630), STC 105, sig. ¶3.

[156] This being the first edition of Adams's complete works, its 'additions' should not be taken to mean material now added to a previous edition of the same volume, but simply previously unpublished material.

> stranger. Thou needest not feare any further enlargements, which may make thee repent thy present markets.[157]

This is quite a clear acknowledgement that the intended market for these new editions was especially those who had already bought a previous edition. The fact that seventeenth-century authors appeared to sympathise with their readers also suggests the influence of publishers as the catalyst for revision. The ease with which Heylyn's publisher-booksellers William Turner and Thomas Huggins continued to exploit such revisions is reflected in the third and forth editions of *Mikrokosmos*, which were published with the same preface (a standard enough practice), but with title-pages still advertising each edition as 'Revised', though now enclosed in an elaborate woodcut of columns. Heylyn's preface is also an exemplar of the emphasis on increased perfection as the justification for the extensiveness of revision:

> Books haue an immortality aboue their Authors. They, when they are full of age, and guiltinesse, can be re-taken into the wombe which bred them: and with a new life, reciaue a greater portion of youth and glory. Every impression is to them another being: and that alwaies may, and often doth bring with it, a sweeter addition of strength & louelinesse. Thus with them, age, & each seuerall death, is but an vsher to a new birth: each severall birth the mother of a more vigorous perfection.[158]

This assurance that successive editions become more and more perfected, which we have also seen in Ralph Mab's preface to Guillim's *Display of Heraldrie*, is a commonplace in the seventeenth-century Culture of Revision. Despite the reality that textual integrity is as likely to decrease as to improve in reprinted and revised

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[157] Peter Heylyn, *Mikrokosmos: A Little Description of the Great World. Augmented and revised*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1625), STC 13277, sig. ¶3v.
[158] Ibid., sig. ¶3r.

books—for every erratum corrected there is usually a new one introduced elsewhere in the text—such a topos is to be expected in a trade in which reprints comprise one third of printed material.[159]

c. Highlighting the textual location of additions

Publishers of reprinted texts whose revisions are minimal, such as *Paradise Lost*, are loathe to identify the nature or location in the text of the actual revisions: best not to limit the imagination. But authors who have revised their works extensively are proud of their labours and, with the textual evidence in their favour, do not hesitate to describe the nature of the revisions or their textual location. One such text that draws attention to the locations of its improvements is Richard Brathwait's *A Svrvey of History* of 1638, whose title is taken from the running title—'A Suruey of Histories'—used in the original version of the text published in 1614 as *The Schollers Medley*.[160] In a one-page message 'To the Understanding Reader' that is otherwise copied verbatim from the 1614 edition, the only thing Brathwait inserts is a single sentence announcing that textual additions will be identified by marginal notations: 'How studiously, copiously and usefully this *last Edition* hath beene Enlarged, may appeare by *Digits* or *Signatures* in the Margent every where expressed.'[161] Though brief, the statement is conspicuous on the page because it begins after a new paragraph indentation. Most incongruously, the mundane subject matter of the new sentence interrupts the intellectual rapport between author and reader that the pre-existing statement, only 125 words to begin with, attempts to establish by its higher register.

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[159] D.F. McKenzie, 'Printing and Publishing 1557–1700', p. 564, and 'The Economies of Print, 1550–1750', p. 398.

[160] Richard Brathwayte, *The Schollers Medley, or, An Intermixt Discovrse vpon Historicall and Poeticall Relations* (London, 1614), STC 3583.

[161] Richard Braithwait, *A Svrvey Of History: Or, A Nursery for Gentry* (London, 1638), STC 3583a, sig. B1r. The absesnce of manicules in the margins suggest in practice a failure of communication between Brathwait or the printer and the compositor(s) of the rest of text.

Other titles use the preface to scrupulously document what was added in each edition, such as the *Synopsis Papismi.* Andrew Willet's catalogue of Roman Catholic heresies with obligatory refutations began with three hundred theological errors to which were added, in the second and third editions, another hundred each, among other enlargements. In the first edition of 1592 the author describes it as an incomplete work whose publication in such a state is excused by the precedent of the last line of Augustine's epilogue to *De Haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum*:

> I had proceeded no further, then to the end of the controuersies of the Militant Church when this first booke went out of my ha[n]ds: the which I was moued vpon some occasion to publish, before the rest were finished, which shall not stay long after, God assisting me. Wherein I doe also follow the counsel and example of *Augustine*, who writing of the like argument of heresies, doth thus conclude his booke: [...] This booke I thought good (saith he) to send abroad, before the rest be finished, that whosoever readeth it, might helpe me with their prayers, to the better performing of that which remaineth[.][162]

The transparency with which Willet announces his intention shortly to surpass the present edition is partially attributable to its early date in terms of the Culture of Revision; as Heylyn testifies, within 35 years readers would not appreciate such a tactic. Two years after the first, the second edition of *Synopsis Papismi* expanded the catalogue to four hundred heresies, and at the end of its preface Willet offers a précis of four specific types of additions, of which the new 'century' of errors is only a part. As expected, the presence of these augmentations is also reflected on the title-

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[162] Andrew Willet, *Synopsis Papismi* (London, 1592), STC 25696, sig. C1r. For the standard Augustinian text see J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1886), vol. 42, col. 50.

page, which states: 'Now this second time perused and published by the former Author, and augmented with a fourth hundred of errors, and other necessarie additions, to be seene in the end of the Preface.'[163] The most intriguing aspect of this otherwise typical advertisement is that it does not merely claim to be revised but directs attention to the preface where the browser can quickly take account of the revisions and decide if they are sufficient to justify a purchase, all the more crucial for a potential customer who already has the first edition.

The third and fourth editions, likewise enlargements rather than reprints, also follow suit in their prefaces which repeat the additions incorporated previously, then proudly enumerate the new additions in comparable detail, while the fifth edition adds a biography of the author, bringing the volume to 1446 pages or more (depending on the issue) from an original length of 652 pages.[164] By the fourth edition the prefatory rehearsal of enlargements already constitutes half of a folio-size page of concentrated textual history:

> I haue now this fourth time, for thy benefit, Christian Reader, perused, corrected, and augmented this worke, and published it for thy vse. The second edition was in these foure points enlarged more than the former: [...] In this third edition I have performed more than in the former, in these foure points: [...] In this fourth edition I have in these foure things enlarged this worke. [...][165]

This scrupulousness to identify not just how extensively the text has been revised but what material is new versus pre-existent contrasts starkly with the non-

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[163] Willet, *Synopsis Papismi* [2nd edn] (London, 1594), STC 25697, sig. A1r (title-page).
[164] Bindings of the fifth edition range in size from 1446 pages (STC 25700a), to 1464 (25700a.7), 1485 (25700a.5), and 1526 pages (25700a.3).
[165] Willet, *Synopsis Papismi* [4th edn] (London, 1613), STC 25699, sig. B4r. See also *Synopsis Papismi* [2nd edn] (London, 1594), STC 25697, sig. B4v; and *Synopsis Papismi* [3rd edn] (London, 1600), STC 25698, sig. B6v.

transparency that occurs in the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, which redistributes the section summaries among the main text, then hides them by exchanging lineation for pagination.

d. Extensive revisions

Like the *Synopsis Papismi*, some texts were so extensively revised that their second editions were tantamount to completely new works. In 1614, William Attersoll captured the experience of such a revision process in the 'second Edition, Newly Corrected and Enlarged' of his treatise on the sacraments. Its first edition was published in 1606 under the title, *The Badges of Christianity. Or, A Treatise of the Sacraments*,[166] but with the text increased nearly by half it was re-titled *The New Covenant*, although its descriptive subtitle was retained. In his new dedication to Sir John Shurley, Attersoll compares the process of textual revision to remodelling a home:

> And being at length content to yeeld to a new Impression, it hath fared with mee in perusing this worke, as with him that goeth about to repaire an old house. For albeit he purpose with himselfe to pull downe a little, or to make a slender addition and alteration in the building, yet when once he beginneeth to stirre and meddle with the old frame, one piece draweth downe another, and the augmenting of one part, I know not how, in a pleasing manner procureth the adding and annexing of another.[167]

Then, turning to a liquid metaphor, Attersoll concludes that 'the worke is risen to this volume, like a flood that swelleth by the accesse and comming in of other

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[166] William Attersoll, *The Badges of Christianity. Or, A Treatise of the Sacraments* (London, 1606), STC 889; *The Nevv Covenant, Or A Treatise of the Sacraments* (London, 1614), STC 889.5.
[167] Attersoll, *The Nevv Covenant* (1614), sig. ¶3r.

waters, that it may rather seeme to be the making of a new, then the amending of an olde'.[168]

The same sentiment could have been expressed by Milton in his introduction to the second edition of *The readie and easie way*, which was enlarged from 18 quarto pages to 108 in a duodecimo volume published only five or six weeks after the first edition.[169] But instead, Milton understates the extensiveness of his revision, which would more descriptively be called a thorough rewriting:

> And because in the former edition through haste, many faults escap'd, and many books were suddenly dispersd, ere the note to mend them could be sent, I took the opportunitie from this occasion to revise and somewhat to enlarge the whole discourse, especially that part which argues for a perpetual Senat. The treatise thus revis'd and enlarg'd, is as follows.[170]

The title-page also announced the expansion with the phrase, 'The second edition revis'd and augmented'—exactly the same wording that would later appear on the second edition title-page of *Paradise Lost*, except then used to describe the most minimal of additions: a textual increase of fourteen hundredths of one percent in the case of the poem, in contrast to an approximately 170-percent net increase in the prose instance after deletions are taken into account.[171]

The readie and easie way was not the first time Milton had so extensively 'enlarg'd' a text, however. In 1644 he had doubled the size of *The Doctrine &*

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[168] Ibid.
[169] For the first edition, Campbell and Corns identify 'the *terminus a quo* for its publication at 22 February [...] and the *terminus ad quem* 3 March' (*John Milton*, p. 294), while the second was published 'probably in the first week of April' (p. 298).
[170] John Milton, *The readie and easie way to establish a free Commonwealth* (London, 1660), Wing M2174, sig. A3r.
[171] The figure is my estimate. Stanley Stewart describes the nature of Milton's rewriting, with several illustrative examples, in 'Milton Revises *The Readie and Easie Way*', *Milton Studies*, 20 (1984), 205–24.

Discipline of Divorce, whose second edition announced on its title page, 'Now the second time revis'd and much augmented, In Two BOOKS'.[172] In this case, the expansion into two 'books' accurately reflected the fact that the text was now twice its previous length. The browser would be justified in assuming that a second section of comparable length, or the quantitative equivalent, had been added. The same entirely reasonable assumption would not be justified, however, the next time the title-page of a Miltonic text suggested a similar expansion into additional books. Thirty years later, when *Paradise Lost*'s 'Second Edition, Revised and Augmented' would advertise itself as 'A Poem in Twelve Books', in direct contrast to the first edition's similarly announced 'Ten Books', it would not be due to an expansion of text equivalent to the length of two more books. The publication only three years before of *Paradise Regain'd* would further justify the customer's false assumption that this revision constituted an extension of the original poem further beyond its initial scope.

Such an expectation would also have been reinforced by the textual history of a contemporary long poem like Samuel Butler's *Hudibras*. Despite *Paradise Lost*'s swift admission into the English canon, inspiring over 300 pages of annotations within thirty years of its publication,[173] it was not the most popular epic poem of the 1660s. The original publication of *Hudibras* in 1663 was joined by a *Second Part* in 1664 and a *Third and last Part* in 1678. In 1674, however, *The First and Second Parts* were republished together, now 'Corrected & Amended, with Several Additions and Annotations'.[174] These revisions included forty-four additional lines and six deleted lines in the First Part, resulting in a new total of 3480

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[172] John Milton, *The Doctrine & Discipline of Divorce* (London, 1644), Wing M2109, sig. A1r (title-page).
[173] Patrick Hume, *Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost* (London, 1695), Wing H3663.
[174] Samuel Butler, *Hudibras. The First and Second Parts* (London, 1674), Wing B6311.

lines. In the Second Part, two lines were omitted and thirty added, to bring its total up to 3002 lines. In addition to these changes were many more revisions of existing lines, newly written explanatory notes, and the 'Heroical Epistle to Sidrophel'. This is an edition that truly lives up to its advertising. The second edition of *Paradise Lost*, on the other hand, was not such a book. Before addressing its revision directly, however, we should first look at Milton's practice of revision in his other poems.

Chapter II

MILTON'S PRACTICE OF POETIC REVISION

In order to evaluate Milton's revisions to *Paradise Lost* from a broad perspective, they should be approached in a context of the revisions Milton made to his other English poetry. A second edition of his minor poems in 1673 included much new poetry but also gave Milton an opportunity to revise the poems already published in his 1645 collection. As the new poems were not simply appended to a reprinting of the previous volume, but interspersed amongst the previously printed poems in a new arrangement, the 1673 edition provides an intriguing precedent to Milton's formal reorganisation of *Paradise Lost* in the following year, a type of revision that will be discussed in the final chapter. However, as preface to examining his revisions to *Paradise Lost* in the next chapter, here I will look at the minor poems that Milton substantially revised *after* their first appearance in print. This discussion therefore excludes the revisions to his poems in the Trinity manuscript, which belong more properly to the period of composition, and to which *Paradise Lost* has no extant parallel.

A. Early Revisions: 'On Shakespeare' (1632–45)

The textual evolution of Milton's epitaph on Shakespeare reveals the fingerprints of a young poet attempting to control the forms taken by his poem in print, with some but not entire success. Though its form was apparently settled by 1645 and appears virtually unchanged in 1673, the text of 'On Shakespeare' has a complicated history, both of its own publication, and of the scholarship generated about it in the twentieth century during the 'Effigies controversy' and its fallout. There are eight versions of

the poem in print, which appear in (a–c) the Second Folio of Shakespeare's plays (1632), of which there are three variant states; (d) the edition of Shakespeare's *Poems* (1640); (e) the first edition of Milton's *Poems* (1645); (f) the Third Folio (1664); (g) the second edition of Milton's *Poems* (1673); and (h) the Fourth Folio (1685).

Most of the differences between these versions are issues of punctuation and spelling—which could have been compositorial choices—rather than verbal variants. The verbal differences, however, begin with a variant in the *Second Folio* reading 'starre-ypoint*ed* Pyramid' instead of 'starre-ypoint*ing* Pyramid' (line 4) as it appears in every subsequent edition. In 1914, Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence interpreted this variant as an esoteric signal from Milton that Bacon was the true author of Shakespeare's plays and, by sending his pamphlet to fifteen thousand newspapers, claimed that twenty million copies of his thesis were circulated in one form or another.[1] It soon emerged in the ensuing 'Effigies controversy' that the variant appeared in more than just one privileged copy, as Durning-Lawrence believed, and eventually R.M. Smith deployed the necessary bibliographical evidence to demonstrate that all of the variants in the three states of the Second Folio were stop-press changes made by the compositor during printing rather than authorial corrections.[2]

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[1] Edwin Durning-Lawrence, *Key to Milton's Epitaph on Shakespeare* (J.C. Conolly, 1914), p. 5; facsimile reprint in *'Shakespeare Myth' with 'Milton's Epitaph on Shakespeare' and 'Macbeth Proves Bacon is Shakespeare'* (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2003), p. 39. His precise words are 'I sent a copy of my letter to the world's Press, about 15,000 in number, with the result that nearly ten million copies have been circulated in extenso, and a further ten million copies in an abbreviated form'.

[2] Robert M. Smith, *The Variant Issues of Shakespeare's Second Folio and Milton's First Published English Poem: A Bibliographical Problem* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Publication, 1928). Smith's conclusions were slightly modified by William B. Todd, 'The Issues and States of the Second Folio and Milton's Epitaph on Shakespeare', *Studies in Bibliography*, 5 (1952–53), 81–108. Gordon Campbell summarises the subsequent bibliographical scholarship on the epitaph in 'Obelisks and Pyramids in Shakespeare, Milton and Alcalá', *Sederi*, 9 (1998), 217–32, and in 'Shakespeare and the Youth of Milton', Milton Quarterly, 33.4 (December 1999), 95–105 (pp. 100–101).

Furthermore, Milton himself left the reading 'starre-ypointing' when he provided four substantive revisions to the poem for the 1640 publication of Shakespeare's non-dramatic poetry: 'weak' for 'dull' (line 6); 'long-live Monument' for 'lasting monument' (line 8); 'heart' for 'Part' (line 10); and 'ourselfe' for 'herselfe'.[3] Milton retained 'Star-ypointing' again when he made further revisions for the first edition of his own *Poems* in 1645, adopting all of the 1640 revisions except for 'ourselfe', which he changed for the last time to 'itself'.[4] He also seems to have changed 'neede' to 'needs' (line 1) and, whether it was Milton's decision or the compositor's, all of the final *e*'s were also eliminated. Milton was evidently satisfied with this form of the poem because, for the second edition of his *Poems* (1673), he retained all of the 1645 readings without further revision, which we can regard as a silent endorsement rather than a neglectful silence because he did make revisions to other poems in the same edition, as discussed in the rest of this chapter.[5] However, the Third (1664) and Fourth Folios (1685), rather than adopting either the 1640 or 1645 revisions, perpetuate (as might be expected) the five readings from the poem's original publication in the *Second Folio*: 'need', 'dull', 'lasting', 'part', and 'herself', with of course '-ypointing'.[6]

Thus the history of the epitaph on Shakespeare reveals a perfectionistic poet making minor adjustments to an early poem on two occasions of its reprinting, and whose close involvement in the printing of his poems culminated in the publication of his own collection, but who was forced to witness, almost twenty years later, an

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[3] I[ohn] M[ilton], 'An Epitaph on the admirable Dramaticke Poet, William Sheakespeare', in *Poems: VVritten by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent* (London, 1640), STC 22344, sigs. K8r–v.
[4] John Milton, 'On Shakespear. 1630' in *Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, Compos'd at several times* (London, 1645), Wing M2160, p. 27.
[5] John Milton, 'On Shakespear. 1630', in *Poems, &c. upon Several Occasions* (London, 1673), Wing M2161, pp. 31–32.
[6] [John Milton], 'An Epitaph On the admirable Dramatick Poet, William Shakespeare', in *Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (London, 1664), Wing S2914, sig. b5r; and [John Milton], 'An Epitaph On the admirable Dramatick Poet, William Shakespear', in *Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (London, 1685), Wing S2915, p. A3v.

un-revised version of his poem being recycled without his consultation in the Third Folio and, after his death, in the Fourth. But in 1673—after *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes* had all seen print—Milton finally had the opportunity to re-present the rest of his poetic oeuvre with whatever revisions he thought necessary or appropriate. This time, however, it was not his tribute to Shakespeare that required revision.

B. Revisions in the Minor *Poems* (1673)

Of the fifty-nine selections that appear in both the 1645 and 1673 editions of Milton's *Poems*, John Carey identifies thirty-six that contain 'significant differences' but most of these are issues of punctuation or alternate spellings of the same words.[7] Since, by comparing thousands of orthographic variants in extant copies of both editions of *Paradise Lost*, R.G. Moyles has exhaustively demonstrated that there is no consistent 'system' either to Milton's spelling or to his punctuation,[8] I will accordingly restrict my analysis in the minor poems to substantive verbal variants only, not differences of spelling or punctuation, nor indeed obvious misprints or corrections. Thus, of the thirty-six poems with significant variants, the only passages that contain verbal, necessarily authorial

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[7] John Carey, ed., *Complete Shorter Poems*, by John Milton, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1997), p. 3.
[8] R.G. Moyles, *The Text of 'Paradise Lost': A Study in Editorial Procedure* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 80–133. Moyles concludes that 'Milton did not labour mightily over the accidentals and it is therefore impossible to say with any assurance just which spellings are his and which the compositor's' (p. 116), endorsing the implications of John Shawcross's manuscript examination as equally applicable to *Paradise Lost*: 'Milton cared less about spelling than has previously been thought. He did not write certain words or groups of words in any rigid way, and even those which seem to be consistent do not give evidence of a grand scheme of improved spelling. Rather, such distinctive spellings as are seen represent practice, not philosophical ideas. No spelling system appears. The evolution of certain forms simply lies in the direction of simplicity, suggestion of pronunciation, or clarity' (Shawcross, 'What We Can Learn from Milton's Spelling', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 26.4 [August 1963], 351–61 [p. 361]). Identifying Miltonic punctuation is equally elusive, and 'it is clearly just as impossible to "restore" his punctuation as it is to "restore" his spelling' (Moyles, p. 133).

revisions in the 1673 edition belong to the Nativity Ode, 'L'Allegro', and *A Maske*, to which we now turn.

1. 'On the Morning of Christ's Nativity', lines 143–44

The longest revision among the minor poems consists of one and a half lines in the Nativity Ode. In the 1645 edition, lines 141–45 read:

> Yea Truth, and Justice then
> Will down return to men,
> *Th'enameled Arras of the Rainbow wearing,*
> *And Mercy set* between,
> Thron'd in Celestiall sheen, [...][9]

But in the 1673 edition (page 8), the passage is rewritten as:

> Yea Truth, and Justice then
> Will down return to men,
> *Orb'd in a Rain-bow; and like glories wearing*
> *Mercy will sit* between,
> Thron'd in Celestiall sheen, [...][10]

This is, quantitatively, the most extensive revision and therefore undoubtedly authorial, yet it has inspired relatively little comment because the change causes few, if any, interpretive repercussions elsewhere in the poem. On the most basic poetic level, changing 'And Mercy set' to 'Mercy will sit' makes it syntactically parallel with 'Truth, and Justice then / Will down return', while 'Orb'd in a Rain-bow' enables that line to be echoed syntactically by 'Thron'd in Celestial sheen'.

Most glosses trace the use of rainbows in other literature, but as both readings include reference to a rainbow, such commentary on this passage is usually not helpful to explicating the revision specifically. Verity assumes that only the heads of the personified Truth and Justice are 'orb'd in a Rain-bow', claiming

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[9] John Milton, *Poems of Mr. John Milton, both English and Latin, Compos'd at several times* (London, 1645), Wing M2160, pp. 7–8.
[10] John Milton, *Poems, &c. upon Several Occasions* (London, 1673), Wing M2161, p. 8.

Revelation X.1 as a relevant analogue: 'a rainbow was upon his head'.[11] Perhaps prompted by 'Thron'd' in line 145, Cook supplements his own citation of Revelation X.1 with the equally generic passage of IV.3—'and there was a rainbow round about the throne'—as well as Ezekiel I.28: 'As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about. This was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of the LORD.' Even more insightfully, Cook connects the revision's new image of 'like glories' worn by Mercy to paintings of the Virgin Mary in which she is surrounded by the aureole, interpreting 'orb'd in a Rain-bow' then to mean 'invested with a "glory" of rainbow colors'.[12]

The primary consequence of the revision is simply that of extending rainbow associations to Mercy, although the effect is not achieved very simply. The revision changes what is worn from a rainbow to rainbow-*like* glories and changes the *wearers* from Truth and Justice to Mercy, while keeping Truth and Justice encircled by an unqualified rainbow nonetheless. The apocalyptic allusion to 'a rainbow upon his head' identified by Verity might imply masculine personifications of Truth and Justice, who retain the closest connection to the rainbow, while it is more appropriate for feminine Mercy to be robed in glories. However, both classical and Christian virtues are usually personified as feminine, so it is still unclear why Milton felt it necessary to shift the subject of 'wearing' to Mercy but to keep the rainbow associated most strongly with Truth and Justice, although Dobranski reads 'like glories wearing' as implying that all three virtues are similarly adorned.[13]

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[11] A.W. Verity, *Milton's Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso and Lycidas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924).
[12] Albert Stanburrough Cook, 'Notes on Milton's Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity', *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 15 (1909), 307–68 (p. 346).
[13] Stephen B. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 162.

2. 'L'Allegro', line 104

Unlike that in the Nativity Ode, this orthographically minor revision—amounting to the addition of a single letter and transposing the word with its neighbour—has provoked a good deal of commentary because of its ambiguous nature. In the 1645 edition, lines 100–106 read:

> Then to the Spicy Nut-brown Ale,
> With stories told of many a feat,
> How Faery Mab the junkets eat,
> She was pincht, and pull'd she sed,
> And *he by* Friars Lanthorn led
> Tells how the drudging Goblin swet,
> To ern his Cream-bowle duly set, [...][14]

But in 1673, line 104 reads:

> And *by the* Friars Lanthorn led[15]

The difference between the 1645 and 1673 readings of this line has elicited very complex arguments supporting either edition as preferable. David Masson assumes 'by the' was a typographical error, concluding that 'though the construction is difficult with the [1645] reading, it would be hopeless with this [1673 reading]'.[16] Woodhouse and Bush are more optimistic about both readings: 'In 1645 *he* parallels *She* [*was pinched*, line 103], and we get the impression of a second member of the company breaking in with his story, though it is just possible to read the line [104] as a part of what *she sed*, referring to the adventure of her lover or husband. In 1673 the adventure belongs to the narrator herself.'[17] Furthermore, they claim, the revision 'perhaps simplifies the syntax of 103–14 by reducing the whole to the account of a single narrator and making *she* (understood) the subject of *Tells* [line 105]'. An alternative if unconvincing interpretation offered by Carey is that the

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[14] Milton, *Poems* (1645), p. 34.
[15] Milton, *Poems, &c.* (1673), p. 39.
[16] Quoted in A.S.P. Woodhouse and Douglas Bush, eds., *A Variorum Commentary on The Poems of John Milton*, vol. II (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), part i, p. 295.
[17] Ibid.

syntax might be simplified by metaphorically reading 'She...by the friar's lantern led' to mean 'She...led astray by superstition'.[18]

John Creaser dislikes the 1673 reading because 'now "led" only makes sense in parallel with "pincht" ("she was pincht and she was led")'.[19] He also claims that 'the absence of "she" before "tells" and of punctuation after "led" makes for an excruciating discord of tenses ("she said she was pinched and pulled, and was led by the Friar's lantern, tells how...["])', while he considers the 1645 reading to be 'unproblematic', paraphrasing its meaning as 'she said she was pinched, and he who had been led astray by the Friar's lantern tells how...'.[20] Thus Creaser asserts the superiority of the 1645 version 'on literary grounds'.[21]

However, the most definitive statement on the revision is made by Archie Burnett, who answers Creaser's objections to the 1673 reading point by point, characterising the 1645 version as 'by no means as problem-free as John Creaser seems to estimate, either in text or in interpretation'.[22] Positing that 'what fits syntactically primarily determines what is fitting', his article is an exhaustive consideration of every syntactical possibility.[23] His arguments are so fine that they are impossible to paraphrase without reiterating them in whole. Echoing the *Variorum* commentators' observation that 'the absence of any punctuation after *led* in each text leaves the syntax at this one point somewhat obscure and suggests a degree of carelessness in both readings',[24] Burnett also acknowledges that punctuation is of little help to sense, since 'commas and full stops seem to be used

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[18] Carey, *Complete Shorter Poems*, p. 142n.
[19] John Creaser, 'Textual Cruces in Milton's Shorter Poems', *Notes and Queries*, N.S. 29, continuous series 227 (1982), 26–28 (p. 28).
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Archie Burnett, 'A Textual Crux in "L'Allegro"', *Notes and Queries*, N.S. 29, continuous series 227 (1982), 495–98 (p. 498).
[23] Ibid., p. 496.
[24] Woodhouse and Bush, *Variorum*, p. 295; not quoted but cited by Burnett, 'A Textual Crux', p. 496.

merely to mark pauses of some kind in a sentence, but not to do so in way that always enables the reader to be sure of sentence-structure'.[25] He presents a final interpretive argument, that in 1673 'an individual but unindividualized "she" tells all the stories. The introduction of such a "she" and the absence of an explicit agent for "tells" would not be unusual in a poem where generalized subjects abound and expressed agents are often omitted.'[26]

Quite evidently, this remains the most ambiguous of Milton's revisions. I think the 1673 reading is grammatically satisfactory, by understanding 'tells' to be parallel with 'sed', as in 'she was pincht and pulled, she said and—by the lantern (now) led—tells how...'. But in any case, it is unlikely that the compositor would have both accidentally omitted 'he' and added 'the', since the transposition of 'by' suggests that it was not a simple misprint. Therefore it is still reasonable to regard this as a Miltonic revision, however elusive.

3. *A Maske*

a. Theories of relationships between the texts

The textual development of the masque known to us as *Comus* is a convoluted one, and because the variety of extant texts restricts speculation, the work's textual history cannot be related apart from the history of the interpretation of its textual history. There are five texts of *A Maske*: in the Trinity Manuscript in Milton's hand, with extensive revisions; the Bridgewater Manuscript, in a hand not Milton's; the original publication of *A Maske* in its own volume (1637); in the first edition of Milton's *Poems* (1645); and in the second edition of his *Poems* (1673). It

[25] Burnett, 'A Textual Crux', p. 497.
[26] Ibid., p. 498.

is beyond the scope of this thesis to evaluate in detail each interpretation of the texts' relationships to each other, but they must be at least summarised.

Comparing the various layers of revision in the Trinity MS—the earliest readings being preserved in the Bridgewater MS—with the printed versions, C.S. Lewis observed that the revisions were of a similar character. To his eye, Milton consistently 'cuts away technical terms and colloquialisms; he will have nothing ebullient; he increases the gnomic element at the expense of the dramatic',[27] resulting in the following straightforward stemma:

Trinity MS *alpha*

→ Bridgewater MS

→ Trinity MS *beta*

→ 1637 edition

→ Trinity MS *gamma*

→ 1645 edition

Based on his analysis of Milton's handwriting, John Shawcross regards the whole text of *Comus* in the Trinity MS and subsequent Bridgewater MS as being transcribed three years after the performance in 1634.[28] However this issue of dating does not specifically affect his stemma:

Trinity MS

→ [Intermediate Copy]

→ Bridgewater MS

→ 1637 edition

{TMS^2} → 1645 edition ← {1637^2}

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[27] C.S. Lewis, 'A Note on *Comus*', *Review of English Studies*, 8.30 (April 1932), 170–76 (pp. 175–76).

[28] John T. Shawcross, 'Certain Relationships of the Manuscripts of *Comus*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 54 (1960), 38–56 and 293–94.

S.E. Sprott considers the Trinity MS the earliest complete draft of Comus, rejecting both Shawcross's claim that the manuscript's entire text of the masque was written in 1637, as well as John Diekhoff's earlier assumption that the Trinity text was entirely a transcript of a previous draft.[29] The essence of Sprott's account of revision is expressed in this statement:

> [MS^3] thus consisted of [MS^1] in Milton's hand, lightly revised for [MS^2] by Lawes in 1634, and revised again by Milton in 1637 by his amending, deleting, restoring, or adding readings and lines, sometimes in accord with TMS^1, TMS^2, or TMS^3 and sometimes not, and by his inserting new material not in BMS or TMS.[30]

This hypothesis yields the following stemma:

Trinity MS^1

→ Trinity MS^2

→ [hypothetical MS^1 in Milton's hand]

→ [hypothetical MS^2 revised by Lawes and Milton]

→ Bridgewater MS

→ [hypothetical MS^3 revised again]

→ Trinity MS^3 ←

→ 1637 edition

→ 1645 edition

→ Trinity MS^4

→ 1673 edition ←

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[29] Cf. John S. Diekhoff, 'The Text of *Comus*, 1634 to 1645', *PMLA*, 52.3 (Sep. 1937), 705–27.
[30] S.E. Sprott, ed., *A Maske: The Earlier Revisions*, by John Milton (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), p. 27.

Sprott insists that 'the copy text for *1637* was clearly dependent on [MS^1] because *1637* agrees with BMS against TMS^1 in significant readings'.[31] Clarifying the status of Trinity MS^3 in his account, Sprott claims that 'as Milton revised for [MS^3], he refereed back to TMS^2, adopted some of its readings, and intermittently revised it for TMS^3, though not so as to make TMS^3 a complete copy for or of the revision in [MS^3]'.[32]

Philip Gaskell's account is a simplified version of Sprott's, which Gaskell basically accepts 'Although Sprott's analysis of the alterations in TMS and of the hypothetical transcript made from it seems to me over-complicated'.[33] Accordingly, Gaskell proposes the following stemma:

[Milton's rough drafts]

→ Trinity MS

→ [fair copy of Trinity MS]

→ [performance copy]

→ Bridgewater MS

→ [Lawes' copies]

→ 1637 edition

→ 1645 edition

→ 1673 edition

In 1637, according to Gaskell, 'Milton further revised the text for publication, making drafts for some of the new readings in TMS, and transferring them together

[31] Sprott, p. 26.
[32] Sprott, p. 27.
[33] Philip Gaskell, *From Writer to Reader: Studies in Editorial Method* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 30 n8.

with further alterations to the fair copy', which would have been the copy text for its first printing.[34]

Lewis's free incorporation of qualitative criticism into his analysis is unique in comparison to the later scholarship, which is concerned primarily with establishing relationships between documents. To Lewis the revisions before 1637, though they subdue the masque's original liveliness, are done for tonal and thematic consistency and lend the poem a 'dearly bought singleness of quality' that he characterises as 'poetic chastity'.[35] I think the revisions also demonstrate Milton's consciousness of differences in presentation, minimizing the demands of dramatic production in favour of producing a text for private reading. It seems he did not regard the 1637 or subsequent editions as primarily documentary records of the masque *as it was* 'presented at Ludlow Castle', despite the title-page's insistence to contrary.

b. Lines 167–69

The concern of this thesis is with significant post-publication revision and, in the case of the *Maske*, this qualification brings into focus a single passage; it is also the only revision in the 1673 edition of the *Poems* that involves the elimination of a full verse. In the 1645 edition, lines 166–69 read:

> I shall appear som harmles Villager
> *Whom thrift keeps up about his Country gear,*
> But here she comes, I fairly step aside
> And hearken, if I may, her busines *here.*[36]

In 1673, line 167 is excised and next two are inverted:

> I shall appear some harmles Villager
> And hearken, if I may, her busines here.
> But here she comes, I fairly step aside[37]

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[34] Ibid., p. 31.
[35] Lewis, 'A Note on *Comus*', p. 176.
[36] Milton, *Poems* (1645), pp. 82–83.

However, the Errata in the same edition instructs us to 'leave out the Comma after *May*, and for *here* r. *hear*', resulting in the final formulation:

> I shall appear some harmles Villager
> And hearken, if I may her busines *hear.*
> But here she comes, I fairly step aside[38]

I will address first the transposition of lines, then the spelling change, and finally the excision.

Dennis Burden and John Carey follow the 1673 reading, while Helen Darbishire and Douglas Bush follow 1645.[39] John Creaser identifies this as one of the errata which 'are almost certainly unauthoritative' because 'examined closely, they make poor sense'. In particular, Creaser argues, 'Comus is first to make himself appear a villager and then, as if in consequence, to eavesdrop unseen. In *1645* these notions are properly kept separate.'[40] But this begs the question because the assumption that eavesdropping is an afterthought is based only on the fact that the two notions are separated more in the earlier version. If anything, the fact that, in the 1673 text proper, lines 168 and 169 were already transposed and the intervening line omitted before the erratum was added to further clarify Comus's intent to eavesdrop, indicates that the original intention (of the revision) was indeed to strengthen the connection between Comus's appearance and his purpose by decreasing their textual distance (and causal connection) distance from three lines apart to one. The suspicious lack of a full point after 'aside' (especially because the following line changes speaker) can easily be explained as the result of the 1645 edition being the copy-text, with marginal revisions, for 1673, whose compositor literally exchanged

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[37] Milton, *Poems, &c.* (1673), p 91.
[38] Ibid., sig. A4v.
[39] D.H. Burden, ed., *The Shorter Poems of John Milton* (London: Barnes and Noble, 1970); John Carey, ed., *Compete Shorter Poems*, by John Milton, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1997); Helen Darbishire, ed., *Poetical Works of John Milton*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952–55), II (1955); Douglas Bush, ed., *Poetical Works*, by John Milton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).
[40] Creaser, 'Textual Cruces', p. 27.

the lines without attending to the implicit need for additional punctuation. As further indication that the omission should be considered Miltonic, Dobranski notes that even if the compositor had missed out the line accidentally in the first place, he would have caught his error at the bottom of the page when he came up a line short, assuming the poem was cast off before setting.[41]

Hanford says that the erratum was included by a 'corrector' who was not familiar with the transitive use of 'hearken'.[42] This is reinforced by Woodhouse and Bush who state that 'the original reading, which makes hearken transitive, seems to have been intended, and that supplied by the Errata to have been introduced at the last minute as a new reading'.[43] Both Darbishire and Creaser observe that the redundancy of 'hearken' and 'hear' in 1673 makes the first version preferable, but Darbishire adds that Milton made the change 'presumably to avoid the repetition of the word *here* in the next line'.[44] If so, the erratum would be directly dependant on the transposition of the two lines, which accords with Woodhouse and Bush's conjecture that 'if I may her business hear' was a new reading at the last minute.

As for why the original line 167 was omitted, perhaps Milton's antipathy for 'the jingling sound of like endings' made him dislike 'gear' following the ending of the preceding line, 'Villager'. But Carey suggests the possibility that 'the rhyme of "gear" and "here" in *1637* and *1645* offended M[ilton]'s ear, and made him decide to change the passage'.[45] However, the line to be omitted would not have made a rhyming couplet with the line ending 'here' (originally line 169) until after the 1673

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[41] Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade*, pp. 160–61. As confirmation that it was indeed cast off before setting, Dobranski cites the badly spaced lines on D1r and unnecessary spaces at the bottom of E2v and G8v: 'the compositor presumably made these adjustments so that the text would correspond to his somewhat inaccurate estimations' (p. 232n16).
[42] James Holly Hanford, *A Milton Handbook*, 4th edn (New York: Crofts, 1946), p. 394.
[43] Woodhouse and Bush, *Variorium*, II, i, p. 884.
[44] Creaser, 'Textual Cruces', p. 27, and Darbishire, *Poetical Works*, p. 345.
[45] Carey, *Complete Shorter Poems*, p. 189n.

inversion of lines 168 and 169, in which case the omission also was dependant, like the change from 'here' to 'hear', on the transposition of lines. In any case, Carey's assessment that 'the Errata makes it unlikely that the differences [...] can at this point be attributed to the printer' is undoubtedly correct, whether Milton's primary motivations were dramatic or poetic considerations. The significant interpretive implications of such a revision contrasts sharply with the revisions of *Paradise Lost*, which, as we will see in the next chapter, lack anything close to the same degree of interpretive import.

In terms of Milton's process of revision, *Comus* presents a special case because in many ways, beginning with genre, it is not truly comparable to the other minor poems (apart from *Arcades*), to *Paradise Lost*, or even to *Samson Agonistes*. As a form of drama written specifically for performance, Milton's masque resists assumptions about textual unity and the usual categories of 'public-ation'. If live performance is the text's primary mode of being made public, then what is the status of its printed iteration? Throughout the textual metamorphosis of the work, and perhaps seen most sharply in the Bridgewater manuscript with its rearranged parts and passages, we find original intent in tension with final intent, as Milton balances commitment to collaboration with Henry Lawes with commitment to his own poetic aims.

One of the results of attempting to formulate a picture of Milton's 'practice of revision' by way of a survey of his corrections is that the distinction between 'composition' and 'revision' becomes somewhat blurred. However, the presence of composition and revision on a continuum of textual status does not imply that they are identical, and Milton's relatively minimal revisions after the first publication of any textual item does stand in stark contrast to the extensive compositional

'revising' of which we see evidence in the Trinity manuscript. Dobranski suggets: 'That he made only a few revisions may reflect his satisfaction with his early poems or his commitment to offering an honest representation of his juvenalia',[46] but the former point seems to be the more true because, as the epitaph on Shakespeare indicates, Milton did not feel constrained by a documentary principle to abstain from making adjustments at any point in a poem's publication—but once satisfied he would leave it and not tinker with it for tinkering's sake, in stark relief to the enlarging impulse of his contemporaries in the Culture of Revision. While other authors such as Samuel Butler extend major composition of a text throughout the process of print, or employ the routine of printing to facilitate their compositional process, Milton seems to regard publication as a significant threshold, in preparation for which he prepares his texts thoroughly, resulting in impressively few post-publication revisions. In this sense, the small quantity of Milton's revisions to *Paradise Lost* are of a piece with his practice of revision in his other poetry—but, as we shall see in the next chapter, his epic revisions are not consistent with his other poetic revisions in terms of quality.

[46] Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade*, p. 164. See pp. 154–78 for a discussion of all the changes, including accidentals, in the 1673 edition of *Poems*.

Chapter III

THE MATERIAL REVISION OF *PARADISE LOST*

There has not yet been a satisfactory explanation of all of the revisions made in the Miltonic editions of *Paradise Lost*, and of whether they were motivated by art or commerce or both. In the critical literature some theories have been offered in passing, but none accounts for each of the revisions in particular as well as for all of them *in toto*. Two editions of *Paradise Lost* were published during Milton's lifetime and, however minimal his influence during their actual printing, contemporary testimony confirms that the revisions to the second edition were his.

We have already seen in Chapter I how the book trade marketed texts through title pages, in essence incorporating within a volume its own advertising. The self-promotional nature of titles in the bookstall therefore necessitated revised, amended, annotated, and otherwise augmented editions to be produced by the author, resulting in a cooperation, not to say collaboration, between author and publisher to attract attention and sales. Having looked at Milton's changes to his minor poems in the preceding chapter, we can now see how this Culture of Revision influenced the metamorphosis of *Paradise Lost* and its paratexts. The present chapter, therefore, will examine each step in the evolution of the *Paradise Lost* texts, but beyond merely describing differences as any modern edition does, I will provide a close analysis of each modification, evaluating the alteration critically and considering its effect, or lack of it, on the surrounding passage.

Consideration of Simmons's influence on Milton and his poem must begin with the first edition, for it is there that we find the first evidence of Milton acquiescing to commercial factors in the presentation of *Paradise Lost*. In order to

provide a basis for subsequent discussion of the first edition, this chapter will begin by addressing the bibliographic issue of the number and sequence of its title-pages and bindings. I will then analyse the preliminary materials contributed at various stages of publication, which added substantively to the text of the whole volume and also defined the poem conceptually, by their order in the volume as much as by their content. Like the alternative book divisions in the first two editions, which will be considered in Chapter IV, the various stages of paratextual apparatus in successive editions similarly provide different conceptual frameworks through which to interpret the poem. Finally I will turn to the revisions in the poem itself and survey relevant critical comment on the virtues of the new readings.

A. The First Edition of *Paradise Lost* (1667–69)

1. The Problem of Title Pages and Issues

The many variations of title pages bound to copies of the first edition of *Paradise Lost* are significant because they are related to the question of how many issues or bindings there were of the quarto text between 1667 and 1669. Only in the last century was it proven that the poem was never reprinted in the first three years of its publication, but was printed altogether at once and only bound on separate occasions over the next couple of years, being issued at each of those times with a new title page. To minimize confusion in the following discussion, I will follow Pershing and Fletcher in referring to six title pages that I will identify for consistency as 1667a, 1667b, 1668a, 1668b, 1669a, and 1669b. The text contained on each is as follows:

1667a:

Paradise lost. | A | POEM | Written in | TEN BOOKS | By JOHN

MILTON. | [rule] | Licensed and Entred according | to Order. | [rule] | *LONDON* | Printed, and are to be sold by *Peter Parker* | under *Creed* Church neer *Aldgate* ; And by | *Robert Boulter* at the *Turks Head* in *Bishopsgate-street* ; | And *Matthias Walker* , under St. *Dunstons* Church | in F*leet-street*, 1667.

1667b (similar to 1667a, but with 'By JOHN MILTON' in a distinctly smaller type):

Paradise lost. | A | POEM | Written in | TEN BOOKS | By JOHN MILTON. | [rule] | Licensed and Entred according | to Order. | [rule] | *LONDON* | Printed, and are to be sold by *Peter Parker* | under *Creed* Church neer *Aldgate* ; And by | *Robert Boulter* at the *Turks Head* in *Bishopsgate-street* ; | And *Matthias Walker* , under St. *Dunstons* Church | in F*leet-street*, 1667.

1668a (some variants of this title-page have a full stop after 'BOOKS'[1]):

Paradise lost. | A | POEM | IN | TEN BOOKS | The Author *J. M.* | [rule] | Licensed and Entred according | to Order. | [rule] | *LONDON* | Printed, and are to be sold by *Peter Parker* | under *Creed* Church neer *Aldgate* ; And by | *Robert Boulter* at the *Turks Head* in *Bishopsgate-street* ; | And *Matthias Walker* , under St. *Dunstons* Church | in F*leet-street*, 1668.

1668b:

Paradise lost. | A | POEM | IN | TEN BOOKS. | [rule] | The Author | *JOHN MILTON.* | [rule] | [34 ornaments in four centred rows of 12, 10, 8, and 4 columns] | [rule] | *LONDON*, | Printed by *S. Simmons*, and

[1] Facsimile in R.G. Moyles, *The Text of 'Paradise Lost': A Study in Editorial Procedure* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 8.

to be sold by *S. Thomson* at | the *Bishops-Head* in *Duck-lane*, *H. Mortlack* at the | *White Hart* in *Westminster* Hall, *M. Walker* under | St. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleet street*, and *R. Boulter* at | the *Turks-Head* in *Bishopsgate* street, 1668.

1669a:

Paradise lost. | A | POEM | IN | TEN BOOKS. | The Author | *JOHN MILTON.* | *LONDON*, | Printed by *S. Simmons*, and are to be sold by | *T. Helder* at the Angel in *Little Brittain.* | 1669.

1669b (similar to 1669a, but with 'London' in a smaller type, commas after 'Helder' and 'Brittain', and 'Angel' in an italic font):

Paradise lost. | A | POEM | IN | TEN BOOKS. | The Author | *JOHN MILTON.* | *LONDON*, | Printed by *S. Simmons*, and are to be sold by | *T. Helder*, at the *Angel* in *Little Brittain*, | 1669.

Given their elusive history, a description of the title pages affixed to the copies of the first edition of *Paradise Lost* is best undertaken by a chronological survey of modern scholarly attempts to catalogue them and identify the number of issues.

David Masson describes no less than nine title pages because he counts separately even those later regarded as variants.[2] His first and second title pages are what I have called 1667b and 1667a, respectively. His third and fourth represent 1668a and a variant; his fifth and sixth 1668b and variant. Masson's seventh title page is 1669b and his eighth and ninth (undistinguished) are probably 1669a and a variant of either 1669a or 1669b. Elsewhere, Masson correctly surmises that 'one construes the story as follows: —Simmons had printed off at once, in 1667, the

[2] David Masson, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, 3 vols (London: Macmillian, 1890), II, pp. 12–13.

entire number of copies', but in the absence of definite evidence at the time, his conclusion seems most attributable to his own bibliographical intuition.[3]

For James Pershing's detailed bibliographical comparison of the various issues (or 'bindings' as he prefers) of the first edition of *Paradise Lost*, he examined 115 different copies, either by personal inspection or by information gleaned from a tailored questionnaire, and charted the variants of each.[4] Pershing describes six title-pages (I–VI) and a variant of III (1668a) in detail, identifying the most minute discrepancies and to which binding they were attached, accompanied by photographic reproductions of all seven.

Pershing discovered proof that titles I and II (1667a and -b), conjugate to the preceding blank leaf, were printed on leaves [Vv2] and [Vv3] of the volume's final signature, by locating a copy bound in 1668 with the fourth title-page in front, but with the second title page, dated 1667, still attached to signature Vv in the back.[5] Pershing also hypothesizes that the 1667 title-page with 'By JOHN MILTON' in smaller type (1667b) was printed subsequent to the larger version because something probably happened to the border rules during printing and the most efficient solution to resume printing was to reduce the size of the author's name.[6]

By collating the variants of every copy, Pershing was also the first bibliographer to gather textual evidence that the (non-title) pages used for every binding from 1667 to 1669 were printed at the same time, with the corrections being made during the course of printing, because early printings, with mistakes, are as likely to appear in the later bindings as later printings, with corrections, are likely to

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[3] David Masson, ed., *Paradise Lost, as Originally Published by John Milton, Being a Facsimile Reproduction of the First Edition* (London: Elliot Stock, 1877), p. ix.
[4] James H. Pershing, 'The Different States of the First Edition of *Paradise Lost*', *The Library*, 4th series, 22 (1941), 34–66.
[5] Ibid., pp. 51–52.
[6] Ibid., p. 53.

appear in earlier bindings. According to Pershing this shuffling most likely happened while the freshly printed sheets were hung up to dry and then restacked before gathering.[7]

Helen Darbishire personally examined 45 copies of the 1667 edition, and no fewer than three with each of the six title-pages, and her findings are described in a more systematic format than those of Pershing, though she does not acknowledge his study and may not have been aware of it.[8] Indeed, Darbishire may have submitted her article before his had appeared, because she offers bibliographical descriptions of the six proper title-pages 'in lieu of photographic reproductions [. . .] which must wait for happier times'[9] though her article was published in October and Pershing's, with photocopies of the titles, had already appeared in the June issue of *The Library*. In any case, Darbishire identifies six distinct title-pages but she gives them the numbers assigned by Bohn in his 1861 edition of Lowndes' *Bibliographer's Manual*, that is, first through fourth (1667a–1668b), and a seventh and eighth title page (1669a and -b), regarding what Bohn described as the fifth and sixth titles as either variants or non-extant.

One of Darbishire's proofs that the sheets bound in all six issues of the poem were printed off at the same time is in her comparison of watermarks, which she examined in 31 copies, all six title-pages being represented. She found at least eight different watermarks in each copy. Two of these watermarks, one of which she describes as an orb and the other a coat of arms under a coronet, appear only on sheet Qq and sometimes later sheets, but never before Qq. As Darbishire says, this can only be explained if the sheets in every copy were printed at the same time, and

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[7] Ibid., pp. 62–63.
[8] Helen Darbishire, 'The Printing of the First Edition of Paradise Lost', *Review of English Studies*, 17 (1941), 415–27.
[9] Ibid., p. 416.

the printers simply reached for the orb and coat of arms watermarks in the stack of mixed paper they were using at the moment they began printing sheet Qq.[10] The corroborating evidence Darbishire offers is the same as Pershing's, that both corrected and uncorrected sheets were evidently bound indiscriminately together, whenever it was time for a new issue of the already-printed sheets. She describes in detail these variants, which indicate that the press was stopped and corrections were made on at least 15 formes of 20 sheets.[11]

In his review of H.F. Fletcher's facsimile edition of Milton's poems,[12] W.W. Greg does not understand in the first place why Fletcher thinks that sheet Tt was the last to be printed, but nonetheless concludes that since it would have taken only a day to print, 'we may safely reject' Fletcher's claim that the earliest copies of *Paradise Lost* were probably on sale before the last of the Tt sheets had even finished printing.[13] Greg flatly denies that any portion of the poem was left in standing type and used as needed. By my own examination of the third title page (1668a) and its variant, reproduced in both Pershing and Moyles, Greg is correct in identifying, though it is barely detectable, a reduced space between the words 'TEN' and 'BOOKS'—and no difference in the space between the last two letters of 'BOOKS'—as the change which made room for the full point after 'BOOKS' in the variant of the third title page.

According to Hugh Amory,[14] Fletcher was 'more or less incapable of bibliographical analysis'[15] so he considers his own article 'the first attempt to

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[10] Ibid., pp. 418–19.
[11] Ibid., p. 427.
[12] W.W. Greg, Review of *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile*, II, ed. by Harris Francis Fletcher, *Modern Language Review*, 42 (1947), 133–37.
[13] Ibid., p. 136.
[14] Hugh Amory, 'Things Unattempted Yet: A Bibliography of the First Edition of *Paradise Lost*', *The Book Collector*, 32.1 (Spring 1983), 41–66.
[15] Ibid., p. 44.

classify copies of the first edition—as opposed to variant formes' and therefore actually the first proper bibliography of *Paradise Lost*'s 1667 edition.[16] Along with other bits of received wisdom, Amory dismisses the popular notion that the first edition was a poor seller, proposing that it 'was simply overprinted and overpriced, but sold fairly well considering: 1300 copies in 20 months is a howling success compared, say, to Shakespeare's first folio'.[17]

One of Amory's main goals is to overhaul our understanding of title pages of the first edition. He reviews with relish their convoluted critical history, the total number appearing to dilate and contract through the years, fluctuating between eight (Bohn, 1861), nine (Sotheby, 1861), six (Baxter, 1903), six plus variant (Pershing, 1941), and five plus two (Fletcher, 1945). Amory says they all had it mostly wrong, especially the conclusions they extrapolated from the titles and their dates, because 'after all, a title-page is not synonymous with either an issue, a state or a binding'.[18]

Because the 20 August 1667 entry in the Stationers' Register—'A Poem in Tenne bookes by I.M.'—agrees with the so-called third title-page in both authorship (initials only) and subtitle (without the interpolated word 'Written' that appears on both 1667 title-pages: 'A | POEM | Written in | TEN BOOKS'), Hugh Amory believes that the 1668 title-page was misdated.[19] Therefore, regarding the oft-repeated explanation for the apparent reversion to the author's initials, Amory assures us that 'we can now finally discard the rather foolish notion that Simmons removed Milton's name from the title-page because the reputation of a regicide "had [adversely] affected the book's sale"'.[20] Ultimately, Amory argues that 'there were

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[16] Ibid., p. 57.
[17] Ibid., p. 55.
[18] Ibid., p. 42.
[19] Ibid., p. 45.
[20] Ibid., p. 50. Amory quotes Fletcher there (*John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile*, 2 vols (Urbana, IL, 1945), II, p. 165) but 55 years before him, Masson had

only four issues, the first in 1667 with various title-pages including one dated 1668, a second in 1668, and two dated 1669, one of which was probably published in 1668'.[21]

However, Amory's account is not completely convincing. His portrayal of the 1668a title page matching the wording in the Stationers' Register is not the whole truth, because the title-page in question reads 'The Author *J. M.*' not 'by J. M.' as entered in the Register. Furthermore, of all the title-pages it is only those dated 1667 that read 'By' rather than 'The Author', so the Stationers' Register is effectively neutralised as a source to which fidelity could help us determine title-page primacy. If anything, the 1668a title's uses of (1) 'IN' rather than 'Written in' and (2) 'The Author' rather than 'By', are more compelling reasons to associate it with all of the later title-pages (1668b–1669b), with which those readings are consistent. It also removes the obstacle of having to believe that the first 1668 title-page was misdated, for which there is no apparent evidence other than it being a necessary consequence of Amory's interpretation.

In the end I believe the simplest and best understanding of the evidence is that there were six title-pages with variants as identified at the outset, 1667a–69b, but which were bound in five issues, once in 1667 with both title-pages (a–b), and twice each in 1668 and 1669. To minimise confusion, however, it will be best to refer to them as six issues, identified by their title-pages.

EXCURSUS: Two Nineteenth-Century Title-Page Forgeries

One of the copies of the first edition in the British Library (shelfmark C.118.bbb.1) contains a title-page that is orthographically identical to the sixth and

made the same speculation (*Poetical Works of John Milton*, 3 vols (London: Macmillan, 1890), II, p. 14).

[21] Ibid., p. 42.

last title-page (1669b)—complete with both commas after 'Helder' and 'Brittain' and the italicised 'Angel' in the imprint—but with '1667' instead of '1669' in the last line. The 'd' of 'Paradise' is also a real 'd', not the inverted 'p' that the other 1669b title-pages have and the characters of 'JOHN MILTON' are more spaced out, but most crucially, it is all set in a crisp Caslon typeface, a font not invented until sixty years after the printed date.[22] The chain lines in the paper are vertical, instead of horizontal as they are on every page in every copy of the first edition, and the watermark appears to be from the 1650s, yet the typography is from the nineteenth century,[23] so a clever forger must have used a blank leaf from an old book to make a more convincing fraud. On 22 November 1962, the British Library's Assistant Keeper, A.F. Allison, offered Capt. Cuthbert Francis Bond Bowlby, CMG, CBE, DSC, RN (b. 1895) a mere £15 for the copy on account of the title-page being a fake.[24] Three weeks later, Capt. Bowlby accepted the offer.

Despite its acquisition by the Library in 1962, recent bibliographers of *Paradise Lost* such as Moyles and Dobranski do not mention it. The Library's online catalogue entry identifies the copy as a '1668' issue which is consistent with its preliminaries containing Simmons's 'Printer to the Reader' statement (long version) that is altogether absent in copies with the 1669b title-page, but I see no reason why it might just as easily have been from the 1669a issue as the 1668b. However, the preliminaries might have been tipped in to an earlier binding, as issues with the 1667b and 1668a titles have been retrofitted with them.

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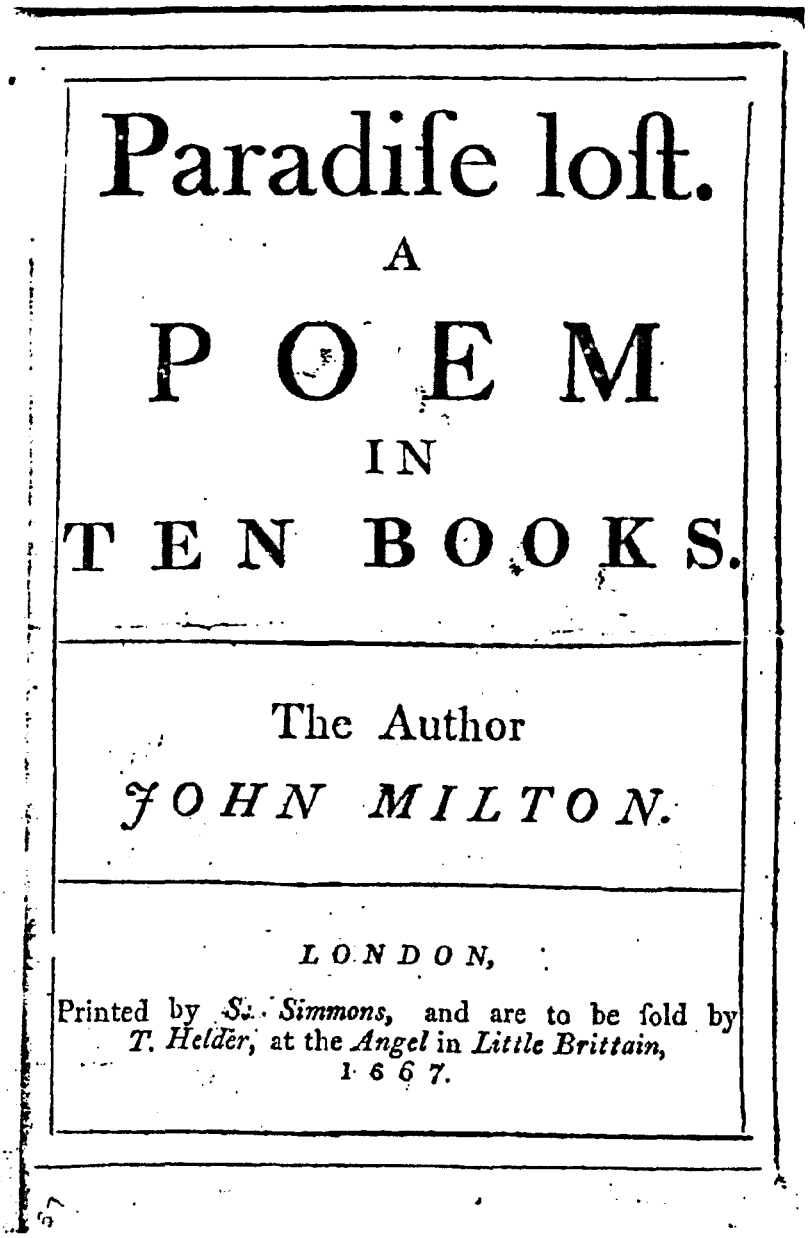
[22] Caslon's English first appeared in 1727 (Neil Macmillan, *An A–Z of Type Designers* [New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008], p. 64).

[23] Identified as such by Giles Mandelbrote in an email dated 22 July 2009: 'on the basis of its typographical appearance, I would have no hesitation in saying that the titlepage was printed in the nineteenth century'.

[24] British Library Corporate Archive, DH72/44 Department of Printed Books: Principal Keepers' Files, Purchase Acquisitions 'B', Bowlby CA 2/2.



Paradiſe loſt.

A

POEM

IN

TEN BOOKS.

The Author

JOHN MILTON.

LONDON,

Printed by S. Simmons, and are to be ſold by T. Helder, at the Angel in Little Brittain,

1667.

Illustration 1. Forged title-page in Milton, *Paradise Lost* ([1668b] or [1669a]).

Reproduced by permission of the British Library, London, C.118.bbb.1.

There is a 1909 account in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* that includes a facsimile matching the title-page in the Bowlby copy and identifies it as 'the same as that described in a recent bibliography as the "eighth binding of the first edition," [i.e. 1669b] with the very important exception of the date, which is two years earlier'. But believing it to be authentic, the unjustified conclusion is made that 'This copy disproves the statement made in several of the catalogues that the name of S. Simmons first appears as the printer on the titlepage in the issue of 1668'.[25] It states that the Society owns two copies from 1668, but they evidently could not compare the one in question with a 1669b copy side by side.

The copy described in this report is definitely not the copy now in the British Library because the Massachusetts copy 'contains the title-page and poem only'[26] while the Bowlby copy includes the preliminaries. The only provenance info in the Bowlby copy is 'sold 1892 for £120', while the Massachusetts copy contains N.I. Bowditch's bookplate and signature, dated 1844, and the *Proceedings* tell us the volume was bequeathed on his death in 1861 to his brother William I. Bowditch, who himself died in 1909. So the nineteenth-century forger printed at least two copies of this particular title-page.

What seems to me proof that the printing of these title-pages was malicious rather than an altruistic restoration project for defective copies, is the claimed year of '1667'. The model on which it was based is obviously the 1669b title-page. The reason these two copies were without title-pages in the first place is a matter of speculation, but presumably the British Library copy, which originally had either a 1668b or 1669a title-page, would not have been cannibalised to improve a copy with a later title-page. The Massachusetts copy, however, is without the preliminary

[25] *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 42 (1909), 257–59 (p. 259).
[26] Ibid., p. 257.

leaves and therefore, two chances out of three, had in the first place one of the 1667 title-pages, which might have been previously cannibalised to 'perfect' a later copy, perhaps one with the preliminary matter.

Fletcher mentions the Massachusetts account in his four-volume facsimile of Milton's poems. At the end of a discussion of the title-pages he describes the account, in which

> a so-called facsimile accompanies the letter-press description thereof. But examination discloses that the so-called facsimile is not a photographic facsimile, and that the title page in question is an unfaithful copy of the 1669[2] title page with the 7 in the date figures altered or otherwise made to read as a 7 rather than as a 9[.] It is time to demand ocular and tactile proof of the existence of 'other' title pages.[27]

Fletcher is right to criticise the reporter for taking the date at face value, but by calling it an 'unfaithful *copy*' Fletcher seems to imply that it must be an authentic variant of the 1669b title page which is 'unfaithful' only insofar as the '1669' reads '1667'. With the emergence of Captain Bowlby's copy in the British Library, we can therefore confirm that the Massachusetts Historical Society report is in fact accurate in its description: although the title-page is, as Fletcher knew, not authentic as the report assumes, it is indeed a real artefact and not the product of misreporting as Fletcher seems to have concluded. In contrast to Fletcher's lack of clarity, the Massachusetts copy and its report was also known to the E.V. Unger and W.A.

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[27] H.F. Fletcher, *John Milton's Complete Poetical Works Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile*, 4 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1945), vol. ii, p. 168.

Jackson, compilers of the Pforzheimer catalogue, which correctly describes it as 'a type-facsimile based upon a sixth title but set-up in Caslon type'.[28]

This leads me to believe it is a different item than an apparently known forgery of a first-edition title-page Fletcher refers to in a 1949 article as 'the well-known Lockwood copy' whose type is also an 'eighteenth-century Caslon' font.[29] Unfortunately he provides no more information about this Lockwood copy because he cites it only in contrast to his discovery of the (later recognised to be authentic) 1675 title-page of the second edition. I have been unable to find any other references to this Lockwood forgery, even by Fletcher himself. If 'Lockwood copy' refers to the collection established between 1910 and 1930 by Thomas B. Lockwood, now held by the State University of New York at Buffalo, it is no longer there. I have been emailed digital scans of the two copies of *Paradise Lost* in the Lockwood collection and they contain authentic copies of the first and last title-pages (1667a and 1669b).[30] The Lockwood forgery mentioned by Fletcher must refer to a different Lockwood.

2. The Addition of Preliminary Matter (1668b–69b)

The first three issues of *Paradise Lost* contained the poem alone, not supplemented by any introductory matter. To copies bound with the 1668b and subsequent title pages, however, fourteen pages of preliminary material on seven leaves were inserted between the title and the opening of the poem. However,

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[28] *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library: English Literature, 1475–1700* (New York: privately printed, 1940), p. 726, footnote ‡.

[29] Harris Fletcher, 'A Second (?) Title-Page of the Second Edition of Paradise Lost', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 43 (1949), 173–78 (pp. 175 and 77).

[30] The 1667a copy is entry 398 in Robert J. Bertholf, *A Descriptive Catalog of the Private Library of Thomas B. Lockwood* (Buffalo: State University of New York, 1983), pp. 169–70. Unfortunately Bertholf's description is confused by its apparent reliance on George Williamson's account of the title-pages in *The Portraits, Prints, and Writings of John Milton, Exhibited at Christ's College, Cambridge* (CUP, 1908; reprinted New York: Burt Franklin, 1968).

Pershing also discovered these seven leaves in rebound—and only rebound—copies of the poem that contain title pages 1667a, 1667b, and 1668a.[31] This indicates that readers found these explanatory summaries so helpful that they requested them to be retrofitted into their own previously purchased copies of the poem, and seems to corroborate Simmons's claim that this was indeed done 'for the satisfaction of many that have desired it'.

a. '*The Printer to the Reader*'

One of two versions of this statement signed 'S. Simmons' appears immediately following the title-page in various copies. The first, ungrammatical iteration reads:

> *COurteous Reader*, There was no Argument at first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, is procured.[32]

The corrected version also introduces Milton's defense of 'The Verse':

> *COurteous Reader*, There was no Argument at first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procur'd it, and withal a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem Rimes not.[33]

Both statements, however, are absent from the 1669b issue, for which all of the preliminaries were reset and reprinted.

John Shawcross portrays Milton as being 'prevailed upon to bow down to the not very fit audience's deficiencies by supplying arguments'.[34] Stephen Dobranski,

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[31] Pershing, p. 56.
[32] John Milton, *Paradise lost* (London, 1668), Wing M2139, Sydney Jones Library, H27.33.
[33] John Milton, *Paradise lost* (London, 1668), Wing M2139, Sydney Jones Library, H84.10. This and all subsequent quotations of the first edition are taken from this copy unless otherwise noted.
[34] John T. Shawcross, *With Mortal Voice: The Creation of 'Paradise Lost'* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), p. 65.

on the other hand, views the same facts as evidence for Milton being an admirably responsive rather than isolated author: 'Milton was willing to revise *Paradise Lost* according to readers' responses—even after it had been published.'[35] Either way, there is no reason to doubt Simmons that it was he who convinced Milton to provide new supplementary material for the remainder of the issues.

b. 'THE ARGUMENT:'

The message from 'The Printer to the Reader' is merely a header on the first page of 'The Argument', which continues for eleven pages. The type used for the text of the arguments differs from that used for the text of the poem only in that the former is set in an italic font, with proper nouns in roman, opposite of the latter. Though they could be used as introductions before reading each book, their collection in a single place nonetheless encourages the reader to discover the entire plot before ever beginning the poem.

c. 'THE VERSE.'

'The Verse' appears in large type, perhaps in order not to squander space on the two facing pages over which it is spread. But a comparison with the immediately preceding page against which it is naturally juxtaposed—the end of the argument for Book X that covers only a third of its page—seems to indicate that the use of larger type for The Verse is more significant than mere pacing. Whether Milton himself dictated that this apology for blank verse be given special prominence or whether it was the compositor's spontaneous decision, the result is that 'The Verse' is distinct from the rest of the text in the volume, which is otherwise of consistent type size. The formal tone of both the poem and 'The Argument' is also contrasted by the distinctly rhetorical tone of 'The Verse', which separates them in the volume. Most

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[35] Stephen B. Dobranski, *Milton, Authorship, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 34.

noticeably, the 'courteous readers' Simmons had addressed, a portion of whom the blank verse had 'stumbled' and who supposedly desired 'a reason', are in that promised explanation dismissed as 'vulgar readers' by Milton. Indeed, the rhetorical style of The Verse is the most distinct reminder in the whole volume of Milton's previous career as a pamphleteer.

d. 'ERRATA.'

The last verso page of the inserted frontmatter consists of a list of thirteen corrections. Twelve of them are from the first six books (except Book IV) and one is from Book X. More than half are spelling errors and evidently the fault of the compositor, but several are substantive corrections which suggest that the published poem might have been read to its author who noticed them, for example 'with' for 'in' in Book VI.[36] The list is followed by the statement: 'Other literal faults the Reader of himself may Correct.' At the expense of undermining the attractiveness of the first page of Book I, which it faces, the errata's prominent location implies a care for accuracy and demonstrates—if not intentionally puts on display—a respect for the author that honourably outweighs any embarrassment for the printer.

Except for Simmons's one-sentence statement and the list of errata, the first edition, of any issue, can be regarded as the last purely Miltonic edition. The contemporary reader's experience of the poem was no doubt affected by whether his or her copy contained the preliminary materials, but 'The Argument' and 'The Verse' were nonetheless the productions of Milton's pen—or voice, rather—if not of his initial conception. In every subsequent edition the Miltonic text begins to accumulate within the orbit of its volume the satellite texts of contributors who wish either to

[36] William B. Hunter, Jr., 'The Center of *Paradise Lost*', *English Language Notes* 7 (1969), 32–34.

endorse the epic or, more likely, to be endorsed by their association with it. Inevitably, then, these satellites become the default gateways by which new visitors approach the primary text. The next section will look at the first non-Miltonic additions to the textual orbit of *Paradise Lost*, before turning to Milton's adjustments to the topography of his own creation.

B. The Second Edition of *Paradise Lost* (1674)

On 17 April 1674, John Dryden entered into the Stationer's Register his intention to produce *The Fall of Angells and man in innocence, An heroick opera*, for which he had received permission from Milton to adapt his epic to rhymed verse.[37] Only three months later, Simmons released a new edition of the original poem, as the title declares: 'Paradise Lost. | A | POEM | IN | TWELVE BOOKS. | [rule] | The Author | *JOHN MILTON.* | [rule] | [in blackletter] The Second Edition | Revised and Augmented by the | same Author.'[38] In his 1694 memoir of his famous uncle we are assured by Edward Phillips that this edition was 'ammended enlarg'd and differently dispos'd as to the number of books, by his [Milton's] own hand, that is by his own appointment'.[39] This section will analyse the extent of these emendations and enlargements, both of the text of the poem and of the paratextual apparatus that defined this more accessible octavo volume.

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[37] However, Dryden's version was not published until three years later under the title, *The State of Innocence, and the Fall of Man: An Opera* (London, 1677), D2372. The date of its licensing is reported by Fowler, 2nd edn, p. 53.

[38] John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London, 1674), Wing M2166, sig. A1r. This and all subsequent quotations from the second edition are taken from a copy in the Huntington Library, RB 105658.

[39] Qtd. in Masson, II, p. 17n.

1. Preliminary Matter Old and New

a. The Portrait

A far cry from being identified merely as 'J.M.' in 1668, the increased stature of the author doubly reinforced on the title page ('by the same Author') was now reflected on the facing page, which featured an engraved portrait of Milton. In the intervening seven years since the debut of *Paradise Lost*, Milton had published *Paradise Regained* with *Samson Agonistes* in 1671 and a new edition of his *Poems* had been published in 1673. He was now known to the public primarily as a poet of remarkable talent, and his new reputation warranted an appropriate portrait for the new edition of the epic that had sealed his place among the great poets.

b. 'IN Paradisum Amissam Summi Poetæ JOHANNIS MILTONI'

No less than half of this 42-line Latin poem by physician Samuel Barrow is a virtual blow-by-blow paraphrase of *Paradise Lost* Book IV (lines 17–38). Since Milton's prose summaries of each book had been removed from the frontmatter in this edition and reinserted throughout the poem, the first impression of a Latin-fluent reader who picked up the volume fresh and read the material in the order it was presented could easily assume the title 'Paradise Lost' refers primarily to the loss of Heaven by Lucifer and his angels. Indeed, since 'The Argument' is now revealed only book by book, the reader of the second edition would not find Adam and Eve to be characters until the argument of Book IV. However, the reputation of the poem, now in print for seven years, considerably diminished the possibility of a perfectly innocent second-edition reader without any prior knowledge of the poem's subject.

c. 'ON Paradise Lost'

Andrew Marvell's commendatory poem in heroic couplets is highly intertextual. It derides not only Dryden's plan to adapt the epic for the stage—'some

less skilful hand [...] Might hence presume the whole Creations day / To change in Scenes, and show it in a Play' (18, 21–22)—but specifically his decision to put it in rhyme. The irony of Dryden insisting on doing so even after Milton had ridiculed the theory and history of rhymed poetry in the prefatory statement appended to the poem ever since 1668 was not lost on Marvell:

> Well mightest thou scorn thy readers to allure
> With tinkling rhyme, of thy own sense secure;
> While the town-Bayes writes all the while and spells,
> And like a pack-horse tires without his bells:
> Their fancies like our bushy-points appear,
> The poets tag them, we for fashion wear. (45–50)

'Tinkling', moreover, is a direct allusion to Milton's language in 'The Verse' with which he mocked 'the jingling sound of like endings' and Marvell extends the metaphor by comparing them to the bells on a horse's harness and the contemporary clothing fashion of tags, 'metal knobs worn at the ends of laces.'[40] According to his biographer John Aubrey, the analogy of tags was made by Milton himself when Dryden 'went to him to have leave to put his *Paradise Lost* in to a drama in rhyme. Mr Milton received him civilly, and told him he would give him leave to tag his verses'.[41] If Masson is right, 'Milton must have talked with Marvell about Dryden's odd proposal, and reported to Marvell his answer of grim civility'[42] and Marvell adapted the joke from Milton's account, but Fowler wonders if it was really Milton who said it first, or if it was simply attributed to him after Marvell put it in this poem.

The intertextuality of Marvell's commendatory lines extends beyond the immediate domain of *Paradise Lost*, however, for 'Bayes' was also the name under which Dryden was lampooned in Buckingham's burlesque *The Rehearsal* (1671,

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[40] Alastair Fowler, 'Dryden, John,' *A Milton Encyclopedia*, ed. William B. Hunter, Jr., 8 vols (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1978–80), II, p. 177.
[41] Qtd. in Fowler, *Paradise Lost*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1998), p. 53.
[42] Masson, III, p. 377.

published 1672), which Marvell had even adapted in his own *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* (1672), though in this satire 'Bayes' applied to Samuel Parker, the Bishop of Oxford.[43] In his *Reproof to the Rehearsal Transprosed* (1673), Parker had even accused John Milton of co-authoring the attack on him, but Marvell defended Milton's total non-involvement in *The Rehearsal Transpros'd: The Second Part* and further criticized Parker's ingratitude given Milton's previous kindness to Parker.[44] In light of this context, Marvell's tribute is the most historically located of all the paratexts in the 1674 volume of *Paradise Lost*, anchoring Milton's timeless epic to the time in which it was produced.[45]

d. 'THE VERSE'

In the second edition 'The Verse' is the first item in the volume written by Milton, whereas in the original edition the Miltonic text first encountered by the reader was either the poem itself (1667a–68a) or 'The Argument' (1668b–69b). Also unlike its previous iteration, 'The Verse' is now, like the poems of Barrow and Marvell, on the recto and verso sides of a single leaf, and the size of type is more consistent with that used elsewhere in the volume. But like its last incarnation it remains unsigned, without even initials like those that identify the authors of 'In Paradisum Amissam' and 'On Paradise Lost'. 'The Verse' now leads right into the poem it describes on the facing recto, uninterrupted by the page of 'Errata' from 1668b–69b, which have been either incorporated into the reset text or forgotten, as the case may be.

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[43] Ibid.
[44] 'Marvell, Andrew,' *A Milton Encyclopedia*, ed. William B. Hunter, Jr., 8 vols (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1978–80), v, p. 81.
[45] David Norbrook teases out other contemporary contexts from Marvell's choice of words in *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 491–93.

e. The Arguments

The 'Argument' included in later issues of the first edition is in the 1674 volume divided by book and distributed throughout the poem to preface each book, with the arguments for Books VII and X themselves divided as the books they described have been. Thus Milton's prose summaries evolve from pre-texts to intra-texts as they now interrupt the poem between books to paraphrase what one is about to read and no longer serve their previous subsidiary function as a 'table of contents' of sorts. On the other hand, they now 'spoil' only one book at a time rather than inviting one the reader to peruse a paraphrase of the entire poem at once before ever reaching the first line of poetry.

2. Verbal Revisions in *Paradise Lost*

As we have seen in Chapter II, the revisions in the 1673 edition of the *Poems* represent three types of Miltonic revision: complete rewriting of a full line or more, to distinct effect but for reasons still obscure; a minor change with major implications, but not an obvious improvement over the original; and a multifaceted revision that encompasses both substance and style. Now familiar with the range of revisions Milton was capable of making in 1673, we can better consider the changes he made to *Paradise Lost* the following year. My survey of critics will be eclectic rather than exhaustive, citing commentary insofar as it provides insight to the relevant passages.

a. Book I, lines 504–5

The only substantial revision in Book I is a modification of two lines (504–5) that does not contribute to the increased line total. Since this is a 'pure' revision that was definitely made to improve the poem's meaning, it serves as a 'control group'

against which to compare the relative poetic merits of the brand new lines inserted elsewhere in the edition. The original sentence, with italics indicating those words (and letter) omitted in the second edition, reads (503–505):

> Witness the Streets of Sodom, and that night
> In Gibeah, when hospitable *Dores*
> *Yielded thir* Matron*s* to *prevent* worse rape.[46]

In the second edition the latter two lines are altered to read, with italics indicating the additions in the Octavo (504–505):

> In Gibeah, when *the* hospitable *door*
> *Expos'd a* Matron to *avoid* worse rape.

The revision improves both the accuracy and morality of the passage. By reducing the plural 'Dores' and 'Matrons' to singular, Milton corrects the passage from a generalised statement, as if the fatal exchange described in Judges XIX were a common occurrence, to the specificity of one particular event of undeniable horror, of which the source states that 'there was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt unto this day.'[47] The emendation of 'avoid' instead of 'prevent' also increases the moral judgment of the passage, since 'avoid' connotes the would-be-victim's cruel self-interest—his evasion and deflection of evil onto another victim—better than the honourable and protective connotations of 'prevent.' He did not prevent rape with successful counteraction, but shamefully chose appeasement to avoid his own. 'Avoid' was in fact the manuscript reading, so this could be regarded as a restoration on the

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[46] John Milton, *Paradise lost* (London, 1668), Wing M2139. This and all subsequent quotations from the first edition are taken from the Laurence Hodson copy of the 1668b issue in the Sydney Jones Library, H84.10.

[47] Judges XIX. 30 (AV).

printer's part, but the preceding changes indicate that the author himself revisited the passage.[48]

Most editors who provide a further gloss in addition to merely the alternate reading simply cite Genesis XIX and Judges XIX as the relevant biblical passages. Orgel and Goldberg not only helpfully summarize the Judges account—that the sons of Belial demanding to rape the Levite were given the concubine, whom they raped instead—but go on to conclude that 'Milton's notion that there are preferable kinds of rape is entirely consistent with the biblical account.'[49] Their conclusion overreaches the facts in evidence, however, on two counts. First, assigning to Milton the idea that some sorts of rape are preferable to others is as simplistic an assumption as attributing to an author the opinions of his characters. The Miltonic passage only implies that the Ephramite sojourner sought to avoid what he himself considered 'worse rape.' Likewise, the account in the book of Judges records the event as historical but registers no approval of the Ephramite's action or motivation; rather, the passage reports that it was unequivocally condemned by 'all that saw it.'[50]

In contrast to Orgel and Goldberg, Fowler glosses the passage by stating that Milton's revision 'avoids any palliation of the crime.' Fowler also notes that Milton's use of 'Matron' 'conspicuously depart[s]' from the Vulgate and King James Version which read 'concubine,' a telling indication of Milton's respect for the worth of the victim even in the original version of the poem.[51] Having seen how dramatically the exchange of four words for five affects the import of just two lines

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[48] The only extant manuscript of *Paradise Lost*, located in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, is of Book I alone; facsimile edited by Helen Darbishire, *The Manuscript of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' Book I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931).
[49] Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg, eds., *John Milton* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 860.
[50] Judges XIX.30 (AV).
[51] Fowler, *Paradise Lost*, 2nd edn, p. 91.

in *Paradise Lost*, we should be better able to assess the purposes of the rest of the revisions to the second edition.

b. Book V, lines 636–40

The only revision in Book V is one of the most complex in the second edition, both in verse and in substance, inserting three new lines (636 and 638–39) and modifying two (637 and 640). Lines 636–38 of the Quarto, with omissions from the second edition italicised, read:

> They eat, they drink, and *with refection* sweet
> *Are fill'd*, before th' all-bounteous King, who showrd
> With copious hand, rejoycing in thir joy.

Meanwhile lines 636–41 of the second edition, with the new additions in italics, read:

> *On flours repos'd, and with fresh flourets crownd,*
> They eat, they drink, and *in communion* sweet
> Quaff immortalitie and joy, secure
> Of surfet, where full measure onely bounds
> *Excess*, before th' all-bounteous King, who showrd
> With copious hand, rejoycing in thir joy.

Of all of the revised passages, this one has probably elicited the most, and most varied, commentary. Thomas Corns tells us that 'what the angels are witnessing approximates closely to a coronation, and to the endowment of an individual with powers in some sense inherited from his father.'[52] Douglas Bush states of the passage as a whole that it was 'amplified [...] to make clear the symbolic meaning'[53] but he does not clarify what the symbolism is, only cross-referencing Psalm XXXVI. 8–9, as most editors since Newton have done: 'thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. For with thee is the fountain of life.'[54] Alastair Fowler originally claimed simply that 'One effect of the additions is to draw closer the link

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[52] Thomas N. Corns, *Regaining 'Paradise Lost'* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 47.
[53] Douglas Bush, ed., John Milton, *Poetical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 313.
[54] A.W. Verity, ed., *Paradise Lost* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1929), p. 500.

with Raphael's meal with Adam and Eve'[55] but later (as befits the passage) revised his own gloss to highlight the contrast: "The addition of v 638 relates to Raphael's present meal (cp. v 451f), but adds nothing to its temperance [...] since *secure / Of surfeit* means 'reckless of *excess*'."[56]

Concerning the original reading, A.W. Verity notes that this was the only place in the poem that Milton used the word 'refection'.[57] Of the word's replacement, Verity suggests that 'we are reminded of the doctrine of the "Communion of Saints",' but he does not explain why the angels would be members of the communion of saints, which usually describes human believers, both living and departed, who at the point in time being narrated by Raphael had not yet been created. Verity might have simply confused that doctrine with Holy Communion, that is, the pratice of celebrating the Lord's Supper.

Michael Fixler, however, does recommend such an interpretation, proposing that Milton removed the 'deliberately neutral "refection," substituting for it "communion" [to emphasise] the spiritual blessings of the sacrament'.[58] The inevitable consequence of this Eucharistic allusion, as he notes, is that it makes the rebellious angels eat damnation since, as Paul says, 'He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself.'[59] W.B. Hunter likewise affirms a sacramental reference to the Last Supper: 'That Satan presumably participated should excite no wonder: so did Judas.'[60]

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[55] Fowler, *The Poems of John Milton* (London: Longman, 1968), p. 716.
[56] Fowler, *Paradise Lost*, 2nd edn, p. 323.
[57] Verity, *PL*, p. 500.
[58] Michael Fixler, 'The Apocalypse within *Paradise Lost*', in *New Essays on Paradise Lost*, ed. Thomas Kranidas (Berkeley: University Press of California, 1971), pp. 131–78 (p. 144).
[59] Ibid. The Pauline quotation is from I Corinthians XI. 29. Furthermore, Fixler observes: 'The passage points not only to the fall of the angels but also the fall of Adam and Eve, who [. . .] eat their way to their own destruction.'
[60] W.B. Hunter, Jr., 'Milton and the Exaltation of the Son: The War in Heaven in *Paradise Lost*', *ELH*, 36.1 (March 1969), 215–31 (p. 228n18), repr. as 'The War in Heaven: The Exaltation of the

In the poem Satan then retreats to commit his treason on the eve of the three-day War in Heaven, analogous to Satan entering Judas to betray Jesus on the eve of Christ's three-day cycle of triumph over death from Good Friday to Easter Sunday. So here also, the Son remains passive for the first two days of the War in Heaven—the invention of the cannon on the second day inverting Holy Saturday into a 'harrowing of heaven'[61]—until he is glorified by the Father and routs his enemies on the morning of the third day. Milton's insertion of 'communion' then effectively strengthens the representation of the meal being the angels' metaphorical Last Supper before the temporary destruction that inevitably leads to the Son's exaltation. The importance of this episode will be revisited later in this chapter.

c. Book VIII, lines 1–4

Halfway through Book VII in the first edition, Raphael concludes his narration of the week of creation and Adam thanks him. Lines 635–43, with words that would be removed from the second edition italicised, read:

> And thy request think now fulfill'd, that ask'd
> How first this World and face of things began,
> And what before thy memorie was don
> From the beginning, that posteritie
> Informd by thee might know; if else thou seekst
> Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.
> *To whom thus Adam* gratefully repli'd.
> What thanks sufficient, or what recompense
> Equal have I to render thee

In the second edition, Book VII ends with the final verse of Raphael's speech (line 640) while what was line 641 is modified and three new lines precede it to introduce the new Book VIII. The first half-dozen lines of Book VIII in 1674, then, with the new material in italics, read:

Son', in *Bright Essence: Studies in Milton's Theology*, ed. by Hunter, C.A. Patrides, and J.H. Adamson (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1971), pp. 115–30 (p. 127n18).

[61] Ibid., p. 127.

> *The Angel ended, and in Adams Eare*
> *So Charming left his voice, that he a while*
> *Thought him still speaking, still stood fixt to hear;*
> *Then as new wak't thus* gratefully repli'd.
> What thanks sufficient, or what recompense
> Equal have I to render thee

Thus line 642 of Book VII is unchanged but has now become line 5 of Book VIII, which ends with verse 653, formerly VII.1290. At its most prosaic, the pause in conversation provides closure for the creation narrative of the last book and signals that the dialogue is about to take a new direction.

The spellbinding effect of Raphael's narration that leaves Adam mesmerised until he rouses himself is a common epic device that has precedent as far back as the *Odyssey*, when Odysseus's powers of storytelling in the court of Alcinous transfix his audience beyond the conclusion of his narrative, similarly at the opening of a book.[62] However, there is another reference to the *Odyssey* Milton might have had particularly in mind in 1674 because he had been recently reminded of it in his own poetry. In one of his juvenile poems, he referred to the bard Demodocus's ability to charm his listeners, including Odysseus:

> Then sing of secret things that came to pass
> When Beldam Nature in her cradle was;
> And last of Kings and Queens and *Hero's* old,
> Such as the wise *Demodocus* once told
> In solemn Songs at King *Alcinous* feast,
> While sad *Ulisses* soul and all the rest
> Are held with his melodious harmonie
> In willing chains and sweet captivitie.[63]

The passage was written when Milton was 18 or 19 but it was not published until the 1673 edition, so Milton would have reviewed it within a year of the revisions he made to *Paradise Lost*.[64]

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[62] *Od.* XIII.1–3.
[63] Milton, 'At a Vacation Exercise', lines 45–52, in *Poems, &c.* (London, 1673), p. 66.
[64] Milton's dating of the poem, 'Anno Ætetis 19', probably means that he was nineteen years old, but it could also mean that he was in his nineteenth year (Campbell and Corns, *John Milton*, pp. xii–xiii).

The fact that the absence of lineation in the second edition effectively hides the revisions is memorably illustrated by the poem's first annotator, Patrick Hume, who believes that the Latin translator of the poem, William Hog, intentionally omitted these four new lines along with the first five of Book XII. Hume also complains that Hog 'has crowded our Author's six last Books into four, [and] has joyn'd the Seventh and Eighth together'.[65] Without realising that these verses did not exist in the first edition, which evidently was the translator's text, Hume feels obliged to defend their poetic worthiness by translating them (as well as the new beginning of Book XII) into Latin himself.

d. Book XI, lines 485–87

The first revision to Book XI is comprised of merely six new maladies added to the first edition's already long list of fatal illnesses. Perhaps the most perplexing revision in *Paradise Lost*, these additional illnesses do not seem to enhance dramatically either the style or import of the passage. Lines 479–85 of what was Book X in the first edition read:

> A lazar-house it seemed; wherein were laid
> Numbers of all diseased; all maladies
> Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
> Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
> Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
> Intestine stone and ulcer, colick-pangs,
> Dropsies, and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums.

Now in Book XI—due to the original Books VIII and IX becoming IX and X, respectively—lines 484–88 of the second edition now read (italics indicating the inserted lines):

> Intestine stone and ulcer, colick-pangs,
> *Dœemoniac Phrenzie, moaping Melancholie,*
> *And Moon-struck madness, pining Atrophie,*

[65] Patrick Hume, *Annotations on Milton's Paradise Lost* (London, 1695), Wing H3663, p. 229 and 309.

Marasmus, and wide-wasting Pestilence,
Dropsies, and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums.

Milton's mid-eighteenth-century editor Thomas Newton opines that these three lines were added 'to swell the horror of the description', and reports that 'Dr. Bentley is for striking them out again, but Mr. Pope says they are three admirable lines'.[66] The most conspicuous new entry to the register is 'wide-wasting Pestilence', presumably influenced by the recent re-emergence of the Black Death in England. Milton probably composed the poem between 1658 and 1663, according to his nephew Edward Phillips and the biographer John Aubrey,[67] and according to Thomas Elwood *Paradise Lost* was complete when he saw it in 1665, the year of the plague.[68] Since the poem was not necessarily finalised after he had gone to Chalfont St Giles to escape the plague, he would have had ample opportunity to add a reference to such a topical disease.

The rather mechanical insertion of these lines remains a mystery since the original catalogue of diseases was already formidable and any special poetic merits of the new verses are not apparent. The modular nature of the addition and its lack of ramifications on the rest of the passage are highlighted by the fact that Darbishire thinks these lines may have been accidentally omitted by the compositor of the first edition.[69] However, the three lines do not seem to be entirely of a piece with the rest of the passage insofar as the six diseases added in 1674 are each preceded by colourful adjectives, which are for the most part absent from the rest of the catalogue.

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[66] Thomas Newton, ed., *Paradise Lost* [...] *A New Edition, With Notes of Vairous Authors*, by John Milton, 2 vols (London, 1749), II, p. 342.
[67] Fowler, *The Poems of John Milton*, p. 423.
[68] Thomas Elwood, *The History of the Life of Thomas Elwood*, ed. by S. Graveson (London, 1906), p. 199.
[69] Helen Darbishire, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Milton*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952–55), I (1952), p. 307.

e. Book XI, lines 551–52

The second revision in Book XI, less than seventy lines after the previous one, expands a single line from the first edition into two lines. The original line was verse 548 of Book X in the first edition but in second, because of the preceding insertion of three lines, it became the beginning of line 551 and the end of line 552 of Book XI. It occurs at the transition of an exchange between Adam and Michael, whose full quotations beginning with verse 544 read (italics indicating words completely omitted in the second edition):

> Henceforth I flie not Death, nor would prolong
> Life much, bent rather, how I may be quit
> Fairest and easiest of this cumbrous charge,
> Which I must keep till my appointed day
> Of rendring up. Michael *to him* repli'd.
> Nor love thy Life; nor hate; but what thou livst
> Live well, how long or short permit to Heav'n:
> And now prepare thee for another sight.[70]

However, lines 551–52 of Book XI in the second edition read (with italicised additions):

> Of rendring up, *and patiently attend*
> *My dissolution.* Michael repli'd,

Modern editorial comment is fairly silent on this expansion of one line. Besides noting that the transition from Adam's speech to Michael's in the first edition takes place 'somewhat abruptly', Verity only cites an allusion to Job's statement that 'all the days of my appointed time will I wait, till my change come'.[71] Michael Lieb reads the expansion as inflected with autobiography as Milton reaches the end of his life.[72] Fowler comments in 1968 that 'the insertion gives added emphasis to the

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[70] *Paradise Lost* (1667), X.544–51, p. Qq2r; equivalent to XI.547–55 (1674).
[71] Job XIV.14 (AV).
[72] Michael Lieb, 'Back to the Future: *Paradise Lost* 1667', in *'Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books': Essays on the 1667 Edition*, ed. by Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007), pp. 1–23 (p. 23).

thematic idea of patient resignation' and in 1998 cross-references Adam's resignation in verse 526: 'I yield it just, said Adam, and submit.'

But patience is also a keyword of Book XI, having been used earlier in the book by both God—'If patiently' (line 112)—and Michael—'Lament not, Eve, but patiently resign' (287); 'True patience' (361). By putting it here in the mouth of Adam, Milton seems to suggest that Adam has indeed begun to appreciate the virtue extolled by God and the angel. The word 'patience' appears elsewhere in the poem only four other times, in Books II (verse 569), VI (verse 464), IX (verse 32), and XII (verse 583), so the insertion here in verse 551 increases the occurrences of the word (and its forms) in Book XI to fully half of those in the whole poem.[73] It is also the only book in which the word appears in adverbial form—used once by God, once by Michael, and once Adam—emphasizing the virtue put into practice. Yet it nonetheless lacks the substantial improvement of meaning that Books I and V enjoy from their revisions.

f. Book XII, lines 1–5

The final revision to the text of *Paradise Lost*, lines 895–99 of Book X in the first edition, read:

> Seed time and Harvest, Heat and hoary Frost
> Shall hold thir course, till fire purge all things new,
> Both Heav'n and earth, wherein the just shall dwell.
> Thus thou hast seen one World begin and end;
> And Man as from a second stock proceed.

In the second edition, Book XI ends with 'wherein the just shall dwell', which is pushed from line 897 to 901 by the addition of the four lines at 485–87 and 552. Meanwhile five new lines begin Book XII and the former X.898 picks up unchanged at XII.6, accordingly:

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[73] By contrast, *resign(s)* appears in Book XI only 2 out of 7 times in the whole poem (no *resignation*), and forms of *submit* only 3 out of 19 times in the poem (including *submission, submitting, submissive,* and *submiss*).

As one who in his journey bates at Noone,
Though bent on speed, so heer the Archangel paus'd
Betwixt the world destroy'd and world restor'd,
If Adam aught perhaps might interpose;
Then with transition sweet new Speech resumes.
Thus thou hast seen one World begin and end;
And Man as from a second stock proceed.

Since this is not a point at which the dialogue changes speakers, as it is between Books VII and VIII, Michael's pause seems rather artificial, as if he is conscious of the formal division between books. It seems a perfect example of the awkward pause when a speaker waits silently for questions but no one in the audience raises a hand. Unlike his listening to Raphael's narrative at the beginning of Book VIII, Adam is apparently not rapt by Michael's speech nor has he been waiting for an appropriate opportunity to ask a question.

As the lack of transition between Books V and VI (an original distinction) demonstrates, Milton did not consider it a fault for narration by an angel to continue across book divisions without a reintroduction of the speaker. The interruption caused by the prose argument now preceding Book XII might seem a satisfactory reason to re-set the scene, but again, the argument placed before Book VI did not compel Milton to add any introductory verses there. So these five new lines—a self-contained sentence that does not clearly affect what comes before or after, either poetically or within the story, and lacking the well-established classical precedent of the introduction to Book VIII—seem to be wedged into the poem without obvious reason.

3. The Centrality of Ascension in *Paradise Lost*

a. Attempts to explain the additional lines *in toto*

Even if the initial decision to produce a revised and augmented edition were motivated initially by commercial concern, a poet like Milton would not have been unstrategic in his editorial choices. As we have seen, the revisions to Books I, V, and even VIII are undoubtedly substantial changes that improve the senses of the passages, while the rationales for the three additions to Books XI and XII—all simple insertions, not modifications of existing lines[74]—are more elusive.

There have been few attempts to account for all of these revisions collectively. One of them is by Eve Keller, who finds in the line total of the second edition the numerical representation of the unspeakable name of God, which if spelled from left to right transliterates into English as 'YHWH'.[75] Since *heh* (H), *vov* (W), and *yod* (Y) are the fifth, sixth, and tenth letters, respectively, of the Hebrew alphabet, then in the Hebraic system of alphabetic numbering the tetragrammaton was represented numerically as 10-5-6-5. Thus, according to Keller, the poem's new total of 10,565 lines was important not as a sum but as a series of the four integers 10, 5, 6, and 5. As supporting evidence Keller cites the fact that the very first and very last paragraphs of the epic are each 26 lines long—the sum of 10 + 5 + 6 + 5 and therefore a sacred number in Hebrew *gematria*—apparently representing the immanence of the divine 'Alpha and Omega' in the poem and his providential influence in the story.

Unfortunately, it is of course impossible to prove or disprove that Milton calculated the addition of fifteen verses to the first edition's 10,550 merely in order to achieve a numerologically significant figure. However, an explanation with

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[74] With the exception of the insignificant words 'to him' replaced in XI. 551.
[75] Eve Keller, 'Tetragrammic Numbers: Gematria and the Line Total of the 1674 *Paradise Lost*', *Milton Quarterly*, 20.1 (March 1986), 23–25.

actual bibliographical evidence to support it involves the fact that the midpoint of the poem in the first edition is between verses 761 and 762 of Book VI, at which point the exalted Son ascends the Chariot of Paternal Deity to rout Satan and his followers from Heaven.[76] We have already seen that the three-day War in Heaven is significant as an analogue of Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday,[77] so 'Ascended', the first word of line 762, metaphorically represents Christ's resurrection and ascension.

Unlike Keller's, this is not a numerological interpretation, since it does not assume any inherent significance in the integer 762, which is important here only as a measurement of the midpoint of the poem, with 5275 verses both before and after it in the first edition. In the second edition, however, because three lines were added to the first half of the poem and twelve to the second, the midpoint was shifted four and a half lines to the centre of verse 766, which seems to have no symbolic significance. This would appear to be evidence that Milton was oblivious to such considerations and that the position of 'Ascended' as the central word of the epic was not intentional after all.

However, W.B. Hunter argues that Milton apparently did try to retain the 1667 midpoint but was misled by faulty line numbering in Book III.[78] Hunter observes that only the author would have detected the substantive error of 'with' for 'in', identified (in the Errata first appended to fourth issue of the first edition) as located at verse 760 of the third book. In fact it is in verse 741, the penultimate line of Book III on page L2v, but the lineation had become disrupted on K4v when line 600 was misidentified as 610, an illusion of ten extra lines that continued through

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[76] First observed by John T. Shawcross, 'The Balanced Structure of *Paradise Lost*', *Studies in Philology*, 62.5 (October 1965), 696–718 (p. 697).
[77] Above, pp. 107–08.
[78] William B. Hunter, Jr., 'The Center of *Paradise Lost*', *English Language Notes* 7 (1969), 32–34.

L2r, where verse 720 was marked as 730 on the last line of the page. The very next line on the top of the verso side, however, was numbered 740, an illusion of nine more lines that ended, on the same page, with Book III appearing to have 761 instead of 742 lines in total.

Hunter hypothesises that because Milton's attention had been drawn to L2v as a result of the erratum, the second error in lineation was 'corrected' for the third state of the sheet by replacing the '750' and '760' with '740' and '750', respectively, instead of making only a nine-line adjustment. Since the original ten-line error on K4v remained unknown, however, the semi-corrected state of L2v still retained the illusion of the book having nine lines more than it really did. This state appears in half of the 28 copies I have examined. Milton, then, believing Book III to have 751 instead of 742 lines, endeavoured to add a net total of nine more lines in the second half of the poem. According to Hunter's best conjecture, Milton must have added the three new lines in Book V first and, thinking the first half of the poem now to 'outweigh' the second by twelve lines, then found easy opportunities to add the twelve lines in Books VIII, XI, and XII.

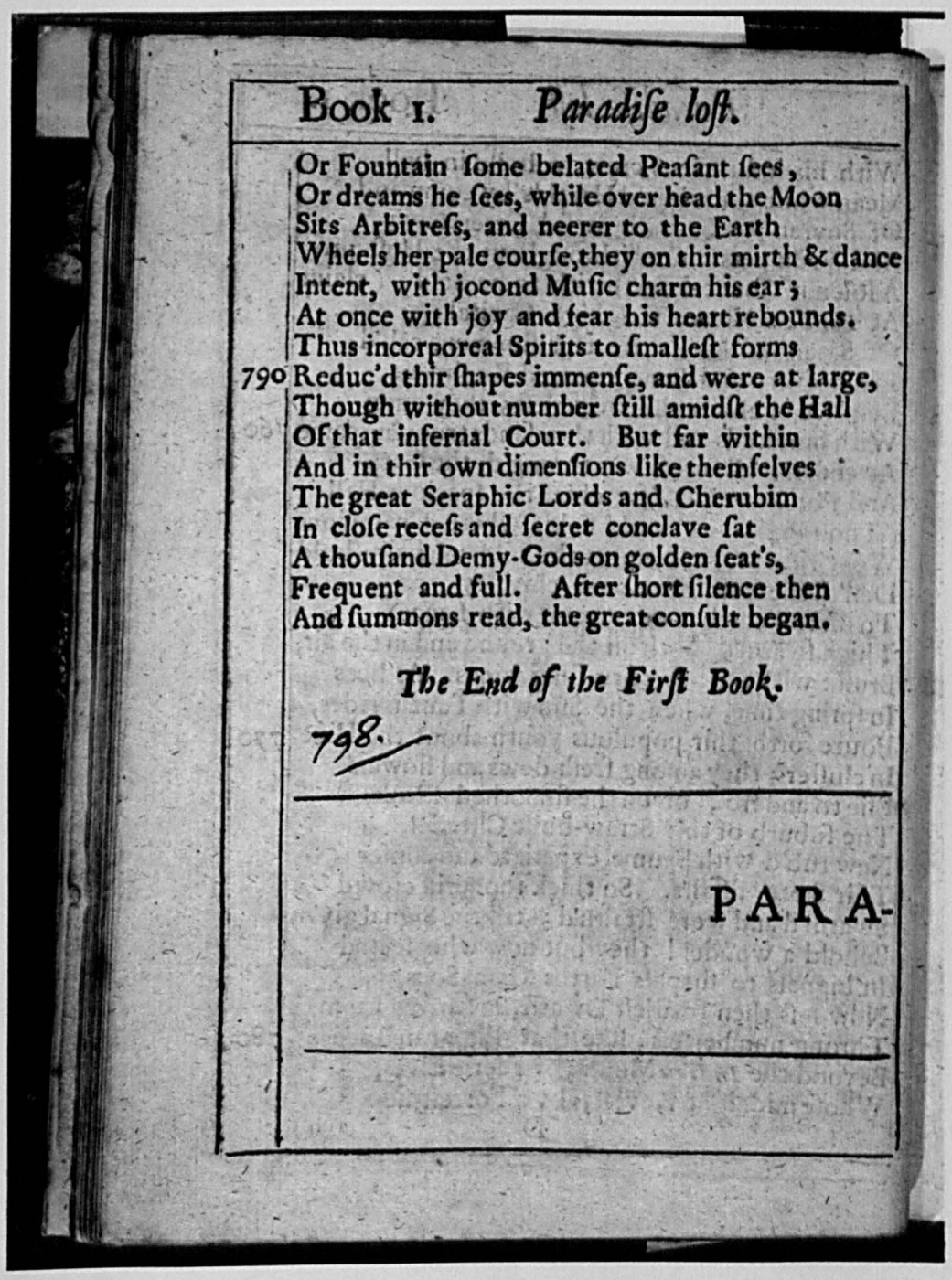
Hunter's account works out mathematically, but he does not explain why Milton would have added three more lines to the first half of the poem to create the need for twelve more verses in the second half, instead of leaving the first half unaltered and adding just nine lines to the second half. Given my own analysis of the revisions in the second edition, if Milton had discovered the illusory nine lines in Book III in 1667 and sought to correct them in 1674, his first additions were probably the eight lines introducing the newly distinguished Books VIII and XII plus the expansion of a single line in Book XI. If after doing so he then decided to make the substantive revision in Book V, netting three more lines in the first half, his final

addition would have been the three new verses of diseases in Book XI, which is indeed his most questionable enlargement. Furthermore, Milton's revision in Book V reinforces the analogy to the Easter weekend, effectively placing more weight on the ascension to the Chariot, far from indicating a retreat from that particular symbolism as the re-centring would otherwise suggest.

It cannot be said that the practice of counting lines by the reader of poetry originated as a procedure of twentieth-century criticism, for there is contemporary evidence of such a practice, with respect to *Paradise Lost* in fact. The Bridgewater House Library copy of the first edition of the poem contains, at the end of each book, a running tally of the total number of verses up to that point (reproduced in Illustrations 2a through 2j). The hand, which has been identified as that of the second earl of Bridgewater (1623–86), dates the marginalia to within nineteen years of the book's publication, bearing as it does the 1667a title-page.[79]

The misleading nature of lineation in the first edition is acutely illustrated by the totals at the end of books III, IV, and X, which are indicated as '761', '1016', and '1540' lines, respectively, instead of the true totals of 742, 1015, and 1541. In the grand total, the errors in Book IV and X cancel each other out, but the last page of the poem still adds up to '10569' lines, representing the poem as 19 lines longer than its actual length. Unfortunately this marginal sum cannot be compared to a comparable tally in the second edition, because the poem was paginated instead of lineated.

[79] The hand was identified by Stephen Tabor in an email message to me dated 2 September 2009.



Book 1. *Paradiſe loſt.*

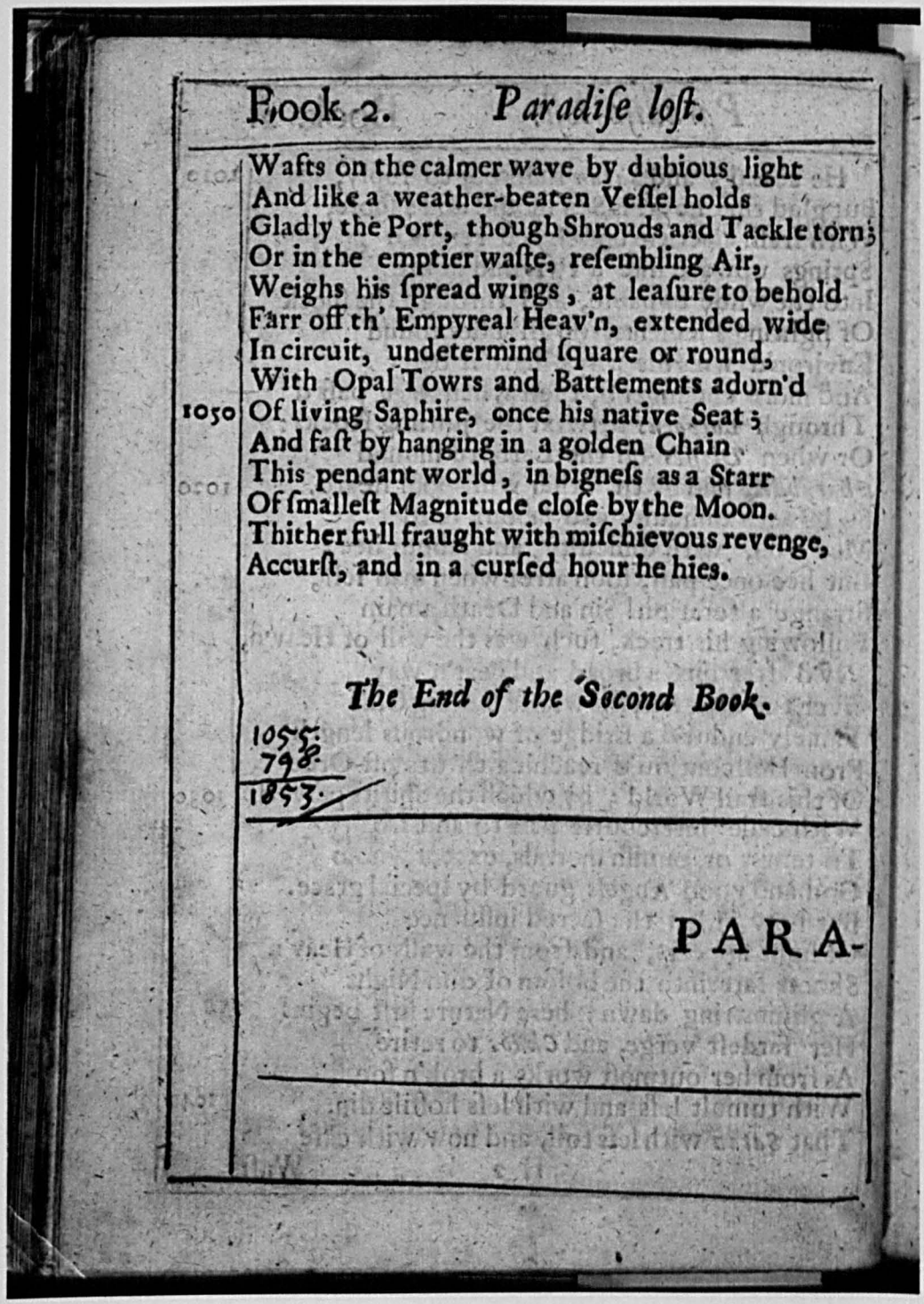
Or Fountain ſome belated Peaſant ſees,
Or dreams he ſees, while over head the Moon
Sits Arbitreſs, and neerer to the Earth
Wheels her pale courſe, they on thir mirth & dance
Intent, with jocond Muſic charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal Spirits to ſmalleſt forms
790 Reduc'd thir ſhapes immenſe, and were at large,
Though without number ſtill amidſt the Hall
Of that infernal Court. But far within
And in thir own dimenſions like themſelves
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In cloſe receſs and ſecret conclave ſat
A thouſand Demy-Gods on golden ſeat's,
Frequent and full. After ſhort ſilence then
And ſummons read, the great conſult began.

The End of the Firſt Book.

798.

PARA-

Illustration 2a. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. D1^{v}, with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.



Book 2. *Paradiſe loſt.*

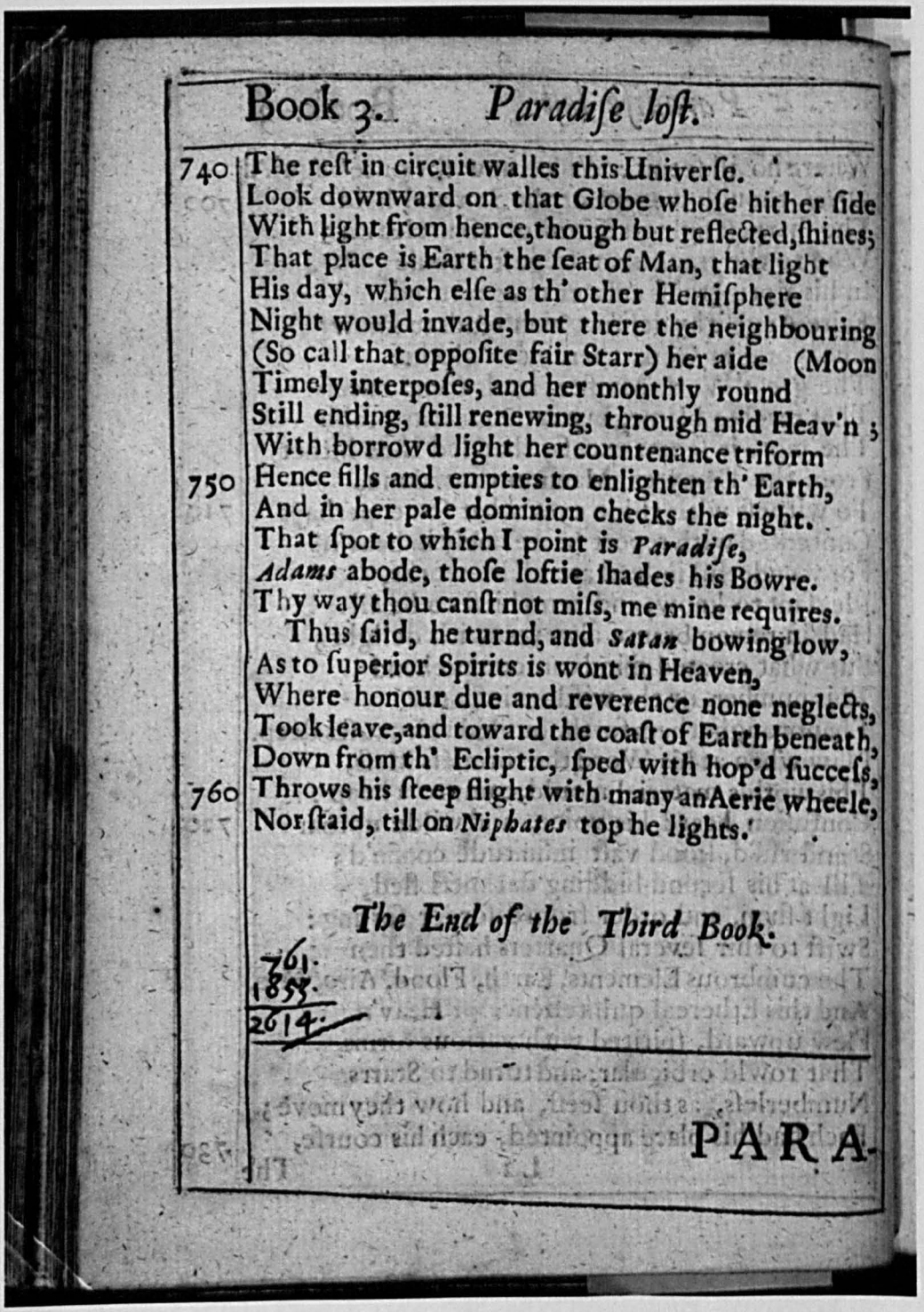
Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light
And like a weather-beaten Veſſel holds
Gladly the Port, though Shrouds and Tackle torn;
Or in the emptier waſte, reſembling Air,
Weighs his ſpread wings, at leaſure to behold
Farr off th' Empyreal Heav'n, extended wide
In circuit, undetermind ſquare or round,
With Opal Towrs and Battlements adorn'd
Of living Saphire, once his native Seat;
And faſt by hanging in a golden Chain
This pendant world, in bigneſs as a Starr
Of ſmalleſt Magnitude cloſe by the Moon.
Thither full fraught with miſchievous revenge,
Accurſt, and in a curſed hour he hies.

The End of the Second Book.

1055.
798.
1853.

PARA-

Illustration 2b. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. H2^{v}, with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.



Book 3. *Paradiſe loſt.*

The reſt in circuit walles this Univerſe.
Look downward on that Globe whoſe hither ſide
With light from hence, though but reflected, ſhines;
That place is Earth the ſeat of Man, that light
His day, which elſe as th' other Hemiſphere
Night would invade, but there the neighbouring
(So call that oppoſite fair Starr) her aide (Moon
Timely interpoſes, and her monthly round
Still ending, ſtill renewing, through mid Heav'n;
With borrowd light her countenance triform
Hence fills and empties to enlighten th' Earth,
And in her pale dominion checks the night.
That ſpot to which I point is *Paradiſe*,
Adams abode, thoſe loftie ſhades his Bowre.
Thy way thou canſt not miſs, me mine requires.
Thus ſaid, he turnd, and *Satan* bowing low,
As to ſuperior Spirits is wont in Heaven,
Where honour due and reverence none neglects,
Took leave, and toward the coaſt of Earth beneath,
Down from th' Ecliptic, ſped with hop'd ſucceſs,
Throws his ſteep flight with many an Aerie wheele,
Nor ſtaid, till on *Niphates* top he lights.

The End of the Third Book.

761.
1855.
2614.

PARA-

Illustration 2c. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. L2^{v}, with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.

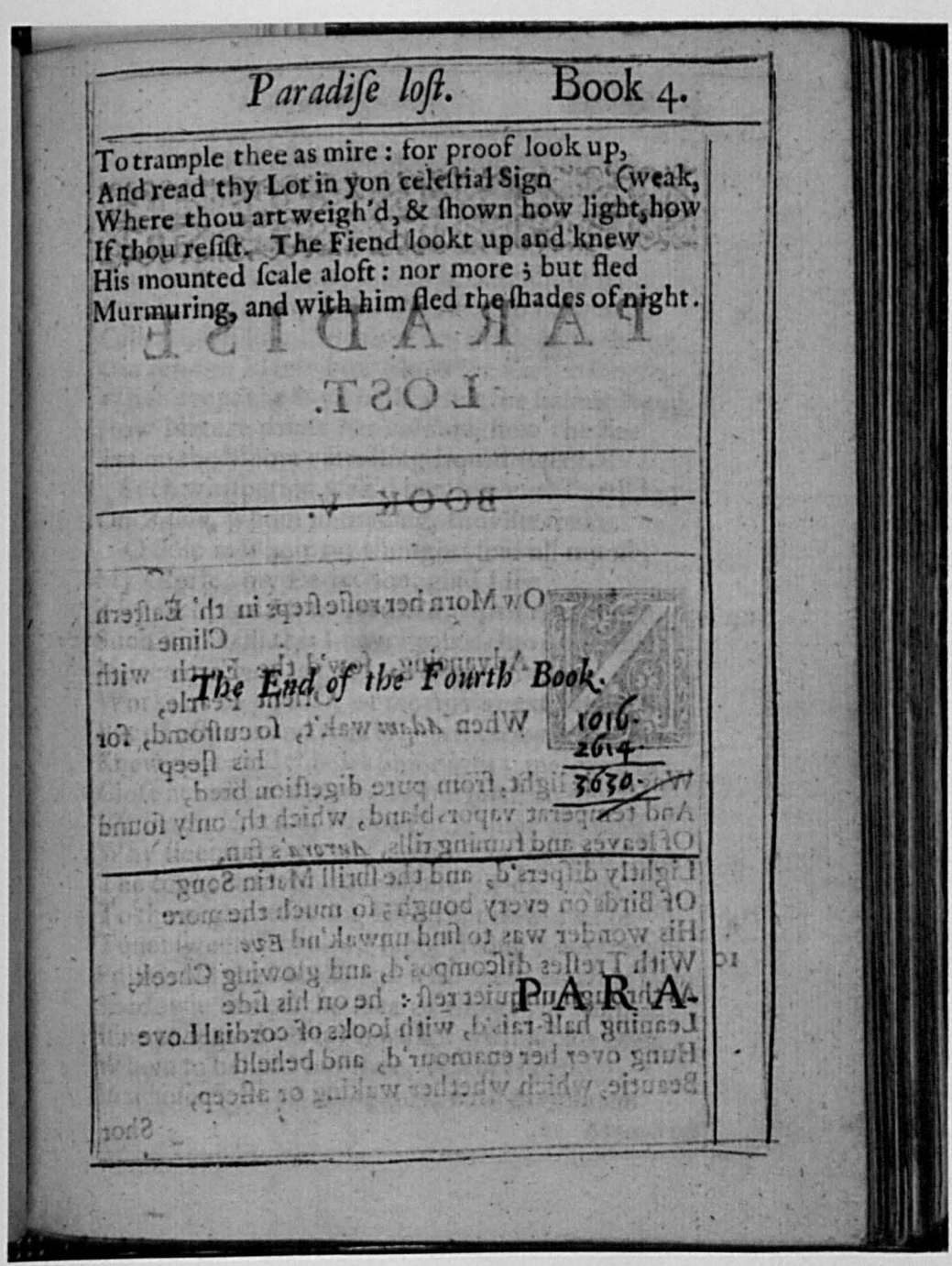
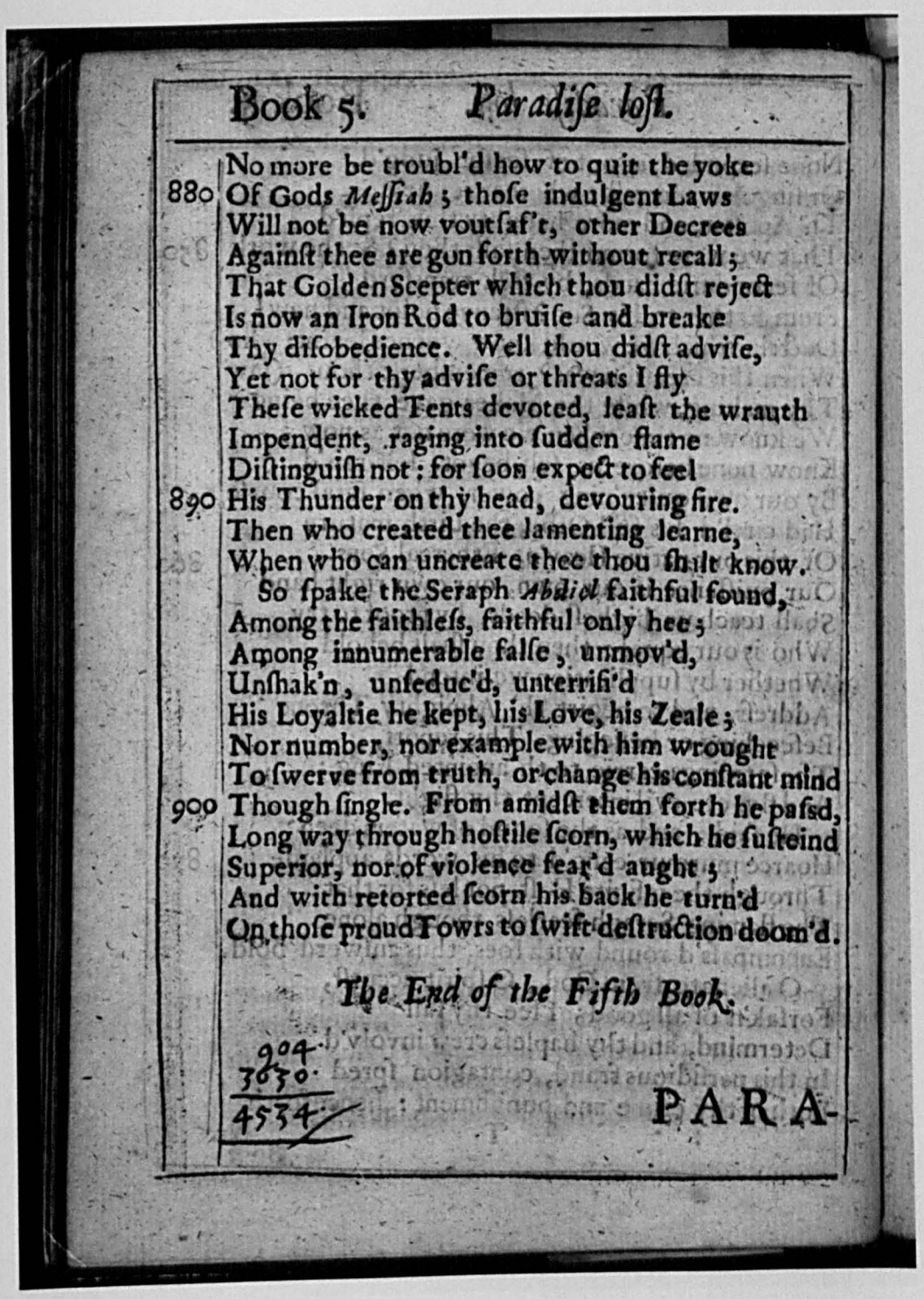


Illustration 2d. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. P3^{r}, with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.



Book 5. *Paradiſe loſt.*

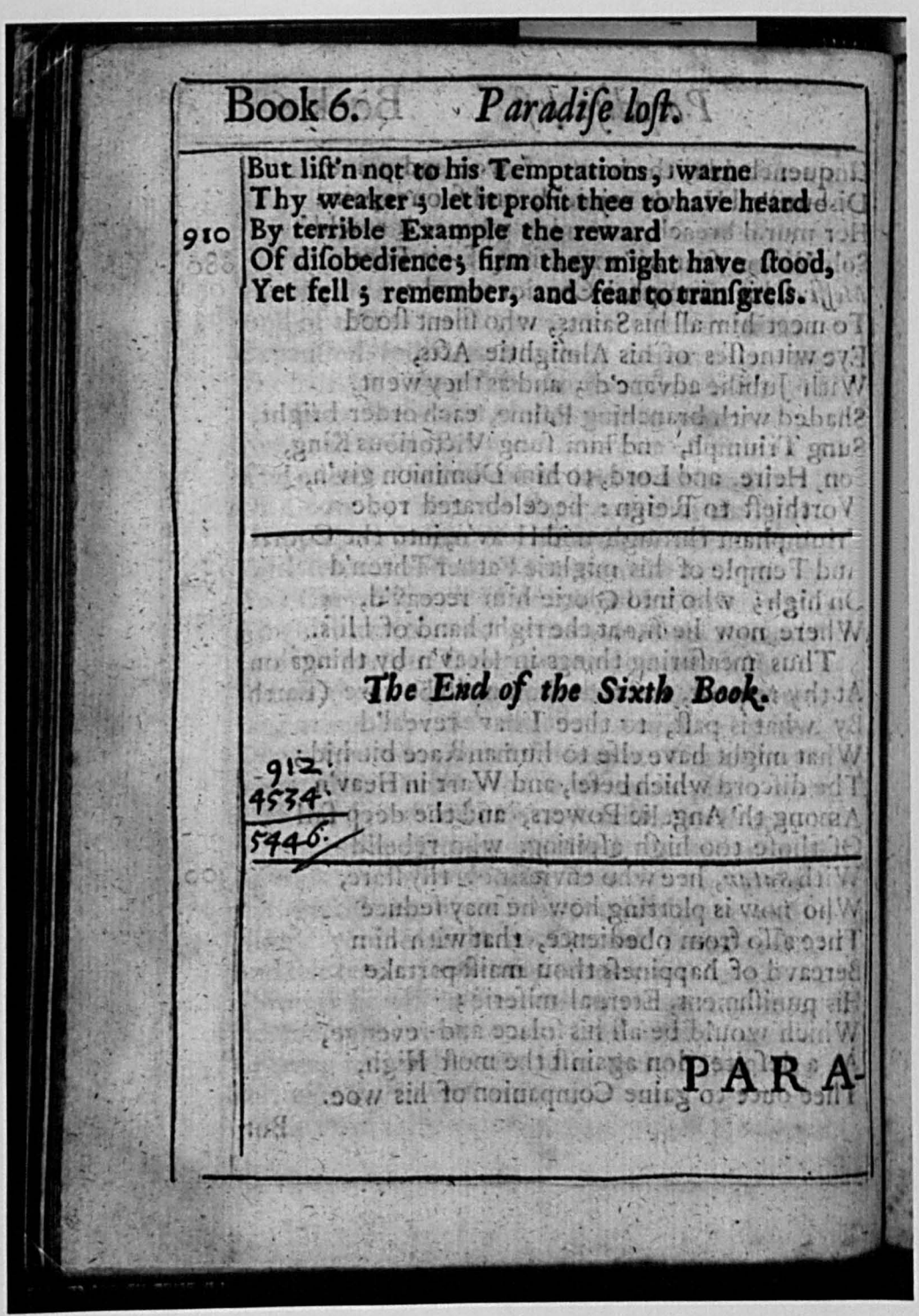
No more be troubl'd how to quit the yoke
Of Gods *Meſſiah*; thoſe indulgent Laws
Will not be now voutſaf't, other Decrees
Againſt thee are gon forth without recall;
That Golden Scepter which thou didſt reject
Is now an Iron Rod to bruiſe and breake
Thy diſobedience. Well thou didſt adviſe,
Yet not for thy adviſe or threats I fly
Theſe wicked Tents devoted, leaſt the wrauth
Impendent, raging into ſudden flame
Diſtinguiſh not: for ſoon expect to feel
His Thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
Then who created thee lamenting learne,
When who can uncreate thee thou ſhalt know.
So ſpake the Seraph *Abdiel* faithful found,
Among the faithleſs, faithful only hee;
Among innumerable falſe, unmov'd,
Unſhak'n, unſeduc'd, unterrifi'd
His Loyaltie he kept, his Love, his Zeale;
Nor number, nor example with him wrought
To ſwerve from truth, or change his conſtant mind
Though ſingle. From amidſt them forth he paſsd,
Long way through hoſtile ſcorn, which he ſuſteind
Superior, nor of violence fear'd aught;
And with retorted ſcorn his back he turn'd
On thoſe proud Towrs to ſwift deſtruction doom'd.

The End of the Fifth Book.

904
3630
4534

PARA-

Illustration 2e. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. T1^{v}, with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.



Book 6. *Paradiſe loſt.*

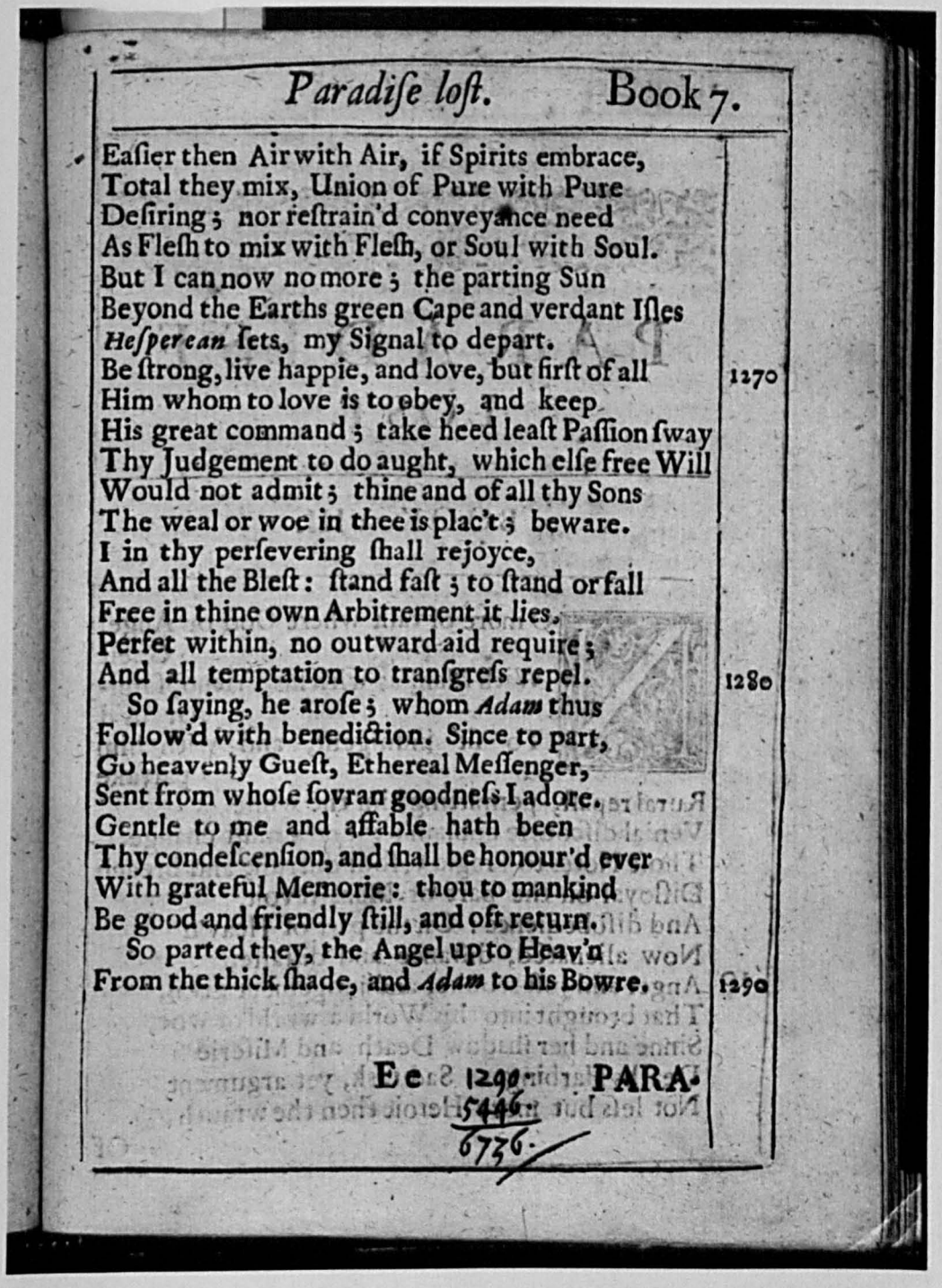
But liſt'n not to his Temptations, warne
Thy weaker; let it profit thee to have heard
910 By terrible Example the reward
Of diſobedience; firm they might have ſtood,
Yet fell; remember, and fear to tranſgreſs.

The End of the Sixth Book.

912.
4534.
5446.

PARA-

Illustration 2f. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. Y4^{v}, with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.



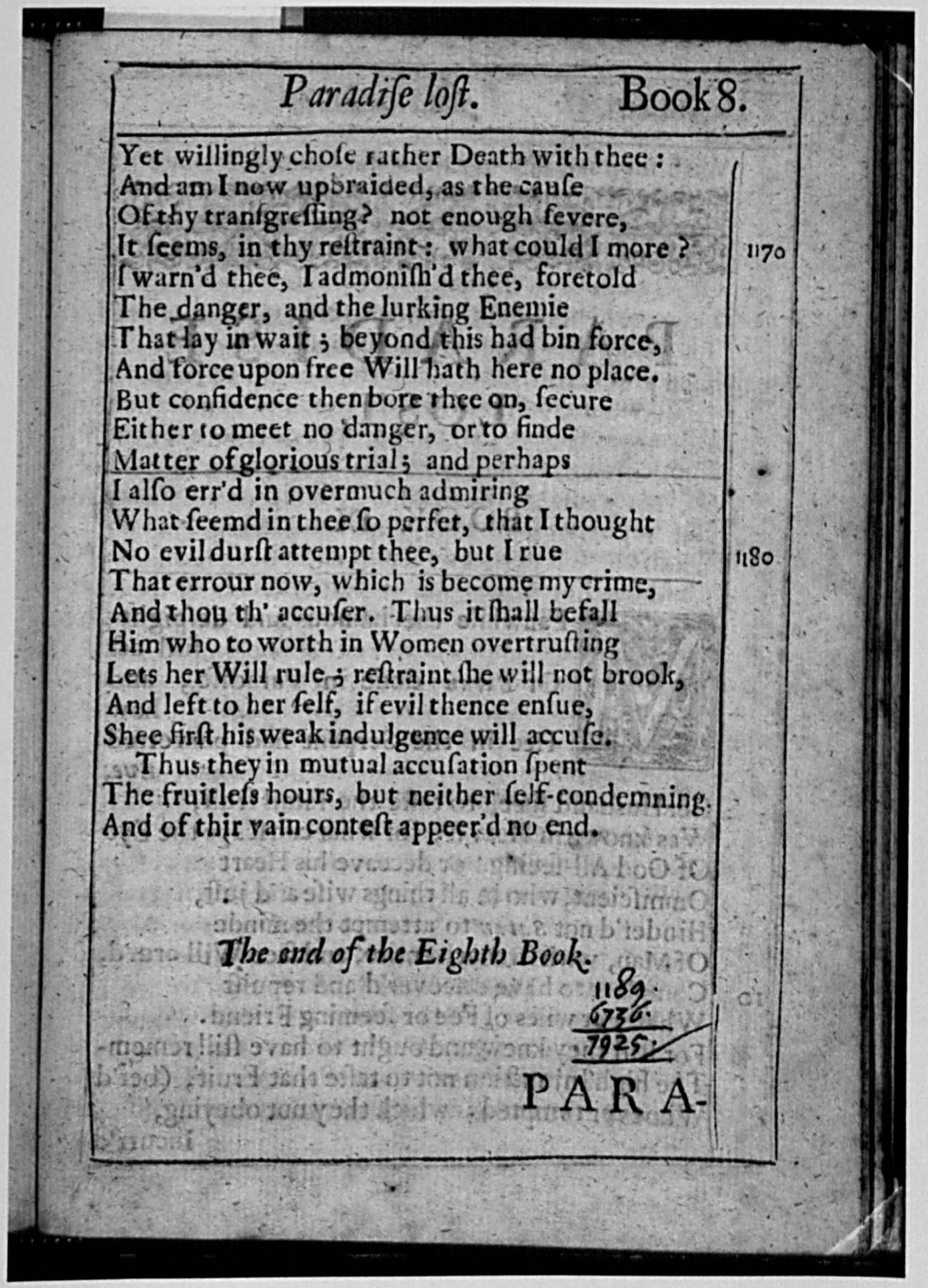
Paradiſe loſt. Book 7.

Eaſier then Air with Air, if Spirits embrace,
Total they mix, Union of Pure with Pure
Deſiring; nor reſtrain'd conveyance need
As Fleſh to mix with Fleſh, or Soul with Soul.
But I can now no more; the parting Sun
Beyond the Earths green Cape and verdant Iſles
Heſperean ſets, my Signal to depart.
Be ſtrong, live happie, and love, but firſt of all
Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
His great command; take heed leaſt Paſſion ſway
Thy Judgement to do aught, which elſe free Will
Would not admit; thine and of all thy Sons
The weal or woe in thee is plac't; beware.
I in thy perſevering ſhall rejoyce,
And all the Bleſt: ſtand faſt; to ſtand or fall
Free in thine own Arbitrement it lies.
Perfet within, no outward aid require;
And all temptation to tranſgreſs repel.
So ſaying, he aroſe; whom *Adam* thus
Follow'd with benediction. Since to part,
Go heavenly Gueſt, Ethereal Meſſenger,
Sent from whoſe ſovran goodneſs I adore.
Gentle to me and affable hath been
Thy condeſcenſion, and ſhall be honour'd ever
With grateful Memorie: thou to mankind
Be good and friendly ſtill, and oft return.
So parted they, the Angel up to Heav'n
From the thick ſhade, and *Adam* to his Bowre.

1270 1280 1290

Ee 1290 PARA.
5446
6736.

Illustration 2g. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. Ee1^{r}, with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.



Paradiſe loſt. Book 8.

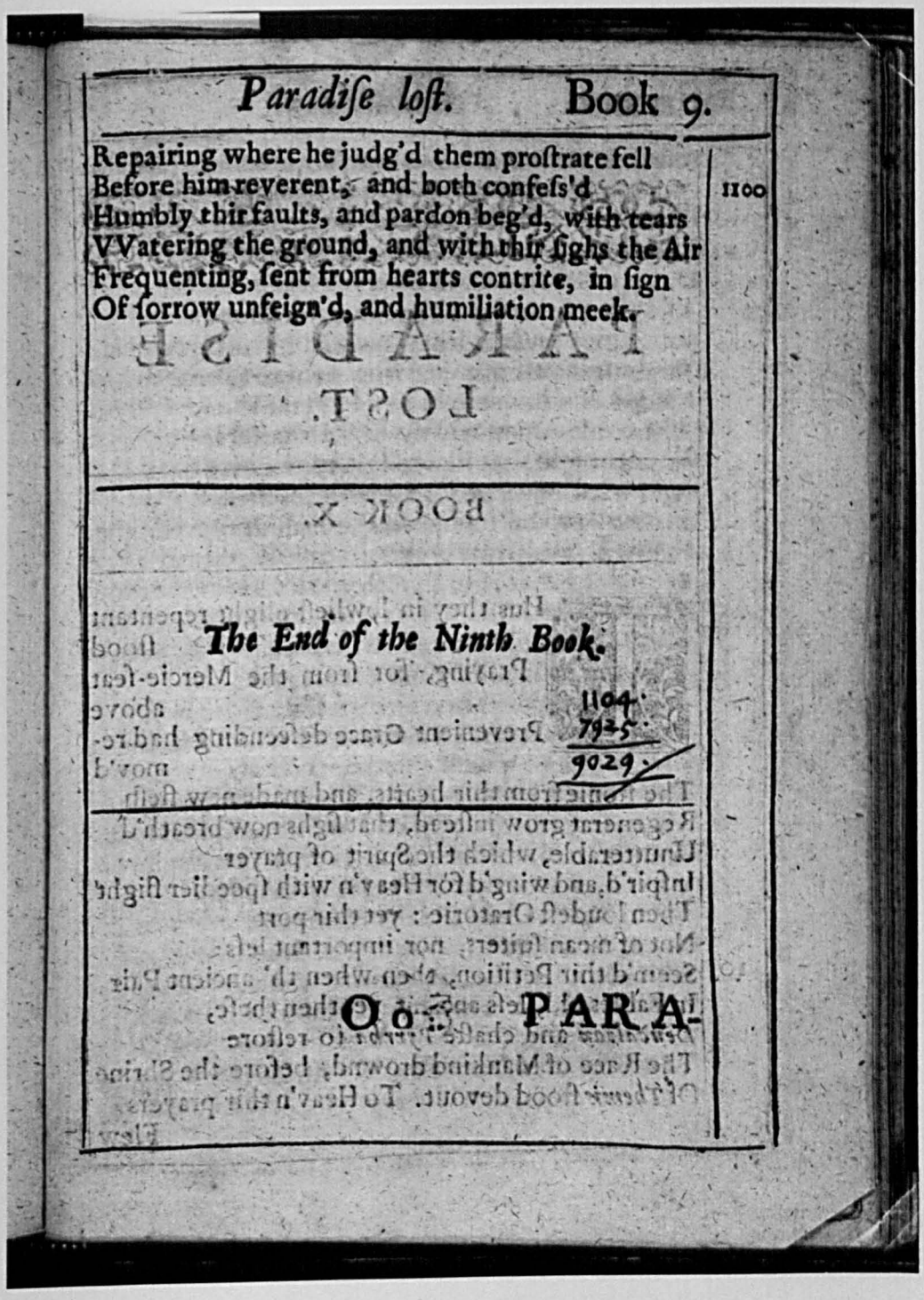
Yet willingly choſe rather Death with thee:
And am I now upbraided, as the cauſe
Of thy tranſgreſſing? not enough ſevere,
It ſeems, in thy reſtraint: what could I more? 1170
I warn'd thee, I admoniſh'd thee, foretold
The danger, and the lurking Enemie
That lay in wait; beyond this had bin force,
And force upon free Will hath here no place.
But confidence then bore thee on, ſecure
Either to meet no danger, or to finde
Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps
I alſo err'd in overmuch admiring
What ſeemd in thee ſo perfet, that I thought
No evil durſt attempt thee, but I rue 1180
That errour now, which is become my crime,
And thou th' accuſer. Thus it ſhall befall
Him who to worth in Women overtruſting
Lets her Will rule; reſtraint ſhe will not brook,
And left to her ſelf, if evil thence enſue,
Shee firſt his weak indulgence will accuſe.
Thus they in mutual accuſation ſpent
The fruitleſs hours, but neither ſelf-condemning
And of thir vain conteſt appeer'd no end.

The end of the Eighth Book.

1189.
6736.
7925.

PARA-

Illustration 2h. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. Ii4[r], with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.



Paradiſe loſt. Book 9.

Repairing where he judg'd them proſtrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confeſs'd
Humbly their faults, and pardon beg'd, with tears
VVatering the ground, and with their ſighs the Air
Frequenting, ſent from hearts contrite, in ſign
Of ſorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

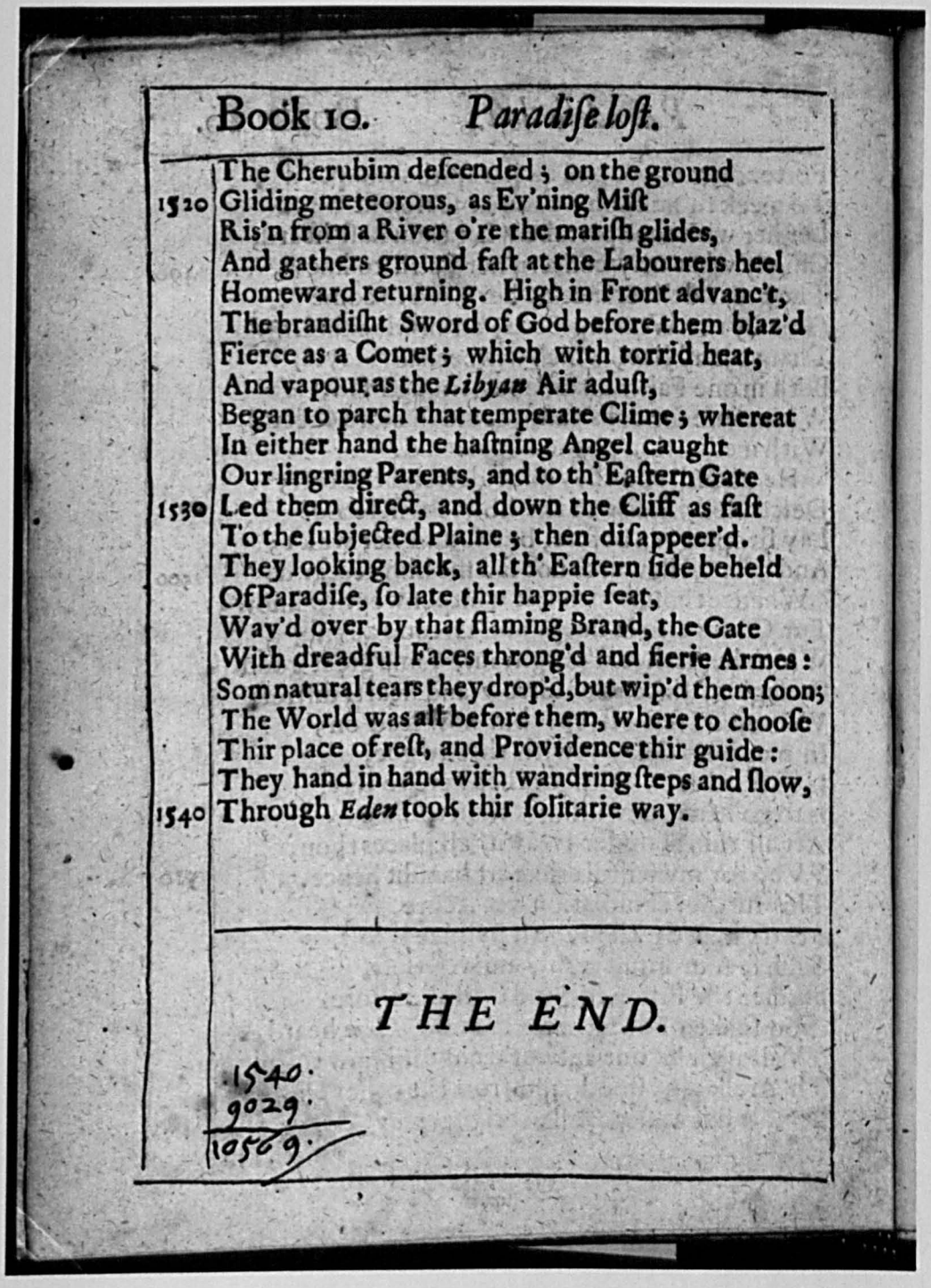
1100

The End of the Ninth Book.

1104.
7925.
9029.

Oo 2 PARA-

Illustration 2i. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. Oo[2]^{r}, with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.



Book 10. *Paradiſe loſt.*

The Cherubim deſcended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as Ev'ning Miſt
Ris'n from a River o're the mariſh glides,
And gathers ground faſt at the Labourers heel
Homeward returning. High in Front advanc't,
The brandiſht Sword of God before them blaz'd
Fierce as a Comet; which with torrid heat,
And vapour as the *Libyan* Air aduſt,
Began to parch that temperate Clime; whereat
In either hand the haſtning Angel caught
Our lingring Parents, and to th' Eaſtern Gate
Led them direct, and down the Cliff as faſt
To the ſubjected Plaine; then diſappeer'd.
They looking back, all th' Eaſtern ſide beheld
Of Paradiſe, ſo late thir happie ſeat,
Wav'd over by that flaming Brand, the Gate
With dreadful Faces throng'd and fierie Armes:
Som natural tears they drop'd, but wip'd them ſoon;
The World was all before them, where to chooſe
Thir place of reſt, and Providence thir guide:
They hand in hand with wandring ſteps and ſlow,
Through *Eden* took thir ſolitarie way.

THE END.

1540.
9029.
10569.

Illustration 2j. Text of Milton, *Paradise Lost* (1667a), sig. Vv2^{v}, with marginalia in the hand of John Egerton, the second earl of Bridgewater. Reproduced by permission of the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, RB 124671.

b. The ascent of the Son

Why such concern with the word 'Ascended'? How could it have been so important to Milton that he would go to such lengths to maintain its centrality? Having considered the bibliographical evidence, we now turn to the internal textual evidence for regarding the passage in question as thematically central to a poem about the falls of Satan and Adam from their respective paradises. The context of this episode is the narrative of the angel Raphael, who in Book V tells Adam and Eve about the Satanic revolt, in Book VI relates the War in Heaven and expulsion of the rebellious angels from heaven, and in Book VII describes the creation of the world Adam and Eve now enjoy. The immediate context of the central line is that after two days of futile warfare between the loyal and rebel angels, when 'the third sacred Morn began to shine' (VI.748), the Son 'rose / From the right hand of Glorie where he sat' (746–77) and ascended the Chariot of Paternal Deity with which he drove his enemies from heaven:

> Hee in Celestial Panoplie all armd
> Of radiant *Urim*, work divinely wrought,
> Ascended, at his right hand Victorie
> Sate Eagle-wing'd, beside him hung his Bow
> And Quiver with three-bolted Thunder stor'd,
> And from about him fierce Effusion rowld
> Of smoak and bickering flame, and sparkles dire;
> Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,
> He onward came, farr off his coming shon,
> 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.760–72)

In the most exact terms, the midpoint of the poem is between 'wrought' and 'Ascended', and the remainder of this chapter is an interpretive argument that the literal action, the Son's ascent to the chariot to rout Satan, is also a prophetic

metaphor for the future Ascension of the Son incarnate, the import of which is extrapolated back into the prior event for literary and theological purposes.

There are some textual clues in this passage that invite such a comparison to begin with. We have already seen how the revision Milton made in Book V (636–41) included changing the word 'refection' in the description of an angelic meal to 'communion' with its obvious connotations of the Lord's Supper on Maundy Thursday, implicitly drawing a parallel between the three-day War in Heaven and Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday. If the third, victorious day of the War in Heaven were intended to correspond to Easter Sunday, then why would the word 'Ascended' be chosen to refer specifically to the Resurrection since the word's most immediate association is with the Ascension that occurs forty days after the Resurrection? And why is the Ascension even relevant to the Fall, the stated topic of the poem? According to *Paradise Lost*, it is in fact the event prophesied by the Son himself in his judgment of the serpent in Genesis III.15, which Milton quotes almost word for word:[80]

> Between Thee and the Woman I will put
> Enmitie, and between thine and her Seed;
> Her Seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel. (X.179–81)

According to the following line this prophecy was 'verified' when Jesus revealed to his disciples that he witnessed the fall of Satan from heaven in Luke X.18, alluded to here:

> So spake this Oracle, then verifi'd
> When *Jesus* son of *Mary* second *Eve*,
> Saw Satan fall like Lightning down from Heav'n,
> Prince of the Aire; then rising from his Grave
> Spoild Principalities and Powers, triumpht
> In open shew, and with ascention bright
> Captivity led captive through the Aire,

[80] 'And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel' (Genesis III.15 AV).

> The Realm it self of Satan long usurpt,
> Whom he shall tread at last under our feet;
> Eevn hee who now foretold his fatal bruise,
> And to the Woman thus his Sentence turn'd. (X.182–92)

We should observe that Milton portrays the Resurrection and Ascension as two parts of a single ascending movement or vertical trajectory. Visually there is only one line of text separating 'rising from his Grave' from 'with ascention bright'. Although Luke states that they are separated chronologically by forty days (Acts I.3), here the two events are virtually indistinguishable.

Another point we must note is that Christ's ascension is interpreted as a triumph over the powers of darkness by virtue of it being a physical manifestation of authority over the air, the realm of Satan between heaven and earth. The verse and a half between 'his Grave' and his 'ascention' are a virtual quotation of Colossians II.15: 'And having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it'. The verse and a half following it, 'with ascention bright / Captivity led captive through the Aire', are another allusion, in this case to Ephesians IV.8, 'When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive', itself a quotation of Psalm LXVIII.18 which Paul applies to the ascension of Christ. We will find that every other reference to the Ascension in *Paradise Lost* likewise associates it with the vanquishing of Christ's foes.

In fact, this prophecy is so important to the poem that Milton does not wait until after the Fall, in Book X, to mention it for the first time, but incorporates it into the earliest appearance of the Father and the Son in the poem, in Book III. Unlike the prophesy in Book X, however, here it is the Son himself who describes his own future on earth:

> Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsom grave
> His prey, nor suffer my unspotted Soule
> For ever with corruption there to dwell;

> But I shall rise Victorious, and subdue
> My Vanquisher, spoild of his vanted spoile;
> Death his deaths wound shall then receive, & stoop
> Inglorious, of his mortall sting disarm'd.
> I through the ample Air in Triumph high
> Shall lead Hell Captive maugre Hell, and show
> The powers of darkness bound. Thou at the sight
> Pleas'd, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,
> While by thee rais'd I ruin all my Foes,
> Death last, and with his Carcass glut the Grave: (III.247–59)

As in Book X, here the Son's description of his resurrection glides seamlessly into that of his ascension forty days later. We may also note the keywords which appear in both of these passages: 'rise' and 'rais'd' or 'rising'; 'spoiled'; 'through the (ample) Air(e)'; 'lead' or 'led'; 'captive'; 'show' or 'in open show'; 'powers'; and 'grave'. We will see many of these terms turn up again in further passages.

There is yet an additional aspect to this ascending movement. Milton states in *De Doctrina Christiana*: 'There are three degrees of exaltation: resurrection, ascension into heaven, and a seat at God's right hand.'[81] Therefore it is also an ascent to a throne, as Michael uses the word in his foretelling of the Nativity to Adam:

> he shall ascend
> The Throne hereditarie, and bound his Reign
> With earths wide bounds, his glory with the Heav'ns. (XII.369–71)

Thus the ascent to the Chariot of Paternal Deity is also an enthroning that enables the Son to manifest his power and glory authoritatively.

We have seen how Milton associates the Resurrection and Ascension, and we can appreciate the double meaning of ascension to a heavenly throne. Hunter states that the word 'Ascended' in Book VI 'metaphorically depicts the resurrection of Christ from the dead',[82] which is valid as far as it goes, but what remains to be

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[81] John Milton, *De Doctrina Christiana*, bk. I, ch. xvi (208), trans. John Carey, in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, vol. 6, ed. by Maurice Kelley (New Haven: Yale UP, 1973), p. 442.
[82] Hunter, 'The Centre of *Paradise Lost*', p. 32.

emphasised is this pivotal word's simultaneous and special significance as an image of the Ascension in particular, distinct from both the Resurrection and Session at the right hand of the Father. In fact, I am arguing against Hunter's claim elsewhere that 'it primarily reflects the resurrection'[83] and proposing instead that, if one or the other event is pre-eminent, it is the Ascension forty days after the Resurrection that is proleptically evoked by the Son's triumph over Satan to end the War in Heaven.

By the end of the last quotation (XII.371), Adam is moved to tears and asks Michael how the Serpent shall receive the wound to his head, as prophesied by the Son:

> Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruise
> Expect with mortal paine: say where and when
> Thir fight, what stroke shall bruise the Victors heel. (XII.383–85)

Michael explains that the prophesy should not be taken literally:

> To whom thus *Michael.* Dream not of thir fight,
> As of a Duel, or the local wounds
> Of head or heel: not therefore joynes the Son
> Manhood to God-head, with more strength to foil
> Thy enemie; nor so is overcome
> *Satan*, whose fall from Heav'n, a deadlier bruise,
> Disabl'd not to give thee thy deaths wound:
> Which hee, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure,
> Not by destroying *Satan*, but his works
> In thee and in thy Seed: (XII.386–95)

Satan's works are Sin and Death, highly conspicuous in the poem as its only two personifications of abstract concepts. In Book II Satan discovers that his sin manifested itself as a living monster called Sin, who had burst forth like Athena from Satan's head (II.758). As a result of her incestuous union with Satan (II.762–67), Sin had given birth to their son Death (II.757–89) in an allegorisation of James I.15: 'Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin: and sin, when it is

[83] Hunter, 'Milton on the Exaltation of the Son', p. 227, and 'The War in Heaven', p. 126.

finished, bringeth forth death.'[84] After the Fall, Sin and Death build a bridge from the gates of hell to earth, which is now 'Forfeit to Death' (X.299–305).

The next few passages in Book XII describe the means by which Sin, Death, and Satan are defeated by the work of the Son incarnate. After explaining how the life of Christ makes possible his subsequent act of redemption, Michael foretells the Crucifixion:

> For this he shall live hated, be blasphem'd,
> Seis'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condemnd
> A shameful and accurst, naild to the Cross
> By his own Nation, slaine for bringing Life;
> But to the Cross he nailes thy Enemies,
> The Law that is against thee, and the sins
> Of all mankinde, with him there crucifi'd,
> Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
> In this his satisfaction; so he dies, (XII.411–19)

The lack of a full stop after 'dies' is significant. In contrast to Books III and X, where the Resurrection is closely associated with the Ascension, here the Resurrection is inseparable from the Crucifixion. Although the line terminates with 'dies,' the thought does not; it is complete only with the Resurrection, which follows on immediately:

> so he dies,
> But soon revives, Death over him no power
> Shall long usurp; ere the third dawning light
> Returne, the Starres of Morn shall see him rise
> Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,
> Thy ransom paid, which Man from death redeems,
> His death for Man, as many as offerd Life
> Neglect not, and the benefit imbrace
> By Faith not void of workes: (XII.419–27)

Michael has already mentioned 'the sins / Of all mankinde' in reference to the crucifixion (416–17), and 'death' three times in relation to the resurrection (425;

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[84] AV. Despite its obvious mockery of the divine trinity, the Satanic triad's closest analogue are the first three humans: the first human sinner, Eve, has no mother but is formed from a rib out of Adam's side, and her first child with Adam is the first murderer, Cain, who makes death manifest in the world for the first time.

twice as the personification of Death, 420 and 424). Now Michael reiterates this interpretation of the nearly indistinguishable Crucifixion and Resurrection as a victory ('this act' is singular) over Sin and Death as distinct from Satan:

> this God-like act
> Annuls thy doom, the death thou shouldst have dy'd,
> In sin for ever lost from life; this act
> Shall bruise the head of *Satan*, crush his strength
> Defeating Sin and Death, his two maine armes,
> And fix farr deeper in his head thir stings
> Then temporal death shall bruise the Victors heel,
> Or theirs whom he redeems, a death like sleep,
> A gentle wafting to immortal Life. (XII.427–35)

Therefore Satan himself is not personally defeated but made impotent by the loss of 'his two maine armes', Sin and Death. As Michael had said earlier, in lines 392–94, 'thy death's wound' shall be healed 'Not by destroying *Satan*, but his works / In thee and in thy Seed'.

Now we can address the significance of the Ascension *qua* Ascension. Though the Resurrection and Ascension are both ascending movements, Milton here distinguishes them and emphasises the temporal distance between the two events by building a poetic distance of fifteen lines between them (XII.436–50). The passage begins 'Nor after resurrection shall he stay / Longer on Earth then certaine times to appeer / To his Disciples' (436–38), and goes on to describe the Great Commission and the new ministry of the apostles given them by Christ before his physical departure. Michael then—finally—describes the Ascension:

> Then to the Heav'n of Heav'ns he shall ascend
> With victory, triumphing through the aire
> Over his foes and thine; there shall surprise
> The Serpent, Prince of aire, and drag in Chaines
> Through all his realme, & there confounded leave; (XII.451–55)

The action is similar to previous descriptions, with its emphasis on the manifestation of authority over Satan's realm of the air, but we should note in particular the

semantic combination of 'ascend / With victory'—the same terms used in the central verse in Book VI where the Son 'Ascended, at his right hand Victorie' (line 762).

Milton does not neglect to include the third degree of the exaltation, his return to Session in Heaven:

> Then enter into glory, and resume
> His Seat at Gods right hand, exalted high
> Above all names in Heav'n; (XII.456–58)

And since this is a poem also about Creation, Michael ends with the promise of the Second Coming and life in the New Heaven and New Earth:

> and thence shall come,
> When this worlds dissolution shall be ripe,
> With glory and power to judge both quick & dead
> To judge th' unfaithful dead, but to reward
> His faithful, and receave them into bliss,
> Whether in Heav'n or Earth, for then the Earth
> Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
> Then this of *Eden*, and far happier daies. (XII.458–65)

The ascension of the Son to the chariot also prefigures the Second Coming at the end of this world, when the Son shall come in glory rather than in humiliation, and ultimately vanquish Satan.[85] Therefore the Son's triumph over Satan in Book VI is the immediate precursor to the beginning of the present creation as well as a symbol of the immediate precursor to the beginning of the new creation.[86]

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[85] Mother M. Christopher Pecheux, 'The Conclusion of Book VI of *Paradise Lost*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 3.1 (Winter 1963), pp. 109–17, writes that 'the climax of Book VI, the half-way mark in the epic, includes symbolically the threefold defeat of Satan by the Son—at the beginning of time, during his mortal life, and at the end of time; it thus becomes a true center of action in more than a literal sense' (p. 115). Six years later the thought is elaborated, though without reference to Mother Pecheux, by Hunter: '[Milton] is simultaneously narrating three events from three very different points in time: first, the surface narrative of the fall of the angels, which took place before the foundation of the world; second, the defeat of Satan and his fellow devils described in the book of Revelation, which will take place at the end of time; and third and most important, the exaltation of the Son of God, which took place concomitantly with his resurrection as the incarnate God-man. All three of these events, from the beginning, middle, and end of time, are to be viewed as being simultaneously and metaphorically present in the one narrative framework' ('Milton and the Exaltation of the Son', pp. 223–24).

[86] Russell M. Hillier, 'Spatial Allegory and Creation Old and New in Milton's Hexameral Narrative', *Studies in English Literature*, 49.1 (Winter 2009), 121–43, explores how Raphael's narrative of the first creation is simultaneously a 're-Creational allegory' (p. 133) about the new creation.

Like the culmination of the War in Heaven, every reference to the incarnate ascension of Christ from earth to heaven is associated with triumph over Satan and his minions. All of them, in Books III, X, and XII, only foretell a future event, however; the only comparable event that is described as a finished action in the poem is the ascent of the Son to the Chariot of Paternal Deity. Although this is related after the fact, it is an event that has already happened and therefore is more substantial and fortifying than verbal prophecies. But perhaps most significantly, as related by Raphael it is the poem's most visceral prefiguration of the promised triumphant Ascension. It only makes sense that in *Paradise Lost* the ultimate counteraction of the Fall, beyond just standing firm, or withstanding temptation, is the opposite action of falling, that of ascent. Therefore we may regard the Son's ascension to the Chariot as not only theologically the central action of the poem but also textually the central action.

The concept of ascension is particularly identified with centrality insofar as the ascent of Christ is also an enthronement—accession to the right hand of the Father being the third element of Milton's triptych of ascent comprised of the Resurrection, Ascension, and Session. The end of Book VI indeed provides the most fleshed out picture of the Son's ascent to his throne:

> Sole Victor from th' expulsion of his Foes
> *Messiah* his triumphal Chariot turnd:
> To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
> Eye witnesses of his Almightie Acts,
> With Jubilie advanc'd; and as they went,
> Shaded with branching Palme, each order bright,
> Sung Triumph, and him sung Victorious King,
> Son, Heir, and Lord, to him Dominion giv'n,
> Worthiest to Reign: he celebrated rode
> Triumphant through mid Heav'n, into the Courts
> And Temple of his mightie Father Thron'd
> On high: who into Glorie him receav'd,
> Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss. (VI.880–92)

This manifestation of the Son's rightful place, which the Father reveals (V.603–06) on the first day of the time scheme of the poem—indeed is the instigating action that sets the poem's events in motion—has its cosmic analogue in the deferred manifestation of the sun.[87] Light was created on the First Day of creation, but was kept veiled 'in a cloudy tabernacle' (VII.248) and not positioned in its rightful place until the Fourth Day—the central day both of the week of creation and, as the seventeenth of thirty-three days, of the poem's chronological span.[88] This is one of three passages where Milton employs centrality to symbolise the enthronement of the sun, which is 'crowned' in the last line describing the Fourth Day of creation (VII.386). Instead of temporal centrality, the next two examples imitate in their local passages the textual centrality of VI.762 to the poem as a whole.

Even when Satan is the subject of a passage (III.555–87), the solar image of the Son ever remains at its centre. When 'Round he surveys' a 360-degree view with the sun above its centre, the sun is introduced at the centre of the 33-line passage: 'Above them all / The golden sun, in splendour likest Heaven' (571–72). The rest of the passage is about the sun, displaying Milton's knowledge of Kepler's theory of the sun's motive force: the planets 'are turned / By his magnetick beam, that [...] shoots invisible virtue' (582–83 and 586).[89] The sun's dominion over the second

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[87] H.F. Fletcher, *Milton's Rabbinical Readings* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1930), p. 155.
[88] Gunnar Qvarnström, *The Enchanted Palace*, p. 160.
[89] J.H. Adamson, 'Kepler and Milton', *Modern Language Notes*, 74.8 (December 1959), 683–85 (p. 684), and Anita Lawson, '"The Golden Sun in Splendor Likest Heaven": Johannes Kepler's *Epitome* and *Paradise Lost*, Book 3', *Milton Quarterly*, 21.2 (May 1987), 46–51 (p. 49), both note that Kepler derived his theory from William Gilbert, whom Walter C. Curry, *Milton's Ontology, Cosmogony, and Physics* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), pp. 117–20, takes to be Milton's source for the theory, but Adamson (p. 685) and Lawson (p. 50) also note that Milton uses Kepler's term *virtue* to describe both the sun's magnetic influence (III.586, cited by Lawson) and the mutual connection between the sun and stars in the passage discussed in the next paragraph (VIII.124, cited by Adamson).

half of Satan's speech is an image of the sun's physical presence in the second half of the poem's time scheme.[90]

Likewise in Book VIII, the sun is introduced—'What if the sun / Be centre to the world' (lines 122–23)—at the metrical centre of a 113-line discussion of the precise nature of the sun's cosmographical centrality (VIII.66–178): is it the middlemost of the planetary spheres or the stationary pivot around which the other planets orbit? Raphael famously recuses himself from making a conclusive statement regarding Ptolemaic or Copernican models, but the ambiguity on the subject with which he leaves Adam only emphasises that it is the metaphorical centrality of the sun that is more important to the poet than its physical position. It is the sun's antitype the Son, however, whose exaltation is at the metrical centre of *Paradise Lost*, a position Milton attempted to make more precise in 1674 through his additions to the poem.

[90] The fact that the textual centrality of the sun in a local passage appears first in a Satanic context before the instances in Books VII and VIII is consistent with the poem's practice of the parody preceding the original, such as the infernal council in Book II being followed by the supernal council in Book III, or 'High in the midst exalted as a God / Th' Apostat in his Sun-bright Chariot sate' at the beginning of Book VI (lines 99–100) being followed at the end of the book by the Son's exaltation to his own chariot.

Chapter IV

THE FORMAL REVISION OF *PARADISE LOST*

A. Formal Macrostructure

As a principle of structure the book divisions in *Paradise Lost* are one of the most metatextual, available to the reader alone and inaccessible to the characters in the poem, who as participants in the action would have awareness of the spatial structures of geography and cosmography described in the poem, of the chronological structure of events as they originally transpire, and to an extent the poem's particular narrative structure which, once Adam and Eve are introduced, follows the progression of their second-hand education of pre-history. But of the formal units of length belonging to the poetic structure that include paragraphs, sentences, and lines, which are by nature available only to the author and his readers, books are the largest. Another related principle of structure is that of the physical volume, whose primary units of division are pages, upon which the verses create a visible shape determined by the lengths of individual lines as well as by the chosen typeface. Properties of the volume not intrinsic to the poetic text, like page numbers, then become part of the design of the text. Though this manifestation of structure is not necessarily relevant to all epics, such as the Homeric poems or *Beowulf* in their original pre-documentary forms, it is inseparable from *Paradise Lost* which was from its first appearance intended to be read rather than heard or watched. In succeeding editions the physical volume then accumulates within its orbit satellite texts—introductions, commendatory poems, footnotes—and this network of satellites, yet another super-structure, becomes the default gateway through which new visitors approach the primary text.

The poem's substantiation in physical form also makes it a practical metaphor that enables the reader to consider the poem from a point of view imitating the divine. While the audience of a rhapsode or bard are able to experience his poem or song only temporally, as it is being recited, the reader of *Paradise Lost* who exists outside of the volume has at all times equally direct access to the end of the poem as to the beginning, and distinct from the reading experience, the reader may consider the poem in its entirety from something resembling an objective perspective. Since the reader executes the roles of both performer and audience, he is in control of the performance instead of being a passive observer, and may start and stop the narrative at any point, not to mention flip back and forth between pages, whether to compare passages in the midst of reading or to rearrange the order of reading altogether.

This god-like ability to witness all times or places in the narrative at once, which the Father demonstrates in Book III, also encourages us to identify patterns in the poem only viewable from the reader's quasi-transcendent perspective, much like an aerial view of a labyrinth reveals a layout or design that cannot be discerned while walking within it. One of the elements of *Paradise Lost*'s layout are the designations of books, made all the more conspicuous because Milton altered them in the second edition.

All poetic units that group a particular series of lines together—stanzas and cantos, or verse paragraphs and books—are conceptual rather than verbal units that, while invisible and silent to the hearer of poetry, give poems their formal structure as well as morphological shape. Because conceptual divisions, whether national borders or the book divisions of *Paradise Lost*, are not inherent in the landscape, be it geographical or poetical, they are therefore liable to being redrawn. Such a

redrawing—like Czechoslovakia's division into the Czech and Slovak Republics—appeared in the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, with the original Books VII and X each being split into two smaller books, resulting in 'A POEM IN TWELVE BOOKS' instead of in ten. In order to arrive at a better understanding of why this took place and its effects on the poem, this chapter will examine how *Paradise Lost* has been interpreted in terms of its formal structures. Finally I will address how the revisions to the second edition particularly affect the form of the poem.

1. *A Poem in Ten Books*

The allusion to the *Aeneid* implied by the twelve-book format is such a commonplace of criticism that there is no need to cite editors who endorse it. Exploring Virgilian connections, John Hale quite effectively answers the question of why Milton chose 12 as opposed to 11, 13, or 14 books.[1] But, aside from *Paradise Regained*, his textual evidence of Virgilian relationships in *Paradise Lost* is all material that was there in the first edition when the poem was in ten books. The more interesting question, therefore, is why Milton ever thought it should be in ten books in the first place.

Several literary precedents for a ten-book structure have been proposed over the past sixty years, including Davenant's *Gondibert*, Camoën's *Lusiads*, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, and Plato's *Republic*.[2] But the dissimilarities between them all makes one wonder if there is anything comprised of ten parts with which *Paradise Lost* might

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[1] John K. Hale, '*Paradise Lost*: A Poem in Twelve Books, or Ten?', *Philological Quarterly*, 74.2 (Spring 1995), 131–49.

[2] Arthur E. Barker, 'Structural Pattern in *Paradise Lost*', *Philological Quarterly*, 28.1 (January 1949), 17–30; Louis L. Martz, *Poet of Exile: A Study of Milton's Poetry* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1980), pp. 155–68; David Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 438–67. Phillip J. Donnelly, 'Poetic Justice: Plato's *Republic* in *Paradise Lost* (1667)', in *'Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books': Essays on the 1667 Edition*, ed. by Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007), pp. 159–81.

not share some commonality. As I have argued so far, the decision to increase the number of books was probably initially intended to give the poem a second life in the bookstall, and secondarily, given the decision to change it, to conform to the Virgilian mould. If this is correct, then there should be evidence why ten books would have been regarded in the first place as a superior structure to twelve. So the first half of this chapter will survey how critics have interpreted the ten-book form and their own views of how the poem should be divided conceptually. The possibility of bibliographical clues should be addressed first.

a. Graphic design

Like the boundaries demarcating private real estate or public city limits, chapters and books may be indicated by textual signs alerting those traversing the boundary that they are passing from one domain to another. Such signs appear in *Paradise Lost* at the close of each book, reading '*The End of the First Book*', and so on, while the next page announces to the traveller through the poem that he is now entering 'BOOK II' and so on. Printed pages contain more than the primary text, however, and these other elements guide our reading experience like lane dividers on the road; consequently, their potential influence should not be ignored in a complete analysis of a book.

At first glance, the first edition of *Paradise Lost* seems to offer some bibliographic clues to conceptual groupings of books. Below the phrase 'The End of the First Book,' there is a horizontal rule that graphically dissociates it from the catchword below (see Illustration 2a). This pattern is repeated on the last page of every following book except V and VIII, which have no rules on them, while the end of Book VII has a catchword only, presumably because there is a lack of space for the 'End of' statement. At the end of Books IV, VI, and IX, however, the closure is

made more distinct by an additional horizontal rule above the 'End of' statement, placing extra emphasis on the fact that it is the end of that book. That this added emphasis was intentional seems supported by these being natural points of division between books, on either the narratologically (IV and IX) or invocationally (VI) based scheme of conceptual unity. However, the apparent pattern seems to be complicated by the absence of any indication of closure between Books VII and VIII, the most dramatic place of division in the poem. Probably because the last page of Book VII (Ee1r) contains 28 verses that fill almost the entire page (a maximum of 32 lines fit on a page), the compositor decided there was not enough room to set 'The End of the Seventh Book' as had been the custom at the close of every previous book. This page could then be excused as an extraordinary case.

It is intriguing that if books were to be associated together based on the presence or absence of horizontal rules before the 'End of' statements, it would result in groups of Books I–IV, V–VI, (VII exempt), VIII–IX, and X. If this was an intentional scheme in 1667, however, it was not continued in the second edition, which contains horizontal rules above and below every 'End of' statement except Books VI–VIII (though the end of Book VII has a rule above the 'End of'). Therefore these cannot be said to indicate any formal significance, and remind us that the differences in the last pages of each book in the first edition were probably accidental as well. Accordingly, it is probably wise to dismiss interpretations based on such bibliographic idiosyncrasies because the volume's graphic design was most likely the on-the-spot responsibility of its compositors, and probably no one would have 'read' such features to Milton.

b. Arthur Barker

Critical comment prior to World War II on Milton's 1674 reorganisation of books in *Paradise Lost* was accurately summed up by James Whaler when he observed that commentators 'merely state the simple fact of repartitioning, and wisely decline even to suggest a reason'.[3] Indeed, the twentieth century's first at-length consideration of the discrepancy between the numbers of books as a relevant critical issue was an article produced by Arthur Barker in 1949, in which he declares that 'the 1667 edition of *Paradise Lost* presents a firmly organized five-act epic, perfectly exemplifying what were thought to be the Aristotelian requirements for structure'.[4] It is ironic, if not simply confusing, that Barker should invoke the poetic theory of Aristotle here since the philosopher provided very different rules for tragic as opposed to epic structures, which Barker here fuses together in the very term 'five-act epic'.

Barker seems to be hindered by seeing the poem only in terms of two-book units, as if ignoring altogether the breaks after every odd-numbered book. He states that 'the mind of a responsive reader does rest, consciously or unconsciously, at the end of each book of a long poem, and at the end of each pair,'[5] but the rest of the analysis in this section of his article assumes the attentive reader pauses only at the end of the even-numbered books in either edition. So after the Son's triumph in Book VI, according to Barker, in the 1667 version the reader's mind next reflects after the Fall in Book VIII, then after the expulsion at the poem's end, but in the 1674 edition, the mind rests after Adam's conversation with Raphael, in the renumbered Book VIII then not again till after Adam and Eve's post-Fall contrition in the

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[3] James Whaler, *Counterpoint and Symbol: An Inquiry into the Rhythm of Milton's Epic Style*, in *Anglistica* vol. 7 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1956), p. 164.
[4] Arthur E. Barker, 'Structural Pattern in *Paradise Lost*', *Philological Quarterly*, 28.1 (January 1949), 17–30 (p. 22).
[5] Ibid., p. 24.

renumbered Book X, and again at the end of Book XII and of the poem.[6] Thus, concludes Barker, 'the purpose of the redivision is to reduce the structural emphasis on the Fall of man and to increase the emphasis on his restoration.'[7] Needless to say, this is based on a rather contrived assumption about the reading experience. One of the formal effects his insistence on two-book groupings seems to ignore is that the first edition reinforces the distinction between the seventh and eighth books with a fourth invocation at the outset of Book VIII, just one book after the third invocation. It would be unnatural for a reader to mentally unify them as Barker's ideal reader does. No doubt Barker would regard this as an error on Milton's part which he corrected by splitting Book VII into two,[8] but that simply raises the question of Barker's hermeneutical assumptions. Perhaps because he was the first to attempt such an analysis, it seems that Barker felt a need to justify his conceptual groupings of books by maintaining them as features of the reading experience instead of recognising that they are a valid method of interpretation, a type of analysis that is achieved primarily by post-reading reflection, after rather than before the content of each book is known to the reader. Grouping books conceptually is not an inappropriate interpretative exercise, but that unity can be based more credibly on the content of those books, supported by textual evidence, rather than based arbitrarily on pairs of books, supported by a hypothetical and dubious account of the reading experience.

What is especially interesting about Barker's interpretation is that he does not tie the five-act structure exclusively to the ten-book format: 'The dramatic and epic structural patterns are [...] brought into exact alignment by the simple redivision of 1674. *Paradise Lost* is the consummate example of five-act epic

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[6] Ibid., p. 25.
[7] Ibid., p. 26.
[8] In fact he nearly does so on p. 21, quoted below (p. 148).

structure'.[9] They are different acts in the second edition, however; Barker identifies them as Books I–II, III–IV, V–VIII, IX–X, and XI–XII, that is, groups of two, two, four, two, and two books (a variance from his earlier observation that 'obviously the twelve books of 1674 fall into six groups of two books each'[10]). A five-act structure in the twelve-book edition contradicts Barker's theory of the reader inserting mental breaks after every two books, and it is undoubtedly a more sensible scheme. However, it basically undermines Barker's whole concept of dramatic 'acts' because it reveals his determination of act divisions in either edition to be not primarily dependent on the content. If his interpretation of the second edition is the preferable five-act structure, then the five acts in the first edition should have been identified as formulating book groups of two, two, three, two, and one, instead of five groups of two books each. But if his interpretation of the first edition is the preferred five-act structure, then the five acts in the second edition should have been identified as formulating book groups of two, two, two, three, and three books each. Either way, Barker seems more concerned with the idea of books as abstract units than with their content.

Thus Barker himself helps demonstrate that five-act theories are not necessarily unhelpful, but they are so when the acts are assigned arbitrarily based on book numbers instead of content. As Fowler observes, some of Barker's acts 'are only asserted to exist, having neither substantive nor formal coherence. Bks iii and iv, for example, do not belong together any more than iv does with v. Barker's scheme cannot be said to explain the overall structure.'[11] Shawcross, likewise, confesses that 'It is impossible for me to see the unity of, say, old Book VII (new

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[9] Ibid., p. 28.
[10] Ibid., p. 24
[11] Alastair Fowler, 'Introduction', in *Paradise Lost*, 2nd edn (Harlow, England: Longman, 1998), p. 28.

Books VII and VIII) with old Book VIII (new Book IX) in terms of dramatic structuring. The inclusion of the invocation in the latter book, alone, breaks up such a scheme.'[12] Consequently, when Barker suggests that the 1674 redivision 'indicates that the process of resolution had not quite clarified itself when Milton published the poem in 1667, that subsequently he saw in it a pattern which the ten-book division tended to obscure', the reader must ask whether the obscurity is actually in the structure of the first edition or rather in Barker's clumsy interpretation of it.[13]

Nonetheless, the five-act thesis has found endorsements by later critics. Gordon Campbell, in his introduction to B.A. Wright's text of Milton's poems, states that the ten books of the 1667 edition 'recall Milton's original intention to present the story as a tragedy, for the ten books comprise five acts of two books each,'[14] but Campbell no longer supports this interpretation of the first edition's organization.[15] In their three-paragraph introduction to *Paradise Lost*, Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg only report that 'some commentators have seen in the ten-book version a vestige of Milton's original dramatic scheme,' which is true enough, but their clarifying appositive, 'a double five-act structure,'[16] suddenly makes their meaning unclear because most commentators who identify a five-act structure in the first edition conceive of it as a single arc of five two-book acts, not two consecutive series of five one-book acts. Such a structure seems counterintuitive because the break between the two five-act dramatic arcs would separate Book V from Book VI, which together comprise an otherwise seamless narrative by Raphael. Indeed, Book VI does not even begin with a reintroduction of Raphael as the speaker like the one

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[12] Shawcross, *With Mortal Voice*, p. 64.
[13] Barker, 'Structural Pattern', p. 21.
[14] Gordon Campbell, ed., *The Complete English Poems*, by John Milton (London: Everyman's Library, 1980; rev. 1990), p. xx.
[15] In a conversation at the University of Leicester on 8 December 2004.
[16] Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg, eds, *John Milton*, in The Oxford Authors (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 853.

Milton later added to the beginning of Book VIII when he split his original Book VII narrative into two books. The continuity of Books V and VI is practically axiomatic.

c. James Whaler

In 1956, James Whaler devoted the last few pages of his *Counterpoint and Symbol*—a book-length examination of Milton's metrical patterns in *Paradise Lost*—to interpretation of the poem's redistribution of books. Whaler assures us that 'we are entirely reasonable in thinking that from the day he decided to compose a vast work in epic form he planned it for twelve parts. The subsequent facile splitting of Books VII and X bears witness.'[17] He even says Milton 'knew that a second edition was sure to be called for', though no evidence is offered other than that 'Milton knew the merit of his work', but the latter statement, undoubtedly true, does not necessarily imply the former—especially given Milton's condescending view of 'fit audience [...] though few'.[18] Even Simmons's contract with Milton does not guarantee the publication of three editions, only Simmons's copyright for up to three editions. Despite his 1645 collection of poems, Milton was not widely known as a poet in 1667, and he had no way of anticipating what the response would be to his epic. Nevertheless, Whaler believes Milton and Simmons were planning a second edition before the first had sold: 'It is reasonable to infer that he even gave Simmons instructions for a redistribution of books whenever Ed. 1 should be exhausted,' the first edition being a 'temporary tribute to his Muse by way of Pythagorean symbol' while the second a 'permanent tribute to epic tradition and its most inspired

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[17] Whaler, *Counterpoint and Symbol*, p. 165. Fowler also seems to endorse this view: 'The extreme length of *1667* Bk x (*1674* xi and xii) suggests that redivision was planned from the start' ('Introduction' (1971), p. 24)—revised to 'from an early stage' ('Introduction' (1998), p. 27). He is followed on this count by Christopher Butler: 'The extreme length of Book X in 1667 also suggests that a twelve-book division was planned from the start' (*Number Symbolism*, p. 158n59).

[18] Milton's request of Urania to 'fit audience find, though few' (*PL* 7.31) could be read as modesty but his note on 'The Verse' suggests otherwise. Rather the trope of the 'holy remnant', as also expressed in his preface to Eikonoklastes.

exemplar', that is, Virgil.[19] Given the five years that elapsed between the final issue of the first edition and the intent to publish a second edition as recorded in the Stationers' register, it seems unlikely that Simmons was just sitting on a set of authorial revisions that had existed since the 1660s. To the contrary, the five-year interval suggests rather that Simmons was waiting on Milton to provide him with revisions before he could proceed with a second edition. The first edition was in fact a good seller and it is easy to imagine Simmons pestering his author to make some promotional revisions, which Milton understandably put off while he was preparing *Paradise Regained*, *Samson Agonistes*, and the second edition of his shorter poems for publication. It is true that Milton's contract anticipated a second and third edition, but the argument that this contract necessarily implies an intention to restructure his poem might just as equally imply that Milton had a third alternative structure in mind but died before the opportunity to execute it.

Whaler asserts 'the fact requires no arguing' that the 'division into ten books in 1667 is all prepared to shift to a division into twelve' simply because the first edition's yet-to-be-split Books VII and X are 'disproportionately long'.[20] While Book X (1541 lines) is indeed forty-six percent longer than the mean book length in the first edition (1055 lines), Book VII, with 1290 lines, is only twenty-two percent longer than the mean average and only 101 lines longer than the poem's third-longest book (VIII), so Whaler's characterization, that the two longest books are *disproportionately* so, does not apply quite equally to Book VII as it does to X. Without further evidence, however, it seems questionable to assume that these two books are longer than the other eight because they were going to be divided in the second edition, rather than that they were later divided simply because they were the

[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., p. 164.

two longest books. One might say the choice of which explanation to favour is indeed six of one, half a dozen of another—except that the cynical assumption that an author as proud as Milton would publish a work in an intentionally inferior form while withholding a more perfect version strains credulity to the utmost.

d. Progressio Quaternio

Based on the inequity caused by the lengths of Books VII and X in 1667, Whaler infers that 'Milton must indeed have [had] some very peculiar, very private reason for issuing this work in a manner that seemed in Ed. 1 to outrage one of the instincts of his nature—right proportioning'.[21] According to Whaler, Milton's 'peculiar reason' was not just a dedication to the integer 10 but specifically a desire 'to effect a descending primary Pythagorean progression by the thematic groupings of its successive books'. That progression is the numerical series 4-3-2-1, represented by the groups of Books I–IV, V–VII, VIII–IX, and X. For Whaler, this is primarily a reflection in the poem's overall structure of a pattern he believes is the basis of the poem's metre and paragraph form, so he does not give specific reasons for the groupings of these particular books, saying only that 'the first four form a thematic group. The next three [. . .] form a group even more integral than the first four.' Despite Whaler's lack of textual support for why such a scheme of division is so intuitive, however, I think it is in fact a very natural understanding of the poem's structure because it simply distinguishes the books dominated by the angelic narratives of Raphael (V–VII) and Michael (X) from the rest of the directly narrated action. Thus it is one of the most intrinsically textual conceptions of structure in *Paradise Lost*. Qvarnström's comment reflects my own reading experience:

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[21] Ibid.

> Since this overall structural pattern occurred to me before I came across Whaler's study, and before I knew anything at all about the so-called *progressio quaternia* and the esthetics concerned with it, it seems to me undeniable that the epic itself invites the disinterested reader, entirely ignorant of structural semantics, to discern the presence of the thematical grouping which Whaler was the first to proclaim to the public.[22]

Likewise, I first found Whaler's article as a result of research into the 4-3-2-1 structure that I independently observed in the poem without any knowledge of the literature on the subject.

Beyond asserting its Pythagorean significance, Whaler never explains why the fourfold progression was considered a fundamental sequence other than that their sum is 10, whose inherent perfection is equally assumed by him. But the historical basis for this esteem is that in Pythagorean mathematics, the greatest importance was assigned to the first four natural numbers: 1, 2, 3, and 4. Pythagoreans considered the monad and dyad to be abstract principles, not 'real' numbers, because they represented the point and line, which cannot exist as physical objects, but they considered the triad and tetrad to be the first odd and even real numbers, because they represented the surface and solid which do have extension in three-dimensional space. As Hierocles of Alexandria wrote in his fifth-century commentary on the *Golden Verses* attributed to Pythagoras, translated by John Hall in 1656:

> in a Quadrat there is the first appearance of a solid figure. For a unite bears proportion to a point, a deuce to a line, drawn from one point to

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[22] Qvarnström, *The Enchanted Palace*, p. 143.

> another, a Superficies unto a three. For a Triangular figure is the plainest of all the Rectilinears; but the solid is proper to the four, for the first Pyramis is raised out of it, for three is underlaid as a Triangular Base, and one is Superimposed at the Vertex[.][23]

He continues:

> nay and the Judicative faculties are in all things Four, the Understanding, Science, Opinion, Sence, for all things are adjudged, either by the Understanding, Science, Opinion, Sence, so that in [*sic*] indeed the Tetrad cements al thiugs [things] that have any existence together, as the Elements[,] Numbers, Seasons of the yeer, and periods of Age. Neither are we to doubt that all these flow not from the Tetrad as the root and spring: for the Tetrad, as we said before, is in the Creatour and cause of all things, the Intellectual God, the Sonne of the Celestiall and Sensible God[.][24]

Therefore, the 1-2-3-4 series was also considered a creative sequence because it represented the constructive progression from point to line to surface to solid. Hierocles calls it 'the fourfold Fountain of the Eternall Creation' and says that 'the greatest point of all is the knowledge of the Creative *Tetrad*'.[25] It is appropriate, then, that the reversal of this creative progression should underlie a poem recounting the Fall, whose effect was not confined to human mortality but which introduced death to the whole creation and began the gradual decay of nature. Thus 4-3-2-1 is a destructive regression signifying the disintegration of creation and the undermining of the creative process.

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[23] Hierocles of Alexandria, *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras; Teaching a vertuous and worthy Life*, trans. John Hall (London, 1656), Wing H1938, pp. 125–26.
[24] Ibid., p. 126.
[25] Hierocles, *Golden Verses of Pythagoras*, trans. Hall, p. 127

The Pythagorean oath citing the Greek *tetraktys* is related in the Golden Verses 24–25: 'I swear by him who delivered to us the Quaternary, the fountain of eternal nature.'[26] In particular, the Pythagoreans celebrated the fact that the first four numbers themselves add up to 10 (and thus all possible numbers). The representation of ten as a triangular number was so iconic as an identification of Pythagoras's school that it can be seen on the chalkboard of Pythagoras's pupil in Raphael's *School of Athens* in the Stanza della Segnatura. The other diagram on the Pythagorean student's chalkboard is the relationship between the musical consonances, and the series 1-2-3-4 was also the basis of the musical theory of the Pythagoreans. The discovery traditionally credited to Pythagoras is that a plucked string will produce a tone one octave higher than a string twice its length. This in turn led to the observations that strings of lengths in the ratio 2:3 produce a harmonic fifth and that strings of the 3:4 ratio produce a fourth. The fifth and fourth, in turn, combine to produce an octave (2:3:4 = 2:4 = 1:2). Furthermore, the combination of the octave and fifth (1:2:3) produces a twelfth (1:3), and the combination of 1:2:3:4 together produces the double octave (1:2:4) which is a fifteenth (1:4). Thus, the ratios 1:2:3:4 contain in themselves the three simple consonances (octave, fifth, and fourth) and two composite consonances (twelfth and fifteenth) that formed the foundation of Greek music and were a manifestation of the ordered harmony of the cosmos.[27] These relationships were commonplace in any

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[26] Hierocles of Alexandria, *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of the Pythagoreans*, trans. John Norris (London, 1682), Wing H1939, p. 109. John Hall's translation of Hierocles (1656) confuses what the origin of eternal nature is: 'I attest Him that delivered the Quaternary to our souls[,] the fountain of eternall nature' (p. 119). Hall's translation of the original Greek verse, hindered by the need to rhyme, confuses the issue even more by implying that the tetraktys flows out of the eternal fountain, instead of the reverse: 'Natures eternall fountain, I avow, / Whence th' sacred FOURTH unto our souls doth flow' (fol. a5r).

[27] Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles of the Age of Humanism*, 4th edn (New York: Norton, 1971), pp. 103–04. For an extended treatment see S.K. Heninger, Jr., *Touches of Sweet Harmony: Pythagorean Cosmology and Renaissance Poetics* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Press, 1974), pp. 71–132.

treatise on music such as Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Mvsicke*.[28]

Milton's early familiarity with the Pythagorean doctrine of the musical harmony of the spheres is evident from a Latin exercise he wrote while a student at Cambridge known as the second Prolusion, a light-hearted defence of Pythagoras against the criticism of Aristotle. In it Milton claims Aristotle slandered Pythagoras by attributing to him belief in the reality of the music of the spheres, which Milton says was for Pythagoras only a poetic metaphor. Since it is an exercise in rhetoric written in an artificially serious tone, it should not necessarily be taken as a genuine expression of Milton's beliefs, either as a young man or later in life, so whether or not Milton believed that Pythagoras did or did not believe in the reality of cosmic musical harmony is immaterial. However it was most likely this Prolusion that was not required as an assignment but was an extracurricular speech, the subject therefore being of Milton's own choosing. Campbell and Corns consider it to be Milton's most rhetorically sophisticated Prolusion and his latest.[29] Nonetheless, we see in Prolusion II an argument that Pythagorean ideas are appropriate to poetry, as well as Milton's familiarity with other authors who included Pythagorean doctrines in their works, especially Plato.

The Pythagorean *tetraktys* is also present in another basis for conceptual structure that is as textually anchored as dividing the poem according to direct and indirect action. *Paradise Lost* contains four formal invocations by the epic poet, which begin in the first edition Books I, III, VII, and VIII. If we take these invocations to be identifications of new 'movements' of the poem, it divides into groups of two (I–II), four (III–VI), one (VII), and three books (VIII–X). Because of their textual basis,

[28] Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Mvsicke* (London, 1597), STC 18133, sig. ¶.2r.
[29] Campbell and Corns, *John Milton*, p. 63.

the invocations are recognised by most critics as a valid delineation of the poem's structure, though because the poem is usually analysed in its twelve-book form, not all recognise in the scheme the presence of the components of the *tetraktys*, albeit in a different sequence.[30] Whether one conceptually divides the poem according to narrative device or the invocations, the only division both schemes have in common is between Books VII and VIII (in the first edition), which makes it a virtual litmus test for theories of formal structure: interpretations that attempt to unify the seventh and eighth books, most notably the five-act thesis, have two inherent formal patterns militating against them.

These two formal structures are further reinforced by a third pattern whose major division occurs at the outset of Book VIII: the time-scheme of the poem's action. Immediately after his invocation (IX.1–47 in the second edition), the poet reveals that Satan has just returned (48–57) from a seven-day orbit around the earth (58–66), re-descending to its shores on the eighth day where the directly narrated action picks up (67–69). This week of anti-creation with which Satan prefixes the Fall thus dwarfs the directly narrated action which amounts to only two 48-hour periods preceding and succeeding it.[31] To pretend a unity across the temporal chasm between these two books, therefore, it is necessary not just to ignore the formal structures of the poem but to disregard its content as well.

e. Røstvig

Maren-Sofie Røstvig claims that her interpretation of 'the graded arrangement of individual books provides the only satisfactory explanation of the

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[30] Those who do relate it to the *tetraktys* include Fowler, 'Introduction', p. 28, and *Triumphal Forms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 117.
[31] Qvarnström, *The Enchanted Palace: Some Structural Aspects of 'Paradise Lost'* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell, 1967), pp. 125–26.

presence of symmetries in both editions'.[32] In the ten-book organization, according to her 1994 reading, Books I–II balance Book X, Book III balances Books VIII–IX, and Books IV–V balance Book VII, all pivoting around Book VI. This balance is possible because Books III, VII, and X each have a bipartite nature, the latter two instances of which were made manifest in the second edition by the easy division of Books VII and X into two each. Thus Books I–II balance the new Books XI–XII, and IV–V balance VII–VIII. However, for the 1674 reorganisation to have properly clarified the structure claimed by Røstvig, Book III also should have been divided into two books separating, respectively, the supernal council and Satan's cosmic voyage. Furthermore, Røstvig's favouring of the unity of Books IV and V over the unity of V and VI also seems against best sense, because Raphael's narrative admits of no transition either at the end of Book V or the beginning of Book VI.[33] Other than the argument for Book VI interspersed between the books in the second edition, there is not even a reminder in the text that the present narrator is Raphael rather than the poet, so the breaking up of these two books is a significant weakness in Røstvig's scheme.

Røstvig laments the fact that in the new organization the book describing the Fall is no longer counterbalanced by the providence of God related in the third book:

> It is certainly a distinct loss not to be able to see the Fall in book 8 (= IX) as balanced by the scheme of redemption as presented in book 3; instead the linkage is with book 4, a structural reorientation which causes the figure of Satan to loom larger than it would otherwise have done.[34]

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[32] Maren-Sofie Røstvig, *Configurations: A Topomorphical Approach to Renaissance Poetry* (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1994), p. 467.
[33] See the critique of Barker by Fowler, 'Introduction', p. 28.
[34] Røstvig, *Configurations*, p. 470.

Though Røstvig does not point out that the Fall, by occurring in the ninth of twelve books, is now symmetrically opposite the first temptation in Book IV, this symmetry is apparently part of what makes Satan 'loom larger' than is appropriate. Her conclusion, therefore, is that 'the revision resulted in a weakening of the positive themes and a strengthening of those that are negative'.[35]

What Røstvig's analysis of the first edition has in common with Barker is the assumption that 'balance' exists primarily in the form of bilateral symmetry. When Barker points out that the length of the first edition's last four books is only about three hundred lines (302 in fact) less than the length of the first six, he declares that 'the division of this material into six books gives the poem the just balance demanded by the treatment its theme has received. It is the ten-book division which, in this respect, is an illusion'.[36] Although organisation of the second edition admittedly disposes itself to a symmetrical form of balance (I–II : III : IV : V–VI :: VII–VIII : IX : X : XI–XII),[37] symmetry is not necessarily the only type of proportion, as we will see in section B.

f. Fixler and Blessington

A couple of critics prefer to divide *Paradise Lost* into seven conceptual sections. Michael Fixler views the poem as a series of seven apocalyptic visions that correspond to those described in the Revelation of John, namely: hell (Books I–II), heaven (III), paradise (IV–V.543), war in heaven (V.544–VI), creation (VII–VIII), the Fall (IX–X), and history (XI–XII).[38] A similar approach is suggested by Francis Blessington, who proposes six distinct sections based on classical episodes: 'Each of

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[35] Ibid.
[36] Barker, 'Structural Pattern', p. 24.
[37] Some of the symmetrical correspondences in a similar array are listed by Fowler, 'Introduction', p. 29.
[38] Michael Fixler, 'The Apocalypse in *Paradise Lost*', in *New Essays on 'Paradise Lost'*, ed. Thomas Kranidas (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 131–78.

the six parts of the poem reworks one traditional epic convention, while within each is subsumed several other epic conventions, the emphasis given to each convention illustrating a Miltonic revaluation.'[39] Blessington identifies these units as narratives of the *concilia deorum* (Books I–III), the golden world (IV–V.560), the epic battle (V.561–VI), the song of creation (VII–VIII), the epic tragedy (IX–X), and the prophetic vision (XI–XII). However, because he divides the first section into two sub-units juxtaposing 'the false and true council of the gods' (in Books I–II and III, respectively), Blessington's divisions are basically identical to the seven suggested by Fixler. They differ only in assigning Adam's portion of dialogue at V.544–60 either to the preceding or to the succeeding section. Though the thematic divisions of Fixler and Blessington may seem unnatural because it requires them to split one of the books roughly in half, their conceptualisation of the poem is in the spirit of Milton's 1674 reorganisation, which suggests that the poem's books are not necessarily absolute, indivisible formal units. At the end of this chapter we will return to this natural perforation they find in Book V.

B. Formal Microstructure

1. Verse-Paragraph Form

The pentameter line is the metrical building block of Milton's poem, but his conceptual building blocks are the verse-paragraph and the constituent sentences within them. It was Milton's manifest success with the verse-paragraph form in 'On Time' and 'At a Solemn Musick' that led him to *Lycidas* and ultimately to his long poems. Though it had brought Milton success in the Nativity Ode, the restrictive stanzaic form frustrated his efforts in 'The Passion' and he began to experiment with

[39] Francis C. Blessington, *'Paradise Lost' and the Classical Epic* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 75.

the verse-paragraph format in 'On Time'. Milton next attempted a complex Petrarchan rhyme scheme, with a comparable English metrical pattern, in 'Upon the Circumcision'.[40] Both of Milton's 'Circumcision' stanzas rhyme abcbaccddceffe with a metrical structure of seven pentameter lines, two heptasyllables (with unstressed endings), two pentameters, one trimeter, one dimeter, and a final trimeter.[41] W.R. Parker dryly implies that, unlike Petrarch who had sustained this form for ten stanzas in his canzone *Vergine bella, che di sol vestita*, Milton found that two stanzas exhausted his creativity (or, more charitably, hindered it): 'Here Milton stopped, attempting no more stanzas. He never tried such a complicated form again'.[42]

But Milton returned to the more liberating verse-paragraph in one of his finest poems, 'At a Solemn Musick'. This 28-line poem exhibits Milton's preoccupation with the music of the spheres, a favourite commonplace he revisited throughout his life in the second Prolusion, the Nativity Ode (stanza XIII), *Ad Patrem* (lines 35–37), *Arcades* (61–73), and *Paradise Lost* (V.175–79). 'Solemn Musick' also employs the trope of the heavenly analogue to the planetary spheres, the angelic choirs, which Milton had used in the Nativity Ode and would return to again in *Paradise Lost* (V.160–65 and V.618–27). The first section of 'Solemn Musick' compares the music of the planetary spheres sung by the Platonic sirens to the angelic hymns sung in heaven. This 16-line section is followed by an 8-line

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[40] F.T. Prince, *The Italian Element in Milton's Verse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 61–63.
[41] While Milton preserved the heptasyllablic lines of his model, the Italian counterparts to Milton's pentameter lines are hendecasyllables. Also, the final five metrical feet in the Petrarchan stanza were in a single line, a form that is preserved in the Trinity manuscript with the marginal suggestion to break it into two lines to clarify the rhyme.
[42] Parker, *Milton: A Biography*, 2nd edn, ed. by Gordon Campbell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 88. Parker's neutral if pregnant statement is a well-judged encapsulation of Prince's overt acknowledgement of the equally plausible alternatives: 'There is nothing to indicate that his poem was intended to be longer than it is. But the brevity of the poem, and its unique fidelity to such a stanza-form, may well suggest that Milton's talent did not function easily on such a basis' (Prince, *Italian Element*, p. 63).

description of the harmony in which the earth also participated until 'disproportioned sin' (19) ended the terrestrial contribution to that song. This prelapsarian proportion is typified by the 'perfect diapason' (23), which figuratively means 'harmony' and literally denotes the musical octave, the closest harmony apart from complete unison.

'Solemn Musick' exhibits a concomitant concern with proportion, a concept intrinsic to the music of the spheres. The importance Milton ascribes to proportion is evident in his description of sin as 'disproportioned' (19). Indeed, the poem is the most obvious example of Milton's use of proportional structures, where the 'undisturbed song of pure concent' is figured in the poem's double-musical-octave progression. The 28 lines of 'Solemn Musick' might be considered a sort of double-length (Shakespearean) sonnet with three verse-octaves and a quatrain instead of three quatrains and a couplet, but the short lines and the rhyme make it clear that the first two 'octaves' are contiguous and are distinct from the third octave. According to Mother M. Christopher Pecheux, 'Milton fashioned the lines of the body of the poem in three groups of eight [...] to exploit the significance of the eight notes of the [musical] octave'.[43] Mother Pecheux sees the musical octave as symbolized only by the three movements of eight lines each, without recognising that the harmonic octave proportion is also found in the ratio of the first sixteen lines to the next eight, and of those eight to the next four. The poem's division into sections of sixteen, eight, and four lines is a geometric progression proportional to the 'continuous proportion' 4:2:1, that is, two modulations of a musical octave or 'perfect diapason' (line 23).[44] Thus, the poem exhibits in its form the harmonic proportions praised in

[43] Mother M. Christopher Pecheux, '"At a Solemn Musick": Structure and Meaning', *Studies in Philology*, 75.3 (Summer 1978), 331–46 (p. 346).
[44] Hans Walter Gabler, 'Poetry in Numbers: A Development of Significative Form in Milton's Early Poetry', *Archiv [für das Studium] der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 220 (1983), 54–61 (p. 59),

its verbal content. The octave Mother Pecheux discerns in the poem is based on arithmetic number symbolism, while the octave I discern is based on a geometric proportional structure.

Unlike the repetitive stanza form, the verse paragraph was therefore an ideal form for Milton to create proportions between sentences of varying lengths. Discerning the proportions between numbers or a series of numbers was an elementary exercise in the seventeenth century. Books of practical mathematics were preoccupied with such geometrical progressions. Eight of the twenty-nine chapters in Blundeville's 'Treatise of Arithmeticke' are devoted to 'Arithmeticall, Geometricall, and Musicall' proportion, with another three on arithmetical and geometrical progressions.[45] Thomas Hylles's *Arte of Vulgar Arithmeticke* spends 129 pages on proportions and progressions full of exercises with problems to solve, complete with rhymed poems to facilitate memorisation of their definitions and solutions.[46] The mathematical proportions were as commonplace as the multiplication table is today.

2. Number Symbolism versus Proportional Form

Before continuing further, it would be advisable to make an important clarification at this point. The modulation of paragraph- and sentence-lengths to produce harmonic proportions between passages of different lengths is not to be confused with numerology or number symbolism. In a 1972 survey of early forays

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also observes ratios of the musical octave, but he sees a multiplicity of interchangeable combinations. For example, he sees the last twelve lines as divisible into sections of 8 and 4 lines in proportion to the octave (2:1), but he cites the first 16 lines of the poem as related to the last 12 altogether, in proportion to the musical fourth (4:3). However, he then refers to 'the triple octave quantification in the poem', but it is unclear if this refers to the progression of 16:8:4 lines that I have observed, or to three groups of poetic octaves, 8 + 8 + 8 (+ 4), which metaphorically represent the musical octave only via numerological association.

[45] Thomas Blundeville, *M. Blvndeville His Exercises, containing sixe Treatises* (London, 1594), STC 3146, fols 17v–23r.

[46] Thomas Hylles, *The Arte of vulgar artihmeticke* (London, 1600), STC 14040.7, fols 89r–153r.

into numerological criticism, in which he voices scepticism of over-ingenious hypotheses, R.G. Peterson makes a point that cannot be overemphasised:

> A distinction should be made between symmetries and numerology: although the description of symmetrical patterns depends upon counting, the patterns themselves have (if valid) an obviousness and relevance, an esthetic impact, that systems of number symbolism often lack. The latter tempt ingenuity and learning to move toward increasing complexity and may become intense searches for the most esoteric numerologies; they focus attention away from the literature and on properties and manipulations of the numbers themselves. Analysis of structure concentrates attention on the work, on the need to recognize those aspects—like the midpoint—that generate its unity and limits.[47]

Peterson's distinction between numerology and formal features, such as symmetry or proportion, whose descriptions involve numbers only incidentally, deserves amplification.

Number symbolism or numerology is the association of a non-numerical concept with a particular integer, like 'Law' with the number 10 or 'perfection' with the number 7. There is usually some kind of connection between the number and the concept—for example, 490 might signify forgiveness because it is the product of seventy times seven (Matthew XVIII.22)—but the concept itself is not essentially mathematical or numerical. Number symbolism is essentially arbitrary and unspecified; for example, the number 4 can represent the elements, the seasons, the winds, the corners of the earth, the evangelists, the square, the tetrahedron, etc. As

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[47] R.G. Peterson, 'Critical Calculations: Measure and Symmetry in Literature', *PMLA*, 91.3 (May 1976), 367–75 (p. 372).

S.K. Heninger observes, 'There is literally no limit to the number of systems based on the number 4', citing Agrippa's two-page chart compiled 'in a mood of credulousness rather than skepticism'.[48] Such associations, however ancient or well attested, are difficult to prove in a passage (without a specific verbal cue) because an integer can represent any of a host of concepts that may be consonant or even contradictory with one another. Indeed, Thomas Roche says that in a system of numerical correspondence 'any triad may be the analogue of any other', a critical perspective which militates against the hope of interpretation.[49]

Accordingly, number symbolism is not properly descriptive of mathematically based or geometrical concepts whose relevant integers possess no supposedly inherent meaning but are only measurements of quantity. This measurement is meaningless by itself and becomes significant only by virtue of its relationship or proportion to another measurable quantity. For example, the observation that the quantities 6 and 9 are proportional to the harmonic fifth is a mathematical and more importantly a *fixed* concept, and not comparable to, say, arbitrarily associating 6 with the hexameral tradition and claiming that 9 represents 'incompletion', then extrapolating a meaning from these two revealed insights.

One of the tradition's most persistent practitioners, for example, recently glossed the ordinal number of Book VIII in the first edition of *Paradise Lost* thus: 'as the cube of two, it illustrates the triumph of Satan, of Sin in Eve's succumbing, and of Death in Adam's willful choice'.[50] But elsewhere, in reference to the eight

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[48] Heninger, *Touches of Sweet Harmony*, p. 156. The chart, enumerating thirty-one foursomes, is in Henry Cornelius Agrippa, *Three books of Occult Philosophy*, trans. by J[ohn] F[reake] (London, 1651), Wing A784, pp. 186–87.

[49] Thomas P. Roche, Jr., *The Kindly Flame: A Study of the Third and Fourth Books of Spenser's 'Faerie Queene'* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 30.

[50] John T. Shawcross, 'That which by creation first brought forth Light out of darkness!": *Paradise Lost*, First Edition', in *'Paradise Lost: A Poem Written in Ten Books': Essays on the 1667 First Edition*, ed. by Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007), pp. 213–27 (p. 222).

finished stanzas of 'The Passion', he writes that 'the cube of two' signifies that 'the duplicitous Satan is repudiated by the trinal God'.[51] Putting aside the questionable legitimacy of deriving a numerological meaning from the length of an unfinished poem, the implication that cubing 2 could imply either an evil or divine trinity makes the meaning of 3 so relative as to be interpretively useless. The meaning of 8 is equally relative: 'eight is related to providence and eternal regeneration such as God provided in Christ' in the passage on 'The Passion', while for *Paradise Lost*, 'eight in Christian number symbolism denotes a weak number'.[52] Any thematic conclusions extracted from such numbers are necessarily meanings that must be dependant on poetic content, rendering the numbers redundant. The arbitrariness of number symbolism is illustrated in the next sentence, which states of the repositioned Fall: 'As an event in Book 9 it conflicts with the symbolism of defect amid perfection, and [...] the cube of three, God's will, which the 1667 book 9 does exhibit'.[53] Even though 9 is the square of 3 rather than its cube, the typographical error has virtually no effect on the meaning of the interpretation.

The resistance displayed in these examples of any number to identification with a univocal meaning is observed by Milton himself, who writes in *De Doctrina Christiana* (II.7) that a particular number has 'no inherent virtue or efficacy' ('teneamur numero, cuius nulla vis est, nulla efficacia').[54] Milton is making an argument against Sabbatarians, suggesting that they ought to show 'what essential principle of morality is involved in the number seven' ('septenarii numeri moralitas

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[51] John T. Shawcross, *Rethinking Milton Studies* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005), p. 182n5.
[52] Shawcross, *Rethinking Milton Studies*, p. 182n5; 'That which by creation', p. 222.
[53] John T. Shawcross, 'That which by creation', p. 222.
[54] John Milton, *De Doctrina Christiana*, in *The Works of John Milton*, ed. by Frank Allen Patterson and others, 18 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931–38), XVII: ed. by James Holly Hanford and Waldo Hilary Dunn (1934), p. 182, ll. 15–16; trans. by Charles R. Sumner, p. 183, ll. 22–23.

esse possit').[55] The context of theology in practice rather than poetry and the rhetorical character of the argument mean that the statement cannot necessarily be taken as a categorical condemnation of number symbolism as a literary device, but it is helpful to note Milton's insistence, even with regard to biblically derived number symbolism, on the distinction between the number and the extrinsic concept it symbolises.[56]

In contrast, numbers in proportion to each other are not valuable by virtue of any extrinsic meanings that can be attached to them, but are valuable simply by virtue of their harmonic relationship to each other. It should be noted that Christopher Butler argues for the inverse position that 'all *non-symbolic* systems of proportion are in fact arbitrary (the non-arbitrariness of symbolic systems consists in their having a relatively fixed verbal meaning)'.[57] To this I would counter that the lack of a *single* 'fixed verbal meaning' for most symbolic systems makes the choice of which meaning to endorse or follow, both for the artist and the interpreter, basically arbitrary. In other words, by Butler's criterion of non-arbitrariness ('having a relatively fixed verbal meaning') there is virtually no non-arbitrary symbolic system. I am not pretending to rule out the possibility of number symbolism being a form of ornamentation present in *Paradise Lost*, only recognising that any such features are by their nature interpretively opaque rather than self-evident.

The distinction between number symbolism and formal symmetry or proportional structure is often confused in the critical literature because both are often discussed together in the same section under a single heading. The ambiguous term 'numerical composition' often obscures the issue further by drawing

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[55] Ibid., p. 182, ll. 13–14; trans., p. 183, ll. 19–20.
[56] Cf. Røstvig, *Configurations*, p. 135.
[57] Christopher Butler, *Number Symbolism*, p. 172.

equivalences between proportional form and numerology.[58] No doubt proportions can also acquire numerological associations as meanings are attributed to a particular ratio, but such associations are properly distinct from the harmonic virtue of the proportion itself. For example, S.K. Heininger, Jr., relates the 4/3 proportional relationship between the octave and sextet of the Italian sonnet to the trope of squaring the circle, but this interpretation is necessarily based on the numerological association of 4 with the square, and of 3 with the circle.[59]

This distinction might invite the accusation by numerologists that I am making an anachronistic bifurcation that is foreign to the ancient authorities, whose discussions of musical proportions are frequently interspersed with praise for the abstract qualities of individual numbers. But the classical quadrivium (to use the later term of Boethius) was itself such a distinction between abstract multitudes and measurable magnitudes, as defined by Nicomachus and propagated by others such as Proclus, who explains:

> The whole science of Mathematicks, the Pythagoreans divided into four parts, attributing one to *Multitude*, another to *Magnitude*, and subdividing each of these into two[.] For Multitude either subsists by it self, or is consider'd with respect to another; Magnitude either stands still or is moved. *Arithmetick* contemplates Multitude in it

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[58] The term is used as a section heading by Ernst Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Willard R. Trask (New York: Pantheon, 1953), pp. 501–09; and Fowler, 'Introduction', p. 25–29). In *With Mortal Voice*, Shawcross helpfully distinguishes chapters on 'Structural Patterns' (p. 42–55), including discussion of the Son's ascension at the poetic midpoint, and 'Numerological Relationships' (pp. 56–67). However, he then includes discussion of proportional relationships between sections according to the 'golden mean' in the latter chapter (pp. 62–63), which is, on my view, an error of categorisation because the numbers involved are measurements and irrelevant as integers.

[59] S.K. Heninger, Jr., *The Subtext of Form in the English Renaissance: Proportion Poetical* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), pp. 73–78 and 92–105.

> selfe; *Musick* with respect to another; *Geometry*, unmoveable magnitude; *Sphœrick*, moveable.[60]

Multitude with reference to itself (arithmetic) is therefore distinguished from multitude with reference to other multitudes (music or harmony), while magnitude at rest (geometry) is distinguished from magnitude in motion (astronomy).[61] The difference between abstract number and geometric magnitude is one of material extension, as Billingsley describes in his edition of Euclid:

> *A poynt is an vnitie which hath position.* Nū[m]bers are conceaued in mynd without any forme & figure, and therfore without matter wheron to receaue figure, & consequently without place and position. Wherefore vnitie beyng a parte of number, hath no position, or determinate place. Whereby it is manifest, that number is more simple and pure then is magnitude, and also immateriall: and so vnity which is the beginning of number, is lesse materall then a signe or point, which is the beginnyng of mangnitude. For a poynt is materiall, and requireth position and place, and thereby differeth from vnitie.[62]

The gap between multitude and magnitude is bridged when an abstract unit becomes fixed in place as a point, which can be extended into a line, surface, and solid, the geometrical counterparts of the arithmetical multitudes of two, three, and four.

Numerology is therefore an arithmetical tradition—meaning infused in abstract numbers independent of others—which is why it is sometimes termed

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[60] Proclus, *A Commentary on the First Book of Euclid's Elements*, quoted by Thomas Stanley, *The History of Philosophy, the Third and Last Volume, In Five Parts* (London, 1660), p. 53. Cf. Heninger, *Touches of Sweet Harmony*, 85–86.

[61] Cf. Butler, *Number Symbolism*, p. 33.

[62] Euclid, *The Elements of Geometrie*, trans. by H[enry] Billingsley (London, [1570]), STC 10560, fol. 1.

'arithmology' or 'arithmetic metaphor'.[63] Music then simply refers to ratios between abstract numbers, which are harmonic when in particular proportions. Accordingly, instrumental music does not belong to 'Music' in the strict sense, but is a geometrical expression of immaterial ratios, in which harmonic proportions obtain not between abstract multitudes but between magnitudes of physically measured lengths, as by a stringed instrument. The most perfect expression of all four aspects of the quadrivium was consequently found in the concept of the music of the spheres, the integration of astronomy with music: magnitude in motion in harmonic proportion. Therefore the proportional structure of 'At a Solemn Musick' is not a gratuitous artifice, but integrally related to Milton's description of the music of the spheres and the poem's subject of harmony between the mundane and celestial realms.

3. Proportioned verse-paragraphs in *Paradise Lost*

We have seen that proportioning the lengths of verse-sentences was an important concern of Milton from the outset of his practice of the verse-paragraph form. After such a successful experiment in 'At a Solemn Musick', Milton continued to compose the lengths of his verse-paragraphs to be in proportional relationships with each other, including in *Paradise Lost*. The four passages related to the ascension cited at the end of Chapter III are particularly fine examples of this practice.

a. Book X, lines 182–92

Perhaps the least complex of the four passages is Book X.182–92 (second edition), where the ascension bifurcates an 11-line verse-paragraph (also a single

[63] Butler, *Number Symbolism*, p. 31; Eleanor Webster Bulatkin, *Structural Arithmetic Metaphor in the Oxford 'Roland'* (Ohio State University Press, 1972), p xiii.

sentence) precisely in half. This sentence is delimited as a discrete passage by the Son's speeches immediately before and after it. The Resurrection is described from line 184 through the first half of line 187: 'then rising from his Grave / Spoild Principalities and Powers, triumpht / In open shew'. After the pivotal 'and', the second half of line 187, 'with ascension bright', begins the second half of the verse-sentence. This structuring is of a piece with that which we saw at III.571 and VIII.122, where the introduction of the sun signals the midpoint of passages 33 lines and 113 lines long, respectively.

b. Book XII, lines 386–485

Lee Johnson observes that Michael's description of the incarnate existence of Christ (XII.386–465) is a single verse-paragraph of 80 lines divided into distinct sections of 50 and 30 lines, which depict the life of Christ on earth through Easter, and after the Resurrection, respectively.[64] Johnson is primarily concerned with the 50/30 ratio approximating the divine proportion (1.618/1.0), as it is reinforced by Adam's response of 16 lines comprised of a 10-verse sentence and a 6-verse sentence, which also conform to a 5/3 ratio (lines 469–84), 'so demonstrating that Adam is now in harmony with his mentor, that his education is finally complete'.[65]

In reference to the Michael's 80-line speech, however, I would add that its two sections are each subdivided in half, producing units of 25 / 25 // 15 / 15 lines, each subsection ending with a full stop at the end of its last line: (a) Christ's life of obedience, lines 386–410; (b) the Crucifixion and Resurrection, lines 411–35; (c)

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[64] Lee M. Johnson, 'Milton's Mathematical Symbol of Theodicy', in *Symmetry: Unifying Human Understanding*, ed. by István Hargatti (New York: Pergamon Press, 1986), pp. 617–27 (pp. 621–24); also summarised briefly in 'Milton's Epic Style: The Invocations in *Paradise Lost*', *The Cambridge Companion to Milton*, ed. by Dennis Danielson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 65–78 (p. 72). It seems to be this article by Johnson, which appears only in the first edition of the *Companion*, that Fowler ('Introduction' (1998), pp. 25–26) misattributes to the volume's editor, Danielson.

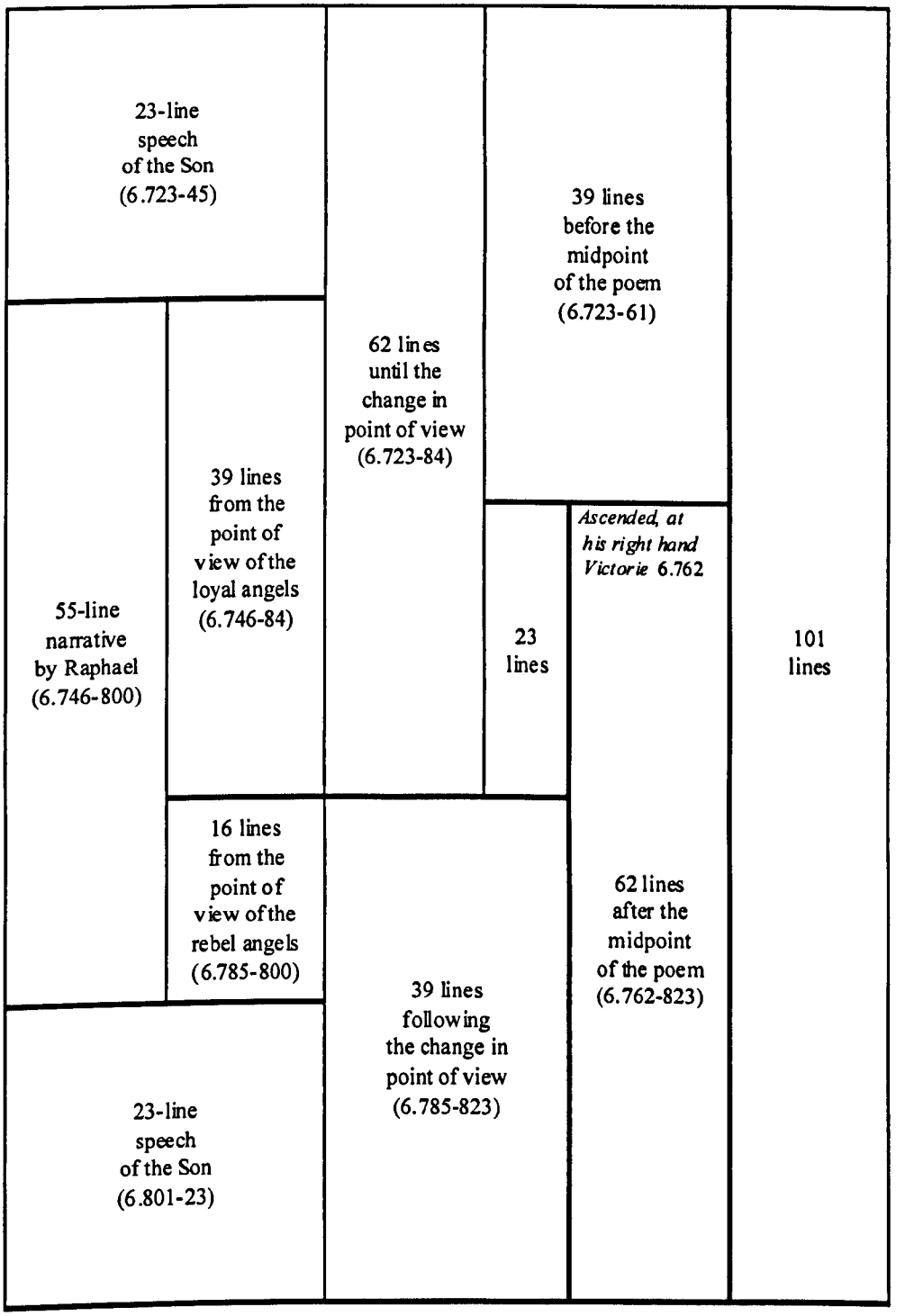
[65] Johnson, 'Milton's Epic Style', p. 72.

post-Resurrection activity, lines 436–50; and (d) the Ascension and session at the Father's right hand, lines 451–65. Christ's pre- and post-Resurrection activities are divided from each other according to the divine proportion of the 80-line passage, as Johnson observes, while the Ascension falls at the midpoint of the post-Resurrection section. This maintenance of the divine proportion with conventional symmetry also characterises the passage in Book VI.

c. Book VI, lines 723–823

The poem's symmetrically central passage, in which Raphael describes the Son's ascent to the Chariot of Paternal Deity, is both preceded and succeeded by a speech from the Son. Both speeches are 23 lines each (VI.723–45 and 801–23), two of only four speeches of that length by the Son. While the other two speeches concern mercy (III.144–66 and XI.22–44), these central two speeches, flanking the Son's defeat of Satan, appropriately concern justice. Including the two speeches, the passage extends 101 lines, leaving 55 lines of narrative between the speeches. After 39 lines of this narrative (746–84), the point of view changes from that of the loyal angels to that of the rebel angels. This change in perspective is consequently 62 lines from the beginning of the 101-line passage and 39 lines from the end of the passage. All of the divisions mentioned thus far are marked by a full point at the end of each subsection. Although the metrical centre of the whole poem, 'Ascended' (VI.762), does not come after a full stop, it does fall at a structurally conspicuous point in the local passage: 39 lines from the beginning and 62 lines from the end of the 101-line passage. This symbol of the Resurrection and Ascension, therefore, is placed at the symmetrical centre of the poem as a whole, and at the divine proportion of its local passage.

Figure A. Diagram of *Paradise Lost* VI.723–823



This analysis does not necessarily deny the presence of number symbolism, as Gunnar Qvarnström's citation of Bongo's association of the number 23 with 'the joint operation of Justice and Mercy' seems of valid relevance to these four speeches

of 23 lines each.[66] But given that all the conspicuous units of length in this passage belong to an additive series (16, 23, 39, 62, 101), it seems interpretively justified to assume the presence of a mathematical progression. The dubious procedure of searching for numerological meanings for the other integers—for instance, the 'hundredfold increase' apparently symbolised by the centuple (that is, 101)[67]—and forcing the supposed meanings of each length into some kind of relationship with each other that is meaningful, recommends the alternative conclusion that the structure of the passage has a mathematical basis.

d. Book III, lines 227–65

The fourth ascension passage uses the same passage lengths just seen in Book VI. Interspersed between three speeches by the Father are two speeches by the Son, comprised of 23 verses (lines 144–66) and 39 verses (227–65). The first speech is also the first of the Son's four 23-line speeches on mercy (here and XI.22–44) and justice (VI.723–45 and 801–23), whose subjects and relationship to each other are implicitly announced in the conclusion of the Father's first speech: 'in Mercy and Justice both, / Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glorie excel, / But Mercy first and last shall brightest shine' (III.132–34).[68] The son's second speech, like the Book XII passage, pivots around the resurrection—'But I shall rise victorious' (3.250)—which splits the speech into 23 and 16 verses. The appearance of the same constituent groups of 16, 23, and 39 lines in Book VI, where the additive series is extended to 62 and 101, suggests a consistent compositional technique.

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[66] Qvarnström, *Enchanted Palace*, p. 107.
[67] John Fleming, 'The Centuple Structure of the *Pearl*', in *The Alliterative Tradition in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Bernard S. Levy and Paul E. Szarmach (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1981), pp. 81–98.
[68] Qvarnström, *Enchanted Palace*, p. 101.

4. The 'Divine Proportion'

In algebraic terms, the division of a line into extreme and mean ratio is the additive equation (a + b = c) in geometrical proportion (a/b = b/c), yielding the algebraic definition of the division into extreme and mean ratio: a + b = b/(a + b). But because this so-called 'divine proportion' is not commensurable, that is, it will always be irrational, then any additive series—whose adjacent terms always approach this proportion as its terms increase in magnitude[69]—becomes a symbol of the divine proportion that is compatible with whole numbers. The fact that such proportions cannot be commonly found in paragraphs in *Paradise Lost* suggests that it is not a pattern easily read into any section chosen at random. The fact that both of the instances in Book III and VI are from passages either literally or metaphorically about the Resurrection and Ascension supports the thesis that Milton incorporated such patterns sparingly and in significant passages. But at this point we should consider the theoretical and historical basis for discerning in *Paradise Lost* mathematical proportions in general and the divine proportion in particular.

a. Proportional form in poetic theory

Although Milton read Vitruvius and assigned it to his pupils,[70] we need not resort to it or to the more recent architectural treatises of Alberti or Palladio which appeal to mathematical proportion in design, and argue only from analogy that contemporary literary theory would have comparably assumed that poetic constructions should likewise exhibit such harmonies. Treatises on literary artifice in England applied such theories of proportion directly to poetry. In 1598, George

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[69] The additive series whose terms reach the divine proportion (approximated in decimal form as 0.618034 or 1.618034) the most swiftly is the Fibonacci series (0,1,1,2,3,5,8,13,21,34,55,89...). For example, 5/8 = 0.625 and 8/5 = 1.6, but 55/89 = 0.617978 and 89/55 = 1.618182, very close approximations of the ratio.

[70] Edward Phillips, 'The Life of Mr. John Milton', in Milton, *Letters of State* (London, 1694), Wing M2126, p. xvii.

Puttenham opens the 'Second Booke' of his anonymously published *Arte of English Poesie* with the statement: 'It is said by such as professe the Mathematicall sciences, that all things stand by proportion, and that without it nothing could stand to be good or beautiful.'[71] He is not setting up such a dogmatic assertion of mathematical form in order to contradict it when it comes to poetic art, but to endorse and elaborate on the point with respect to poetry. The central section of his book is dedicated to the subject of 'proportion poetical', by which he means the formal structures of metrification, but his emphasis is on symmetry of form from rhyme (pp. 70–73) to shape (pp. 75–81).

In 1602, Thomas Campion wrote 'the last, and subtlest, of the forlorn Elizabethan attempts to regulate English verse by the rules of classical metrics'.[72] Mostly concerned with the finer points of prosody, *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* comprises only 43 pages, and five of them are devoted to 'the vnaptnesse of Rime in Poesie'.[73] The opening chapter, however, makes an explicit analogy between cosmic harmony and poetry:

> The world is made by Simmetry and proportion, and is in that respect compared to Musick, and Musick to Poetry: for *Terence* saith speaking of Poets, *artem qui tractant musicam,* confounding musick and Poesy together. What musick can there be where there is no proportion obserued?[74]

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[71] [George Puttenham], *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589), p. 53. The attribution to Puttenham is still not certain but he is considered the most likely candidate for authorship.
[72] David Lindley, 'Campion, Thomas (1567–1620)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, 60 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), IX.
[73] Thomas Campion, *Observations in the Art of English Poesie* (London, 1602), STC 4543, pp. 3 –7.
[74] Ibid., p. 2.

David Richardson has observed the 'golden mean' in Campion's music as well as poetic texts,[75] but how would Milton specifically have become familiar with what become known in the sixteenth century as the 'divine proportion'?

b. Milton's sources for the 'divine proportion'

Milton confessed his love of mathematics in *Defensio Secunda*, where he says that during his first five post-collegiate years—while living in Hammersmith and then Horton evidently[76]—he used to exchange 'the country for the city, either to purchase books or to become acquainted with some new discovery in mathematics or music, in which I then took the keenest pleasure'.[77] As both pupil and tutor, Milton would have been familiar with the Euclidian concept of *akros kai mesos logos* (extreme and mean ratio) from the *Elements*, Book VI (definition 3 and proposition 30). Billingsley's 1570 translation of Euclid's definition (VI, def. 3) is: 'A right line is sayd to be deuided by an extreme and meane proportion, when the whole is to the greater part, as the greater part is to the lesse. [...] *Commonly it is called* a line divided by proportion having a meane and two extremes' (italics reversed).[78]

The text of the *Elements* that had the most currency in the later Middle Ages was a Latin text in the Arabic tradition of Euclid which Campanus of Novara prepared, with *additiones*, in the thirteenth century. It was first printed by Erhard Ratdolt (Venice, 1482), with new editions of his text, including one instigated by

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[75] David A. Richardson, 'The Golden Mean in Campion's Airs', *Comparative Literature*, 30.2 (Spring 1978), 108–32.

[76] Milton lived with his father in Hammersmith (seven miles from London) from 1632 to 1635 or '36 and thereafter in Horton (seventeen miles from London) until he departed for his continental tour in 1638; see Campbell and Corns, *John Milton*, pp. 67 and 88.

[77] John Milton, *A Second Defense of the English People*, trans. by Helen North, *Complete Prose Works of John Milton*, ed. by Don M. Wolfe, 8 vols. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953–82), IV (1966), p. 614. The original reads: 'ita tamen ut nonnunquam, rus urbe mutarem, aut coemendorum gratia librorum, aut novum quidpiam in Mathematicis, vel in Musicis, quibus tum oblectabar, addiscendi' (*Pro populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda* (London, 1654), Wing M2171, p. 83).

[78] Euclid, *Elements*, trans. by Billingsley, fol. 153v.

Luca Pacioli (Venice, 1509), being stimulated by the 1505 appearance of a fresh Latin translation from Greek by Bartolomeo Zamberti, who was highly critical of the medieval text's shortcomings.[79] I quote Campanus from a 1516 edition that provocatively printed the texts of both Campanus and Zamberti in a single volume, their respective renditions of every paragraph in fact alternating on each page. Campanus elaborates on the supplementary Book XIV, proposition 10:

> ¶ Mirabilis itaq[ue] est potentia lineæ secundum proportionem habentem medium duoq[ue] extrema diuisæ. Cui cū[m] plurima [sic] philosophantium admiratione digna cōueniant: hoc principium vel præcipuū[m] ex superiorum principiorum inuariabili procedit natura vt tam diuersa solida tum magnitudine tum basium numero tū[m] etiā[m] figura irrationali quadam symphonia rationabiliter conciliet.[80]
>
> [Wonderful therefore is the power of a line divided according to a ratio having a mean and two extremes: since most things worthy of the philosophers' admiration accord with it, this foundation or pre-eminence proceeds from the invariable nature of higher foundations, that a certain harmony can rationally unite solids that are so diverse, first in magnitude, then in the number of bases, then too in their irrational shape.[81]]

Having compared this passage to Latin and Arabic commentaries and finding no possible source, Roger Herz-Fischler concludes that it originated with Campanus, and perhaps represents the beginning of the division into extreme and mean ratio being accorded special esteem for its properties.[82]

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[79] John Murdoch, 'Euclid: Transmission of the Elements', in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. by Charles Coulston Gillispie, 14 vols (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970–76), IV (1971), pp. 437–59 (p. 448).

[80] Euclid, Campanus, Zamberti, and Hypsicles, *Evclidis Megarensis Geometricorum elemētorum libri XV. Campani Galli trāsalpini in eosdem cōmentariorum libri XV. Theonis Alexandrini Bartholamæo Zamberto Veneto interprete, in tredecim priores, commentariorum libri XIII. Hypsiclis Alexādrini in duos posteriores, eodē Bartholamæo Zamberto Veneto interprete, commētariorum libri II.* (Paris, 1516), Sydney Jones Library shelfmark E.P.II.4.E812.1, fol. 250r.

[81] Roger Herz-Fischler, *A Mathematical History of the Golden Number* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 1998), p. 171. It was originally published as *A Mathematical History of Division into Extreme and Mean Ratio* (Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1987).

[82] Ibid.

The ratio was given its apotheosis by the aforementioned Pacioli, who first attributed a 'divine' quality to it in his famous 1509 treatise. Pacioli's advocacy of the proportion's interdisciplinary relevance is evident from the title-page statement:

> Diuina proportione[:] Opera a tutti glingegni perspicaci e curiosi necessaria Oue ciascun studioso di Philosophia: Prospectiua Pictura Sculptura: Architectura: Musica: e altre Mathematice: suauissima: sottile : e admirabile doctrina consequira: e delectarassi: cõ varie questione de secretissima scientia.[83]

In lieu of specific evidence of Milton's familiarity with the treatise, we will pass over the content of Pacioli's interpretation of the division into mean and extreme ratio.[84] Alternatively, an authority we know that Milton strongly endorsed is Petrus Ramus, whose logic he adapted in *Artis Logicae*.[85] Even if Milton never came into direct contact with Pacioli's text, he probably would have encountered a paraphrase of the same ideas in Ramus's own adaptation of Euclid with commentary. In the tenth book of *Scholarum Mathematicorum Libri XXXI*, while discussing *Elements* II.11, Ramus speaks of

> totis mysteriis corporum ordinatorum quę imprimis sectione ista proportionali continentur. Deniq; Christianis quibusdana divina quædam proportio hic animadversa est, ut inde una trinitas, & unitas trina conciperetur, quæ tota sit in toto, & in parte qualibet, totum in magno, totum in parvo, principium unicum pulcherrimum ac beatissimum.[86]
>
> [all the mysteries of the regular bodies which [depend] principally on that proportional section. Finally a certain divine proportion was noticed here by certain Christians so that from it one trinity and a threefold unity were conceived which is complete in its entirety and

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[83] Luca Pacioli, *Divina proportione* ([Venice], [1509]), sig. Ai^{r}.
[84] It is summarised in Johnson, 'Milton's Mathematical Symbol of Theodicy', p. 619.
[85] John Milton, *Artis Logicæ Plenior Institutio, ad Petri Rami Methodum concinnata, Adjecta est praxis Annalytica* [sic] *& Petri Rami vita* (London, 1572), LoC NC745.A2 P3, Wing M2093.
[86] Petrus Ramus, *Scholarvm Mathematicarum Libri Unus et Triginta. Dudum quidem à Lazaro Schonero recogniti & aucti, nunc verò in postrema hac editione innumeris locis emendati & locupletati* (Frankfurt, 1527), p. 191.

> in any part; a single principle complete in large [part], complete in small [part] which is most beautiful and most blessed.[87]]

Such an O Altitudo from Ramus is all the more notable because it is so uncharacteristic of his usually sceptical attitude towards theory, including Euclid's proofs.

The popular application in our own day of the epithet 'golden' to terms such as ratio, section, mean, and number appears to have begun in Germany in 1835 ('goldene Schnitt').[88] The first English usage was in 1864, as 'golden number', so use of the term in reference to the early modern period is anachronistic.[89] Attributing generically divine properties to the ratio, and drawing a more specific comparison between it and the tri-unity of the Christian Godhead, are characteristic of numerology in their associations of an abstract concept to a mathematical equation. But the argument that the so-called divine proportion is meaningful by lone virtue of its proportionality is not an aesthetic claim. It is not claiming—like when the golden section is applied to the dimensions of a canvas—that it is visually attractive or pleasing. It is claiming simply that the elements of the ratio are holistically unified by virtue of being in right proportion, that is, of its parts being in an ideal relation to each other.

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[87] Herz-Fischler, *Mathematical History*, p. 173.
[88] For documentation and bibliography see Herz-Fischler, *Mathematical History*, pp. 167–70. Nonetheless, Edward Condren, *The Numerical Universe of the Gawain-Pearl Poet: Beyond Phi* (University of Florida Press, 2002), p. 32, relates the epithet 'golden' to Kepler's comparison of the Pythagorean theorem to a 'measure of gold' in a passage that also praises 'the division of a line into extreme and mean ratio'. The latter, however, is explicitly compared by Kepler to a precious jewel in contrast to gold.
[89] Herz-Fischler, *Mathematical History*, p. 178.

5. Formal Revision in the Second Edition of *Paradise Lost*

In Chapter III we saw why Milton would have added a total of fifteen lines to the poem. But why did he distribute those additions across the poem, in the specific passages he did? The specificity of Milton's insertion of verses in Books III and VIII can be accounted for by the desire to better align their books with the divine proportion, while an improvement of conventional symmetry can account for his insertions in Book XII.

a. Book VIII (+3 lines)

In 1965, John Shawcross introduced the possibility of proportional relationships between different books in *Paradise Lost*, recommending without further comment that 'investigation of the arithmetical golden mean (.618), such as exists between book III and old book VIII, will add another dimension to the complex pattern of *Paradise Lost*'.[90] In *With Mortal Voice*, Shawcross is more precise in his description of this relationship: 'Book VIII represents .616 of the total lines in the two books, and Book III, .384.'[91] Shawcross's calculations stumble in the next sentence, however, where his citation of Book I (798 lines) and the original Book VII (1290 lines) actually has a stronger claim to observing the divine proportion but is sold short by a mathematical error. Shawcross claims that 'Book VII [in the first edition] represents .613 of the total lines of the two books, and Book I, .387'.[92] In fact, 1290/(798 + 1290) = 0.6178, much closer to 0.618.

However, Shawcross's method of dividing the length of a book by the sum total of two books together is curious. Since *Paradise Lost* contains only full pentameter lines, it would seem to be a better representation of accuracy in terms of

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[90] John Shawcross, 'The Balanced Structure of *Paradise Lost*,' *Studies in Philology*, 62.5 (October 1965), 696–718 (p. 712).
[91] Shawcross, *With Mortal Voice*, p. 62.
[92] Ibid., p. 63.

poetic structure to multiply the length of either the longer book by 0.618034, or the shorter book by 1.618034, in order to find how far the length of the other book is from the precise calculation. Using this method, we find that Book III (742 lines) is more than seven lines longer than 61.8034 percent of Book VIII (1189 lines, Book IX in 1674), and Book VIII more than eleven lines shorter than the length of Book III multiplied by 1.618034. Less accurate decimal approximations only increase the discrepancy. The size of these gaps suggests that a proportional relationship between these two books is not mathematically apparent and was most likely not intended.

By contrast, Book I (798 lines) is less than one line-length away from the precise divine proportion of the line total of the first edition's Book VII (1290 lines), which is about 797.264. However, that calculation is achieved using a very close approximation of the proportion (1290/1.618034). There is no reason to expect that Milton knew such a precise decimal approximation; he would have used a less precise but more easily computable approximation for his calculations, and if my analysis below of Book V is also correct, then the most likely candidate is 1.62.

If in the process of revision Milton used this approximation to gauge the proportion between Books I and the original VII, it would have made 1290 lines seem too short. Milton could have performed this computation in his head using, for example, Simon Stevin's simple method of decimal arithmetic published in 1585, that is, by conceiving of 1.62 as 162 items of the unit 0.01.[93] With this method, 798 x 1.62 can easily be computed mentally using nothing but addition and subtraction:

1.62 = 162 items of 0.01

162 + 162 = 324 (= 162 x 2)

[93] Simon Stevin, *De Thiende* (Leyden, 1585), BL shelfmark C.54.e.11. The method is explained in M.G.J. Minnaert, 'Stevin, Simon', in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, ed. by Charles Coulston Gillispie, 14 vols (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970–76), XIII (1976), pp. 47–51 (p. 48).

324 + 324 = 648 (= 162 x 4)

648 + 648 = 1296 (= 162 x 8)

1296 x 100 = 129600 (= 162 x 800)

129600 – 324 = 129276 (= 162 x 798)

129276 items of 0.01 = 1292.76 (= 1.62 x 798)

Rounded to the nearest whole number, 1293, we see that Milton would have been impelled to add three lines to the combined total of the new Books VII and VIII, which is exactly how many lines he added at the beginning of Book VIII.

Most importantly, it makes sense that Books I and VII plus VIII would be associated in such a way because the action related in each of them is parallel in the chronology of events in the poem. Following the defeat of Satan related indirectly by Raphael at the end of Book VI, the nine-day fall of the rebellious angels is, as it were, resumed in Book I which follows the timeline in hell, while Book VII continues the timeline in heaven with Raphael's narration of the creation of the cosmos. Thus the reader's original view of events at the beginning of the poem is eclipsed by the revelation of what was taking place concurrently in heaven and the whole cosmos, just as the poetic scope of Book VII supersedes the metrical length of Book I to the ideal degree of the divine proportion. We have seen how in the formal microstructure of Books III, VI, and XII the divine proportion is associated with both the Resurrection and Ascension, which are ascents to a higher mode of being, one material (the translation from corruptible body to spiritual body) and the other spatial (the traversal from life on earth to life in heaven). Here, in the formal macrostructure we see that it similarly reflects an ascent from an infernal plane (Book I) to the events happening simultaneously on a superior plane (Book VII).

b. Book V (+3 lines)

Raphael's narrative in Books V–VIII (V–VII in the first edition) begins quite late in Book V, over half of the way through the book. It begins at noon, breaking the 12-hour chronology of Books V–VIII right in half:

> And we have yet large day, for scarce the Sun
> Hath finisht half his journey, and scarce begins
> His other half in the great Zone of Heav'n.
> Thus Adam made request, and Raphael
> After short pause assenting, thus began. (V.558–62)

As noted above, the only thematic break that Franicis Blessington makes in the middle of a book is here, between lines 560 and 561. So there is independent critical testimony that this is a natural point of division based on content. This division is the threshold through which an angel raises the imagination of his human listeners from their terrestrial plane to the heights of heaven.

Comparable to what we saw in Book VIII, the precise increase in Book V from 904 lines to 907 can be explained if Milton calculated the divine proportion from this point in the book by multiplying 560 by 1.62, which yields exactly 907.2. Approximations to either side of 1.62 produce results further afield: 560 x 1.61 = 901.6, while 560 x 1.63 = 912.8. Multiplying 560 even by such minimal adjustments as 1.619 and 1.621 yields calculations further away from 907 (906.64 and 907.76 respectively). It would also be more satisfactory for Milton to add lines to increase the proportionality rather than to divide the first edition's 904 lines and delete two lines from the first half of Book V.

As mentioned in the last chapter, the primary consequence of meaning of the revision at 636–40 is the allusion created by replacing 'refection' with 'communion'. This allusion reinforces rather than retreats from the significance of the War in Heaven as a typological Easter weekend, and underscores the

significance of the poetic midpoint as a prolepsis of the Resurrection and Ascension, with their formal connections to the divine proportion. On its own this substitution of a word would not have affected the line total, and in terms of content the three additional lines are almost insubstantial by comparison. But by expanding the scope of consequence to include formal considerations, the three inserted lines become more integral as a revision that improves the proportionality of the Book V to produce an extremely precise expression of the divine proportion.

c. Book XI (+4 lines)

Let us turn to lines 629–33 of Book XI, which read:

> To whom thus *Adam* of short joy bereft.
> O pittie and shame, that they who to live well
> Enterd so faire, should turn aside to tread
> Paths indirect, or in the mid way faint!
> But still I see the tenor of Mans woe
> Holds on the same, from Woman to begin.

Fowler observes that Adam's word 'midway' in line 631 occurs exactly midway through the visions of the antediluvian world, counting from the first line of the first vision to the last line of the fifth vision (XI.422–839).[94] He does not point out, however, that this symmetry obtains only in the second edition, after Milton had added four lines in lines 485–87 and 551–52. Since they are the most literarily dubious of all the revisions in the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, it is not hard to believe they were used to rectify the symmetry of Book XI, especially since in the twelve-book reorganisation, Adam's visions are now emphasised as a distinct unit in their own book. A short word on the practical logistics of how such multifaceted revisions could be accomplished is perhaps appropriate before closing.

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[94] Fowler, 'Introduction', p. 632. It should also be noted that in the first edition of *Paradise Lost* this passage ended before the error in lineation that begins in all copies at line 880 of Book X.

d. Textual management during composition

Our information about Milton's process of composition is consistent with the careful management of both local passages and whole books. Such micromanagement of lengths of verse-paragraphs is entirely consistent with the practice of an author who composed in modular chunks. Richardson records the observation that Milton 'would Dictate many, perhaps 40 Lines as it were in a Breath, and then reduce them to half the Number'.[95] The compositional states of 'At a Solemn Musick' in the Trinity Manuscript record this process in action. Even as a sighted poet, Milton first writes thirty lines, then omits groups of lines together in his next version of the poem.[96] Research into the manuscript of *De Doctrina Christiana* also provides us with a model of how a blind Milton would have managed the process of composition and revision of discrete passages within a very long work. As Milton adds and revises material, his amanuensis records it in the margin, until a page is full and it is transcribed with amendments onto fresh pages (with empty margins in case of further additions), which take the place of the previous page.[97] The fair-copy manuscript of Book I of *Paradise Lost*, furthermore, contains line numbers in the margins, so their appearance in the first edition was not just an affectation of print but a part of the pre-publication mode of the poem's existence.[98]

By dividing the poem into fascicules, as the extant manuscript also suggests, Milton and his amanuenses were also able to manage the composition of books

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[95] Jonathan Richardson, *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (London, 1734), p. cxiv.
[96] John Milton, *Poems: Reproduced in Facsimile from the Manuscript in Trinity College, Cambridge* (Menston Ilkley, England: Scolar Press, 1970), pp. 4–5.
[97] Gordon Campbell, Thomas N. Corns, John K. Hale, and Finoa J. Tweedie, *Milton and the Manuscript of 'De Doctrina Christiana'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 55
[98] John Milton, *The Manuscript of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' Book I*, ed. by Helen Darbishire (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931).

individually.[99] A description of how Milton worked on *De Doctrina* is equally applicable to his process of composition of the poem: 'Milton could have worked and reworked his thesis, chapter by chapter; selecting on Milton's direction a fascicule from his shelves, any helper [...] could have read to him, over and again, [any passage], which could be held in memory long enough to allow revision, addition and reorganization.'[100] Hale's representation of Milton 'in the throes of composition' may fairly reflect his initial dictations during a session of composition.[101] But the report of Richardson that Milton would reduce his 'unpremeditated verse' (IX.24) through a process of immediate refinement to sometimes half the length of his original utterance, suggests that spontaneous inspiration or an unselfconscious profusion of material cannot account for the length of the original Book X, as Hale contends.[102] Moreover, the words of the invocation of Book VII, 'Half yet remaines unsung' (line 21), suggest that Milton maintained a very clear awareness the lengths of each book throughout composition, and possibly intended all along for the last four books of the original ten to be of longer average length than the first six. Milton's well-practised system of composition, begun as a young poet, and his adaptation of that system to his blindness enabled him to make use of symmetry and the divine proportion in delimiting the lengths of both verse-paragraphs and whole books.

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[99] Campbell, et al, *Milton and the Manuscript*, pp. 45–47 and 63–64.
[100] Ibid., p. 47.
[101] Hale, '*Paradise Lost*: A Poem in Twelve Books, or Ten?', p. 146.
[102] Ibid.

CONCLUSION

The Culture of Revision was an inescapable phenomenon for any bookseller in the seventeenth century. Samuel Simmons was no exception and *Paradise Lost* was subject to the same demands of the market as any other text, regardless of genre. Milton's practice of revision was extremely selective. As his revisions to his shorter poetry attest, his changes had significant consequence and were neither frivolous nor of questionable merit. But his revisions to the second edition of *Paradise Lost* do not fit this pattern. When Milton's revisions in Books V, VIII, and XI are analysed for the content alone, they do not seem as consequential to meaning as Milton's revisions either in his 1673 *Poems* or in Book I of *Paradise Lost*. But when they are analysed as verses that contribute not just to the material but also to the formal structure of the poem, they emerge as being not so inconsequential. On the contrary, they are carefully measured insertions that can only be the lengths that they are, not one line shorter or longer. Similarly, they must also be in the specific books that they are, indeed, in the specific parts of each book, in order to serve both the symmetry of the Son's ascent to the Chariot of Paternal Deity, as well as the proportional forms of their specific books.

In his blindness, Milton invented a working model of prelapsarian astronomy to lend verisimilitude to his cosmos, and implemented it throughout the poem, as if mere background detail, with a high degree of consistency. It is hardly incredible that such an intellect would have been able to manage the lengths of books and verse paragraphs that were easily quantifiable in material form, in contrast to the conceptual figures and mathematics necessary to maintain his astronomical intrigue.

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