INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.

2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.

3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.

4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.

5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

University Microfilms International
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 USA
St. John's Road, Tyler's Green
High Wycombe, Bucks, England HP10 8HR

77-20,513

MAROTTA, Richard Joseph, 1948-
MILTON AND THE ART OF THE CATALOGUE.

City University of New York, Ph.D., 1977
Literature, English

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© 1977

RICHARD JOSEPH MAROTTA

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

MILTON AND THE ART OF THE CATALOGUE

by

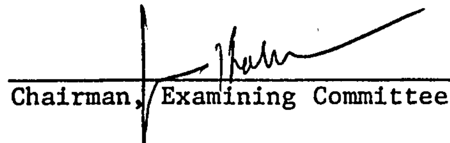
RICHARD J. MAROTTA

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

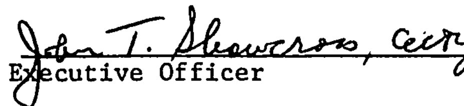
1977

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in English in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 17, 1977
date


Chairman, Examining Committee

May 17, 1977
date


Executive Officer

Samuel I. Mintz

Supervisory Committee

The City University of New York

Preface

This study of the catalogue grew out of a number of questions concerning the idea of listing and stacking in the poems of Milton. Many of these initial questions were raised in classes at the Graduate Center and in discussions with students and faculty alike. One of the first insights into the catalogue, of course, came from Milton's editors, who usually acknowledge Homer or Virgil as the classical source for a particular catalogue; what the editors never really did, and this was what began to create interest in this subject, was to suggest what the role and the technique of the catalogue actually was in Milton's poetry.

Another problem that surfaced once this study began to look into the art of the catalogue was the absence of a critical language with which to discuss this trope on a level that would do justice to its use in major poems. At first this was a genuine problem because of the necessity to deal with poems like _The Iliad_ or _The Aeneid_ which had clearly placed an emphasis on their catalogues as more than ornaments. Chapter One is an attempt to distinguish between metaphor and catalogue, so that some of the language with which metaphor is usually discussed could be transferred to the catalogue and that differences between these two tropes would also lead to a language that captured the art of the catalogue. The fact that critics talk about metaphor in very different terms than the catalogue pointed at some basic dissimilarities between these tropes.

Out of this discussion of metaphor arose the idea

that the catalogue has a different frame of reference than other literary devices, and that that frame is essentially spatial. What becomes apparent at this point is that the catalogue resembles, in many ways, the organizational patterns of the visual arts. Because of these similarities, Chapter Two defines and utilizes the language of art criticism as a means of pointing out the process by which a catalogue is created and how the effectiveness of cataloguing (in literary situations) depends upon the visual array.

With these preliminary theoretical possibilities in mind, Chapter Three discusses the sources for the Miltonic catalogue as well as some rather important catalogues from antiquity that had no direct influence on Milton. An examination of Homer, Hesiod, Virgil, and even _The Book of Chronicles_, makes it clear that far from being an anomaly, the catalogue is a very vital literary device that was used for reasons of history, heroism, genealogy and prophecy. Chapter Three, therefore, not only investigates these early examples as sources for Milton but also as primary methods of dealing with memory, mutability and continuity.

A further use of the art of the catalogue can be seen in triumphs and processions, which clearly indicate an alternative technique to the static vision of the epic catalogue. The triumph redefines the idea of listing much more in terms of movement and by doing so becomes a distinct trope for the presentation and examination of mutability and permanence. This is discussed in Chapter Four.

The fifth chapter discusses the catalogue in Milton's poetry, and also integrates the findings of the earlier chapters into the final analysis. Milton's use of the catalogue can be divided into five categories: epic, temptation, thaumaturgic, prophetic and triumphal (covered in Chapter Four). All of these categories, with the exception of temptation, can be found in the other major practitioners of this art. The results of this discussion are most clearly seen in Milton's use of the prophetic catalogue in _Paradise Lost_, Books XI and XII, which integrate the catalogue into the total vision of the loss and recovery of Paradise.

Table of Contents

	page
Preface	4
Chapter One: Metaphor and Catalogue	9
Chapter Two: Spatial Dimensions	36
Chapter Three: Classical Backgrounds	89
Chapter Four: Triumphs, Processions and Rhetoric	130
Chapter Five: Milton: (a) epic	176
(b) temptation	204
(c) thaumaturgic	210
(d) prophetic	224
Bibliography	250

List of Illustrations

page

Fra Filippo Lippi, "Feast of Herod" 45

Veneziano, "The Annunciation" 47

Botticelli, "Primavera" 49

Botticelli, "Venus and Mars" 51

Giorgione, "Fête Champêtre" 55

Andrea del Castagno, "The Vision of St. Jerome" 64

Andrea del Sarto, "The Assumption of the Virgin" 65

Titian, "Sacred and Profane Love" 67

Raphael, "Pope Leo with Cardinals Julio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi" 70

Sassetta, "St. Francis in Ecstasy" 71

Marcovaldo, "Last Judgment" 72

Bellini, "Transfiguration" 74

Da Vinci, "Last Supper" 75

Botticelli, "Birth of Venus" 78

In his commentary on Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" in Book II of the *Iliad*, Alexander Pope recognized that this catalogue was a reaffirmation of the nature and the achievement of heroic language. No other commentator has confronted Homer's catalogue as a monolithic attempt to surmount the accumulated particulars of history by arranging them into a coherent and poetic shape. Homer's success, carefully remarked by Pope, suggests that the catalogue was and remains a complex trope, utilizing the arrangement of particulars into imaginative patterns. These particulars emerge from the prolix nature of human experience and the subsequent impulse to organize that prolixity without sacrificing the particular vitality of single examples. One major type of poetic shape resulting from this encounter between prolixity and order is the catalogue.

The catalogue, then, is an Herculean device that in its earliest appearance deals with an abundance of historical particulars. Pope's commentary on Homer's invocation to the catalogue of ships captures in a few lines the energy, dynamism and intellectual vastness in the idea of the catalogue itself: "It is hard to conceive any Address more solemn, any opening to a subject more noble and magnificent, than this invocation of Homer before his Catalogue."[1] Pope emphasizes the invocation because it is not only part of the conventional apparatus of the epic catalogue but also underscores the problem of memory, thereby raising the important question of the encyclopaedic nature of cataloguing. This question of difficulty suggested to Pope that the catalogue is a special type of poetic language,

which Homer himself approached with care, and that the catalogue is not an ordinary trope or figure; it is something special, something deserving of announcement and invocation.

Not all catalogues are literary ones, or tropes, in the critical sense of device. Some catalogues, such as directories, sales catalogues, etc., are really lists; some possess principles of inclusion and even principles of order and grouping. A non-literary list has as its purpose the arrangement of particulars into an order that provides access and convenience. But the literary catalogue goes beyond ideas of access and creates meanings that relate to the literary context in which it is found. Non-literary lists usually lack a context in which to generate meaning, so that a marketing list, which contains items to be purchased and which may even arrange those items according to the isles in a shop, still does not create meaning by its arrangement or its inclusiveness. The catalogue is more than this type of container, because it not only arranges material but also uses the order and the inclusion for the sake of meaning. A list of flowers to be purchased at a florist's does not have the same significance as Milton's "Catalogue of Flowers" in Lycidas, because the poem, Lycidas, provides an ethos in which the particular flowers become part of a larger sense of meaning; whereas the purchasing list has no ethos other than exigency.

In the non-literary list, the purpose for listing is always the same: to arrange material, names, items, etc., in such a way that they can be remembered, followed or found; once the appropriate access is achieved, then, there is no

further discovery of meaning. The literary catalogue may have many different levels of meaning, depending on the nature of the context in which it is found. Unlike the non-literary list, which is self-contained, the catalogue because of its tropical nature rejects the idea of simple containment and joins into the active and dynamic framework of poetic meaning.

Another important quality in the literary catalogue is the special position it occupies in an epic poem. There are no famous examples announcing that a metaphor is about to occur; metaphor occurs as part of the complex poetic texture without interruption or special preparation. But Pope's comment on this invocation suggests that as commentator and translator, he recognized that Homer's catalogue was a special addition to the usual state of poetics. The reader (or listener) is prepared for the catalogue by the invocation and also informed of its special quality by the poet's and commentator's remarks; this is certainly an unusual enough poetic situation to raise a number of important questions concerning the nature of this special kind of poetic language.

The invocation to the catalogue begins to delineate the boundaries within which this poetic act occurs. The catalogue is part of the poem, this is clear; it reacts with other parts of the poem, that too is clear; and it reacts with elements in the poetic super-structure, this is unmistakable clear. But the invocation, the ethos of the task of inclusiveness, and the struggle with the mass of

particular details suggest that the catalogue has a unique relationship to its poetic text.

Pope's commentary continues to use the language of dignity and heroism as he enunciates the problem of difficulty and the subsequent problem of separateness:

> Nor is anything more perfectly fine or equisitely moral, than the Opposition of the extensiveknowledge of the Divinities on the one side, to the blindness and Ignorance of mankind on the other. The Greatness and Importance of his Subject is highly rais'd by his exalted manner of Declaring the Difficulty of it. 2

This declaration of difficulty is in many ways part of the convention of disclosing a poetic task as an impossible one and then proceeding to perform it; moreover, Pope also touched upon the way in which the invocation contrasts the catalogue's delineation of particulars against the accumulated particulars of history. There are no ideal metaphors against which to measure a particular metaphor, nor are there ideal synecdoches against which to make a similar comparison. Pope realized that the catalogue must confront the possibility of failure in its attempt to give poetic shape to these particulars, which involves more than ignorant-man-versus-the-all-knowing-God; it involves the struggle of a particular act of knowledge confronting the amorphous mass of universal knowledge and memory. The more intense a catalogue is in matters of particulars, the closer it comes to approaching poetic accuracy, whereas a metaphor's proximity to truth lies

not in a quantified vision but in a qualitative correspondence. The catalogue achieves excellence by delineating a distinct poetic shape from the overwhelming mass of particulars which it confronts.

The success achieved by cataloguing depends on how effectively the poet deals with questions such as inclusiveness and exclusiveness. The very important question of naming as both a means of confirming identity as well as limiting identity is also part of the total ethos created by Homer's listing of the ships and the warriors. When Pope translates,

> What crowded Armies, from what Climes they bring,
> Their Names, their Number, and their Chiefs I sing. [3]
> (Il. II. 584-85)

the idea of the importance of naming and listing demands a recognition of the poetic significance of pronouncing a name. Naming itself will become a paradisal act in *Paradise Lost*; here in the *Iliad*, it is not a paradisal act but an heroic act because by naming the warriors, the poet offers to preserve their identity, personality and culture. From the first entry,

> The hardy warriors from Boeotia bred,
> Peneleus, Leitus, Prothonoenor led:
> (IL. II. 587-88)

to the last,

> The warlike Bands that distant Lycia yields,
> Where gulphy Xanthus foams along the Fields.
> (Il. II. 1070-71)

the poet's act of naming adds to the splendor of the heroic list.

In addition to reaffirming identity, naming also seeks to capture historical truth and avoid the very serious error of historical inaccuracy. In Lattimore's translation the effectiveness of the catalogue depends very much on how reliable the information listed in the catalogue can be; this reliability underscores the invocation to the Muse since the Muse is really the only source from whom it is possible to gather a true list of heroes. The most serious hindrance to this accuracy is Rumor, which Homer shuns with the help of the Muse:

> and we have heard only the rumour of it and know nothing. 4

There is a theory of seriousness in the statement about Rumor that requires the catalogue to be as accurate as possible. Rumor is a fallen version of the true poetic history of Troy that Homer clearly wants to avoid, and the very fact that a great distance separates Homer from his subject adds to the need for a truthful catalogue; in fact, the catalogue is one device for dealing with the ephmeral nature of the oral tradition and the nature of oral history.

For Cicero, Quintilian, and Erasmus tropes such as metaphor and metonymy assist in furthering articulation and amplification; in fact, Erasmus' work is entitled, <u>On the Copia of Words and Ideas</u> and deals primarily with amplification.

The inevitable comparison between copia and cataloguing is really based on a slightly confused understanding of copia. According to Erasmus, copia is the elaboration of ideas and thoughts through a successful amplification of thoughts and words. He believed that the successful practice of copia involved the enriching and expanding of a subject to the extent that nothing further could be added. This is not the same process as cataloguing: copia focuses on a subject and on the possibility of amplifying that subject until it can be appreciated in a complex manner. Erasmus makes it very clear that copia is an approach towards a subject, using undetectable repetition as its mode of amplification:

> Accordingly our precepts will be directed to this...that you may be able to amplify by copia in such a way that there is no redundancy. [5]

A catalogue does not pretend to be a structural principle no more than does a metaphor; each belongs entirely within the boundaries of its textual source. Homer's catalogue of ships does not amplify his subject in such a way that there is no redundancy; instead of amplifying the theme of the epic, the catalogue limits the manner in which and to whom that theme can be applied. Faced with the numerous participants in the Trojan war, Homer's catalogue limits them in the sense of giving shape to this amorphous mass of particulars. This is based not on the principle of amplification but on the principles of inclusiveness and exclusiveness.

Although Homer's use of the catalogue established the tropical nature as distinct from the literal act of listing, it is still necessary to clarify this difference to the point at which a clearly defined set of tropical characteristics can be associated with the catalogue. A catalogue is part of an ethos; it reacts with other narrative or poetic elements within a text and is usually qualified and enhanced by the presence of that ethos. A list exists ourside of an ethos; it is complete or incomplete in itself. The fact that Homer's catalogue is part of his epic poem and describes those heroes who came to Troy suggests that a relationship between the catalogue and the prevailing mythos be made, and once that relationship is formed, then the literal act of listing yields to the tropical act, an act conscious of itself as a poetic device.

In some ways, a catalogue resembles a metaphor; in other ways is does not. There is no more exciting trope than metaphor; according to Quintilian, it is clearly the most beautiful trope as well as a figure of copiousness.[6] Metaphor adds to the richness of a language by sustaining verbal possibility by an increase in the qualitative intensity and accuracy of poetic thought. This is copia more as intensity than as quantity. Like metaphor, the catalogue does not enhance or add to the copiousness of ideas; what is added and repeated is form. Homer's catalogue repears the names of those who first came to Troy and the effect is not one of expansion but of limitation, the limitation of shape. When Homer recites the names Leities, Peneleos, Arkesiloas,

Prothaenor and many others, there is a marked absence of the expansion of ideas. Instead a shape is being repeated, defined and limited. This principle, the repetition and formation of shape, lies at the center of the tropical nature of cataloguing.

Perhaps Quintilian's remarks about metaphor suggest a parallel situation that reveals more about the tropical nature of the catalogue than does anything else:

> It adds to the copiousness of language by the interchange of words and by borrowing, and finally succeeds in accomplishing the supremely difficult task of providing a name for everything. 7

By this process of semantic deviance, which seems to be crucial for metaphor, metaphor creates a name for everything. The catalogue too is concerned with naming; unlike metaphor, which provides a name for everything, the catalogue pronounces that name.[8] Metaphor has this power to provide names because it conforms to a rhetorical principle inherent in any attempt to overcome immediate imaginative boundaries. In a study of rhetoric by Brian Vickers, _Classical rhetoric in English poetry_, he discusses this impulse as one common to all rhetoric:

> The concept of rhetorical figures as representing an artistic transcendence of the ordinary or non-artistic resources of language was basic to rhetoric from Quintilian: 'Ergo figura sit arte aliqua forma dicendi' (9.1.14) to Puttenham in 1589: 'Figurative speech is a noveltie

> of language evidently (and yet not absurdly) estranged from the ordinarie habite and manner of our talke and writing (159) to Henry Peacham in 1593: a figure is a 'forme of words...made new by Art' (1). 9

Peacham's expression, 'forme of words...made new by Art,' suggests a crucial idea in cataloguing: the catalogue is a 'forme of words' in which there is no shift in semantic meaning, bu in which there is a repetition of the 'forme' itself. Quintilian's enthusiasm for metaphor's ability to correspond to experience and reality by providing a name for all the particulars in that reality is echoed by Pope's intimation that the catalogue is a device capable of delinating a coherent and intelligible shape out of the overwhelming presence of particulars.

That shape created by this 'forme of words' varies according to the art involved. When Rabelais catalogues ballocks, he shapes the particulars into a vision of comic absurdity by gathering these absurd particulars into an even more absurd whole. Also concerned with cosmic shape are those catalogues of creatures in Genesis; and this concern for giving definite shape to life forms will reemerge in modern scientific taxonomies.[10] These taxonomies not only give form to particulars by assigning them a shape, but they also assist in confirming the identity of the particular creature by conferring a recognizable and foral name. This process is very similar to the manner in which poets like Spenser and Whitman seek to confirm national or personal identity by arranging particulars into a coherent shape and

then revealing the name for that shape: the discovery of the identity and the name can be simultaneous. In just this way, Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" presents a vision of the entire shape of the Trojan war almost as an alternative to and an affirmation of the particular episodes required by the epic format.

From its first use, then, the catalogue exhibited fairly stong tropical characteristics. Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" makes it very clear that a special 'forme of words' is being used to provide a definite shape to a particular mode of experience. This mode certainly is a trope by the very fact of its redefinition of the usual limits of language and by its transformation of those particulars into a whole. This tropical basis of cataloguing may not at first seem apparent; however, once we consult the classical rhetoricians concerning the meaning of trope and figure, we find that the distinction between these two uses of language also applies to the catalogue. Despite an differences that may and do exist, a certain amount of agreement can be found concerning the nature and identity of figures and tropes in most of the more important rhetoricans. A useful critic in this regard is Brian Vickers, whose _Classical rhetoric and English poetry_, brings together in a convenient manner the critical discussion of these two major literary categories: tropes and figures. As Vickers sums up the general debate, it becomes clear that there really are two major distinctions:

> All devices (or conventions) are divided then, into 'tropes' or 'figures' (figures

> are sometimes called 'schemes'), and both groups were held to represent artistic deviation from the norms of language strictly conceived (this begging the question as whether language could exist without metaphor). 11

Whether or not metaphor forms the basis for all language does not really affect the question of the catalogue's rhetorical identity. These two categories, mentioned by Cicero, Quintilian, Demetrius and others, divide literary language according to the way in which word meanings and word positions are presented. These are, of course, very broad distinctions; from them, however, can be deduced a great deal of insight into the usefulness as well as the effectiveness of a literary device.

When we take only a cursory look at the catalogue, we tend to think that it really does not fit into either of these two categories because it neither turns nor deviates from the meaning of words, nor does it possess strict rules for the positioning of individual words. But if we examine Quintilian's definitions, and more importantly his distinction between figure and trope, then we confront one of the major questions of the identity of the catalogue. Quintilian makes two very careful distinctions in his Instituto Oratoria that are worth quoting in full; first his remarks on tropes:

> By a trope is meant the artistic alteration of a word or phrase from its proper meaning to another...

> ...contenting myself merely with noting the fact that some tropes are employed to help out our meaning and others to adorn our style. That some arise from words used properly and others from words used metaphorically, and that the changes involved concern not merely individual words, but also our thoughts and the structure of our sentences. 12

This definition of trope should be kept in mind during this discussion because the catalogue essentially becomes a trope by virtue of the 'alteration' or the 'turn.'

Quintilian's definition of figure does not only distinguish between trope and figure, but also relates the meaning of figure to a specialized embodiment of thought. The catalogue, throughout the history of its use, always seems to be the means by which a particular thought could be presented in terms of a monolithic poetic device. Through this basic relationship to thought, the catalogue asserts one major characteristic, and that is, the presentation of a particular idea as a shape. Quintilian's definition is as follows:

> The first point for consideration is, therefore, what is meant by a figure. For the term is used in two senses. In the first it is applied to any form in which thought is expressed, just as it is in bodies, whatever their composition, must have some shape. In the second and special sense, in which it is called a schema, it means a rational change in meaning or language from the ordinary or simple form, a change analogous to that involved by sitting, lying down on something or looking back. 13

The schematic nature of a figure is also shared by the catalogue because in many ways the catalogue is a schema used to mark out and preserve a particular shape and then transform any possible incoherence into coherence; yet, even though this appears to be true, it also seems to be true for only the most literal level of cataloguing. Literal listing does not deal with the idea of shape; it is concerned only with a pre-established set of inclusive terms. The effect of literal listing is not imaginative; it is quantitative and lacks a controlling *mythos*. The difference between Blake's catalogue of "Proverbs from Hell" and George Herbert's list of *Outlandish Proverbs* is the fact that Blake's "Proverbs" are set within the prevailing *mythos* of the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, whereas Herbert's "Proverbs" have no *mythos* within which to generate complex meanings.

Within this category, there are two subdivisions that Quintilian thought vital to a full understanding of the meaning of figure: these are figures of thought and figures of speech.[14] Under figures of thought are listed such devices as rhetorical questions, insinuation, apostrophe; under figures of speech we find four main types: variations of syntax; modes of iteration; word play; and balance and antithesis. Of these four types, the one closest to the catalogue is 'modes of iteration.' What this type suggests is that on one level a catalogue is a mode of iteration, a mode of repeating a particular pattern over and over until it develops into a definite and provocative shape. A catalogue can be a figurative list when it is concerned only with

the listing of particulars into a coherent pattern and not in creating a shape.

On this figurative level, a catalogue arranges particulars into a list; it is concerned with those items as particulars and produces a literal list as a result. We mentioned earlier that non-tropical and non-figurative listing lacks the necessary mythos to instill any dynamic and literary power into their structures. Now we must further distinguish between a figurative list and a tropical catalogue by also pointing out that this is not a semantic difference but a conceptual one. By applying Quintilian's idea of a mode of iteration to the figurative catalogue, we are then free to conclude that this figurative catalogue is not concerned with the conceptualization of cataloguing but with the actual process of listing whatever particulars have the necessary indentity for inclusion in the list. Quintilian, however, distinguishes between trope and figure in such a way that an emphasis is placed on deviance, the turning from the literal to the non-literal, and this turn is what also divides the figurative catalogue from the tropical catalogue:

> It is therefore all the more necessary to point out the distinction between the two. The name of trope is applied to the transference of expressions from their natural and principal signification to another, with a view to the embellishment of style or, as the majority of grammarians define it, the transference of word and phrases from the place which is strictly theirs to another to which they do not belong. A figure, on the other hand, as is clear from the name itself, is the term employed when we give our language a conformation other

> than the obvious and ordinary... For a figure does not necessarily involve any alteration either of the order or the strict sense of words. 15

This distinction seems to imply that the central point of departure between figure and trope is confined to the 'transference of expression,' characteristic of tropes, and to the absence of the need for such 'alteration' in the typical figure. But what is further suggested by this difference is that the trope functions on the level of meaning and the figure on that of position.[16] If we continue to discuss the catalogue on this level, we will quickly realize that figurative listing actually precedes tropical listing in the order of their imaginative power and that the figurative list seem to be almost a preparatory act of cataloguing, anticipating the more meaningful level of the tropical catalogue. Perhaps Brian Vickers, who is very helpful in this context, can clarify this initial distinction, which then will enable us to present some conclusions about tropical cataloguing. Vickers takes the distinction made by Quintilian and draws it out to its imaginative limits:

> A trope (or 'turn') involves a change or transference of meaning and works on the conceptual level; a figure essentially works on the physical level of the shape or structure of language, and involves the disposition of words in a certain way. 17

The key phrase here is 'on the conceptual level' as opposed to the 'physical level.' This is the critical distinction

between the catalogue as figure and the catalogue as trope: the figure is a physical list concerned not with the conceptual nature of listing but with shaping a list; the tropical catalogue operates on the conceptual level to define first the nature of cataloguing and then to transcend the figurative list by 'turning' from the 'place which is strictly theirs' to another place more alien but also more imaginative. The tropical catalogue 'turn,' in very trope-like fashion, from the idea and practice of making a catalogue on the figurative level; it does so in its locus classicus, the Homeric "Catalogue of Ships." When Pope drew speical attention to the catalogue with his remarks on the invocation and the difficulty of the poetic task, he was also revealing just why a catalogue is more of a trope than a figure: the very fact that Homer has to deal with the nature of the list before making it; the fact that he is listing heroes whom he has never seen at first hand; the fact that he needs the Muse to assist him as he peers into the heroic past, all point to the same conclusion: Homer is not working in a 'mode of iteration;' he is troping, i.e. 'turning' from the figurative (literal) shape of a list to a conceptual version (a catalogue) in a attempt to fulfill a task possible only on an imaginative level.

To attempt to make a figurative catalogue of all those who came to Troy would require Homer to do so on a physical level, but since he works in a tropical mode, he can avoid literal problems and wrestle with imaginative ones. Pope's commentary clearly realized that this was a special act

of the imagination; it is prepared for and declared impossible before it begins and faces the possibility of failure if it does not 'turn' from the literal act of listing to a conceptual and tropical level of meaning. The figurative catalogue asks the question: how is it possible to name all the heroes who came to Troy and place them in a iterative pattern; the tropical catalogue asks the question what would such a list of heroes look like if it were possible to create it, and then it proceeds to show us such a list in imaginative terms.

This tropical 'turning' on the conceptual level permeates the Homeric catalogue. Homer's catalogue wonders what a catalogue is and just how important is it for a list to deal literally with the need to be all inclusive. Within all the catalogues we will look at in this essay, this question of inclusiveness and exclusiveness is always present and always part of the structure of individual examples. Faced with the great variety and great number of particular details, the catalogue must develop either figuratively or tropically, and this choice affects the degree to which it will faithfully record the experience under consideration. The figurative list deals with this choice on the literal level; the tropical on the imaginative level, and thus achieves a more viable and permanent solution.

These differences and the important question of a truthful reflection of experience indicate that like other literary devices, the catalogue must deal accurately with experience and be more than an ornament to a writing style.

When Cicero or Quintilian speak of tropes, they suggest that underlying these literary arrangements can be found an accessible and recognizable image of experience.[18] They seem to think that figures such as metonymy, synecdoche, and metaphor are such moving and useful aspects of language becasue of the degree to which they embody the mimetic ideal of correspondence. Terence Hawkes, in Metaphor, says that: 'Metaphor only exists because metaphors do. And metaphors only exist when they actually occur in language, in society, and in time.'[19] Metaphor as a trope exists because the imagination has engaged in the particular business of creating metaphor, which further suggests that metaphor is one of those responses to experience that undergoes a metamorphosis into a trope. In its approximation to the reality it describes, metaphor, or any other literary device, adhere to the idea of correspondence; this is a reaffirmation of the vitality of devices in general. King Lear's cry,

> ...but I am bound
> Upon a wheel of fire that mine own tears
> Do scald like molten lead.
> (IV. vii. 46-8)

succeeds so brilliantly as a representation of the physical agony of mental grief because it corresponds to the imagination's ability to experience spiritual anguish in terms of scalding physical pain.[20] Bungled metaphysical metaphors fail precisely because they never establish the vital correspondence between metaphor and reality and never fully translate abstract feelings into concrete terms. Only metaphors

like Lear's 'wheel of fire' and Donne's 'compasses' succeed in this mimetic quest for correspondence.

As we can see, metaphor has a fairly developed critical language; however, there really is no critical language with which to deal with the catalogue. For a catalogue is not a trope in the same way and by the same process that a metaphor is since it does not depend on semantic deviance in any way. As we have already said, the catalogue is not a device that Quintilian would consider a 'figure' because it 'turns' from the literalization of listing. Metaphor and synecdoche deviate in terms of word meaning; the catalogue deviates, or 'turn' not in terms of the meaning of words but in terms of its own definition.[21] So that 'fifty sail' for fifty ships performs a linguistic and semantic shift; there are no interruptions in the pattern of elocution, but there is a readjustment of the semantic mean of 'sail.'[22] 'Fifty sail' has not 'turned' from the meaning of synecdoche but from the meaning of 'sail.' The catalogue, however, 'turns' from the meaning of catalogue.

Another important characteristic of cataloguing is that it seem to be an interruption; if the catalogue occurs in prose, it interrupts the narrative and retards the direct unfolding of the story line; if it occurs in poetry, the catalogue seems to hold back the poetic fiction by displacing the usual descriptive mode. This displacement generally involves the use of enumeration instead of narrative description as well as shifting from the adjectival to the substantive mode. In most cases, the effect of the catalogue is

much more substantive than adjectival, and this difference really separates catalogue description from narrative description: narrative description usually involves the use of adjectives, whereas the catalogue generally enumerates substantives.

For example, this distinction between narrative and enumerative description can be clearly seen in a comparison of Poe's opening of "The Fall of the House of Usher" and Milton's famous line from Paradise Lost, 'Rocks, caves, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death.'[23] Poe's description carefully blends the landscape with the narrator's personality and apprehensiveness:

> During the whole of a dull, dark and soundless day in the autumn of the year, when the clouds hung oppressively low in the heavens, I had been passing alone on horseback, through a singularly dreary tract of country and at length found myself, as the shades of evening drew on, within vie of the Melancholy House of Usher. [24]

Here the narrative and the description are woven together into a simultaneous revelation of story and picture. This mode of description includes time of day, time of year (autumn), predicament (I traveled alone), atmosphere (dreary, dark, cloudy), and finally a narrative flourish interlaced with scenic details, "...found myself, as the shades of evening drew on, within view of the Melancholy House of Usher."

This is narrative description: it does not interrupt the pattern of story telling to desribe a picture; story and picture unfold simultaneously. This is a narrative art.

Poe does not rush his story; his effectiveness depends upon these descriptive details engulfing the reader as he is in the process of discovering the story. However, when we compare this narrative description to Milton's 'Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,' we discover that Milton's language performs a very different function. It does not create a descriptive atmosphere; it creates a place. The enumeration of these substantives brings the imagination into a place containing rocks and bogs, a place corresponding to the list of substantial realities present within it. Milton's list of the details in the fool's paradise forces the imagination to envision a place that not only exists within narrative time but also within a space having a primordial reality far greater than the fictional space of "the Melancholy House of Usher." For the fictional space of Poe's story is not the equivalent of the primordial pre-historic space that Milton's poem uncovers. Milton's catalogue is 'outside' the poem in that regardless of what story is being told, this place has an existence separate from that fiction.

These differences demand that an alternative critical language, distinct from that used in narrative criticism be applied to the critique of the catalogue. Milton's line, which feels more like a micro-catalogue, differs greatly from the opening lines from "The Fall of the House of Usher" because of its distinct temporal relationship to <u>Paradise Lost</u>. By this I mean that we cannot separate description from narration in fiction, whereas in <u>Paradise Lost</u>, we can imagine the place of bogs and caves as it exists outside of the story of

Adam and Eve. We must, therefore, distinguish between narrative and catalogue description before we can fully understand the latter. To say that a catalogue is descriptive is to say that it exemplifies a mode of description different from the adjectival mode. What is being offered is not a qualification of a scene or a setting but the setting itself. In this, the catalogue resembles an extended substantive, which in turn leads to a remarkable conclusion: catalogues create worlds; they do not qualify them.

The substantive power of cataloguing gives this trope an almost magical effect by capitalizing on the forcefulness of repetition and incantation. Despite the many varieties of cataloguing, one element emerges as a constant and necessary part of the process itself, and that is the sense of power generates and exuded by the pronouncing of names. Milton seemed to be enthralled by this effect, which of course differs in poems such as _Lycidas and Paradise Lost_, but which also supports the necessary sense of place in both of these poems. Quintilian's remark about metaphor and naming stressed the close relationship between naming and knowing, so that knowing the name for something implies a kind of power and control over that something; we might even say that knowing the name gives the power to control the appearance of the object before us or at least before our imaginations.

The Renaissance experienced a major expansion in the amount of available knowledge that had to be assembled into a rational and comprehensible form. Ideas of geography

and science changed and expanded at a very fast rate; mathematics erupted as a version of reality, demanding acceptance; all of these new ideas had to be assimilated into the Renaissance imagination. Italy saw the simultaneous use of pagan and Christian themes and icons in poetry, drama, painting and sculpture. Even ideas of kingship underwent changes in configuration as well as in reality. No poetic device can deal with these transformations in their entirety, but certain types of poetic language are more suited to deal with the problem of quantity than others; clearly the catalogue, on a small scale, is one way of arranging an expanding body of particulars. We only need to recall Bacon's great plan for listing the natural elements into great tables to realize that there were thinkers during this period who seriously considered the idea of cataloguing as a possible means of dealing with the vast amount of available and observable information that was making itself known.

This idea of the historical forces that can and often do place an emphasis on a certain poetic device applies not only to the Renaissance but to any other time confronted with problems of numbers and growing quantities. Homer confronts quantity in terms of heroes and a distant time; Whitman's "I am a part of everything else" struggles with identity in the face of the new quantification of industrial society; Rabelais treats quantity in terms of the widespread folly of Western society. Perhaps the etymological meaning of catalogue, _kata_, down, _legein_, to count, suggests that counting down particular items is really an act of

gathering, of arraying, of grouping together in the hope of preserving what is valuable in human life and of giving that life something of order and coherence. When T. S. Eliot wrote:

> These fragments have I shored against my ruins. 25

he was in effect suggesting that The Waste Land is a catalogue since it acts as a repository of fragments gathered from Western and Eastern life. This is the only alternative to incoherence; it is the only possibility for sanity and wholeness.

Footnotes

1. The Iliad of Homer, trans. Alexander Pope (London, 1715), p. 155.

2. Ibid., p. 155.

3. Citations from Pope are from The Iliad of Homer, trans. Alexander Pope, ed., Reuben A. Brower and William H. Bond (New York, 1965).

4. The Iliad of Homer, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, 1967), p. 89.

5. On Copia of Words and Ideas, trans. Donald B. King and H. David Rix (Milwaukee, 1963), p. 15.

6. The Instituto Oratoria, vol. VIII. vi. 3. When Quintilian refers specifically to copia, vol. 4. X. 1. 3-6, he refers to the supply of words and things: "There can then be no doubt that he must accumulate a certain store of resources, to be employed whenever they may be required. The resources of which I speak consist in a copious supply of words and matter." The Latin is : "Eae constant copia rerum ac verborum."

7. The Instituto Oratoria, VIII, vi. 3, p. 303.

8. In On Copia of Words and Ideas, Erasmus issues a warning to those who engage in copia: "Whence we see it befalls not a few mortals that they strive for this divine excellence diligently, indeed, but unsuccessfully, and fall into a kind of inane thoughts and words thrown together. Without discriminating, they alike obscure their subject and burden the ears of their wretched hearers."

9. Brian Vickers, Classical rhetoric in English poetry (London, 1970), pp. 85-6.

10. Creation catalogues, as they are used in Biblical literature, will be discussed in more detail in chapter three. All of these elements are part of cataloguing. Whitman's energetic lists are part of the process of definition in the modern world. Milton's sense of naming and defining focuses more on history than on the individual personality; however, for Milton, the individual does not exist really as an individual unless with the definition of Christian history and freedom. To be free in the Miltonic scheme of things requires a sophisticated blend of individuality and obediance.

11. Vickers, p. 85.

12. Quintilian, VIII. vi. p. 301.

13. Quintilian, 9.1. 7-11. p. 353.

14. For a discussion of this, see Vickers, p. 86.

15. Quintilian, 9.1. pp. 349-50.

16. Position of course also affects the disposition of the catalogue as a trope as well as a figure.

17. Vickers, p. 86.

18. For a detailed development of these ideas, see Quintilian, The Instituo Oratoria, trans. H. E. Butler (New York, 1923).

19. Terence Hawkes, Metaphor (London, 1972), p. 5. In this same work, p. 29, Hawkes makes a point of the similarity between the rhetorical art and the visual arts: "Hence, if Rhetoric becomes the art of expressing oneself ornately, it also becomes a kind of visual art."

20. This passage from King Lear, Act IV, sc. vii. 46-8, seems to be just that kind of metaphor that is a perfect mimetic embodiment of its reality.

21. See The Instituto Oratoria, vol 4, X.1. 6-9: "On the contrary, discrimination is necessary in the acquisition of our stock of words." The Latin is: "Nobis cum iudicis paranda est vim arandi non cuculatoriam valubilitatem spectantibus."

22. This phrase was first suggested to me in this context by Professor Samuel R. Levin, Graduate Center, New York.

23. John Milton, The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton, ed. Douglas Bush (Boston, 1965). All quotations from Milton are from this edition unless otherwise stated.

24. This passage from Poe is, of course, an extreme example of this technique; writers like Hawthorne and Joyce will turn from the narrative to engage in discontinuous description.

25. Eliot is gathering together much larger units of culture to preserve the sanity of his existence and the modern world's. The principle behind this is the same as in Homer's catalogue which is to preserve oneself and one's world against the growing instability and hostility of the world.

Chapter Two

Catalogues, then, may be conceived of as the enumeration of order and movement for the purpose of suggesting meaning. These meanings can be evoked either by the rules for inclusion or exclusion and by the principle of order structuring the catalogue itself. Ideas of inclusion depend on the type of individual entry being listed, so that the criteria for inclusion may be very simple, such as the part of a body or the names of individuals performing a similar task, or very complex, such as elements within a set or the selective inclusion of results stemming from a major event (e.g. the Fall in Books XI and XII of _Paradise Lost_).

In addition to the above standard of inclusion, the catalogue is also affected by the arrangement of its particular elements into a pattern, which may or may not be meaningful in itself. The dimension of the pattern allows the catalogue to deal with meaning not only on the level of sets, i.e. those things to be included, but also on the level of order, direction, and spatial significance. The order in which elements in a list follow determines the relationship and the visual mode of cataloguing, so that elements grouped by similar location (the United Nations, Beekman Plaza, and Tudor City) are based on a different principle from, say, the same group arranged in terms of ascending heights (Tudor City, the United Nations, and Beekman Plaza). Meaning varies according to the way in which the catalogue is scanned, and that ordering rule, along with the principle of inclusion,

form the two major structural principles underlying the catalogue.

One major pre-condition for the catalogue as a meaningful device is the organization and interpretation of space that results from a combination of these two principles. Without the possibility of spatial meaning, the catalogue would loose a great deal of its significance. Space, itself, does not and has not had the same level of meaning for every stage of human culture; its significance varies according to the aesthetic realities of particular cultures. Walter Ong, in The Barbarian Within, makes the point that ideas of space are important to the history of thought:

> In many ways, the greatest shift in the way of conceiving knowledge between the ancient and modern world takes place in the movement from a pole where knowledge is conceived of in terms of discourse and hearing and persons to one where it is conceived of in terms of observation and sight and object. 1

The reality of this change affects concepts such as sight, object and vision. The shift from an aural to a visual conception of knowledge charges the visual dimension, i.e. space, with meaning. In the aural impulse toward knowledge, sound, inflection and discourse have special meaning; they are the vehicles of meaning; they take on the power of spells and numinous significance. In the spatial theory of knowledge, the objectification of space and the discovery of spatial meanings transform what is known and what is knowable into visual categories.

The importance of the development of a meaningful attitude toward space is very clear for modern artistic theory and practice. For the caveman drawing representations of beasts and the hunt in paleolithic Europe, space had no controlled or fixed meaning. The idea of the field, a demarcated area of space filled with fictive meaning had not yet been discovered. Meyer Schapiro, in "On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art: Field and Vehicle in Image-Signs," suggests how this lack of the fixed field or fixed area of space, affected Old Stone Age art and painting:

> The cave paintings of the Old Stone Age are on an unprepared ground, the rough wall of a cave; the irregularities of earth and rock show through the image. The artist then worked on a field of no set boundaries and thought so little of the surface as a distinct ground that he often painted his animal figure over a previously painted image without erasing the latter, as if it were invisible to the viewer. [2]

The Old Stone Age artist was able to take this attitude toward his surface because for him it had no particular meaning as a field. As space, it served only as the minimal necessity for drawing and had no implications for his world or his work. There was no possibility for the transformation of fixed and framed space into a metaphor containing and defining the artist's designs. According to Schapiro, it was the inventive imagination that recognized the value of the smooth surface as an integral and active part of the image itself.[3] The fixed field, and later the frame, allow

for the transformation of space into a metaphor that is self-inclusive in terms of meaning. Artistic space no longer was blank; it became filled with possible meanings.

What occurred as a result of this discovery was the active use of the limits of structure. Walter Ong perceived how this drive toward meaningful space occupied the Renaissance:

> In this perspective, which can only be suggested here, certain phenomena characteristic of the Renaissance can be regarded as the culmination of a quantified visualist drive more concerted than the world had ever known before. This drive is marked by an increased sensitivity to space and a growing sophistication in ways of dealing with quantity and extension. 4

Although, according to Ong, this drive toward a spatial ordering of thought reached a high point during the Renaissance, it certainly formed an active part of the intellectual concerns of western man before the Renaissance. Maren-Sofie Røstvig, in "Structure as Prophecy," proposes an interpretation of Biblical literature based on a heightened awareness of space and arrangement in space:

> The motivation for attributing meaningfulness to structures must have been very powerful. It must have been something of a psychological compulsion to believe that God had created a world where absolutely everything was meaningful. 5

This is a recognition of the transformation of space into a structure that is both meaningful and metaphoric. Structures

are metaphoric insofar as they consist of the transformation of blank space into meaningful fields. Rostvig applies this theory to the Psalms and to the mystical arrangement believed to be present in them. Regardless of the application, however, the significant point is that space, as it is organized as structure, can and does evoke meaning.

As depictions of order and movement in literary space, catalogues also become part of the meaningful nature of spatial thought. The catalogue depends heavily on the fixed field in which meaning is part of the very structure of an idea. Fixity in the catalogue, either by inclusiveness or exclusiveness, partakes in the clarification of meaning. Even more important here is the role played by movement and sequence within this spatial field. What makes the catalogue so much of a spatial trope is that within its field, a sequence is ordered and that order is based on the arrangement of individual objects in space in such a way that meaning can be discovered; this is as much a part of the fixing of space to contain meaning as it is a recognition of that meaning everywhere in the created universe.

In reality, the catalogue does not move; nevertheless, it depicts movement. This movement, of course, depends on the arrangement of the individual objects in the list. By this arrangement, the structure and the array become the source of meaning as well as the impulse behind the movement. One way of arranging space for this effect is through the fixed field or the frame. As Schapiro suggests, the field arranges space in such a way that it either enters the illusion

or establishes the boundaries of that illusion.[6] And yet, the movement in a catalogue usually depends on the arranging of a fixed field, which evokes meaning from a definite spatial context.

One cannot really speak of movement without speaking of the spatial quality of structure and its physical properties. To speak of the structure of a poem is in reality to refer to the way in which that poem organizes space and of the demands it then makes on that space. Without this spatial concept, strucure is either a confused verbal mode or a melange of devices. Structure for the catalogue is the organized and meaningful arrangement of space; movement, too, is part of that arrangement.

Primarily, then, a catalogue places figures, names, flowers, devils, or whatever may form the individual entries into an ordered array that is significant and meaningful. The array itself may have a particular significance based on its larger sense of structure; it is, in face, difficult for a list to be without some structure, since the elements in it can reach with each other if with nothing else. Even a non-literary list may have a structure based on alphabethizing (the telephone directory), similarities (a consumer catalogue), or orders of numerical importance (the dean's list). In painting, for example, apparently simple details may also form part of a complex structure of visual meaning by their relationship to decoration, iconography, or background. This is also true of the literary catalogue in which the entries may relate to each other because they are

similar types of flowers or devils, figures in a chronological sequence, or qualities of a particular kind of absurdity. Meaning in this type of configuration, then, may result from sequence, similarity, or from association.

This possibility for meaning exists because of a numer of reasons, among them is the idea of the configuration. In Art and Visual Perception, Rudolf Arnheim interprets the sequence of dramatic events in Hamlet as a 'path of disclusure,' i.e. as the order in which the drama unfolds and clarifies meaning:

> For example, in Hamlet, the inherent sequence leads from the murder of the king through the wedding of his queen and brother to Hamlet's discovering of the crime, and so to the end. The path of disclosure starts somewhere in the middle of the sequence, and moves first forward and then backward. It proceeds from the periphery of the problem towards its center, introducing first the watchman, then Hamlet's friend, then the mysterious ghost. Thus while unfolding the dramatic conflict, the play also deals with man's way of discovering the facts of life---a secondary plot of of which the spectator is the protagonist. And just as a travels route toward an unknown city will influence the notion of it he receives, so the path of disclosure will encourage a particular response to the subject of a work by giving precedence to certain of its aspects and withholding others. 7

This complex process of sequence creates what Arnheim calls a 'path of disclosure,' a process of disclosing meaning that is characterized by movement from one detail to another. It is not enough for Hamlet to know what happened; he must follow the nature of the situation until he understands the complex process of the happening, so that following the 'path

of disclosure' leads him (and the reader) into the center of the situation and enhances the compexity of the process of human action and human perception.

It would be matter of paraphrase to reveal the 'facts' of Hamlet, or those of any poem, even Paradise Lost. But what we would then have would be a parody of purity rather than complexity; we would not possess the discovery nor would we experience the disclosure; we would lack, as Arnheim says, the 'state of being:'

> We must take a further step and realize that in the last analysis even a work based on sequence presents not only an event but, through the event, a state of being. To use the formula offered by Lessing in his Laocoon: whereas narrative painting or sculpture presents action by means of objects, the dramatist or novelist uses action to present a state of affairs. [8]

Lessing's 'state of affairs' has genuine application in its translation as 'state of being,' for what a poem or play does by its 'path of disclosure' is create a state of being, a possible world, in which the imagination experiences metaphors as realities.[9] For example in Blake's "The Sick Rose," a 'state of being,' characterized by repression, concealment and intrusion is created by the order in which the poem unfolds:

> O Rose, thou art sick!
> The invisible worm
> That flies in the night,
> In the howling storm,

Has found out thy bed
Of crimson joy:
And his dark secret love
Does thy life destroy.

Even this poem can be paraphrased; however the individual words and images, experiences in the order in which they occur along the 'path of disclosure,' bring the imagination into a 'state of affairs,' so that the reader's experience of the poem is marked not by a discussion of an idea but by the ethos of sexual repression.

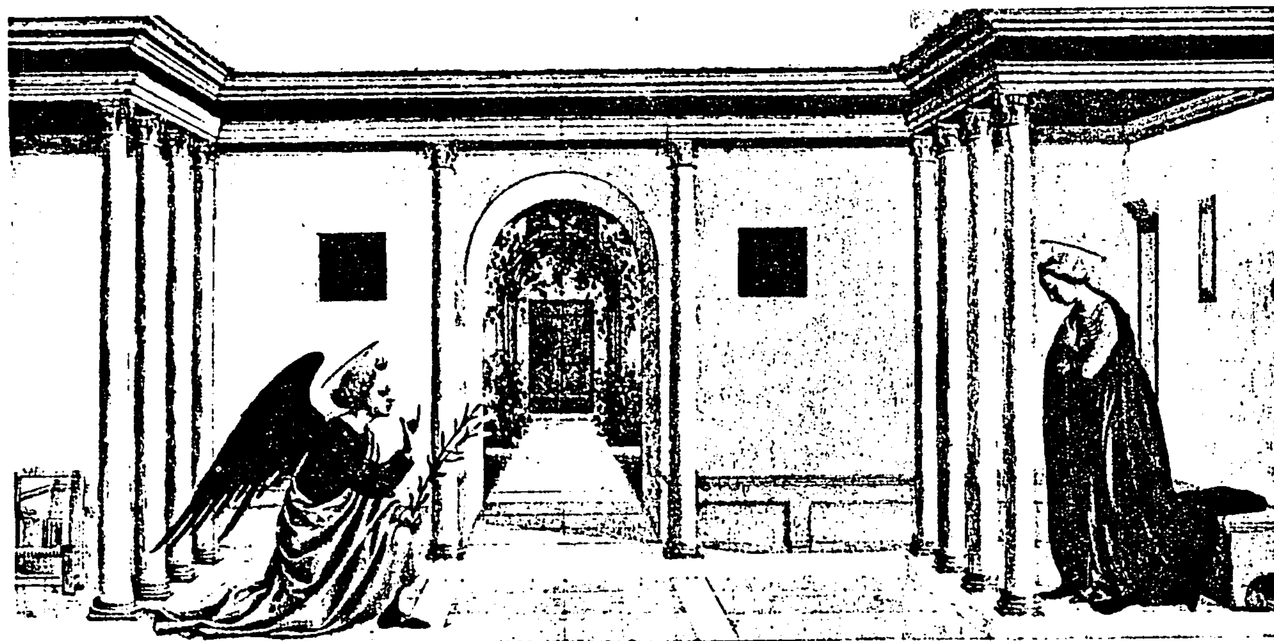
The parth of disclosure can also serve as the initiator of action by carrying the viewer or reader through a series of objects while animating them into a type of fiction. Fra Filippo Lippi's "Feast of Herod" is one such painting that has a 'path of disclosure leading from left to right, creating an episodic movement to narrate the incident between Salome and John. In the far left is Salome receiving the head of John the Baptist; in the center, she dances; and on the right she presents the head to her mother, Herodias. The scene moves from left to right, revealing the fiction and the major moment in the fiction, the dance. Salome's dance has to be in the center, framed by her receiving and the giving the head, because the dance is the transitional moment between life and death for the Baptist; the dance is that bit of action responsible for the results on the left and on the right which not only animates the visual details but is the source for the entire array's state of affairs.

below: 207. FRA FILIPPO LIPPI. *Feast of Herod.* 1452–66. Fresco. Cathedral, Prato

Another painting (among many) that uses a visual narrative is Veneziano's "Annunciation." In this work, Gabriel is positioned left of center; Mary occupies the right; the center foreground is unoccupies while the background contains a deeply recessed door and archway. Here the 'path of disclosure' again moves from left to right, but it also performs the dual task of narrating the story of the annunciation and recreating the actual movement between Gabriel and Mary. Nothing intrudes between them, suggesting that the middle ground, the point connected by divine power, is an area of sacred space. The path is followed by the eye from left to right, from Gabriel to Mary, in what is a recreation of the 'state of affairs' during the annunciation. Information, revelation, sacntification and impregnation all travel from left to right, from God's messenger to the recipient of his message.

This path of disclosure may be thought of as what Meyer Schapiro refers to as a 'prevailing direction.'[10] In fact, Schapiro adds another dimension to this concept when he comments on the wholeness of this visual experience, even when the initial confrontation is with a large and complex unit:

> Where representation is of figures in movement and successive episodes, the images may be extended in broad and superposed bands which have to read like a written text. There is then a prevailing direction in certain pictures, even if they are given to the eye as a simultaneous whole. 11



265. Domenico Veneziano. *Annunciation*, from the predella of the St. Lucy altarpiece (see colorplate 24). c. 1445. Panel, 10⅝ × 21¼″. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England

This 'prevailing direction' is part of a literary work's movement since it is the direction in which meaning and significance are revealed. The presence of motion in pictures allows the viewer to reconstruct the process by which the picture can be read; this motion does not divide the artifact into separate fragment, but, on the contrary, the motion unites those 'broad bands' by means of the prevailing direction, which creates a the presence of a simultaneous mythos. The sense of wholeness is supported by the frame, or as Arnheim says,

> As long as the dominant framework stands still, any immobile object is perceived as being outside time, just as the framework itself is. As moving framework, however, imparts action to the whole setting and the objects it contains, and it can translate timelessness into active resistance to motion. 12

The verbal catalogue is found both in moving and stationary frameworks, such as the procession or triumph and the list respectively. If we return to the visual arts for a moment, we see that this quality of wholeness within motion takes on significance as both a means of creating timelessness as well as transformations. Botticelli's "Primavera" has been discussed beautifully by Edgar Wind in Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance. One of his key points concerns the metamorphosis of Chloris into Flora.[13] The path of disclosure, here, from right to center as Zephyrus breathes upon Chloris, thereby transforming her into Flora, leads the eye and the imagination into the mythic

above: 348. SANDRO BOTTICELLI. *Primavera*. c. 1478. Panel, 6′ 8″ × 10′ 4″. Uffizi Gallery, Florence

complexity of the transformational nature of spring. The prevailing direction in "Primavera" has more than one aspect, but the Zephyrus-Chloris-Flora direction discloses one major fact about the nature of spring, and it does so by using motion within a fixed spatial field.

Another example of the use of prevailing direction and path of disclosure from the pictorial arts can be found in Botticelli's brillian "Venus and Mars." There are a number of versions of this mythologically significant idea, but Botticelli's picture clearly exploits the iconography of direction. Venus lounges on the left; Mars reclines on the right in a state that can only be characterized as ravishment; connecting them is a huge sword with the handle almost at eye level with Venus. The sword's natural direction is from hilt to point; all this create a path of disclosure from Venus to the disarmed Mars. Along the sword are three putti, the first and third inclining toward Mars, and the second, the middle one, glancing over his shoulder at Venus. The prevailing direction is clear: it travels from Venus' eye, along the sword, into Mars' ear. The allegorical implications of this direction are clearly expressed by Ficino in another context:

> Venus, when in conjunction with Mars, in opposition to him, or watching from a sextile or drive aspect, as we often say, checks his malignance...she seems to master him. 14

1gn
14

Whether or not Botticelli's picture had occasional or

347. SANDRO BOTTICELLI. *Venus and Mars.* c. 1475. Panel, 27¼ × 68¼". National Gallery, London

astrological intent does not concern us here; what is significant for the relationship between this visual reality and the technique of cataloguing is that the path of disclosure forms part of an allegorical narrative.leading from Venu's eyes into Mars' ear, and this direction of influence tames his ferocity. The main point is that the path of disclosure in conjunction with iconographical and mythological backgrounds reveals the picture's meaning.

If the path of disclosure is then recognized as a valid way of discussing a visual configuration, then the application of this critical device to verbal forms such as narrative, dramatic or poetic, becomes a very real and productive insight into the complex nature of verbal situations constructed upon the principles of order and movement. Although Arnheim and Schapiro first apply this kind of heuristic device to the visual arts, Arnheim's discussion of <u>Hamlet</u> does suggest that there are similarities between verbal and pictorial modes that can be examined by means of a similar terminology. These similarities may or may not be of identical significance in application to different structures, but they do provide a way of discussing the catalogue, which is important in itself since there heretofore has been no critical language with which to so that.

The implications of this idea of visual and verbal motion lead us to a critical reevaluation of the catalogue. The quality of this motion may very from the elementary movement from point A to point B to the more sophisticated motion from point A to the center of point B. Motion such as Arnheim

describes in Hamlet may be characterized as motion from the periphery of point A to the center of point A. The quality and importance of the movement vary according to the relationship between these two points, so that the difference between a meditative and a dynamic narrative may be characterized as a difference in motion; the same would be true for the lyric and the romance: one is meditative, the other dynamic.

In many ways, the significance of motion may be controlled by Schapiro's idea of the prevailing direction. Schapiro's insight generates meaning by providing us with a language capable of producing specific results when dealing with ordered arrays. One class of meanings derived from various type of motion is discussed by Alastair Fowler in Triumphal Forms. Fowler focuses on the presence of numerological structure in poetry and how those structure form a part of the poem's meaning. His study concentrates on the numerological basis for structure, and he concludes that one method of structuring an array, be it static (a catalogue) or dynamic (the triumph) is through numerological techniques, including those results derived from a transformation of space into meaning.

Spatial significance probably can be traced to the Greek sense of knowing that Walter Ong characterizes as "to see, to intuit, to envision intellectually."[15] What makes the triumphal procession so clearly a spatial entity is that it relies on a visual representation of meaning. A static catalogue, while not actually in motion like the procession, shows much of the procession's technique in that it is a

verbal procession in which words are paraded before a reader's imagination. This parade is not the usual elocution pattern found in non-listing situations; instead, it is a special type of word flow based on position, suggesting that meaning in a catalogue may have to be construed in other than syntactic terms and that the nature of visual structure will be determined by the way in which the array occupies space. The catalogue, then, replaces elocutionary meaning with spatial meaning until the final effect is the creation of a pictorial field. To speak of the meaning of Botticelli's "Primavera" or of Giorgione's "Fête Champêtre" is to consider the relationship, the positional relationship between iconographical configurations. A shepher minstral can be said to have the specific conventional meaning that the pastoral tradition embodies, but in "Fete Champetre," that meaning is enhanced by his having a positional relationship with the well, Aganippe, and the rest of the pastoral world. The meaning of "Fête Champêtre," then, lies in its spatial alignment of the iconography of the pastoral and mythological worlds. The array discloses this significance.

Significance in this type of situation depends on the mythology of spatial distinctions, without which a pictorial situation would be incapable of a sophisticated use of space. The drawings on the caves of Lascaux are meaningful to the Old Stone Age artist who drew them and to the art historian, but that significance has nothing to do with spatial technique; for space to be meaningful, a fairly sophisticated perception of positional symbolism is required.

Colorplate 70. GIORGIONE. *Fête Champêtre*. c. 1510. Canvas, 43¼ × 54¼". The Louvre, Paris

The development of a correspondence between space and the human imagination has to be established, since without this correspondence, meanings could not exist due to a lack of referral points.

George Puttenham, in The Arte of English Poesie, refers to this type of spatial proportion as one of the major aspects of poetic theory and practice:

> It is said by such as profess the Mathematic-all sciences, that all things stand by pro-portion, and that without it nothing could stand to be good or beautiful. The Doctors of our Theologie to the same effect, but in other terms say: that God made the world by number, measure and weight: some for weight say tune, and peradventure better, for weight is a kind of measure or of much convenience with it: and therefore in their descriptions be always coupled toget-her (statica & metrica) weight and measures. 16

Puttenham's idea of proportion, however, rests upon the individual poet's choice in matters of poetic patterns and not upon "any pattern or mould as the Platonicks with their Idees do phantastically suppose."[17] Røstvig interprets Puttenham's caution as a "rejection of a higher reality existing in the mind of God before creation...and the belief that this pattern existed before the world came into being."[18] In fact, Puttenham insists upon the idea of pattern and even figure as a matter of individual poetic choice, determined by the poet at a particular moment and for artistic rather than Platonic reason; choice becomes the real issue in this discussion:

> But more or less aptly and decently, or scarcely, or abundantly, or of this or that kind of figure, & one of us more than another, according to the disposition of our nature, constitution of the heart, and facilitie of each man's utterance: for as we conclude, that nature herself suggesteth the figure in this or that form: but arte aydeth the iudgment or his use and application. 19

For Puttenham, spatial or positional significance is a matter of art not universal form.

Some theorists believe, however, that form does have more than a particular meaning related to a specific moment of poetic choice, and that that meaning is related to the larger and more symbolic presence of an animated and suggestive universe. Arrangement, for example, in Biblical literature, as Røstvig has suggested, attracts considerable attention as a means of speculating on divine mysteries:

> The Psalms of David are a good starting point for a study of the prophetic import often attributed by theologians to purely literary structure in the Bible. St. Augustine believed that David had a mystical purpose in his arrangement of the Psalms, and that it was the Lord 'who inspired him in arranging this diversity,' which is certainly not meaningless, however enigmatic it may seem. 20

Despite the enigma of an arrangement, it is still possible for structure to express meaning. In fact, David performs an act of literary recreation by arranging this 'adversity' into a pattern that is inspired with an elevated comprehension

of space. This literary space becomes the counterpart of that pictorial space that enhances the symbolic modality of painting, so that the manipulation of literary space can become a creative act recalling the divine act of creating primary space, or, at least, of arranging primary space (chaos) into a meaningful secondary arrangement (cosmos). Part of the poet's participation in the divine act of creation centers on this manipulation of space in imitation of the divine arrangement, which is the highest and also the most sublime execution of spatial form.

This is not a whimsical approach to cataloguing, for the idea of spatial meaning is very old and can be seen playing an active part in other middle eastern mythologies, particularly in creation myths exposing the shaping of chaos into cosmos. Røstvig again recognizes that this question takes on additional importance when seen as a compulsion:

> The motivation for attributing meaningfulness to structures must have been very powerful. It must have been something of a psychological compulsion to believe that God had created a world where absolutely everything was meaningful. 21

This compulsion to attribute meaning to structure refers to architectural patterns also where there is no question as to the meaningfulness of space; in fact, architectural space, for example, the mediaeval cathedral, defined space in spiritual terms, until it created the type of meaning that Augustine perceived in the Psalms.[22]

In _From Art to Theatre_, George Kernodle defines some of the relationships between the visual art and the development of set and scene practice, and how the early Renaissance stage artist's confrontation with the problem of space resulted in an enhanced idea of spatial meaning:

> He found in the traditional frieze an art of narrative time, an art that carried the eye of the spectator swiftly along with the story, without stopping long enough to organize the space into a story... In fact, most of ancient art and a large part of mediaeval art were interested in the processional narrative time and not in the organization of space. 23.

The very problem faced by the stage artist is faced by the maker of a catalogue from Homer to Milton; that is, how to assure the reader that the elements in the array are dynamic. This transfer of spatial configuration from pictorial art to stage art requires a development in the specific correspondence between space and meaning. Again Kernodle see this development in terms of a growing awareness of spatial forms of art:

> The more complex patterns required more than just the emblematic devices; they required an architectural screen as a background, as a basic structure into which and against which separate traditional devices could be set. By uniting the separate devices with a background screen the artist oould develop a very definite control of space. 24

Once space was theatrically controlled and organized into a

definite form of the pictorial arts, only the scientific interpretation of space was necessary to complete a transformation of the space of chaos into the space of creation, that is, into a metaphor. This metaphoric quality is derived not only from the meaningful possibilities now clearly recogized in spatial configurations, but in the correspondence between spatial position and idea, and once this level of exactitude is attained, then space becomes meaningful, controlled, and finally metaphoric.

In Triumphal Forms, Alastair Fowler, following Ong's perception of the relationship between space and idea, believes that spatial order clearly corresponds to the nature and the configuration of ideas:

> A more pervasive but also more elusive element, whose bearing on literary forms we are only beginning to grasp, si the spatial character of Renaissance thought... the tendency to order ideas in visual schemes (especially linear schemes.) 25

Walter Ong's work laid the groundwork for this appreciation of the spatial character of idea into a sophisticated linear and positional theory and related this perception to Renaissance logic, especially in the work of Peter Ramus.[26] However, the most important element here is that the direction of this tendency was in terms of visual schemes, in particular, linear sequence. The linear scheme is, of course, only one direction of this spatial matrix, of what Ong calls the "culmination of a quantified visualist drive:

> This drive is marked by an increased sensitiv- to space and a growing sophistication in ways of dealing with quantity and extension, which comes to a climax not only in the neutral Copernican cosmic space that supplemented the less abstract more crudely physical space of 'forward directions' in Aristotelian cosmol- ogy, but also in even more subtle psychologic- al shifts felt through the whole of society and effecting man's entire outlook on reality. 27

This transformation touches the world of thinking and art through the embodiment of ideas in spatial configurations of the linear, hierarchical or unilateral type. The meaning of certain positions, such as initial, terminal or central points, then, corresponds to certain psychological and intel- lectual shifts in our attitude toward space, and this close relationship between idea and position transforms neutral into active space.

Therefore, the prevailing direction that the expres- sion of an idea takes is not arbitrary but has clear points of identification with metaphorical formulations that may be used to present that idea. Ideas sometime take the form of metaphors; for example, the critical terms 'high style' and 'low style' are in fact metaphors for language, based on a spatial conception of nobility. Styles are neither high nor low in terms of metaphorical distinction; yet, high and low translate the idea into a metaphoric scheme of the noble and the base, which is clearly the use of space to embody an idea.

This enrichment of metaphoric language through the inclusion of spatial term leads to the examination of the

different types of spatial characteristics, since the perception of meaning in spatial arrangements affects the catalogue, which depends on position and direction. Milton's "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity" arranges the arrival of truth in a linear scheme that embodies the effects of the advent of truth upon falsehood. This scheme becomes a spatial metaphor of the cause and effect relationship between the' coming of truth and the banishing of error, while at the same time presenting a temporal array that Laury Nelson, in Baroque Lyric Poetry, believes stretches the scope of "the poem to its farthest limits; the time of the Creation and the hypothetical time of the union of heaven and earth."[28] This is not to say that individual items in the triumph have no inherent meaning, but that the prevailing direction reveals more about the prevailing meaning than anything else. The spatial direction, itself, becomes a metaphor of the complex moral relationship between true and false gods.

This type of metaphoric direction was seen in Botticelli's "Venus and Mars," in which the prevailing direction enunciates the cause and effect of Mars' condition; Veneziano's "Annunciation" also uses direction to project a metaphor of God's influence. This direction is probably the least complex of the many spatial directions discovered and utilized by the Renaissance.

Another type of pictorial space is the space at the top half of the canvus used to represent the imaginative world of Christian vision and heaven. Many paintings use their upper portions to create a spatial version of sacred space.

This technique flourished during the middle ages in Europe; nevertheless, it continued to influence Renaissance painting. "The Vision of St. Jerome" by Andrea del Castagno uses the upper portion of its field as a metaphor of vision. In this fresco, St. Jerome stands between "two female saints" in an Egyptian landscape.[29] He has been beating his breat with a rock and blood drips from the exposed and torn breat. Above St. Jerome and the female figures is the trinity arranged in a ascending vertical order from the crucified Christ, the dove-like Holy Spirit, to the Father in the most exalted position. Using the religious ecstasy as a point of reference, this painting develops the concepts of imaginative space. The upper part of the fresco exists in a different dimension from the lower half as the path of disclosure from St. Jerome's agony and ecstasy leads the eye into a vision of a religious state. From this vertical division of the painting area comes a specifically spatial version of the imaginative world. As the eye travels from the barren landscape to the rich blue sky, it also travels from a natural plane to a supernatural one. This transformation of pictorial space is viable because of the way in which the prevailing direction leads to the area of metaphoric space that is really the transformation of the sky into a metaphor of divinity.

Another example of this use of imaginative space in pictorial fields is Andrea del Sarto's "Assumption of the Virgin." Del Sarto's painting also produces a path of disclosure leading from the earthly dimension (in this case underscored by the death of the Virgin) to the heavenly

Colorplate 27.
ANDREA DEL CASTAGNO.
Vision of St. Jerome.
c. 1454–55. Fresco.
SS. Annunziata, Florence

Colorplate 62. ANDREA DEL SARTO. *Assumption of the Virgin.* 1526–29. Panel, 7′ 9″ × 6′ 9″. Pitti Gallery, Florence

dimension in which the Virgin is enthroned as a queen. The middle section of the painting is a very dark blue, perhaps blocking out any celar-cut manner of viewing the transformation of the Virgin until it is accomplished. This dark blue band obscures the inner workings of the mystery of the assumption, while the upper half of the panel creates an imaginative space revealing the completed miracle.

One of the most important and metaphorical spatial position is the center. As a part of pictorial location, it contains so much visual and mythological importance that the very idea of centrality becomes one of the major intellectual positions in imaginative life. Of all the spatial metaphors, centrality has the most significance for art, politics and religion, since the perception of this spatial metaphor allows for the characterization of pictorial and verbal importance in terms of position. Rudolf Arnheim characterizes the center as part of the referential quality of spatial design, since specific features serve as "frames of reference that may also include characterization."[30] As a bounded structural figure, the center can become either a vortex through which flows the projected meaning or the emblematic significane of a figure or a metaphor itself. For example, in Botticelli's "Venus and Mars" and Titian's "Sacred and Profane Love," the center is occupied by a simple putto. In face, the center of the "Venus and Mars" has the putto looking over his shoulder at Venus in an indication of the transmission of influence form Venus to Mars; the putto is that point between two major figures through influence is pulled.

Colorplate 73. Titian. *Sacred and Profane Love*. c. 1515. Canvas, 3′ 11″×9′ 2″. Borghese Gallery, Rome

In this way, the center becomes more than a static point between two extreme, so that it is a dynamic moment in the relation between two very different mythological figures. In Titian's "Sacred and Profane Love," the center is filled by a putto-like figure dipping (a bowl?) into a well. Here the center is slightly different from Botticelli's: this is not a vortex; it is a space between two poles that may or may not represent an ideal balancing of two forces. This recalls the static center of the _via media_, where the center is a quantitative point between two moral forces. This type of center is very complex because of its inarticulateness in visualizing the resolution between sacred and profane love and its ambiguous relation to the final disposition of this moral confrontation.

There is another kind of center that conveys more emblematic meaning than the vortex-like center, and that is the emblematic center itself. In terms of Alastair Fowler's numerological approach to the question of space in _Triumphal Forms_, a center of a picture, procession, poem, or of a catalogue takes on complex meanings parallel to the development of a political mythology:

> The growth of absolutist monarchy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought a specially heavy emphasis on the sovereign center. 31

This emphasis certainly has its roots in the creation of an emblem of political sovereignty in which the center seems

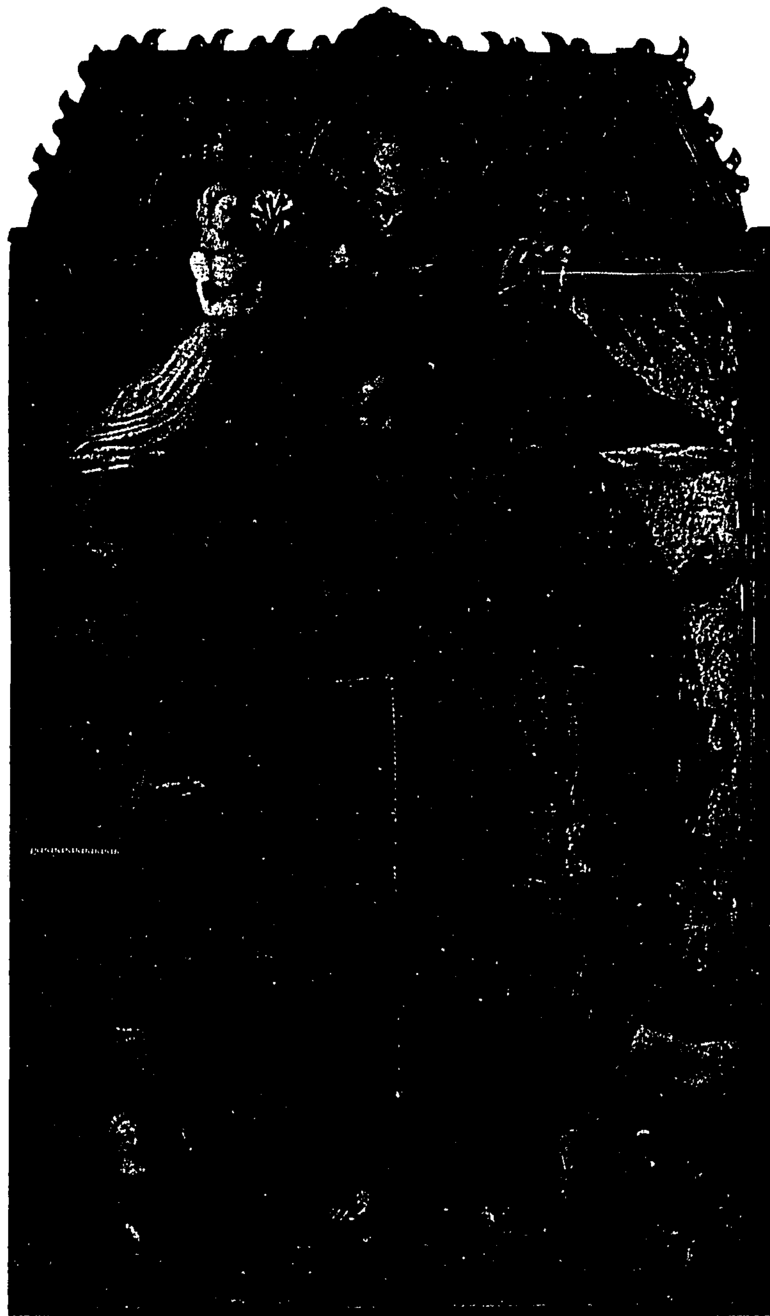
to replace the mediaeval division of higher and lower as representations of hierarchy and sovereignty. To relate the monarch to the idea of the center is to suggest visually the monarch's importance and also to unite the earthly monarch to the universal sovereign whose position is at the center of everything. Fowler perceives that this type of political application had its origins in the creation of an icon of sovereignty:

> Centralized motifs, both in the arts and in political ceremony, seem to have had an origin in the iconology of cosmic kingship. 32

This iconography can be seen clearly in the pictorial arts of Renaissance Italy in which major religious and political figures are very frequently shown centered between other less important figures; here the central position enhances their importance by generating this icon of sovereignty. Raphael's "Pope Leo with Cardinals Julio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi" capitalizes on the iconography of cosmic kingship by placing Pope Leo between the two Cardinals. Yet the Pope does not gaze directly outward; he gazes to the viewer's left in an oblique gesture. Cardinal Luigi de' Rossi looks over the Pope's left shoulder, thereby stressing the Pope's centrality by making him the focal point of a triangle. Here' the center becomes an intense icon of Pope Leo's sovereignty.

Sassetta's "St. Francis in Ecstasy" and Marovaldo's "Last Judgment" both place their main figures, St. Francis

560. RAPHAEL. *Pope Leo X with Cardinals Giulio de' Medici and Luigi de' Rossi.* c. 1517. Panel, 60½ × 47". Uffizi Gallery, Florence



Colorplate 40. SASSETTA. *St. Francis in Ecstasy*, from the back of the Sansepolcro altarpiece. 1437–44. Panel, 80¾ × 48". Berenson Collection, Villa I Tatti, Florence (Reproduced by Permission of the President and Fellows of Harvard College)

Colorplate 2. COPPO DI MARCOVALDO (attributed). *Last Judgment* (portion). Second half of 13th century. Mosaic. Baptistery, Florence

and Christ, in the central position, encircled by a pictorial mosaic. The spatial iconography here enhances the visual dominance of St. Francis and Christ by drawing strict attention to the soverignty of this center within a center. Bellini's "Transfiguration" also uses the center in this way.

Røstvig has done work on the use of the center in relation to Christ and some of her insights concerning this position are applicable to our main theme:

> Gregory the Great is perhaps the most authoritative source for the view that this vision shows Christ seated in the middle, so that it anticipates and confirms the vision of St. John of the Son of Man placed in the middle of the 7 candlesticks (Rev. 1. 12-13). Moreover, the chariot, like the candlesticks, symbolizes the created universe, so that both visions reveal the supreme truth that the Christ is always in the middle. 33

The development of this central iconography in relation to a particular text creates a sophisticated method for reading texts in general. Religious representations of Christ often show him placed securely in the center; for example, Da Vinci's "Last Supper" uses the center to reveal "the supreme truth that the Christ is always in the middle," i.e. in the center of creation, redemption and salvation.

This interpretation dates to the Father and re-emerges during the Renaissance with a great deal of support from artists and poets. Again, Røstvig sums up the pertinent background:

Colorplate 51. GIOVANNI BELLINI. *Transfiguration of Christ*. Late 1480s. Panel, 45¼ × 59". Museo di Capodimonte, Naples

13-3 LEONARDO DA VINCI, *The Last Supper*, fresco, *c.* 1495–98. Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan.

> The theologian Sardo, writing in 1614, drew up a long list of examples showing Christ seated in the middle. Thus Christ is the central figure in the Trinity, placed between God the Father and the Holy Ghost, and Christ was born in media nocte in the middle of Palestine, which in its turn is the center of the world--- Jerusalem being the umbilicous terrae. Furthemore, Christ was presented in the Temple in media doctorum and crucified hanging between earth and heaven, all of which leads to the grand conclusion "Est Itaque Christus, utrious Testamenti centrum." (A. Sardo, _De_ _Arncanis_ (Rome, 1614), p. 391.) 34

This of course carries the idea of the center to one of its iconographical extremes; despite the enthusiasm on Sardo's part, the placing of Christ in the center clearly becomes an emblem of his divine importance and universal kingship. This position, then, becomes visual affirmation of the theological assumptions upon which the idea of the Christ's relationship to the Father and the rest of the world.

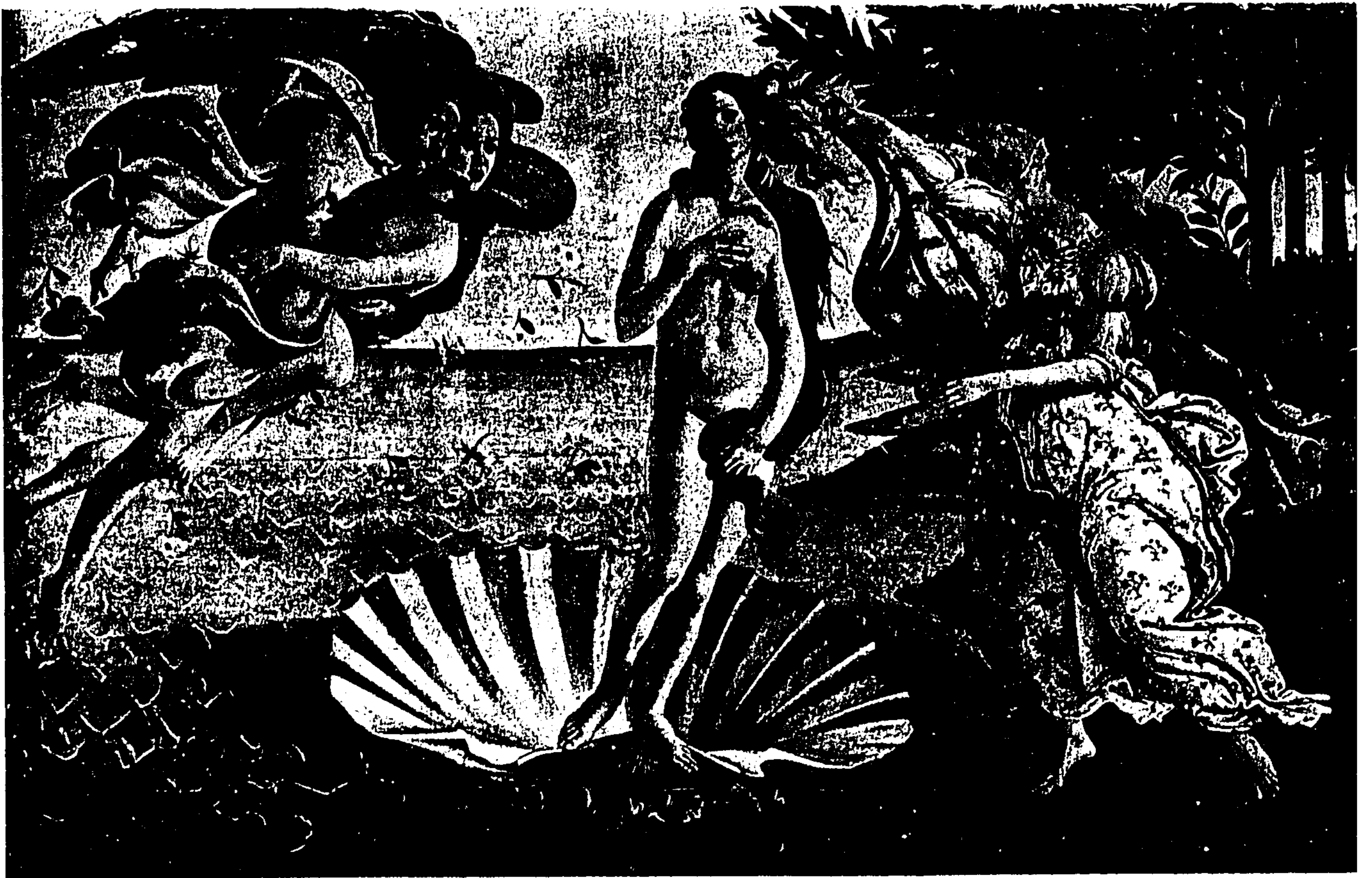
It is inevitable that the central image of sovereignty be adopted for use in political mythology and, when the ubiquitous adaptation of the center became possible, the transformation from sacred to profane centrality was made by Renaissance artists. The Renaissance is filled with centers of both the scientific and mythological variety, and in an example given by Fowler, we can see that centrality became one of key metaphors for importance on many levels:

> The success of the Copernican system robbed the sun of its linear middle position, only to give it a more fundamental centrality. Copernicus himself describes the sun's place at the center of his system as 'like the king's throne.' At times the position had

> an almost mystical significance: Cartari, explaining why Apollo is portrayed in the midst of the Muses ('Apollo perche nel mezze'), writes that 'the central position is given to Apollo not only here but in the universe because he diffuses his vertue through all things--- which is why he was called the heart of heaven. And everyone knows Nicholas of Cusa's Augustinian image of God as a circle whose center is everywhere and the circumference nowhere.' 35

Fowler here succinctly sums up the many different aspects that the center may posses, so that the center can be applied to Apollo as well as to Christ, as long as the mythology of the center is sustained by the individual rendition. Botticelli's great "Birth of Venus" applies the same iconography of the center to Venus' rising from the sea as Nicholas and Sardo apply to Christ. Venus is placed directly in the center of an array, receiving the life-giving breath from Jupiter and a floral robe from the waiting Hour. Here, too, the iconography of the center enhances the moment of the birth of Venus by having her erupt in the central position as an indication of the newly-born goddess' important position in the cosmos. The interaction of religious, political, and mythological centers depends on the need for an iconography of sovereignty in the visual as well as the literary arts. This icon may be reverential or it may be ironic; nevertheless, in the Renaissance, the center becomes this icon, sustaining literary as well as political structures.

The development of a designated meaning for a particular spatial point significantly alters our perception of the catalogue, since it, too, is affected by this trend.



Colorplate 36. SANDRO BOTTICELLI. *Birth of Venus*. After 1482. Canvas, 5′ 9″×9′ 2″. Uffizi Gallery, Florence

Painting, sculpture, triumphs and entertainments are as much affected by the iconographical significance of the center as the catalogue, while a visual scheme, also transforms the visual model into a verbal icon of sovereignty. The relationship between political sovereignty, mythical significance, and the center demands that in specific types of situations, the catalogue must justify its center or its periphery. In some lists, position takes on specific meaning according to the visual convention governing the spatial point; the catalogue, if it is to be at all sophisticated must make certain that those significant points are occupied with a meaningful figure. In fact, every list has to account for the central point; for example, in the sequence,

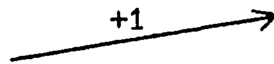
1 2 3 4 5

the spatial significance of the center joins with the numerological meaning of the number 3 to suggest the sovereignty of 3 as the first undividable number, the first geometrical number, and of the number expressing triune unity. This sequence of numbers, then, has a definite 'path of disclosure' and a 'prevailing direction' towards an ordered increase in numerological value based on the addition of 1 to the previous integer to generate the following integer. Yet even with this 'prevailing direction,' the center still radiates additional meaning since it is occupied by a significant number.[36]

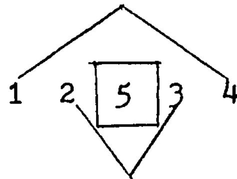
However, if the sequence is rearranged as

1 2 5 3 4

the 'prevailing direction' is radically altered into an assertion of the centrality of the number 5, thus changing the numerological significance.[37] This repositioning creates a different array from the first example which represents an order of ascent, illustrated by this schematic diagram:



But the second sequence now has a 'path of disclosure' that does not move in a numerical ascent; instead it displays a schematic movement toward the central integer:



What this difference in 'prevailing direction' suggests is that the meaning of the sequence depends, in most cases, on the order in which that sequence occurs, so that in the first example, the movement is directly along a linear plane, which may be translated into critical language as simple narrative.[38] But the second example discards the naivete of simple linear unfolding and dramatizes movement as a relentless pursuit of a center in which the meaning of the sequence is revealed. I agree with Fowler that "numerological structure accompanies meaning rather than expresses it,"[39] but I also think that this ordered movement is more than numerological; it is a direction towards the disclosure

of meaning and is visually representative of the manner in which meaning is exposed.

The specific nature of the meaning also depends on the inherent qualities of the details selected for inclusion in the catalogue; for example, if a catalogue were to be made from the list of the Nine Worthies, the traditional or canonical array would be,

> Joshua/David/Judas/Hector/Alexander/Caesar/Arthur/
> Charlemagne/Godrey

Since this follows a chronological pattern, the array resembles a depiction of the different representatives of worthiness from history. In fact, the 'path of disclosure' implied by the sequence Hebrew/Classical/Christian may point to the historical triumph of Christianity (for Christian writers). In this case, the center does not have the acquired importance of sovereignty, because it is more of a transitional point between two more important eras in history. Fowler agrees that the final position can represent either positive or negatives states, depending on the nature of the item involved.[40] For example, Spenser's "Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins" places pride in the initial position, suggesting that pride leads to other sins. Yet pride could be placed in the center as the sovereign sin or in the final position as the accumulation of sin. The position determines the icongraphical meaning. In the above example, the entire emphasis could be shifted by altering the array into

the following configuration:

> Joshua/David/Judas/Arthur/Charlemagne/Godfrey/Hector/
> Alexander/Caesar

In this array, the center is occupied by the Christian Worthies, which may suggest the theoretical way in which Christianity has become a center because of its philosophical redemption of time and history. The first listing of the Nine Worthies is of course the more tradition or canonical way in which to express a balanced historical view of heroes of great value and culture. However, the second array could be valid also if the meaning of the list was being designed for a different purpose.

The nature of this alternative stems from the contiguous relationship between time and space. Meyer Schapiro describes this problem as part of the difficulty of expressing temporal meanings in spatial form:

> Directedness as such is not conventional; it arises from the transitive nature of the objects represented and the task of expressing an order of time in an order of space. The requirement of directedness in successive contiguous scenes admits a choice of direction. Though it becomes a convention, it is not an arbitrary choice, for we sometimes recognize in the direction chosen a good solution of a technical artistic problem. 41

Schapiro's point that the chosen direction is usually a solution to an artistic problem may link the idea of visual movement to the technique of narrative. There are many

examples of s story's being told in the visual arts by a series of panels depicting scenes from the life of a great personage. As the viewer moves his eye from one frame to another, a narrative of events is produced. [42] Not all catalogues, or visual representations, are narrative, but the results of this kind of catalogic movement can frequently be a narrative, which makes the approach to an individual catalogue part of the way of grasping the exact nature of the meanings implied in the artistic choice to construct a catalogue to begin with.

One important similarity between literary catalogues and visual arrays is the way in which both depend on movement as the focal point of meaning, for there is something inherently mutable about movement, and this mutability can be characterized either as naive or sophisticated, depending on whether the movement embodies loss or accumulation. Different view of history are based upon the loss or accumulation of past eras, creating a distinction within the nature of movement that affects the meaning of the procession. In the ordered array of a triumphal procession, figures move across a visual field and gather meanings as they cross imaginative boundaries. In Milton's "Nativity Ode," the procession is based on a motif of exile; in Paradise Lost, Book I, the procession expands its meaning to include Milton's view of Christian history, but, in each example, there is a visualization of certain modes of religious belief. The triumph, as Fowler suggests, "embodies an affirmation of the mutable glory of the mundane world. For, in spite of

religious origins, the triumph had from ancient times celebrated human glory."[43] Of course, in Paradise Lost, the possibility for a degree of parody cannot be overlooked, and that use of parody itself suggests an insight into the mutable nature of certain products of the human imagination in its fallen state.

By means of these two forms, then, the array cam utilize more than positional or numerological meanings. Catalogues can either affirm the value of human life by portraying abundance and variety, or the catalogue may expose the inherently mutable nature of human experience.[44] What this suggests is that the catalogue has to deal with history in a sophisticated manner, because the expression of historical experience takes many other forms than cataloguing even though in Homer, Virgil and Milton, the great epic catalogues offer a view of history that is controlled by the distinct relationship between movement and mutability. If we define mutability as the passing from one state to another accompanied by a feeling of loss, then visual movement approaches a mimetic correspondence with reality. This mimetic correspondence between movement and mutability, then, underlies the structure of the epic catalogue, which certainly investigates the presence of loss and recovery in human life.

Footnotes

Chapter two

1. Walter Ong, The Barbarian Within (New York, 1962), pp. 69-70.

2. Meyer Schapiro, "On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Arts; Field and Vehicle in Image Signs," Sign, Language, Culture, ed. Griemas (Mouton: The Hague, 1970), p. 487.

3. Schapiro, p. 487. Much of Schapiro's argument is based on the manner in which the fixed field becomes an active part of a pictorial figure.

4. Ong, p. 73.

5. Maren-Sofie Røstvig, "Structure as Prophecy: the influence of biblical exegesis upon theories of literary structure," Silent Poetry: Essays in numerological analysis, ed. Alastair Fowler (New York, 1970), p. 39.

6. Schapiro, pp. 487-8. "Through the closure and smoothness of the prepared picture surface, often with a distinct color of the reserved background, the image acquired a definite space of its own, in contrast to the prehistoric wall paintings and reliefs; these had to compete with the noiselike accidents and irregularities of a ground which was no less articulated than the sign and could intrude upon it."

7. Rudold Arnheim, Art and Visual Perception: A psychology of the creative eye (Berkeley, 1965), p. 377.

8. Arnheim, p. 377.

9. This phrase is from Teun A. van Dijk, Some Aspects of Text Grammars. A Study in Theoretical Linguistics and Poetics (Mouton: The Hague, 1972). Van Dijk develops these ideas in terms of narrative and poetic structures.

10. Schapiro, p. 493. This is a key phrase from his argument. It will become clearer that this 'prevailing direction' is very similar to Arnheim's 'path of disclosure.'

11. Schapiro, p. 493.

12. Arnheim, pp. 381-2.

13. Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New York, 1968), pp. 113-28. Wind's discussion of the metamorphosis from Chloris to Flora contains a valuable insight into the nature of pictorial and mythological tansformation.

14. Quoted by Frederick Hartt, *History of Italian Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), p. 228.

15. Ong, p. 70. Ong's work with the spatial character of Renaissance thought provides a necessary link between the pictorial and the verbal arts, in this case, the catalogue.

16. George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed Gladys Doidge Willock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936), p. 64.

17. Puttenham, p. 3.

18. Røstvig, p. 35.

19. Puttenham, p. 298.

20. *Ibid*., p. 40.

21. *Ibid*., p. 39.

22. For a discussion of this based on myth, see Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane* (New York, 1959); for a discussion based on literature, see Angus Fletcher, *The Prophetic Moment* (Chicago, 1971).

23. George R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre* (Chicago, 1964), p. 17.

24. Kernodle, p. 19.

25. Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms* (Cambridge, 1970), p. 17. Fowler's work, like Ong's, Schapiro, and Arnheim's, makes up one of four major viewpoints on this subject.

26. For Ong's work on Ramus, see Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Methodology and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958.

27. Ong, p. 73.

28. Laury Nelson, *Baroque Lyric Poetry* (New Haven, 1961), p. 44.

[29]. Hartt, p. 226. Hartt also believes that the two females might be Mary and Martha.

[30]. Arnheim, p. 378.

[31]. Fowler, p. 26.

[32]. Ibid., p. 23. Fowler's recognition of the importance of this political icon centers on the numerological importance of representation that he is concerned with. However, he does make a valuable contribution when he discusses this political iconology in terms of court entertainments.

[33]. Røstvig, p. 58.

[34]. Ibid., p. 62.

[35]. Fowler, p. 24.

[36]. Some of these examples were developed through discussions with Professor John Hollander, Graduate Center, New York.

[37]. For a key work on numerological interpretation see, Macrobius, Commentary on the Dream of Scipio, trans. William Harris Stahl (New York, 1952).

[38]. One set of important question that will be discussed later on is how does narrative theory relate to the structure and the effectiveness of the catalogue and the chronicle.

[39]. Fowler, p. 20. Fowler's theory of the numerological significance of the array forms a starting point from which we are then able to branch off into other areas of meaning. One such area is that discussed by James Whaler, in Counterpoint and Symbol (New York, 1952).

[40]. This grows out of a discussion of Pope's Epistles to Several Personages, in which Fowler (p. 86) refers to initial and terminal position.

[41]. Schapiro, p. 493. Schapiro's essay is important for its very acute discussion of the frame and the field. His remarks about the way in which visual meaning is revealed clearly underline part of the catalogue's method of unfolding meaning by sequence.

42. This can be seen in tapestries, stained windows, and carved doors, for example, Trajan's column.

43. Fowler, p. 27. This is a major question. The idea of motion as a challenge to permanence and human value certainly is part of the catalogue's super-structure.

44. In some Old English poems, like Deor, Widsith and The Wanderer, loss unfolds itself by a list of the things and men who no longer exist. The power of mutability is thus visualized in Deor's list of Beadohild, Hild, and Eormnanric.

Chapter Three

In addition to the visual structures pertinent to the art of the catalogue, the relationship between the idea of the past and the embodiment of that idea in the language of the catalogue is important to this study. Even the complex process of understanding types of evidence, the reliability of evidence, and the nature of historical fact do not touch the same primitive impulse urging the need for a history to preserve the memory of human action. Perhaps in some ways, history is a kind of collective possip engaged in by those who wish to preserve as well as understand the nature of what takes place around them and elevate that gossip to the level of memory.

Memory involves the oral tradition, for of all the artistic practices in ancient poetry, the oral tradition comes closest to the making of history and literature simultaneously. Stories from the staple of this tradition, whether of gods, heroes or men, form the primary material out of which the oral tradition produced literature. This impulse coupled with the desire to tell and retell stories, thereby making them into something more than narratives; they become part of the entire process of maintaining an imaginative link, a continuity with the past. In some ways, this imaginative continuity is known as history, since it provides a means of arranging the single dimension of the present to include the experience of worlds that no longer exist within history. The relationship between history and the catalogue,

which is not always primary, arises from this attempt to preserve past events and heroes through listing. Of course, history takes in more sophisticated forms that are the larger, more philosophical layers of historical vision, and perhaps the catalogue is the least sophisticated of the version of the historical imagination since interpretations of the meaning of history are more complex in their application to the problem of human existence, but the catalogic approach to history does shape, in minor but significant ways, poems like the Iliad and Paradise Lost. The Iliad, of course, has structures far more complex than the catalogue; nevertheless, the catalogue does allow some particular historical suggestions to be stressed.

This layer in the historical impulse is one of those subordinate levels of a process, an accumulative process, in human thought. Since history consists of many strata, including gossip, legends, documents, etc., the catalogue is one of the ways of discussing historical situations that involve questions other than fact, legitimacy or documention, and focus on historical continuity by connecting one point to another by means of a process of naming and listing. The catalogue can be applied, hidden, or simply never develed; yet there is no way of avoiding that part of the historical process which involves the relationship between two temporal or spatial points.

Certain kinds of oral poetry contain lists of characters who do not enter into the main narrative lines of the poem; perhaps as in Beowulf, poets felt it necessary to

announce songs that were part of a repertoire and that could be performed upon demand. These songs are the direct link from the present to the past and from one legend to another; they are the vehicles by which some of the ancient memories are preserved:

> Then song and revelry rose in the hall;
> Before Healfdene's leader the harp was struck
> And hall-joy wakened; the song was sung,
> Hrothgar's gleemen rehearsed the lay
> Of the sons of Finn when the terror befell them.[1]

This passage from Beowulf presents a significant part of the oral tradition: the singing of the lay recalling the deeds of heroes and tribes as a means of keeping those memories an active part of the imaginative life of Anglo-Saxon culture and of insuring, within the Germanic limits of the poem, the only type of immortality available. In this poem, history, the singing of history, confronts the transitory quality of human life and presents song as its counter-argument. In another Anglo-Saxon poem, Widsith, the minstrel sings:

> Many a song and many a story
> I can tell in the mead-hall, recounting to men
> How princes and nobles graced me with gifts. [2]

Here the minstrel does more than just advertise the types of songs he can sing; he highlights an oral situation that viewed history as a subject for song and also as a collection of songs and stories to be recounted. This draws out the

meaning of the catalogue as a complex trope since the Old English list, which is not identical with the Homeric catalogue, does establish its historical lays as necessary to the memory of a particular people.

"Widsith spoke, his word-hoard unlocked;" this begins the unlocking of lists as well as of stories:

> Of them was Hevola a while the best,
> And Alexander greatest of all
> Of the race of men; he prospered most
> Of all I have heard of over the earth.
> Attila ruled the Huns, Eormanric the Goths,
> Becca the Banings, Gifca the Burgundians;
> Caesar ruled the Greeks, Caelic the Finns,
> Hagene the Holmrygir, Heoden the Glomman. 3

This is a catalogue; it has assumptions and purposes other than the Homeric (among them Widsith's willingness to sing these songs) and suggests a different relationship to history than does Homer's catalogue; yet it possesses that element common to all catalogues: the desire to preserve through listing. Widsith's list suggests that in very different cultures the desire to preserve the memory and the names of men and legends can take the form of the catalogue, in which the names and deeds of heroes and leaders can be expanded into song and preserved through the telling and retelling. The tactics of this list point in the direction that history is a collection of stories and that these collections can be arranged into catalogues.

The relationship between these Anglo-Saxon lists and the Greeks lists is of course indirect; however, they do suggest a universal approach to a fundamental historical

problem. Even though the Homeric catalogue is very different from the Widsithian catalogue, both suggest a similar mode of response to the problem of mutability. Helen's remark to Paris on the power of the memory of song also recognizes this fundamental fact of language:

> On us two Zeus set a vile destiny; so that hereafter we shall be made into things of song for the men of the future. [4]
> (Il. 6. 357f.)

This remark touches upon the center of the oral and, indeed, the written tradition: men of the future learn about those of the past through collections of these "things of song."

"Things of song for men of the future" is, then, one variation of the catalogue in classical Greek poetry that captures the motifs of 'things' from the distant past worth remembering and of future things worth knowing; this seems to be a staple idea in Greek poetry and is also at the center of Greek cataloguing. The attitude toward cataloguing in Homer, Hesiod, Apollonius, and Euripides is based on the necessity and, in certain cases, the desire to infuse a given poetic text with an historical dimension. Like Widsith the minstrel, these Greek writers felt the presence of history and the even more painful presence of impermanence in the legends and materials of poetry.

The type of history engaged in by _The Iliad_ or _The Theogony_ is most clearly mythical and theocratic; yet these two categories reflect the tensions felt by Greek

society over the dialectical presence of memory and impermnence. In The Idea of History, R. C. Collingwood, whose focus is on Herodotus and Thucydides, deals specifically with the idea of history in Greek culture and clarifies the nature of history as a dramatic confrontation between change and stability:

> They saw all nature as a spectacle of incessant change, and human life as changing more violently than anything else. Unlike the Chinese, or the medieval civilization of Europe, whose conception of human society was anchored in the hope of retaining the chief features of its structure unchanged, they made it their first aim to face and reconcile themselves to the fact that such permanence is impossible. This recognition gave to the Greeks a peculiar sensitiveness to history. 5

In a very dramatic way, Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" or Hesiod's "Catalogue of Gods" or of Helen's suitors stand directly in hte middle of this "spectacle of incessant change." Change, in fact, dominates so much of Greek thought that historical and political change only forms half of the definition; there are changes in state, in nature, that are examined profoundly in the tradition of the metamorphosis. The recognition that permanence is impossible generates a desire, almost as an act of self-preservation, either to preserve those valuable structures in a society or to look to a point in the future when those structures may be re-embodied in another and possibly greater society. These two reaction are history and prophecy, which are both found in the Homeric epics and in the Aeneid.

Although the poetic representation of past realities and future possibilities may not be considered "scientific history," it must be acknowledged that scientific history is only one version of the historical imagination that embodies a desire for a certain type of accuracy. There are other historical impulses stressing possibility rather than actuality, such as the awareness of loss on a cultural level and the subsequent discovery of an intellectual or poetic form to preserve a memory of that culture. R. H. Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, in *The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad*, make the important point that in the presence of a disintegrating world some reminder of overall social and cultural value reaffirms what once was of great signifiance:

> ... by the end of the twelfth century, with their world finally crumbling to pieces around them, it would have been natural for poets and audiences alike, to cling desperately to the traditions of more glorious days, and the Catalogue in particular would have been a constant reminder of what Greece had once been like. [6]

Perhaps the very fact that so much of this epic poetry and in particular epic cataloguing goes on within a world that has already lost its glory is also a recognition that the internalization of loss makes the catalogue's version of history what Collingwood calls a "forlorn hope, an attempt to know what, being transitory, is unknowable."[7] This fervent attempt to translate the unknowable into verbal form lies at the heart of the epic catalogue from its earliest

versions in Homer, Hesiod, and Old Testament literature, and supplies the energy for the confrontation between the known and the unknown. Pope's comment on Homer's invocation made it very clear that the most dynamic characteristic of the "Catalogue of Ships" is the opposition between divine knowledge and human limitation. Depending on the sources and situations, this confrontation may produce any of the three varieties of history: scientific, mythical, or theocratic. Whichever one finally emerges, it is nevertheless clear, that part of the process is concerned with the nature of the unknown. In scientific history, the historian calls upon documentation for assistance; in theocratic history, God is the source of information through revelation; and in mythical history, the Muse becomes the translator of the unknown into the known. The Muse, therefore, is the mythical center of the epic catalogue.

Once the poet calls upon the Muse for assistance in working through the past and recreating or recalling the names of those present at a specific event, that process then reveals the type of history and poetry being made. There are sophisticated differences between historical writings that retell events from documents and reports and one that calls upon another kind of "eyewitness," the Muse, for information. Both approaches are valid ways of writing history; yet confirmation of this validity originates in different attitudes towards history, especially since the role of the epic poet is to recreate that past for the briefest of imaginative moments.

Invocation confers upon the epic catalogue two very dynamic ideas: first, that of historical veracity; second, the even more universal rôle of myth. Historical writing, especially Greek writing, abounds with reports from eyewitnesses, who might be described as ultra-pedestrian muses. Collingwood's ideas confirm this tendency in Greek literature:

> Such was the way in which the Greeks conceived the nature and the value of history. They could not, consistent with their philosophical attitude, regard it as scientific. They had to consider it as, at bottom, not a science but a mere aggregate of perceptions. What, then, was their conception of historical evidence? The answer is that, conformably with this view, they identified historical evidence with the reports of facts given by eyewitnesses of those facts. Evidence consists of eyewitnesses' narratives, and historical method of elocuting these. 8

The eyewitnesses Collingwood speaks of are usually those who retell stories of great men and events until these stories are then re-evaluated by writers of history, such as Herodotus or Thucydides, and given a final shape based on the perceptions informing the historian during the evaluation. The concept of the eyewitness is the main idea, for even though the historian speaks of those witnesses from a human point of view, in its earliest form, epic poetry interpreted this as a mythical eyewitness, the Muse.

Within the framework of the epic catalogue, the Muse acts as the eyewitness since it through the Muse's presence at the events being described that the epic poet is

able to recreate those events for his audience. This is really not an exaggeration of the poem's mythical value, for the Muse is an indispensible witness and narrator of the epic event. Pope's comment, quoted earlier, about the dynamic confrontation between human and divine knowledge is resolved through the presence of the Muse. All the epic poets freely admit that without the Muse, they would be unable to pass through the crisis points in their poems, which is as much of a mythical as psychological admission. It is the Muse who translates the unknowable past into knowable shape and allows the poet to justify that shape in terms of epic poetry.

When Homer calls upon the Muse in the <u>Iliad</u>, Book I, to assist him in recalling the names of those Greeks and Trojans involved in the war, he initiates a complex relationship between the historical and mythical elements of his story. Once the Muse is invoked, there is a turning, perhaps even a troping, from one level of history to one level level of myth:

> Tell me now, you Muses, who have your homes
> on Olympos.
> For you, who are goddesses, are there, and
> you know all things,
> And we have heard only the rumour of it and
> know nothing.
> Who then of those were the chief men and the
> lords of the Danaans?
> I could not tell over the multitude of them nor
> name them,
> Not if I had ten tongues and ten mouths, not
> if I had
> A voice never to be broken and a heart of brönze
> within me,
> not unless the Muses of Olympos, daughters

> of Zeus of the Aegis, remembered all those who came beneath Ilion.
> I will tell of the Lords of the ships and the ships numbers. 9
> (Il. 2. 486-94)

On one level, this is a plea for help in overcoming the enormity of the task: "I could not tell over the multitude of them nor name them" is a direct recognition that for the epic poet to retell all of what occurred at Troy without the Muse's help would be a ridiculous presumption, for only with the assistance of eyewitnesses can the epic poet recall the names of the heroes and recreate an accurate picture of what took place. The Muses fulfill one of the historian's criteria for evidence by the fact of their presence at the great event: "For you, who are goddesses, are there."

The reliance on the Muse, strongly expressed in this invocation, distinguishes Homer from other writers such as Apollonius of Rhodes and Apollodorus the Mythographer, who do not place much faith in the Muse's role in their catalogues. At the beginning of the epic catalogue in the Argonautica, Apollonius gives the Muse only a single line:

> The ship, as former bards relate, Argus wrought by the guidance of Athena. But now I will tell the lineage and the names of the heroes and of the long sea-paths and the deeds they wrought in their wanderings; may the Muses be the inspirers of my song. 10

One hardly believes that these Muses will play a very lively role in inspiring this song. Apollodorus, writing a very

different kind of work, the Epitome, does not even mention the Muses before his catalogue of the Greek fleet at Aulis; he simply states in a non-epic context the names and numbers of the men and ships:

> The armament mustered in Aulis. The men who went to Troy were as follows. [11]

Perhaps neither Apollonius nor Apollodorus requires the assistance of the Muse in quite the same way as Homer does; they of course share more immediate eyewitnesses, more tangible sources at least in the presence of the "former bards" who may have written before the third century B. C. In one sense, the Muse is less necessary for the successful telling of the Argonautica because it is not the story of all things and does have written literature as immediate although not ultimate sources. The story of Troy for Greek culture becomes one of the najor stories of the decline and fall of a civilization, even after that civilization has triumphed in a major conflict. Virgil's Aeneid is the story of the ancient lineaments of the most important empire ever founded in history; Milton's Paradise Lost is the story of the beginning of everything, res cuncta, as Samuel Barrow wrote in his prefatory poem.[12] The Argonautica does not seem to need the Muse for its catalogue in the same way the Iliad does, mainly because the Iliad represents a story of far greater significance for the Greek imagination than the Argonautica.

Simpson and Lazenby suggest that the "Catalogue of Ships" represents a kind of history that by its very

nature assumes the characteristics of myth:

> The most plausible way to account for the knowledge of Mycenaean Greece embodied in the Catalogue is to suppose that oral poets composing their songs after the decay of Mycenaean civilization inherited a list or lists of heroes during the Mycenaean Age, and which preserved names which were unknown to them, and traces of a political situation which no longer existed in their day. 13

These "traces of a political situation" are those very "things of song," those fragments, that are the links with a past that is being sought by whatever means available to the epic poet, including the Muse. The invocation before the three major epic catalogues suggests that the epic catalogue is a blend of historical and mythical elements held together by the force of the invocation and the adherence to the pattern of selectivity evidenced in Homer, Virgil, and in Milton's attempt to name only the chief characters. This is really an affirmation of the tropical nature of the epic catalogue through the 'turning' from literal to mythical history and naming.

Homer prepares for this 'turning' by a series of epic similes that are placed before the invocation. Once the "heralds made their cry and the men were assembled swiftly," Homer offers descriptions of this host by means of three similes: "obliterating fire;" "the multitudinous nations of birds;" and as the "multitudinous nations of swarming insects."[14] The increase in quantity from one simile

to the other stresses the impossible nature of this task; how is it possible to name the "multitudinous nations of insects?" The answer follows in the invocation to the Muse to assist in naming only the captains and the numbers of the ships, since the overwhelming numbers suggested by all three of the similes reveal the need for selectivity if any type of success and credibility is to be achieved.

Following in the tradition of the Homeric invocation is Virgil's invocation to the Muse just before the beginning of the "Catalogue of Italian Legions." These two invocations create different fields: Homer's recalls those heroes who fought at Troy; Virgil's avoids large numbers and stresses the elegiac significance of those indigenous warriors about to perish before the providential history of Rome:

> O Goddesses, now open Helicon
> and guide my song: what kings were spurred to war;
> what squadrons filled the plaine behind each chieftan;
> what men graced Lovely Italy even then;
> You can remember and retell, the slender
> breath of that flame can scarcely reach us. 15
> (VII. 846-53)

What Virgil requires from the Goddesses is more than simple recall; he implores them to beautify his epic with the shapes of those men who "graced lovely Italy even then." This clearly modifies the nature of this catalogue as opposed to Homer's and creates a different context in which the historical worth of the native Italians is contrasted with the destiny of the founders of the city of Rome.

The epic catalogues in the <u>Iliad</u>, the <u>Theogony</u>, and the <u>Aeneid</u> all begin with invocations. However, in the <u>Theogony</u>, the Muse is called on to provide other than the names of heroes and warriors; she is also called on to supply the names and stories of the gods. Hesiod's <u>Theogony</u>, which is a catalogue of the lives and generations of the gods, begins with an elaborate invocation to the Helikonian Muses in the hope of eliciting information about the time of the beginnings:

> Let us begin our singing
>   from the Helikonian Muses
> who possess the great and holy mountain
>   of Helikon
> and dance there on soft feet
>   by the dark blue water
> of the spring, and by the altar
>   of the powerful Khronos. 16

These Muses reside by the altar of Kronos, giving them an even more primordial dimension than in Homer and Virgil, which is only fitting since Hesiod's catalogue is to be a catalogue of gods. Before beginning his task, Hesiod, after thirty more lines of this passage, reiterates the invocation and makes even greater claims for this type of inspiration:

> Come you then, let us begin from the Muses
>   who by their singing
> delight the great mind of Zeus, their father,
>   who lives on Olympos,
> as they tell of what is, and what is to be,
>   and what was before
> with harmonious voices, and the sound
>   that comes sweet from their mouths
> never falters, and all the mansions of Zeus
>   the father

of the deep thunder is joyful
   in the light voice of the goddesses
that scatters through it, and the peaks
   of snowy Olympos re-echo
and the homes of the immortals, and they
   in divine utterance
sing first the glory of the majestic race
   of immortals
from its beginning...17

Hesiod's main request of the Muses, who possess the gift of "divine utterance," is to assist him in peering into the primordial past and recalling "from its beginning" the race of the immortals. The emphasis in all three of these epic catalogues is on a distant past: Homer's "unless the Muses.../remembered all who came beneath Ilion;" Virgil's "what men graced lovely Italy even then;" Hesiod's "sing first the glory of the majestic race/of immortals/from its beginning;" these statements emphasize the point made by Hesiod's invocation that the epic catalogue is a trope for recalling things from the beginning and linking them to current reality by means of a visionary mode of poetry. In _Myth and Reality_, Mircea Eliade focuses on the mythical importance of the invocation in any attempt to discover origins, and his conclusion can be applied to these epic invocations in particular:

> By virtue of primordial memory that he is able to recover, the poet inspired by the muses has access to the original realities. These realities were manifested in the mythical times of the beginning and constitute the foundations of this world. But just because they appeared _ab origine_, they are no longer perceivable in current experience. 18

The invocations we have looked at express a definite concern for those primordial realities that must be remembered and retold if the current state of experience is to share a conscious relationship with the past. The epic catalogue seems, then, to be the type of trope through which the poetic imagination, inspired by the Muses, hopes to recover those original things which, as Eliade says, are "the foundations of this world." To forget the names of Gods, heroes or Italian warriors would be an imaginative betrayal of the mythical reality of human origins. Those "mythical times of the beginning" are knowable only through the power, the *ab origine* power, of the human imagination, and the epic catalogue is one way of translating that power into verbal shape. In one sense, these invocations suggest an apprehensiveness for the beginning and continuity of major epochs; in another and perhaps even more sophisticated sense, the invocation suggests that the catalogue is one of the many complex literary choices made by the poet at a particular moment of imaginative crisis in his attempt to recall first things.[19]

Once the nature of the invocation settles into the poem, and it does so very quickly, the catalogue itself may vary from one variety to another. In fact, the catalogues found in Homer, Virgil and Milton have very different effects upon their larger poetic contexts. The "Catalogue of Ships" in the *Iliad* perserves a memory of great men at the most important moment of their lives; yet the catalogue occurs during the ninth year of the war after many of the multitude

have perished and the ships no longer play much of a role in the struggle (except for the final deceptive role).

Although the Homeric catalogue is not the only one in antiquity, its presence and power in the *Iliad* make it the *locus classicus* of its kind. Thomas Allen, in *The Homeric Catalogue of Ships*, makes the point that "We find no trace of an independent Catalogue, or of a catalogue other than the Homeric. No source other than the Homeric is to be descried."[20] Allen, who has both edited and commented on this catalogue, sees its function very much im terms of a *dramatis personae*:

> The Catalogue, if we are to regard it as part of the narrative, serves the purpose of a dramatis personae; it gives the reader the list of characters about whom he is to read in the poem. Homer placed it here for the illumination of the reader, that by reference to it he might determine the country and the parentage of Meriones and Antiochus, Asius and Sarpedon. 21

While Homer's catalogue does supply the names and parentage of the heroes, it also sustains a much more ritualized effect in terms of the *Iliad's* recreation of the heroic age. Like *Widsith's* list of possible stories from the Germanic heroic age, the "Catalogue of Ships" indicates just how impressive the age of heroes was at one of its greatest moments, before what Collingwood termed "incessant change" transformed this glory into memory:

> Swift Aias son of Oileus led the men of Lokris,

> the lesser Aias, not great in size like the
> son of Telamon,
> but far slighter. He was a small man armoured
> in linen,
> yet with the throwing spear surpassed all
> Achaians and Hellenes. 22

This type of entry does more than suggest dramatis personae; it describes in abbreviated form, the singular distinguishing characteristic of Aias, son of Oileus, and carefully separates him from Aias Telamonious by stressing the former's spear-throwing prowess. What has happened here is that a permanent record of Aias, son of Oileus, has been articulated to remind men of the future of the worth and individuality of this man.

Homer also achieves a rhythmic balance throughout the catalogue by placing his major figures at regularly spaced intervals and, in this way, avoiding monotony. He lists the main heroes in this order: Aias, son of Oileus; Diomedes of the great war cry; Agamemnon, Menelaus; Nestor, Agapenor; then, after some other less striking figures: Odysseus, Idomeus, Tlepolemos and finally Achilles. This pattern allows each geographical region to be discussed in terms of the number of ships, the names of the warriors, and even some reflections on that heroe's military, ancestral or mythical past. For example, in the Tlepolemos entry, we are told that Tlepolemos, son of Herakles, led nine ships from Rhodes and ordered them into triple divisions led by Ialysos, Lindos, and Kameiros. This is then followed by an abbreviated narrative concerning the origin, character, and

adventures of Tlepolemos:

> Of all these Tlepolemos the spear-famed was leader,
> he whom Astyocheia bore to the strength of Herakles.
> Herakles brought her from Ephyra and the river Selleris
> after he sacked many cities of strong, god-supported fighters.
> Now when Tlepolemos was grown in the strong-built mansion,
> he struck dead his own father's beloved uncle,
> Likymnios, scion of Ares, a man already ageing.
> At once he put his ships together and assembled a host of people
> and went fugitive over the sea, since the others threatened,
> the rest of the sons and the grandsons of the strength of Herakles.
> And he came to Rhodes a wandered, a man of misfortune,
> and they settled there in triple division by tribes, beloved
> of Zeus himself, who is lord over all gods and men,
> Kronos' son, who showered the wonder of wealth upon them. 23
> (Il. II. 657-70)

This is clearly more than a naming of a character and his parentage; it is an opportunity to recover the heroe's past and incorporate it into the body of knowable and memorable details from the heroic age. In the above passage, there is a wealth of information regarding Tlepolemos, his heritage, his actions, his character, and the round about way he came beneath the towers of Ilion. All of this surrounds the Iliad with a multitudinous amount of cultural details and worthwhile stories that may be said to create an ethos.

When we examine some other catalogues that are modeled on Homer's "Catalogue of Ships," we immediately see

the importance of the expanded entry for the affirmation of individual as well as cultural integrity. Apollonius of Rhodes, in his Argonautica, includes a number of these epitome-like narratives in his catalogue and, like Homer, he does so when the details are worth knowing and preserving:

> From rich Gyston came Coronus, son of Caeneus, brave, but not braver than his father. For bards relate that Caeneus though still living perished at the hands of the Centaurs, when apart from the other chiefs he routed them; and they, rallying against him, could neither bend nor slay him; but unconquered and unflinching he passed beneath the earth, overwhelmed by the downrush of many pines. 24

In terms of the direct unfolding of the main story, these brief portraits of a character's personal and ancestral past do retard the overall movement of the narrative; yet they also add to the universal and encyclopaedic dimension of the epic by maintaining a personal history of each important figure.

Occasionally in non-epic contexts, the abbreviated narrative may be eliminated and names and numbers listed without interruption. In the Epitome, Apollodorus catalogues the Greek fleet at Aulis in what may be called a literal act of listing. Since he is not concerned with writing epic or with exploring the mythical implications of the story of Troy, Apollodorus avoids any invocation or mention of the ancestral backgrounds; he merely gives the names and numbers:

Of the Boeotians, ten leaders; they brought
forty ships,
Of the Orchomenians, four; they brought
thirty ships.
Of the Phocians, four leaders; they brought
forty ships,
Of the Euboeans, Elphenor, son of Chalcodon
and Alcyone; he brought forty ships. 25

Perhaps of all the catalogues we have looked at, this is the nearest to a literal list; it excludes anything but names and numbers and, even its reference to the "son of Chalcodon and Alcyone," does not bring it into the are of the tropical catalogue, which suggests that part of the tropical act of cataloguing involves more of a mythical and historical approach instead of a quantitative ethos.

Even in a non-epic context, such as Euripides' Iphigeneia at Aulis, the tropical nature of the catalogue can becomes part of the dramatic structure by turning from the literal approach to a more subtle modulation of the traditional method of cataloguing:

I have come to the Aulian sea-gulf's verge
To her gleaming sands:
...
Have come to behold
The Achaean array, and the heroes oars
That shall onward speed
A thousand galleys to Troyland's shores. 26

This is an unusual role for the chorus, that of the cataloguer, but by making it so, Euripides is able to trope on the "Catalogue of Ships" in the Iliad which presents a major battle following the catalogue, and comment on the dramatic

situation in contrast to the epic source:

> There I marked the twain,
> The Oilid Aias and Telamon's child,
> Salamis pride.
> By the shifting maze of the draughts beguiled
> Sat side by side
> Protesilaus and he that was sprung
> Of Poseidon's seed
> Palamedes: and there, by the strong arm flung
> Of Diomede
> Did the discuss leap, and he joyed therein. 27

By cataloguing the fleet at this particular moment, Euripides comments on the dramatic necessity of the sacrifice of Iphigeneia. The multitudinous host is stopped, poised at Aulis, waiting for the sacrifice to propell them on to the shores of Troy. Even in this non-epic context, the catalogue is still a trope because it avoids the literalness of names and numbers and turns from merely listing to reflecting on the dramatic as well as historical antecedents of the story of Troy. Homer's catalogue of the Greek army is a dynamic part of the narrative, for once the Greeks and the Trojans have been catalogued, they "come on with clamour and shouting" and join battle. What makes Euripides' catalogue tropical is that it parodies that dynamism by replacing activity with the irony of stasis, since the Greek fleet, for all its power, must await the pleasure of the Gods. In this context, Euripides' catalogue of the fleet at Aulis is a trope.

Events of great importance also found expression in catalogues from the Boeotian tradition as well as in the

Homeric. Hesiod's Catalogue of Women, even in its fragmentary state as a text, indicates how widespread and serious was the Boeotian mode. In his translation of Hesiod, Richmond Lattimore remarks that the tradition of cataloguing was one of the major forms of the Boeotian epic:

> In fact, the poets of the Boiotian epic were not principally story tellers. Yet extended poetry must have some containing frame. Boiotia favors the catalogue and the genealogy: who is who, and what is what, and how they came to be; and again, the moral: these things being so, why; and what to do. Such elements, fundamental to Boiotian, are incidental to Homeric epic; when they do become primary in Homer, as in the Iliad's "Catalogue of Ships" (which opens with Boiotia) or the Odyssey's "Procession of Heroines," it has always been felt that Boiotia has crept in. And so it has,... 28

Lattimore's remarks make it very clear that for the Boiotian tradition the catalogue was a means of providing answers to questions of identity, origin and history. Not only does the catalogue organize material, but it also acts as a frame within which secondary narrative directions may be discovered. The Boeotian epic also affirms the independence and the sophistication of the catalogue as more than just an interpolation interfering with the major story. Of course this version of poetic technique creates a type of narrative that is both contained within the catalogue and also contrapuntal to it. Even Hesiod's fragmentary Catalogue of Women suggests that a simultaneous presentation of narrative directions is possible and sometimes very effectiveness in modulating a single-direction narrative. The possibilities

for creating a sophisticated narrative by means of the catalogue are clearly exploited by Hesiod, whose catalogues are not incidental but actual poetic structures in themselves. For example, in the following passage from the Catalogue of Women, the conclusion to the list of Helen's suitors illustrates how effective a catalogue can be in shaping a contrapuntral mode of story telling:

> But of all who came for the maid's sake, the Lord Tyndareus sent none away, nor yet received the gift of any, but asked of suitors sure oaths, and bade them swear and vow with unmixed libations that no one else henceforth should do ought apart from him as touching the marriage of the maid with the shapely arms; but if any many take her by force, he bade all the others together follow after and make him pay the penalty. And they, each of them hoping to accomplish his marriage, obeyed him without wavering. But warlike Menelaus, the son of Atreus, prevailed against them all, because he gave the greatest gift. 29

As a trope in this type of narrative situation, the catalogue depends on describing a particular point, such as the disposition of Helen's suitors, while alluding to future situations, such as those to which the oath binds the suitors; this oath binding the Achaians against anyone taking Helen by force, therefore, brings the Trojan war into the narrative foreground as the most important implication of the present situation. Hesiod, then, considers the Trojan war in this alternate tradition as a real possibility during this very early stage in the development of the story and alludes indirectly to the rape of Helen and the military consequences of that act. The Miltonic catalogue resembles

Hesiod's in this very manner of contrapuntal narrative.

This connection of an incident in a narrative to another is also an important part of the genealogical catalogue, which, like Hesiod's Theogony, shows the continuity and the relationship between points in time and space as part of the prevailing direction within a specific catalogue. Like the presentation of heroes in the Iliad, the genealogical catalogue in Hesiod and the Bible is very much an epic version of history as that history is contained in the dynamic relationships between one generation and another. In the Theogony, the unfolding of history follows closely the genealogical unfolding of the race of the gods:

> Without any sweet act of love
> she Gaia produced the barren
> sea, Pontos, seething in his fury of waves,
> and after this
> she lay with Ouranos, and bore him
> deep-swirling Okeanos
> the ocean-stream; and Koios, Krios,
> Hyperion, Iapetos,
> and Theia too and Rheia, and Themis,
> and Mnemosyne,
> Phoibe of the wreath of gold,
> and Thetys the lovely. 30

Here the catalogue blens elements of identity and origin with a history of the creation of the world as well as of the gods. This is preeminently mythical poetry in its emphasis on the beginning of things as well as on the continuity of those realities.

R. G. Collingwood's formulation of the Greek attitude toward history applies more to the Iliad than it does

to the Theogony because the story of Troy occurs within a limited past, the heroic age, and the story of the gods really takes place in pre-history. While he agrees that history, like myth, is a search for origins, Collingwood also stresses the definite control Greek history sought over a knowable and limited past:

> Greek history is not legend, it is research; it is an attempt to get answers to definite questions about matters of which one recognizes oneself as ignorant. It is not Theocratic, it is humanistic; ... Moreover, it is not mythical. The events inquired into are not events in a dateless past, at the beginning of things: they are events in a dated past, a certain number of years ago. 31

Collingwood's point that the Greek attitude toward history was neither mythical nor concerned with the beginning of things really applies more to Thucydides and Herodotus than it does to Homer and Hesiod. There are of course differences between the history of Herodotus and the epic poetry of Homer and Hesiod: the latter are not writing history; they are writing epic history which does deal with things from a dateless past and does seek out the beginnings of things, wither on a cultural or universal level. From Hesiod's Theogony, we can also see how important the origin of primordial realities are in themselves and also in their affect on the current state of reality; to a degree, this is also true of Homer's "Catalogue of Ships," which is not describing an unlimited past but an unlimited, or at least, an

unknowalbe number of heroes.

Lattimore goes even further in classifying the differences between the Homeric and the Hesiodic modes of epic poetry and, in particular, epic cataloguing:

> Hesiod himself did not name the gods-- he catalogued them; by means, chiefly of genealogical classification. He is , in a way, the first Greek theologian, and so in a vaguer way, the first philosopher. Homer's gods serve narrative; narrative for human beings must use human characters, however eagerly disguised; so Homer's gods are really people, and Homer is basically antitheological and antiphilosophical. This was constantly acknowledged by Socrates and Plato. 32

By making narrative demands upon his gods, Homer redefines their theological nature in terms of the needs of his own story and therefore creates a complex view of the nature of human action and passion. But Homer does not catalogue gods; he catalogues men during a very specific moment of their lives against a background of ancestral and personal details. This raises a crucial difference between Homer and Hesiod, since the Theogony describes a dateless past to create a theological and historical link between the origins of the gods and the great men who are their descendents:

> Farewell now, you who have your homes
>   on Olympos, farewell
> to islands, mainland masses,
>   and the open sea that is between them.
> But now, O sweet-spoken Muses of Olympos,
>   daughters
> of Zeus of the aegis,
>   sing out the names of those goddesses

> who went to bed with mortal men and
> themselves immortal,
> bore to these children in the likeness
> of the immortals. 33

This, then, begins a catalogue of demi-gods and heroes, suggesting that the genealogical mode of cataloguing can also be applied to the limited past as well as to the dateless past; in addition, this continuity proposed by this method reveals the catalogue to be a multi-faceted trope.

Although originating in a very different cultural and intellectual context, Biblical genealogies suggest some similar patterns to the Hesiodic ones and have the additional power of revelation to support the claims made by the catalogue. Genesis is filled with genealogies, beginning in chapter five:

> This is the book of the generations of Adam
> ...
> And Adam...begat a son...and called his
> name Seth.
> And Seth lived a hundred and five years,
> and begat Enos:
> And Seth lived after he begat Enos eight
> hundred and seven years, and begat sons and
> daughters...
> And Enos lived ninety years, and begat Cainan...
> And Cainan lived seventy years and begat
> Mahalaeel. 34

This catalogue of the descendents of Adam continues throughout chapter five; in fact, so much of Genesis deals with generations that a scheme of direct details emerges as a genealogical trope. Like the Iliad and the Aeneid, Genesis

is the earliest record of the history of a particular group of people and looks back to the origin of most reality and, what is peculiar to Biblical literature alone, preserves a clear memory of the generations within a specific group. This Biblical pattern also shapes New Testament literature, specifically Matthew's Gospel, which makes claims for the genealogical realities before presenting the life of Jesus:

> The book of the generations of Jesus Christ, the son of David, the son of Abraham.
> Abraham begat Isaac; and Isaac begat Jacob; and Jacob begat Judas and his brethren.
>
> ... So all the generations from Abraham to David are fourteen generations; and from David until the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ are fourteen generations. 35

Because of the special theological and historical nature of the Jewish people, the separation of myth and history in conjunction with Eliade's formula concerning the "origins of things" redefines the genealogical catalogue as a tropical link between New and Old Testament worlds in such a way that the primordial reality of the "chosen seed" is imaginatively valid. Compared to this type of Biblical genealogy, Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" seems to occur in an unlimited past since there are no links between the heroic past and the present state of reality; the Bible dispells this sense of loss between eras and generations by linking Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, Abraham to David, and David to Jesus.

Revelation has replaced the Muse in this context not only as the source of knowledge about an unknowable past but in also adding the dimension of continuity to the memory of that condition known as "in the beginning."

Of course, like the _Iliad_ and the _Theogony_, the Bible also expands some of the entries within the genealogical catalogue to include some noteworthy narrative details; in general, however, the Biblical genealogy avoids an excess of non-literary detail in favor of the reality of naming and recording the all-important scheme of continuity. In its most extreme form, the Biblical genealogy becomes an almost literal attempt to list all the generations from Adam to the reign of Jehoiakim. _The Book of Chronicles_ is by far the most literal catalogue that we will look at; it is also the most economical in its use of expansion:

> Adam. Sheth, Enosh,
> Kenan, Mahalaleel, Jered,
> Henoch, Methuselah, Lamech,
> Noah, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. 36

Then it continues to list generation after generation, ending with Jehoiakim and the proclamation of Cyrus. _The Book of Chronicles_ clearly represents a literal mode of cataloguing the beginning of things to the then current historical reality. Like Homer's "Catalogue of Ships," _The Book of Chronicles_ is a document almost completely independent of major narratives; there are narratives in _The Second Book of Chronicles_, but they come after the main body of the

catalogue of the generations of Adam. Because of the specific purpose behind this genealogy, which is to support literally the reality of Jewish history, there are really no tropical aspects apparent in this type of catalogue. The fact that _The Book of Chronicles_ makes an appeal for credibility based on literal reality instead of on the memory of a heroic past, separates it from the _Theogony_, which has a more tropical character.

When we speak of genealogies, we are really speaking about a clear and plausible connection between beginnings and endings. In _The Book of Chronicles_, the relationship between first and last things, specifically, members of the Jewish race, assumes particular importance because this literal approach to history binds the past to the present in an exact correspondence; yet it must be remembered that in _The Book of Chronicles_ this union of primordial and current realities takes place through the carefully detailed listing of an enormous number of names into a vision of continuity.

This relationship can also be structured imaginatively. In the "Catalogue of Ships," there is a distinct picture of the relationship between beginnings and endings because indirectly this mustering of troops will precipitate the ultimate death of Hector and point to the eventual fall of Troy. Homer's portraits of heroes, however, do not create an atmosphere of individualized pathos; instead they create a sense of culture.

Virgil's "Catalogue of Italian Legions" in Book Vii of the _Aeneid_, however, adds an elegiac mode to the art

of cataloguing that redefines the Homeric model and will also reappear in Milton's work as he too details the transformation of one political reality into another. At the imaginative center of Virgil's invocation to his catalogue is the prevailing modality of Virgilian epic as an expression of elegiac feelings towards the reality of the transformation of political cultures: "What men graced lovely Italy even then." This very lovely image makes it clear that this catalogue, even as a recognition of the certain destiny of Roman power, also recalls the grace and fragile beauty of those native Italians whose historical was superceded by Roman providence. Virgil's catalogue is not a celebration of power but of those complex relationships that bring about a rearrangement of the surface of political reality. His portrait of Helaesus makes it clear that this is to be a sophisticated treatment of multiple beginnings and endings:

> Next, one of Agamemnon's men, Helaesus,
> who hates the name of Troy, has yoked his horses
> and rides his chariot; in the cause of Turnus
> he sweeps along a thousand savage tribes. 37

Here the catalogue easily allows Virgil to allude to the Hellenic-Trojan conflict which still persists as Aeneas encounters an enemy of Troy, Helaesus, while attempting to found the new Troy at Rome. The epic mythology here sustains the complex nature of the end of one society and the beginning of another, greater, society embodying the

gods and the heroism of the older culture. In its first level of meaning, Virgil's catalogue recalls the earlier struggle between the forces of Agamemnon and those of Priam; the founding of Rome is no simple business as the residue from Troy encounters the native inhabitants in a very rich epic context stressed by the entries in the catalogue.

Perhaps the most elegiac portrait of those native inhabitants is the portrait of Camilla, concluding the Virgilian catalogue and once again emphasizing the importance of the final position:

> Across the tallest blades of standing grain
> she flies--and never mars the tender ears;
> or poised upon the swelling wave, she skims
> the sea--her swift soles never touch the water.
> And as Camilla passes, all the young
> pour out from field and house; the matrons crowd
> and marvel, staring, in astonishment
> at how proud royal purple veils Camilla's
> smooth shoulders, how a clasp of gold entwines
> her hair, at how she bears her Lycian quiver,
> her shepherd's pike of myrtle tipped with steel.[38]
> (VII. 1061-72)

This entry carefully blends the epic, the heroic and the elegiac into a complex blend of native or local culture at the very moment before it begins its movement toward collapse and transformation into Roman culture. The ineluctable march of Roman destiny overwhelms the lives of these local inhabitants and absorbs them into a new culture: "The Fates/ have crushed us, we are carried by the storm./Unhappy men!" (VII. 781-2). Throughout the catalogue and especially at this final vision, the inevitable process of cultural

mutability dominates the style of writing, offering a redefinition of the catalogue as an epic trope set in an elegiac mode. As Collingwood says of Livy's attitude towards Roman history, "it was not one of a possible number of histories but universal history, the history of the only genuinely historical reality."[39] Before the awesome destiny of this genuine historical, other historical realities soon became un-realities.

The most important point here for this study is that the catalogue presents this vision of the triumph of the founders of New Troy over the local inhabitants in an elegiac tone, suggesting that the catalogue is clearly a trope in which wholeness and fragmentation can be depicted simultaneously. The Book of Chronicles, through very extensive lists, supports the idea of wholeness in time; Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" ironically proclaims wholeness in cause; and Virgil's "Catalogue of Italian Legions" stresses cultural wholeness undercut by the approach of dissolution. Perhaps this pattern of thought is best expressed by Mallory's "The Quest of the Holy Grail," which is a final vision of the beauty of Arthur's society as it approaches this last and more important quest. Arthur's realization that the end of his world is near motivates him to assemble all his knights, "all hole togydir:"

> "Now," seyde the Kynge, "I am sure at this quest of the Sankegreall shall all ye of the Rownde Table departe, and never shall I see you agayne hole togydirs, therefore ones shall I se you togydir in the medow, all

> hole togydir in the medow of Camelot, to juste and to turney, that aftir youre dethe men may speke of hit that such good knyghtes were here, such a day, hole togydir. 40

This is one of the most moving speeches in Mallory. In the face of imminent dissolution, the assembling of all Arthur's knights, "all hole togydir" in the medow of Camelot," creates a visual icon of wholeness poised on the brink of fragmentation, which is very similar to the elegiac mood sustained by Virgil's, "her shepherd's pike tipped with steel."

In all the catalogues we have looked at the primary reality, the phenomenological reality has been spatial: "the blossoming meadow of Skamandros;" "lovely Italy;" and "the medow of Camelot." These are the spatial points that witness the transformation of one reality into another, but which also preserve fragments of those prior realities through the articulation of names as a counter-balance to the power of mutability. In this way the catalogue has preserved human existence within space by brooding on the phenomenolgy of meadows and plains, which were once teeming with a multitudinous host of Achaians, Italians, and English knights, but which are now empty, except as they are populated by the catalogue and the imagination.

Footnotes

Chapter three

1. Beowulf, trans. Charles W. Kennedy (London, 1940), p. 35.

2. Widsith in An Anthology of Old English Poetry, trans. Charles W. Kennedy (New York, 1960), pp. 59-60.

3. Ibid., p. 59. Even though Old English poetry is a different kind of poetry from Greek or Latin, it is nevertheless clear from these examples from Widsith and Beowulf that cataloguing is a universal force of organization of ideas and of preserving the memory of people and places. This is not part of a collateral tradition; rather it seems to be a characteristic of the very structure of making a list.

4. This passage is from Charles Rowan Beye's The Iliad, The Odyssey, and the epic tradition (Garden City, 1966), p. 1. Beye's point later in this same work about "things of song" as a vital part of the epic tradition is appropriate to our discussion.

5. R. G. Collingwood, The Idea of History (Oxford, 1946), p. 22. Collingwood's ideas on history are a very important part of the substructure of this study. Much of the discussion of the epic catalogue rests on some of these ideas concerning history.

6. R. Hope Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad (Oxford, 1970), p. 167.

7. Collingwood, p. 28. Collingwood's point here about the resignation of the Greeks to the unknowable reminds me of Pope's remarks about the magnificance of the confrontation between the knowable and the unknowable in terms of the knowledge of god and the ignorance of man.

8. Collingwood, pp. 24-5. "Eyewitnesses" is not a flippant concept when discussion the Muse since most epic poets admit that the Muse was "there," witnessing the events as they took place. In this way, they are eyewitnesses.

9. The Iliad of Homer, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, 1967), p. 89. Lattimore's translation will be used for all quotations from the Iliad; henceforth referred in the notes as The Iliad.

10. Apollonius Rhodius, The Argonautica, trans. R. C. Seaton (Cambridge, Mass., 1930), p. 5.

11. Apollodorus the Mythographer, The Library, trans. Sir James George Frazer (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 181. That Apollodorus used the catalogue in his Epitome was suggested to me by Thomas W. Allen's The Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Oxford, 1921), p. 25.

12. This passage from Samuel Barrow's poem is from The Student's Milton, ed Frank Allen Patterson (New York, 1957), p. 157. Barrow's poem is discussed by Northrop Frye in The Return of Eden (Toronto, 1965), pp. 4-9. Frye makes the point on pp. 6-7 that Milton's epic blended the encyclopaedic to the Christian: "And the ideal, the huge, impossible ideal, would be a poem that derived its structure from the epic tradition of Homer and Virgil and still had the quality of universal knowledge which belonged to the encyclopaedic poem and included the extra dimension of reality that was afforded by Christianity."

13. Simpson and Lazenby, p. 158. The relationship of the oral tradition and the catalogue seems to be supported by the need to have a convenient system of memory available to preserve the subjects if not the songs themselves.

14. The Iliad, p. 88. This pattern will be carefully imitated by Milton in Book I of Paradise Lost as we shall see in Chapter five.

15. The Aeneid of Virgil, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (Berkeley, 1971), p. 74. All citations from the Aeneid are from this translation; henceforth referred to in the notes as The Aeneid.

16. Hesiod, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, 1967), p. 123.

17. The Theogony, in Hesiod, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, 1967), p. 125. The Theogony is a very important work in the catalogue tradition since it contains several of the more significant aspects of cataloguing, including the invocation and the genealogy.

18. Mircea Eliade, Myth and Reality (New York, 1963), p. 16. This book first suggested to me that the invocation to the epic catalogue was in reality an appeal for insight into the primordial condition of the world and the imagination.

19. Leslie Brisman in Milton's Poetry of Choice and Its Romantic Heirs (Ithaca, 1973) makes the point that "History is against the poet, who must put off his knowledge of what has been. Against the awareness of the weight of human events that separate us from the Fall, the poet works to

recreate the feeling of the presentness of the past and the suspension of what has in fact already occurred." (p. 56.)

20. Thomas Allen, The Homeric Catalogue of Ships (Oxford, 1921), p. 31. This by no means excludes the Boeotian tradition, which did not to our knowledge produce a catalogue of ships but did produce other catalogues.

21. Allen, pp. 34-5. Allen's concept of the dramatis personae has some validity, but it seem to overlook the actual design of the individual portraits.

22. The Iliad, p. 90.

23. The Iliad, p. 93. Book II of The Iliad concludes with a less extensive Trojan catalogue, which has fewer and shorter entries and seems to be present for the sake of historical balance. Here is the first entry, which is, of course, filled by the first of the Trojan warriors:

> Tall Hector of the shining helm was leader of the Trojans,
> Priam's son; and with him far the best and the bravest
> fighting men were armed to fight with the spear's edge.

24. The Argonautica, p. 7.

25. The Epitome, p. 181.

26. Euripides, Iphigeneia at Aulis in Euripides, trans. Arthur S. Way (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), p. 19.

27. Ibid., p. 21. Apollonius, Apollodorus and Euripides all use the catalogue for different effects. Euripides' version demonstrates how dramatic a trope the catalogue can be when used as a depiction of stasis. Apollodorus, on the other side, follows a more literal approach while Apollonius pays only lip-service to the epic convention. What these three do show is the adaptability of this trope to different literary situations; we will examine this adaptability in chapters four and five.

28. This is from Lattimore's introduction to Hesiod. His point, which he continues to make on page three is that the Boeotian tradition is as vital a poetic force as the Homeric:

> And so it has, but this does not have to indicate some late mean interpolator ramming his dull stuff into a lively finished work. It

> may just as well mean interchange between two collateral living traditions which, while separate, are by no means mutually ignorant. (p. 3)

Lattimore's point is well taken and goes far in dispelling the idea that the catalogue is only something that one gratefully passes over. His remarks about the Boeotian tradition make it clear, and this seems to be important for our study, that the tradition of cataloguing was a vital and dynamic one capable of supporting epic structures.

29. Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), p. 199.

30. The Theogony, pp. 131-36.

31. Collingwood, pp. 17-18. Collingwood is, of course, referring to prose history and not epic history, which because of its primordial and encyclopaedic traditions includes material that is not strictly speaking the results of research but of inspiration.

32. Hesiod, trans. Richmond Lattimore (Chicago, 1967), pp. 17-18. It would be more precise to talk about Hesiod's gods and Homer's men since they each form the the subjects of these epic catalogues.

33. Ibid., p. 187.

34. All quotations from the Bible are from the King James Version. This passage is from the fifth chapter of Genesis.

35. This is from The Gospel According to St. Matthew, chapter 1, p. 1.

36. The Book of Chronicles, chapter 1, 1-4. From these Biblical passages it becomes clear how important a sense of continuity is for the credibility of the Judeo-Christian interpretation of history. The genealogical catalogue is therefore one effective way of creating a link between one generation and another until the "beginning" is linked to the fulfillment of the present.

In a Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Book of Chronicles (New York, 1910), p. 6, Edward L. Curtis and Albert A. Madsen make the following point: "This history begins with a long introduction, consisting in the main of a series of genealogical tables, showing the origin of Israel from the

beginning of mankind, and their connection with other peoples ...., and giving likewise the clans or families of the tribes of Israel, with particular regard to those of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin (the three tribes most important for the post-exilic community), and also a list of the inhabitants of Jerusalem." This clearly suggests that The Book of Chronicles was selective in those names that were included, and the inclusion principle seems to be one of the importance of a family to the nation itself, thereby increasing the tropical nature of the genealogy. Also, Curtis and Madsen make another point concerning the abbreviated style that would actually give the author of Chronicles credit for troping of names for a serious audience: "The author's method of abridgment, in giving lists of names without stating their relation to one another, shows that he assumed his readers to have been thoroughly familiar with the narratives of Genesis." (p. 57)

37. The Aeneid, p. 186. The mentioning of Helaesus is one of the more remarkable entries in this catalogue because it quickly argues for the continuity of the struggle between the Greeks and the Trojans and universalizes the story of Aeneas even more by recalling the earlier conflict.

38. Ibid., p. 189.

39. Collingwood, p. 37. Livy's attitude about the universal quality of Roman history is not really the same as Virgil's. Virgil sees the power and providential quality within Roman history as something to be almost feared as well as admired. His attitude does not celebrate power for the sake of power, which is clear from his presentation of Turnus and Camilla. Virgil seems to regard the totality of Roman history as a complex pattern of awe and dread.

40. Thomas Mallory, Works, ed Eugene Vinaver (New York, 1971), p. 520. While Mallory does not catalogue his knights, he does indicate that the wholeness of the assembly is almost and, in fact, is a representation of the unity of Arthur's world, a world that will exist only for the moment.

Chapter Four

Until now we have been examining catalogues almost exclusively in an epic situation because the *locus classicus*, Homer's "Catalogue of Ships," suggests that in its earliest known and recorded use, the catalogue suited the textual needs of epic poetry. Yet not all catalogues are epic tropes. Much of what we know about cataloguing depends upon our recognition that the textual situation in part determines the type of list that will be used and how that trope will adjust to the ambiance of the work as a whole structure. So that an epic catalogue in a poem such as *The Aeneid* is defined by that context as a trope depicting the complex situation involving the coexistence of loss and triumph. This meaning is a distinct result of expectations and context.

However, there are other modes of cataloguing that do not depend upon epic contexts, and yet these modes are some of the more famous examples of this trope. Within the epic structure, especially primary structures like *The Iliad* or *The Theogony*, literary choices are defined by the pristine response to experience, embodied by the epic struggle for value and memory. So that there really are no comic or even satiric catalogues in these epic poems because the prevailing assertions are in no way comic. In *Paradise Lost*, it is safe to say that the catalogue of snakes in Book X is the closest Milton comes to epic satire through the reduction of the warriors of evil into emblems of their moral worth. Yet this type of satiric catalogue does not create humor in the same way that Rabelais' or Burton's lists do;[1]

instead, Milton suggests a sense of epic disgust resulting from the reduction, the literal reduction, of the stature of the anti-heroic figures.

What is ultimately provided by the context, the textual context, are the criteria for inclusion and exclusion, without which the catalogue would be nothing more than a heaping together of unrelated particulars. As a trope, also, the degree to which a catalogue 'turns' from the literal to the non-literal is based on those criteria. For example, in Virgil's "Catalogue of Italian Legion," one criterion for inclusion becomes a figure's ability to link the Old Troy to the New Troy; another would be a figure's ability to share in the presentation of an elegiac moment. In Hesiod's Theogony, the criteria for inclusion are quite different; there what is required is a god of relative importance and proclivity, since the genalogy itself depends on the links, the direct links, between one figure and the next. The pattern of inclusion is also clearly manifested in the "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" in Paradise Lost, where a major criterion for inclusion is the role played by the angel in human history and mythology.

Once we look at contexts other than the heroic or the genealogical, then, it becomes apparent that outside of epic poetry the standards for exclusion and inclusion are not as clearly defined and frequently are standards based on comic effect or movement from generalities to particularities; in general, non-epic contexts are not as exact in the placing of figures into lists because outside of the epic mode,

the appeal to memory and history is reduced. The most articulate rhetorical treatise on the nature of listing is Henry Peacham's Garden of Eloquence (1577), which even more than Puttenham's The Arte of English Poesie, presents a clear arrangement of types of listing. Although never referring to these arrangements as catalogues, Peacham does offer four ways of practicing this art: the enumeratio, distributio, the incrementum, and the congerie; these, of course, are not the equivalent of the catalogue in epic poetry. The first, the enumeratio, divides the subject into accidents, which are then proportioned correctly by the process of distribution. Neither of these figures actually establishes an elaborate pattern of order; in fact, they are independent of spatial or temporal criteria and rely almost completely on a decorous and mellifluous arrangement.

Peacham provides examples to support his discussion of each of these 'figures,' and it is clear from these examples that they are certainly very different from the epic models we have looked at, especially in terms of the apparent effect of placing non-epic names into a pattern usually associated with major epic poetry. This is Peacham' example, then, of distributio:

> ... then appeared in perfect beauty, all the flowers of the Field, the Daffadill, the Primrose, the cowslip, the pretty Poisy... 2

There is no overwhelming reason for arranging the names of these flowers in this way, for arrangement is really not a

part of this type of catalogue and does not determine the standards of inclusion and exclsion. What is important to this type of list is that the prevailing direction moves from general to particular and, by doing so, creates an emblem of the immediacy of the particular aspects of human life. There is a similar type of list in The Iliad, Book XVIII, in which Homer catallgues the mourners who come to pay homage to Patroclus. Here, too, the prevailing direction is not in terms of order but in terms of the spatial abundance of reality:

> ... and she cried shrill in turn, and the goddesses gathered about her,
> all who along the depth of the sea were daughters of Nereus.
> For Glauke was there, Kymodike and Thaleia,
> Nesaia and Speio and Thoe, and ox-eyed Halia;
> Kymothoe was there, Aktaia and Limnoreia,
> Melite and Iaria, Amphithoe and Agaue,
> Doto and Proto, Dtnamene and Pherousa,
> Dexamene and Amphione and Kallianeira; 3

This continues for six more lines as the list reveals the importance of each mourner by rendering the general heading, "the daughters of Nereus," into specific and immediate figures. The value and the presence of each sea-nymph is reaffirmed by the singular act of naming which distinguishes each from the vast oceanic form of existence. A sense of abundance surrounds this passage and the one from Peacham because of the individuality asserted by the distributio in the presence of a larger more general assembly.[4] A major element in the tropical nature of cataloging is the assertion

of individuality made possible from the 'turn' that seems to be so much a part of the catalogue; this 'turn' may be directed against time, space, or as we have just seen multiplicity.

Peacham also talks about three other related figures that are a part of his overal theory of the practice and the meaning of rhetorical listing. These three figures are the incrementum, the congerie and the enumeratio, which may be distinguished most clearly by thinking of the incrementum as an ordered list, the congerie as a heaping of details into the form of a list, and the enumeratio as the numerical gathering of particulars into a rhetorical pattern. The incrementum has an order based on an increase in verbal energy:

> when by degrees we ascend to the tope of something, or rather above the top, when we make our saying grow and increase by an orderly placing of our words, making the former, in force of significance, contrary to the natural order of things. 5

Of all of Peacham's reflections on listing, these remarks on the building of energy through repetition, or as he puts it, "in force of signification," seem to be the most crucial for our study of the catalogue. As an example of what he means by incrementum, Peachan finds the two following examples to fit his scheme:

> he condemeth money, honour, pleasures, and life, for love of his country;
>
> neither Silver, Gold, Pearle, nor precious Stone, might be compared to her love. 6

In both of these instances, ther is "an ascent to the top of the order" of meaning as love of country and love of another person far excell wealth in value. This is a clear indication of the rhetorical principle of incrementum, which can be very effective as a means of shifting from less important to the more important range of values.

Another example of the incrementum can be seen in Marlowe's Tamburlaine, Part One, III, 3, where it is used for an effect quite different from ascent in comparative value because Marlowe uses the prevailing direction to trace an initial hyperbolic statement as it moves to the heights of the power of hyperbolic language. In this passage, Tamburlaine offers a praise of Zenocrate's beauty, and in so doing, ranges from an initial hyperbolic statement of her beauty, the "loveliest maid alive," to the tremendous height of praise, the "empress of the world:"

> Zenocrate, the loveliest maid alive,
> Fairer than rocks of pearle and precious stone,
> The only paragon of Tamburlaine;
> Whose eyes are brighter than the lamps of heaven,
> And speech more pleasant than sweet harmony.
> That with looks canst clear the darken'd sky,
> And calm the rage of thundering Jupiter,
> Sit down by her, adorned with my crown,
> As if thou were the empress of the world. 7

Marlowe capitalizes on the manner in which the list, by means of moveing from one phrase to another, amassing word after word, reaches up to a rhetorical height. The actual force of the hyperboles reflects the overreaching, Jupiter-like characteristics of Tamburlaine's language and desires.

This use of the catalogue does not appear in the epic poetry of Homer and Virgil, but it is part of the tradition of cataloguing that depends more on the verbal evergy generated through repetition within the same form than it does on the actual entries into the list.[8] Unlike the epic catalogues which used an entry to present a short narrative about a figure along with ancestry and exploits, this type of catalogue, which is clear incremental, seems to be free from narrative and historical details, so that incremental detaiis rather than information form the basic pattern.

Not all catalogues have this kind of ordered strategy shaping the overall pattern. The enumeratio, for example, divides statements into numerical order: "When we gather together those things into a certain number, which straight way we do briefly declare: Cicero: These two things only I wish, the one that I may leave the people of Rome in liberty when I die, the other, that it may come to pass for each man to profit the commonwealth." Another variation of this type of language and the one experienced most by readers is the congerie, which is the "multiplication or heaping together of many words signifiying divers things of like nature."[9] Peacham illustrates the congerie with a passage from Saint Paul:

> The deeds of the flesh are manifest, which
> are these: adultery, fornication, uncleaness,
> lasciviousness,
> Idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance,
> emulations, wrath, strife, heresies,
> Envyings, murder, drunkenness, revelings,
> And such like. (Galatians, 5) 10

This catalogue does not rely on order or pattern but on the overwhelming power of verbal bulk, or, heaping. Saint Paul uses this language to present a teeming picture of vice and all of its multiple aspects as an ironic vision of the plenitude of sin.

When the catalogue is used for these types of effects, including comic and satiric, then there is clearly a redefinition of the modality of cataloguing to accompany these changes and adaptations. St. Paul's catalogue of the "deeds of the flesh" establishes an ironic appreciation of the wholeness of sin as it manifests itself in the world as opposed to the fragmentation of the soul and society caused by the harmony of disorder.[11]

This idea of the harmony of disorder, or as C. J. Rawson in _Gulliver and the Gentle Reader_ calls it, "anti-order,"[12] is very important for a fuller understanding of the non-epic catalogue. Rawson's work concentrates on Swift, who is a great cataloguer, and makes a number of important points about the satiric catalogue, including an appreciation of the opposition between wholeness and fragmentation captured by many catalogues. Rawson makes a distinction similar to Peacham's between the organized escalation of words and the disordered heaping of elements in a list; he is referring to Swift, but the point also applies to the catalogues that we have been examing:

> More generally, we may add, Swift is much more given to the list, the disorderly satiric catalogue, than he is to the

> patterned escalations of the infinite series, for lists are a truer token of chaos, unordered as well as infinite. 13

Not every unpatterned catalogue, however, is an emblem of disorder and chaos although many of the more significant writers like Rabelais, Burton and Swift do indicate a strong feeling for the presence of worldly chaos by means of these lists.

Configurations in which there exists no specific criterion for inclusion or exclusion usually are more often found in these comic and satiric situations. Although Swift's "Description of a City Shower," which lists "Drown'd Puppies, stinking Sprats, all drench'd in Mud,/Dead Cats and Turnep-Tops come tumbling down the Flood," seems to have an inclusion principle based on sewage. More grequently, in an epic situation, however, the range of entries included or excluded really depends on some very controlled facts of the narrative and the history involved; in addition, the prevailing purpose in the epic catalogue is to create that sense of encyclopaedic and universal scope that forms part of the definition of epic poetry. Yet in other situations, specifically satiric ones, the tropicall nature of the catalogue asserts a view of the world that seems to remove all possibility for rationality and openness by imprisoning the reader within what Jonas Barish, in _Ben Jonson and the Language of Prose Comedy_, calls the "ear-bruising" mode of comic language.[14] In this type of catalogue, comic effects result from a chaotic flow of language that has no central principle but that

of the plenitude of chaos; this passage from Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy makes this satiric mode appear to be very devastating:

> "Tis an ordinary thing with us to account honest, devout, orthodox, divine, religious, plain-dealing men, idiots, asses, that cannot or will not lie and dissemble, shift, flatter, cut the coat according to their cloth, make good bargains, supplant, thrive, fawn upon their patrons, practise the usual arts of climbing, duly observe laws, manners, customs, praise openly, defend through thick and thin, give in to opinions, and doubt nothing, believe everything, stand everything, blame nothing, and so all the other things which bring promotion & security, and without roundabout ways, make a man happy and truly wise amongst us. 15

The effect of this catalogue of the devious and hypocritical means to success is to overwhelm the reader's sensibilities with the comic nature of vice that can be seen and exposed by repetition. The repeating of the ways of lying, stealing or cheating eventually creates an uncomfortable sense of closure, of limitation, and finally of imprisonment within words as well as vices.[16] By means of the catalogue, Burton is able to use abundance, openness and plenitude to suggest just the opposite feelings of depravity, confinement and scarceness.

Within these undefined and unlimited visions of cataloguing, it is possible for the writer to depict chaos through an overabundance of particular details. Burton surely "bruises" the reader's ear with his assortment of dishonest activities; yet the forcefulness of this type of

language lies precisely in its ability to bring the reader into the presence of the various aspects of a general condition such as dishonesty. On even more exuberant a level, Rabelais creates catalogues that not only redefine the tropical nature but also the very concept of listing as they completely rearrange the possibility for inclusiveness and exclusiveness. Rawson quotes Leo Spitzer as saying,

> While the exuberant enumerations, the lists, the 'catalogues' to be found with Rabelais or Quevedo still respected the distinctions between the different realms of Nature, the post-Whitmanian writer can enumerate things and thoughts detached from their frames, in order to evoke the plenitude of the world. 17

Spitzer's point about plenitude is well taken; however, when a satiric context evokes plenitude, then the effect transcends the ordinary meaning of the word and offers another more acute insight into the nature of multiplicity. <u>Gargantua</u> and <u>Pantagruel</u> demonstrate many uses of the catalogue: there are catalogues of games, ballocks, of the library of St. Victor, of fools, cooks, gastrolaters, victims, et.; yet for each of these catalogues there is no apparent criterion for closure. In fact, not one of these catalogues gives any indication that there are limits to which it must confine itself for the sake of propriety. From the "Preface" itself, Rabelais stresses that one very crucial point in his vision of comic absurdity is the abundance of particular versions of folly:

> Now a Silenus, in ancient days, was a little box, of the kind we see today in apothecaries shops, painted on the outside with such gay, comical figures as harpies, satyrs, bridled geese, horned hares, saddled ducks, flying goats, stags in harnesses, and other devices of that sort. 18

This passage suggests that these "comical figures" shape the comic vision in such a way that to understand vice or folly one must realize that emblems of folly exist in great quantities, and that to perceive the multiple aspects of folly is the first step in becoming "wiser and more courageous."[19]

In addition to the moral value of satire, Rabelais also suggests by his use of the largely open-ended catalogue that this "exuberance," as Spitzer calls it, points more toward troping on the idea of cataloguing than it does to the reformation of moral or immoral situations. Rabelais' list of ballocks or of fools must be termed "meta-catalogues;"[20] they defy all of the accepted patterns for including or excluding figures from these configurations; they adhere to no particular rules of closure or order since there are no apparent reasons for including or excluding a figure; and they neither create a sense of history, memory, myth or genealogy; in short, they are joking with the idea of cataloguing and troping, i. e. turning from the ordered array with a great deal of exuberance. This seems to be one source for Rabelais' comic energy, because for him a catalogue provides the opportunity for transcending any rational pattern

of listing and for joking with the efficacy of this kind of configuration. His system of using words until they become through repetition a means of exposing vice and folly adds another dimension to the idea of repetition as a part of comic rhetoric. That these catalogues go beyond the usual amount of inclusion is made clear by Rabelais' "meta-catalogue" of fools, in which the only distinction made is between Pantagruel's list of scholastic fools and Panurge's list of irrational fools:

Pantagruel	Panurge
A fatal fool.	A high-toned fool.
A natural fool.	A B sharp and B flat fool.
A celestial fool.	A terrestrian fool.
A jovial fool.	A jolly, mocking fool.
A mercurial fool.	A merry, sportive fool.
A lunatical fool.	A fool with pompoms.
An erratic fool.	A fools with tassels.
An eccentric fool.	A fool with bells. 21

This meta-catalogue continues for three full pages without any rational reason for concluding with "An even tempered fool" and "A bullet-proof fool." Even though Pantagruel lists fools within scholastic categories and Panurge uses the most absurd juxtaposition of qualities and foolishness, the effectiveness lies in denying the individual variety of folly and presenting instead a wholistic and egalitarian image of fools who differ only in terms of accidental and not substantial qualities. This meta-catalogue ends when the writer has sufficiently gone beyond any rational exposit-ion of his subject and enters into the irrational area in

which he parodies the encyclopaedic overtones of the epic catalogue and creates a veritable universe of folly. Rabelais, then, creates a vision of chaos, of anti-creation, and what Rawson calls in reference to Swift's "Description of a City Shower," "a squalid anti-order."[22]

Although Milton gives no indication of ever having written a meta-catalogue, he does make use of what may be called the satiric catalogue, which does parody the idea of the heroic list by placing either vices or villains into an array. Milton's most effective use of the satiric catalogue is in Paradise Lost, Book X, in which he depicts the fallen angels at a terrifying moment of transformation. Like the enumeratio, this catalogue does proceed from the general to the particular very much in the same way that Homer's "Catalogue of Mourners," first described as the "daughters of Nereus," are then individually named:

> Dreadful was the din
> Of hissing through the hall, thick and swarming now
> With complicated monsters, head and tail,
> Scorpion and asp, and amphisboena dire,
> Cerastes horned, hydras, and ellops drear,
> And dipsas (not so thick swarmed the soil
> Bedropped with blood of Gorgon, or the isle
> Ophiusa); but still the greatest he the midst,
> Now dragon grown, larger than whom the sun
> Engendered in the Pythian vale on slime,
> Huge Python, and his power no less he seemed
> Above the rest still to retain.[23]
> (X. 521-32)

The transformation from "complicated monsters" to the specific names of "Scorpion and asp, and amphisboena dire," reveals how carefully Milton follows the movement from general

to particular that underlies so much of cataloguing. Unlike the satiric meta-catalogue in Rabelais, thie catalogue has standards of inclusion, based on angels, snakes and the mythological possibilities of allusion.

However, Milton does use the feeling of abundance to support his conviction of the uncomfortable plenitude of evil that is rapidily coming into existence at this moment of poetic time. "Thick swarming" not only suggests the mass of snakes crawling over each other in a futile attempt to find space space but also the uncomfortable realization that this infernal abundance has come into being. Through the catalogue, which fills single lines with two or three particulars, Milton conveys a sense of the suffocating nature and presence of evil.[24]

For this catalogue to be appreciated fully it must be seen as a climax in the process of working out the judgment on Satan's role in the fall of man. Satan has returned from the garden and is in the process of relating the success of his adventures to his admiring troops; yet as he reaches the end of his report and awaits "Their universal shout and high applause/To fill his ear," he and his followers are transformed into these "complicated monsters" as an indication of the ironic nature of their triumph over man and God. At this point, they submit to "a greater power," which not only rules them but transforms their physical appearance into a emblem of their moral transgression:... "punished in the shape he sinned,/According to his doom."

In the epic catalogue of Book I, Milton parodies the epic catalogues of Homer and Virgil by listing devils instead of heroes; now, this catalogue of snakes, becomes an extension of that diabolic reversal by furthering the movement toward degeneration that began in Book I. These "swarming" snakes are the poetic ancestors of those heroes we examined in Chapter three; however, at this point in the history of the catalogue, Milton adds another dimension to the trope by using it for a transformational moment in his poem. Like the catalogue in Book I, this catalogue also looks to the future for ways of comparing the devils in their present situation with their historical and mythological roles, and in some cases showing that the Satanic version of falsehood even surpasses the pagan ones:... Now dragon grown, larger than whom the sun/Engendered in the Pythian vale on slime,/Huge Python." Milton makes it clear that Satan and his devils, as the source for the various pagan mythologies and versions of falsehood, surpass those secondary entities in size and power because of their primordial origin.

Positional arrangement has little effect on Rabelais' catalogues because of their reliance on abundance rather than configuration. Milton's "Catalogue of Snakes," however, uses the positional techniques that we discussed earlier to reinforce the illegitimate and usurping quality of Satan's activities:

> ... but still the greatest he the midst,
> Now dragon grown, larger than whom the sun
> Engendered in the Pythian vale on slime,

> Huge Python, and his power no less he seemed
> Above the rest still to retain.
> (X. 528-32)

The most important phrase here is "he the midst," since it clearly places Satan in the central position and urges the reader to witness a diabolical parody of the "sovereignty of the center." Not only does the allusion to Python suggest the horrifyin mythologies of history, but the idea of the illegitimacy of those mythological viewpoints is further challenged by Satan's being in "the midst" of this evil.

The path of disclosure in this catalogue points towards a center occupied not by the legitimate monarch, who is the source of all that radiates from the center, but by the illegitimate monarch, the supremely illegitimate king of serpents. Even in terms of the poem's own mythology, the poisonous and fantastic snakes become versions of falsehood created by the fall; the catalogue, then. as a means of recalling those primordial times of the beginning in which realities came into being, allows the reader to experience and to do so painfully the moment of beginning as a moment of transformation of fallen angels into snakes, captured by a visual mode of thought. The horrifying sense of satire resulting from this catalogue differs from Rabelais' sense of the plenitude of vice and folly, because he, Rabelais, parodies the idea as well as the substance of cataloguing.

Milton's "Catalogue of Snakes" does not amuse the reader by its parodic qualities or by its abundance of particulars in the same way that Rabelais' meta-catalogues do;

instead, Milton's sense of the thaumaturgic power of listing and repetition actually frightens the imagination into an awareness of evil. The fact that this catalogue has a center, unlike Rabelais' which have no central position because of the incoherence of the world, and the additional fact that the center is occupied by Satan, the source of sin, gives it an extraordinary satiric base; it becomes satiric not because of repetition but through reduction.

In this satiric mode, the catalogue demands from the reader participation in the social or cosmic disorder that results from the illogic and irrationality of grouping discordant elements within the same frame. Humor and disbelief dominate the mood and the tone of the satiric catalogue through the monstrous exuberance of the particulars involved. For example, in Rabelais' catalogue of ballocks, the rationality of inclusion and exclusion quickly becomes irrational as Panurge and Friar John list everything from "stumpy ballocks" to "unloaded ballocks;" here the suspension of any rational guides for closure and the actual absurdity of the particular entries evoke an overwhelming aura of disbelief.[25]

The epic catalogue, however, makes a greater appeal for credibility through a strict adherence to closure and particular standards of inclusion. Even in the short "Catalogue of Snakes," Milton makes it clear that only poisonous snakes or very dangerous snakes deserve to be included in this transformational scene. In the epic context, the catalogue is mainly concerned with belief. We have seen how

Homer, Virgil, and Hesiod surround their catalogues with the apparatus of belief: invocations, history, and figures of cultural importance; and this will be true of the "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" in Paradise Lost also.

Neither the rhetorical principles proposed by Peacham nor the satiric catalogues of Rabelais or Burton ever make a direct appeal for belief; in fact, just the opposite is true: they demand disbelief as part of their satiric power. Yet within the epic context, belief, or credibility, become part of the very framework of the catalogue, which is supported by the epic's search and espousal of "original things" from the primordial past.

The epic situation invokes an atmosphere of belief: this belief may be for the continuity of the race of Israel, the heroic possibilities of action on human level, the ancient beauty and political power of an empire, or the existence of and the progeny of the race of gods. The prevailing ethos in all of the epic catalogues that we have studied is one of belief and credibility. In some situations, such as The Book of Chronicles, this credibility may be very literal, depending on the accuracy of specific names for the continuity of the racial past and present; in a more scientific version of cataloguing, such as Bacon's tables of elements, the movement of belief may be towards the accuracy and reliability of particular bits of observable information. For Bacon, the worth of an entry depends on its relationship to other graded particulars in a table of information; in this way, the scientific table resembles the epic catalogue as a

device for dealing with variety and quantity in an ordered manner.

Problems in time, space and quantity, then, correspond to the problem of mutability, and, in fact, reveal local dislocations of time or space to be versions of mutability. Together these experiences present a view of human life dominated by incoherence and loss; it is to this view that the catalogue offers an alternative based on sanity and coherence. Even Rabelais' catalogues appeal to coherence by troping on the very concept of order and revealing the cosmic or "meta" proportions of actual and verbal disorder. Rawson makes a point about the dual nature of listing when he refers to the contrast between openness and abundance:

> Lists need not, of course, in all cases suggest a powerful sense of unending openness. They may, instead, convey a comforting and inclusive abundance. 26

This point applies to one of the differences between the epic and satiric catalogues since the epic usually aims at a comfortable effect based on continuity and credibility while the satiric plays on the idea of the uncomfortable verbal condition of uncontrolled openness.

Once the catalogue confronts the hiatus in time, space or quantity, then those discordant points may be reconciled through the particularity of the word. In this way, the genealogical catalogue connects one point in time to another, creating a sense of order; the scientific table

confronts disorder in space or knowledge and resolves that disorder by the arrangement of knowable details; the epic deals with historical loss through the articulation and preservation of deeds and heroes. All are concerned with ordering and a loss of credibility in the human imagination. Once mutability and incoherence are seen as a version of falsehood, then continuity and legitimacy become the standards for inclusion and exclusion in certain catalogic situations. Underlying the criteria for inclusion and exclusion is the presence of the dialectical confrontation between truth and falsehood: a true knowledge of the past depends on memory and continuity just as a believable genealogy needs particular details to assert a legitimate claim. In a satiric context, insertion in a catalogue of fools and knaves is a reversal of the epic pattern, for to be included in a catalogue of satiric proportions is to be given an identity based on that prevailing direction and finally to succumb to the absurdity of the general configuration. To be excluded from a catalogue of heroes or genealogical names is to be reduced to the level of mediocrity and oblivion. What this suggests for the catalogue as a trope is that many levels of meaning permeate this type of configuration and that much of that significance depends on the prevailing direction of the trope itself. For the catalogue to be a trope in which and through which mutability, time, space, truth and falsehood confront and negate each other reveals it to be a trope of very complex structure.

A specific embodiment of this confrontation between

truth and falsehood is the triumph, which depiects figures moving across an imaginative field in a declaration of their legitimacy. In a triumphal catalogue, motion results from the naming of figures as they move before the imagination. For example, in Petrarch's "Triumph of Fame," naming those who have achieved fame through war, peace or knowledge adds a degree of aural splendor to the visual power of an array of famous characters:

> At her right hand, where first I bent mine eyes,
> Were Scipio and Caesar; but which one
> Was closer to her I could not discern.
> One of the twain served virtue and not love,
> The other served them both. Then there appeared,
> Following those who were so glorious,
> Folk armed alike with valor and with steel,
> As in the triumphs that in olden times
> Proceeded through the sacred ways of Rome.
> They came in the order I shall now set forth,
> And every one in aspect seemed to bear
> The name that is most glorious of all. 27

One of the key phrases here is "Then there appeared/Following those who were so glorious," which clearly establishes the type of motion in this triumph. Another important qualification of value is "but which one/Was closer to her I could not discern." This makes the point that position is so important that the worth of Scipio and Caesar could be realized in terms of their position to the figure of Fame; since they are equidistant from her, they are presumably equal in worth and fame.

Roman triumphs were famous examples of the celebration of glory; they depended on array and motion for their

presentation of an overwhelming display of power and endurance. That type of movement which gives the triumph an undercurrent of unstoppable momentum supports Petrarch's "Triumph of Fame" by propelling his figures across an imaginative field. The "Triumph of Fame," however, does limit fame to areas such as military achievement, art, science, philosophy and medicine; thus using a rapid accumulation of names in the creation of this array of human triumph:

> I scarce could take mine eyes from such a sight
> Until a voice said: "Look to the other side:
> 'Tis not in arms alone that fame is won."
> I turned to the left; and Plato there I saw,
> Who of them all came closest to the goal
> Whereto by Heaven's grace man may attain.
> Then Aristotle, of high intellect,
> Pythagoras, who in humility
> First gave philosophy its fitting name. 28

Petrarch's recreation of triumphal forms puts these figures not into history but into spectacle. In the _Iliad_, history and myth support the "Catalogue of Ships;" Virgil's "Catalogue of Italian Legions" has an elegiac purpose; however, Petrarch's "Triumph of Fame," and in fact, all his _Trionfi_, have redefined the structure of the procession of figures into a more spectacular vision. For Petrarch, the _Trionfi_ are a series of spectacles examining such themes as fame, love, death, time, chastity and eternity. The prevailing effect is visual as the figures move across a field in recreation of activity an triumph; even though the figures make only brief appearances, since there are no extended

narratives detailing their exploits, they appear and that fact alone encourages a belief in human possibility. For example, just the appearance of a figure creates a presence in support of the central theme; this is clear from the following passage from the "Triumph of Love:"

> Laodamia for Protesilaus,
> Argia, faithfully, for Polynices,
> Unlike Amohiaraus' covetous wife. 29

Occasionally a major figure receives, in abbreviated form, an expanded entry describing a story associated with his or her life. Such a figure is Jason:

> That is Demophoon, and that is Phyllis;
> And that is Jason: with him is Medea,
> Who followed him, and Love, o'er land and sea;
> To father and to brother pitiless,
> And toward her lover wild and fierce, as though
> She might be thus more worthy of his love. 30

This type of entry alludes to the fierceness of the story of Jason and Medea; it does not really go into theEuripidean version but merely alludes to the tempestuous possibilities of this amorous relationship. Unlike the figures we have seen in Homer and Virgil, who are important both in themselves and for a credible idea of history, Petrarch's figures really have no historical significance since the context of the <u>Trionfi</u> is not historical but spectacular. The closest Petrarch comes to intensifying the setting, the poetic setting, occurs in the opening of the "Triumph of Love," in which

the persona witnesses the triumph as a dream vision:

> Sprintime and love and scorn and tearfulness
> Again had brought me to that Vale Enclosed
> Where from my heart its heavy burdens fall;
> And there, amid the grasses, faint from weep-
> ing,
> O'ercome with sleep, I saw a spacious light
> Wherein were ample grief and little joy. 31

His other triumphs refer only to "gazing" at the moment of vision.

This is a noticeable difference from the epic and genealogical catalogue which use a sophisticated invocation to create mythic overtones in support of the idea of historical continuity. What the triumph, especially the Petrarchan triumph, does is recreate a type of Roman splendor in celebration of Christian and Renaissance values. The Elizabethan triumph, modern pageants, and particularly the Spenserian triumph are for the most part celebratory rather then historical; even the anti-triumph, like Petrarch's "Triumph of Time," celebrates the effective censuring of human pride and glory by the power of time:

> Your fame is nothing more than a sunlit day,
> Or a doubtful winter: clouds may end it all.
> Great length of time is poisonous to great names.
> Your grandeur passes, and your pagentry,
> Your lordships pass, your kingdoms pass; and
> Time
> Disposes wilfuly of mortal things,
> And treats all men, worthy or no, alike;
> And Time dissolves not only visible things,
> But eloquence, and what the mind hath wrought. 32

In this use of the anti-triumph, time attacks pageantry, eloquence and spectacle; in short, all those elements that make up the legitimate triumph. The "Triumph of Time" is an attack on the poetic credibility of words (eloquence), spectacle (visible things), and patterns (pageants). Yet Petrarch does not allow the anti-triumph to have the final word:

> I at last beheld
> A world made new and changeless and eternal. 33

This "Triumph of Eternity" restores belief in the legitimate triumph and comments on the nature of those other less valid vision of human success:

> Five of these Triumphs on the earth below
> We have beheld, and at the end, the sixth,
> God willing, we shall see in heaven above. 34

This culminating assertion of legitimacy and eternal triumph puts to rest the positional dialectic between triumph and anti-triumph, legitimacy and illegitimacy, and masque and anti-masque. In the immediate context of Time and Eternity, the confrontation between the mutable glory of the world and the immutable possibilities of "heaven" modifies the theme of the ancient triumphs, which as Fowler says, embodied affirmation of the mutable glory of the mundane world: "For in spite of its religious origins, the triumph had from ancient times celebrated human glory."[35]

Despite the presence of the challenge of eternity to the anti-triumph, a co-tradition of anti-spectacles flourishes in the Renaissance, among which may be included Milton's "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" in Paradise Lost and the "Catalogue of Exiled Deities" in "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." For Milton, there were two very accessible models of the reversed configuration in his original, Edmund Spenser, whose "Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins" and "Masque of Cupid" are two very important examples of the anti-triumph, especially since they celebrate the presumed victory of illegitimacy, irrationality and immorality.[36]

Pageantry depends on the significance of the visual array as a comment on value and importance, and as we saw in Dhapter two, positional affirmation of political or moral worth may be predetermined by the principal position.[37] In Petrarch's "Triumph of Fame," for example, Plato occupies the first position and Aristotle the second in the array of great philosophers; this is a visual or positional affirmation of Plato's primary importance: "Who of them all came closest to the goal."

This reliance on position in iconography can be found in Spenser's "Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins," in which Lucifera, or Pride, rides in a coach drawn by the six other dealy sins:

> So forth she comes, and to her coche does climbe,
> Adorned all with gold and girlonds gay,
> That seemed as fresh as Flora in her prime
> And strove to match in royal rich array
> Great Juno's golden chair, the which they say

> The gods stand gazing on when she does ride
> To Jove's high house through heaven's brass-
> paved way,
> Drawn of fair peacock's, that excell in pride
> And, full of Argus' eyes, their tales dispreden
> wide. 39

This contains many of the icons of pride: Lucifera is linked to the supreme emblem of pride, the peacock, but she also resembles Juno, mistress of the peacock; her chariot rivals Juno's "golden chair," with its golden adornments' and Lucifera is ultimately shown to be a golden version of Flora, counterfeiting golden covering for natural adornments.

In addition to these iconographical details, pride sits in a coach pulled by "six unequal beasts,/ On which her six sage counselors did ride;" these six "sage counselors" are, of course, the other deadly sins. Here the array suggests the relationship between pride, the first sin, and those other sins derived from the original transgression by means of a visual configuration. None of the other sins could occupy Pride's position in the coach because that would violate the moral as well as iconographical meaning of pride as the center of sin.

Spenser's "Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins" is a particularly sophisticated array that manipulates the meaning of space. Pride, or Lucifera, is the major of the deadly sins; however, it is not self-generation that gives her life, but the power of a greater evil, more intensely anti-triumphal:

> And after all, upon the wagon beam
> Rode Satan, with a smarting whip in hand,
> With which he forward lashed the lazy team
> So oft as Sloth still in the midst did stand. 40

Sloth cannot remain "in the midst" for he is not the principal sin; he, like Lucifera, is derived from a prior and greater moral transgression, Satan, who "after all" is the source of this anti-triumph. These sins, like the fallen angels in Book I of Paradise Lost, are not really the "fellows of his crime," but the "followers rather." In this kind of anti-triumph, the principal position is occupied by the worst not the best ("by merit raised/To that bad eminence."), suggesting that the reversal of the meaning of those anti-legitimate figures. The criteria for belief in the world of the anti-triumph remain within the limits of irrational and immoral concepts and assert, by means of the prevailing direction, the overall significance of the array. The anti-triumph asserts credibility for what is, in reality, incredible.

In The Technique of Pageantry, Linwood Taft refers to a "unifying idea that relates and binds together what might otherwise becomes dissociated bits of action."[41] Satan, "with smarting whip in hand," acts as that unifying idea binding the sins to him as to their source and moving them relentlessly to his ends. His position defines the magnitude of the allegory of holiness by clarifying the origin of the dragon-fight iconography at the end of Book I, and by declaring all moral struggle to be a descendent of the

primordial transgression. Here the struggle between triumph and anti-triumph is expressed by this Satanic usurpation of the "icon of sovereignty."[42]

Dante's "Procession of Virtue" in Purgatorio, XXIX, which Fowler believes to be "the earliest fictional triumph of the renaissance," is a liturgical masque that contrasts sharply with Spenser's "Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins" and the "Masque of Cupid."[43] If Dante's triumph creates a "liturgical" mode of cataloguing, then the anti-masque resonances of Spenser's two catalogues and Milton's "Catalogue of Exiled Deities" declare strongly in favor of the anti-triumphal mode. Dante's procession suggests that the catalogue may just as easily be used for legitimate as well as illegitimate configurations, and, as a trope, can adapt to the demands of each by the inversion of the other's pattern.

After invoking the aid of Urania, "With all her choir me uphold," until a "nearer vision had unpacked/The general image," Dante then reveals the Seven Candelsticks which begin the procession. At the center of the catalogue, and this is very important for the prevailing iconographical direction of the whole procession, is the triumphal car:

> The midmost of the space between the four Gospels
> Contained a car on two wheels, triumphing,
> Which at his neck a Gryphon onward bore.[44]

Here the central position, "The midmost of the space between the four Gospels," the Old and New Testaments and the Cardinal

virtues, is occupied by the Church being pulled by the Gryphon, representing Christ's two natures.[45] This allegorical triumph celebrates morality and legitimacy; in fact, it even precludes a parody by clarifying its legitimacy in terms of any possible origin in classical mythology:

> With car so fair never was Rome regaled
> By Africanus, nor Augustus, nay,
> The Sun's own car beside it would be paled,
> The Sun's own car that perished, driven astray,
> At Earth's devout prayer fallen in flames extinct,
> When Jove let justice have her secret way. [46]

This qualification makes it clear that this car is the legitimate sovereign center, greater than the noblest of the Roman triumphs, and greater even than the natural and mythical Sun's car which was destroyed through Phaeton's overreaching pride. Dante rejects any comparison with cars and pagan triumphs and reaffirms Christ and the church as the sovereign, non-parodic, center.

The use of the central position to affirm sovereignty, even illegitimate sovereignty, becomes a popular device in renaissance literature; Dante's caution at purifying the icon of sovereignty in his procession can be compared to Spenser's "Masque of Cupid," which carefully parodies the idea of liturgical triumph and reveals, through positional array, a different kind of iconographical center.

The center has equal importance in triumphs as in anti-triumphs, and the "Masque of Cupid" uses the center to counter the sovereignty of chastity with the sovereignty

of erotic love. First, Ease, appears as a proto-center, assuming temporarily the principal position:

> Proceeding to the midst he still did stand,
> As if in minde he somewhat had to say;
> And to the vulgare beckoning with his hand,
> In signe of silence, as to heare a play,
> By lively actions he gan bewray
> Some argument of matter passioned:
> Which does, he backe retyred soft away,
> And, passing by, his name discovered,
> Ease, on his robe in golden letters cyphered. 47

Ease acts as the herald of the Masque, which is in keeping with the relationship between Ease and Love (in the _Roman de la Rose_, Idleness admits the Lover to the garden). Ease, "in the midst," then, is a forerunner for the true center of the Masque, just as Lucifera occupies the center that truly belongs to Satan.

However, the central position in the "Masque of Cupid" must be occupied by "the winged God himselfe," who enters on a "Lion ravenous," in the middle, between the two groups of masquers:

> Of which ful prowd, himself uprearing high
> He looked round about with sterne disdayne,
> And did survay his goodly company;
> And, marshalling the evil-ordered trayne,
> With that the darts which his right hand did straine
> Full dreadfully he shooke, that all did quake,
> And clapt on hye his coulourd wings twaine,
> That all his many it affraide did make:
> Tho, blinding him againe, his way forth did take. 48

The usurpation of the chaste vision of love by this erotic

and tyrannical variety comments on the allegorical center of the Scudamour-Amoret relationship: it is a post-marital but pre-consummation emblem in which one version of chastity, virginity, must yield to another version, marital love. Cupid, however, offers a third version, and that is erotic love; for the catalogue's array, like the "Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins," is based on a perception of inverted value, and the "evil-ordered trayne" accept the idea of tyrannical lust as the unifying principle binding them together. This order is based on fear, "that all his many it affraide," of the very idea that tries to assert its sovereignty in matters of love. The inversion, or parody, at the center of the masque, as well as at the center of the Scudamour-Amoret episode, is Eros' substitution of his icon for the moral icon of love expressed in the Britomart-Artggal relationship.

Creating this type of icon to clarify the relationship between Scudamour and Amoret has a number of important consequences for the restatement of the theme in iconographical language, since the Faerie Queene often uses iconographical scenes and episodes, like the "Masque of Cupid," to perform as centers around which this type of meaning can be unfolded.[49]

This pattern of poetic unfolding becomes a very distinct part of Milton's "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," which is really Milton's first poem using a catalogue as a way of expressing meaning. Like the "Masque of Cupid," Milton's "Catalogue of Exiled Deities" also acts as a central

icon embodying the major theme of the arrival of the true god and the departure of the false gods. That this theme is stated in a distinct visual array confirms the sophisticated nature of the catalogue as a trope. At the center of "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" is the seemingly unobstrusive coming of Christ:

> But peaceful was the night
> Wherein the Prince of Light
> His reign of peace upon the earth began:

This image of peace completely overshadows the disruptive presence that the Prince of Light has upon those who follow the Prince of Darkness. Almost the entire first half of the poem takes place in an atmosphere of quiet and peaceful expectation: "No war or battle's sound/Was heard the world around;" this image of peace engulfs the poem. Yet the moment is the beginning of an incredible battle leading to an apocalyptic moment, when "The wakeful trump of doom must thunder through the deep." In keeping with Christian tradition, Milton depicts the arrival of Jesus as a quiet almost unnoticed moment, but he also intensifies the advent through the visual display of pagan deities, whose credibility as gods is about to be challenged. The coming of the word and the exile of the false gods is primarily visual, although accompanied by the sounds of joy and woe.

Unlike the procession of fallen angels in Paradise Lost, Book I, which stresses the extension of the fall into the brutal reality of history, this "Catalogue of Exiled

Deities" becomes more of a moving expression of the failure of certain modes of belief; despite their falseness, or as Tuve daid, "their ability to impose upon man's credulity," these deities to represent the imagination's unsuccessful attempts at creating spiritual figures to reflect a degree of illumination on the human condition. Perhaps this idea is part of the reason Milton so carefully avoids referring to the misery caused by particular deities; in Paradise Lost, as we shall see in Chapter five, Milton's presentation of the fallen angels points relentlessly to the suffering caused in history and to humanity by those same angels turned devils.

Milton certainly realized that false gods must be banished with the advent of the true god, but even the imagination's spiritual failures have to be recognized as failures of revelation and not necessarily of moral values. The catalogue itself reinforces the idea that when the true god arrives on earth and makes his presence known to the imagination, he necessarily causes that imagination, through the power of revelation, to reject a part of itself that, for whatever reason, it had believed in. This type of relationship between credibility and incredibility differs, then, from that found in epic or genealogical catalogues, because the moving array of false deities captures the painful way in which error is rejected by the imagination. This expulsion of falsehood is no easy thing, especially if the object of belief is as lovely as some of these false deities:

The lonely mountains o'er,
And the resounding shore,
  A voice of weeping heard, and loud lament;
From haunted spring and dale
Edged with poplar pale,
  The parting genius is with sighing sent;
With flow'r-inwoven tresses torn
The nymphs in twilight shade of tangled thickets
                                                    mourn.

This incredibly lovely vision of falsehood shows how difficult and painful it is to reject these imaginary failures for the truth of revelation. And the sequential movement present here also reinforces the almost physical quality of thought as one by one the false gods join the catalogue of the rejected:

Peor and Baalim
Forsake their temples dim,
  With that twice-battered god of Palestine,
And mooned Ashtaroth,
Heav'n's queen and mother both,
  Now sits not girt with tapers' holy shine;
The Libyc Hammon shrinks his horn,
In vain the Tyrian maids their wounded Thammuz
                                                    mourn.

Milton names each god--- Peor, Baalim, and Ashtaroth--- and usually adds one or two details to qualify their spiritual nature and to reveal also their now defunct role in the imagination. Even Moloch, who will be treated much more severely in Paradise Lost, becomes part of this graceful spectacle:

And sullen Moloch fled,
Hath left in shadows dread
  His burning idol all of blackest hue;

> In vain with cymbals' ring
> They call the grisly king,
>   In dismal dance about the furnace blue;
> The brutish gods of Nile as fast,
> Isis and Orus, and the dog Anubis haste.

Moloch's sacrificial desires are only hinted at with the "burning idol all of blackest hue;" Milton avoids the vicious details that make the vision of the fallen angels in Paradise Lost so frightening. What is marvelous about this catalogue, however, is that the rituals and ceremonies continue after the false gods have been exiled, leaving only the residual sound of incantation to oppose the joyful music of the "crystal spheres."

Of all the classical catalogues that we have looked at, only Virgil's "Catalogue of Italian Legions" comes near to resembling Milton's "Catalogue of Exiled Deities," and this is so because of the elegiac tone pervading both visions. Milton and Virgil recognize that these figures must perish before the power of political and moral providence, and this recognition speaks seriously of the mysterious transformation of presence into absence characteristic of both The Aeneid and "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." It is possible, too, for Milton to write less severely of Moloch at this point than in Paradise Lost, because this is a moment of expulsion, whereas the other is a moment of creation, looking forward to all of the historical misery that will result from that creation.

Spenser's "Procession of the Seven Deadly Sins" and the "Masque of Cupid" made it clear that the anti-triumph is

a depiction of morally indefensible figures celebrating their own claims to legitimacy; the anti-triumph becomes a means of asserting the illegitimate monarch's claim to the throne belonging to the legitimate monarch.[50] This does not have to apply to monarch's alone as we saw in Dante's "Procession of Virtue," which advances the claims of sacraments and virtues as opposed to the claims of deadly sins.

More than anything else, Milton's exile of false gods deals with the symbolic representation of that complex moment in moral and imaginative history when the advent of truth precipitates the dissolution of falsehood. The figures used to represent truth and falsehood are gods; nevertheless, this confrontation adheres to the pattern of masque and anti-masque. There is no doubt that this struggle is really between Christ and Satan, and that those other Biblical and local versions of error are only incidental to the major confrontation:

> And then at last our bliss
> Full and perfect is,
> But now begins; for from this happy day
> Th'old Dragon under ground,
> In straiter limits bound,
> Not half so far casts his usurped sway,
> And wroth to see his kingdom fail,
> Swinges the scaly horror of his folded tail.

This passage makes two very important points: first, it unifies the pageant by uniting all the particulars and bits of action into a singular vision of the failure of the dark kingdoms; and second, it reveals the pre-historical context

of the struggle between the true and false king. That "Th'old Dragon" is "wroth to see his kingdom fail" alludes to the beginning of the true kingdom, which is "full and perfect," and which "now begins" with the advent of the legitimate monarch who rejects the "usurped sway" of the illegitimate monarch.

Even though there is a certain amount of sadness present in the exile of the false gods, Milton makes it clear in the passage about "Th'old Dragon" that, while sadness is possible, it is only a temporary emotion that must yield to the larger and more joyful presence of truth and its legitimate claim to the imagination's acceptance. In _The Jonsonian_ _Masque_, Stephen Orgel discusses a theologian, John Smith (d. 1652) who compared the mystical experience of Biblical prophets to the action of a court masque:

> The chief characteristic of the masque for Smith is that it was an occasional production and appealed to its audience in a very special way. It attempted from the beginning to breach the barrier between spectators and actors, so that in effect the viewer became part of the spectacle. The end toward which the masque moved was to destroy any sense of theater and to include the whole court in the mimesis; in a sense, what the spectator watched he ultimately became. 51

Orgel's point adds to our understanding of the "Catalogue of Exiled Deities" as an anti-masque since the spectator is included in the action through the very theological reason for Christ's nativity: to free mankind from the power of "Th'old Dragon." Milton's explicit inclusion of the spectator

into the mimesis of the false to the true kingdom reaffirms the idea of the spectator's joining into the masque's transformational moment:

> And then at last our bliss
> Full and perfect is,
> But now begins.

This clearly includes the spectator into the central transformation of man's condition on earth.

In the Jonsonian masque, the true monarch asserts his claim to the throne in the presence of the anti-masque pretenders, who are then dissolved quickly into emblems of mutability. Orgel is very explicit on this point:

> The antimasque world was a world of particularity and mutability--of accidents; the masque world was one of ideal abstraction and eternal virtue. 52

The question of mutability entered into the catalogues of Homer and Virgil in such a way that both poets countered this question by proposing the alternate view in which a record of the heroic and ancestral past may be preserved within a verbal structure. In "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," figures must face the reality of mutability, except that here those who succumb to impermanence are not heroes but anti-heroes and false gods, who, like those anti-masquers dwelling in the world of mutability, perish in the presence of virtue. In this situation, the catalogue does not

intercede between figures and mutability; it does not become the device by which permanence challenges impermanence through the power of words; instead, the catalogue becomes the means by which these anti-masquers are banished into the world of mutability because of the presence of the chief masquer.[53] The anti-masque invokes a sense of credibility for an alternate monarchy based on mutability rather than permanence, and despite the beauty of "Nymphs in twilight shade" and "Lars and Lemurs" suffering from "midnight plaint," this world lacks that eternal virtue necessary for permanence. The ultimate rejection of the false gods, the anti-masquers, is finally a rejection of standards of credibility based on accidents and particularity and, even more seriously, on the claims of "Th'old Dragon," the chief anti-masquer.

Footnotes

Chapter four

1. Rabelais' Gargantua and Pantagruel and Burton's The Anatomy of Melancholy depend on the highly energetic listing of absurd particulars for their satiric effect. Milton's "Catalogue of Snakes" uses only a few entries to suggest its satiric viewpoint.

2. Henry Peacham, The Garden of Eloquence (1577); no page numbers.

3. The Iliad, p. 376. This catalogue is particularly important since it is one of the first non-epic, i.e. non-heroic examples of cataloguing available to us and suggests that there were other types of catalogues that Homer was willing to make.

4. For a discussion of the development of individuality in Greek poetry, see Bruno Snell, The Discovery of the Mind (New York, 1960); in particular, chapter three, "The Rise of the Individual in the Early Greek Lyric."

5. Peacham. This point about the possibility of degrees in the incrementum suggests that in a limited catalogue situation, such as Milton's "Catalogue of Snakes," a clear pattern or prevailing direction may be used to support meaning.

6. This example from The Garden of Eloquence (1577) suggests that the single culminating entry may surpass the more negative particular entries in rhetorical effectiveness.

7. Christopher Marlowe: The Complete Plays, ed. J. B. Steane (Baltimore, 1969), p. 144.

8. The incantatory power of words is a well-known fact; it is clear that by repetition a certain power over the form and meaning can be achieved. For a recent application of the thaumaturgic power of words in the rituals of the American Indian, see Paula Gunn Allen, "The Sacred Hoop: A Contemporary Indian Perspective on American Indian Literature," Cross Currents, XXVI (1976), 144-163. Of course, this type of repetition is in terms of phrases and patterns such as this chant recorded by Gunn, p. 149:

> Happily I recover.
> Happily my interior becomes cool.
> Happily I go forth.

9. The Garden of Eloquence. This is the closest rhetorical formulation Peacham gives for the undifferentiated listing of different words.

10. St. Paul uses this type list frequently; for example, in 2 Corinthians, 6, 4-8:

> But in all things approving ourselves the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses,
> In stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings;
> By pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the Holy Ghost, by love unfeigned,
> By the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left,
> By honor and dishonor, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true.

11. C. J. Rawson, Gulliver and the Gentle Reader (London, 1973), p. 89. Rawson bases this argument in part on work done by Ralph Cohen.

12. Rawson, p. 89.

13. Rawson, p. 87.

14. Barish concentrates more on the nature of prose as a comic language; he gives the following example of comic repetition from Poetaster, III. iv. 1-4:

> Why, how now, my good brace of bloud-hounds? whither doe you dragge the gent'man? you mungrels, you curres, you ban-dogs, we are Captain Tucca, that talke to you, you inhuman pilchers.

15. Robert Burton, The Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York, 1927), pp. 34-5. Burton's sense of listing has more than a comic effect; it creates a world in which particulars are held together by the slightest thread of rationality and sanity.

16. Rawson, p. 91, mentions the dialectical relationship in Swift between open listing and closed couplets: "Swift's configurations of oppenness... are by contrast as imprisoning as his use of the closed forms of couplet rhetoric."

17. Leo Spitzer, quoted in Rawson, p. 88.

18. Francois Rabelais, Gargantua and Pantagruel, trans. J. M. Cohen (Baltimore, 1955), p. 37.

19. Rabelais, p. 38. Rabelais uses the catalogue as a means of exposing the multitude of abuses plaguing mankind,

20. This phrase was first suggested to me by Professor John Hollander, Graduate Center, New York.

21. Rabelais, p. 393. Gargantua and Pantagruel contain many catalogues, among them Gargantua's games, a catalogue of ballocks, a list of the holdings of the library of St.Victor, of the activities of great men, of cooks, of Gastrolaters, and of cursed victims.

22. Rawson, p. 89. He is referring to Swift's "Description of a City Shower."

23. The catalogue of snakes is from Paradise Lost, Book X, where it is also used as an ironic continuation of the epic catalogue of Book I which shows the angels in more attractive (at least physically speaking) roles.

24. In his edition of The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton (Boston, 1965), Douglas Bush quotes Keats' comment on Satan's transformation into a serpent: "Whose spirit does not ache at the smothering and confinement--- the unwilling stillness---the 'waiting close'? Whose head is not dizzy at the possible speculations of Satan in the serpent prison? No passage of poetry ever can give a greater pain of suffocation." (Complete Works, ed. H. B. Forman, 3, 265.)

25. In Pantagruel, p. 360ff., Rabelais catalogues ballocks of every conceivable and inconceivable kind. There is no sane reason to include either or any of the many types of ballocks that are included, such as "easeful," "tagic," "aborted," "tumbling" or "thundering;" the criteria here for inclusion or exclusion is based on the idea of the "meta-catalogue," which tropes on the act of listing and therefore any particular detail may be added to the list to further the joke. The very fact that no clear definition of what may or may not be included exists supports the opennes necessary for a sens of the comic absurdity of the particular details of existence.

26. Rawson, p. 87. We may also include in this discussion of possible abundance the table of scientific elements proposed by Bacon and the catalogue of possibilites Whitman. The satiric list conveys a sense of openness and absurdity; the

scientific table, however, suggests the comfortable fact of identity and position through inclusion.

27. Francesco Petrarch, The Triumphs of Petrarch, trans. Ernest Hatch Wilkins (Chicago, 1962), p. 74.

28. Petrarch, p. 84.

29. Petrarch, p. 11.

30. Petrarch, p. 10.

31. Petrarch, p. 5.

32. Petrarch, pp. 99-100.

33. Petrarch, p. 108.

34. Petrarch, p. 112. There is some question about the final condition of the texts of the Trionfi; however, disregarding any rearrangement in the order of the triumphs, this passage from "The Triumph of Eternity" suggests that it does look back to the value of those moments of glory "on earth" and expresses a degree of skepticism about the permanence found in the earthly triumph as it confronts mutability.

35. Fowler, p. 27. This point applies to almost all of the catalogues we have studied, since they confront the question of glory and mutability at great length.

36. Two detailed studies on the seven deadly sins and ancient triumphs are: Samuel Chew, The Pilgrimage of Life (New Haven, 1962) and Morton Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (Michigan, 1967).

37. Fowler's point about position was discussed in Chapter two; it does suggest, however, that position becomes significant for ironic modes of cataloguing also.

38. Petrarch, p. 79.

39. Edmund Spenser, Books I and II of The Faerie Queene, ed. Robert Kellogg and Oliver Steele (New York, 1965), I. IV. XVII, p. 118.

40. Spenser, FQ, I. IV. 36, p. 123.

41. Linwood Taft, The Technique of Pagentry (New York, 1921), p. 43. For two other studies of civic pageantry, see Robert Withington, English Pagentry (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), and David Bergeron, English Civic Pagentry 1158-1642 (Columbia, S. C., 1971).

42 This phrase is from Alastair Fowler, p. 42.

43. Fowler, p. 34. The procession in Purgatorio, XXIX, was first brought to my attention by Fowler.

44. Dante Aligheri, The Divine Comedy, trans. Laurence Binyon, The Portable Dante, ed. Paolo Milano (New York, 1947).

45. Fowler, p, 34, believes the Gryphon to be a symbol of Christ's two bodies.

46. Dante, Purgatoria, XXIX, p. 342.

47. Spenser, FQ, III. XII. IV.

48. Spenser, FQ, III. XII. XXII.

49. For a detailed study of iconographical elements of Book V of The Faerie Queene, see Jane Aptaker, Icons of Justice (New York, 1969).

50. Stephen Orgel, The Jonsonian Masque (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p. 26. Orgel discusses the conflict between the legitimate and illegitimate monarch carefully; his work in this book provided the substructure for this section of my study.

51. Orgel, pp. 6-7. If we keep this in mind when we discuss Dante, Spenser and Milton, then the masque-like feature in "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" provides a way of dealing with the catalogue in this poem.

52. Orgel, p. 73.

53. Orgel, p. 28. In the court masque, the chief masquer is the monarchy; by transferring the court masque techniques to Milton's Ode, we perceive Christ as the chief masquer and the Satan as the chief anti-masquer.

Chapter Five

(a) Milton and the epic catalogue

The epic catalogue in Paradise Lost comes at the end of a long tradition and brings together, within its context, many of the nuances and patterns found in the classical models. There are, as we have seen, so many complex differences among the major epic catalogues from antiquity that no single one may be said to be the source for Milton's version. Althoug it is clear from Milton's use of the invocation before the catalogue, that he intends to follow Homer, Hesiod and Virgil at least on this point of formalizing the appearance of the trope itself. And too, like Homer and Virgil, Milton's "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" comes at the beginning of the poem in Book I; Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" is in Book II of The Iliad, and Virgil's "Catalogue of Italian Legions" is in Book VII, which begins the Italian episodes.

Despite these initial similarities, the catalogues in Homer, Virgil and Milton really do differ in terms of the effect each has upon the larger poetic text and upon the nature of the meaning unfolded by the array. The major figures in Homer's "Catalogue of Ships" will be very active throughout the poem, beginning with the joining of battle in Book III; Virgil's figures will also be participants in the battle for the Italian peninsula; but Milton's angels will become active only after the creation of history, which in terms of the poem's mythology results from Satan's actions and Adam's fall.

One factor uniting all three of these catalogues emerges, however, from the fictional moment that actually brings the heroes, warriors and angels into formation, and that moment results from a call to assembly for the purpose of defense and counsel. In The Iliad, Agamemnon orders the assembly of the Greek forces after he has confided to Nestor his dream of victory, which is a false dream sent to Agamemnon by Zeus to rouse the Greeks to battle. The Aeneid's "Catalogue of Italian Legions" comes as a result of the arrival of Aeneas; Alecto, in response to Aeneas' discovery of the promised land, stirs the Italians to arm themselves and assemble for battle. Similarly, Milton's "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" responds to Satan's rousing appeal to his followers to arise from the burning lake.

The fact that the catalogue is a response to a decree of one of the major figures in the poems adds to the formal status given to it by the invocation. Unlike any other literary device commonly used, the catalogue is well announced by characters within the poem and by the voice of the poet from without. For The Iliad, the catalogue creates a dramatic sense of the urgency and the massiveness of battle:

> Sone of Atreus, most lordly king of men, Agamemnon,
> Let us talk no more of these things, nor for a long time
> set aside the action which the god puts into our hands now.
> Come then, let the heralds of the bronze-armoured Achaians
> make proclamation to the people and assemble them by the vessels,
> and let us together as we go down the wide host

of the Achaians, to stir more quickly the
fierce war god.
He spoke, nor did the lord of men Agamemnon
neglect him,
but straightway commanded the clear-voiced
heralds to summon
by proclamation to battle the flowing-haired
Achaians;
and the heralds made their cry and the men were
assembled swiftly. 1
(Il. II. 434-44)

This sets the catalogue within a definite fictional context and connects it to the narrative by means of the dream, the proclamation and the imminent battle. As a trope, the catalogue will do more than just arrange the men into battle formation, which is clear from our examination of specific details, and the careful way in which the catalogue is made to be a part of the narrative affirms its position as much more than an interruption.

The immediate cause for the "Catalogue of Italian Legions" in The Aeneid is the threat posed by Aeneas and his band of Trojans to the native Italians, or, at least, the threat presumed to exist from the energetic and disruptive interference of Alecto:

The trumpets wail. The watchword
passes from man to man, the battle signal.
One snatches up a helmut from his house
in trembling haste; another yokes impatient
horses and buckles on his shield and mail
of three-ply gold, makes fast his faithful
sword. 2

A sense of urgency and concern for the safety of the homeland

clearly emanate from this passage, which is followed by the invocation and then the catalogue. From the haste and exact details of arming, Virgil infuses this passage with a sense of the interruption to daily life that is about to occur through the influence of Aeneas. The pre-catalogue details are also quite moving in the way fear conditions the transformation of peace into war: "One snatches up a helmut from his house/in trembling haste."

Paradise Lost resembles The Iliad's method of calling the troops together more than it does the Aeneid's; yet The Iliad indirectly reports the call to assembly, whereas in Paradise Lost, Satan's call to his troops is reported directly and at some length:

> "Princes, Potentates,
> Warriors, the flow'r of heav'n, once yours, now lost,
> If such astonishment as this can seize
> Eternal Spirits; or have ye chos'n this place
> After the toil of battle to repose
> Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find
> To slumber here, as in the vales of heav'n?
> Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
> To adore the Conqueror, who now beholds
> Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
> With scattered arms and ensign, till anon
> His swift pursuers from heav'n gates discern
> Th'advantage, and descending tread us down
> Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
> Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf?
> Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n!
>
> They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung
> Upon the wing. 3
>
> (I. 315-31)

This is a complex call to arms because of the blending together of details of war, battle, strategy, irony and fear.

From Satan's point of view, this call allows him to reassure the "flow'r of heav'n," who have been defeated, that there is hope for them yet and to caution them to maintain a military watchfulness, lest they be "transfixed" forever to the fiery gulf. Unlike Agamemnon, however, Satan does not call his warriors together for actual battle; their's is a more complex position, since they have already been defeated in battle; Satan's most evocative remark concerns the dreadful failure of consciousness threatening all of them: "Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n!" Of course, they are "for ever fall'n," but that is an irony that they are unaware of at this point; the Biblical realities of the catalogue will make that very clear to the reader.

The tropical nature of the catalogue is extended to include all of this pre-listing material, which, and this is clear from the carefully mapped out prelude to the actual catalogue, means that Milton follows Homer by linking the act of naming warriors to the major narrative direction in his poem. Virgil, too, does not simply begin cataloguing Italian warriors; he connects the necessity for naming with a situation derived from the _mythos_. This is particularly important when we compare an epic catalogue to one that lacks a narrative frame, such as Herbert's _Outlandish Proverbs_, which have no relation to anything but each other. If we compare Blake's "Proverbs of Hell" to Herbert's _Outlandish Proverbs_, it is clear that Blake's are more forceful because they occur within the prevailing _mythos_ of _The Marriage of_

<u>Heaven and Hell</u> and reflect and are in turn reflected on by that vision of the contrary states of the human imagination. My point here is that we must not seek a one to one correspondence between details in the Homeric, Virgilian or Miltonic catalogues with elements of the remaining text, but that the catalogue must be seen as a part of the narrative, an extension of the mythos into directions that would be otherwise unattainable on such a scale with usual narrative methods.

A significant indication that the "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" is modeled on the Homeric "Catalogue of Ships" is in the way Milton prepares the imagination to receive the possibility of countless names by a series of similes, declaring the vast amount of creatures involved. We saw earlier that once the heralds have called Agamemnon's warrior to arms, they began to respond quickly to that summons and this leads Homer into his invocation requesting assistance in naming the multitudes. But before the invocation is actually voiced, Homer uses a series of similes suggesting the quantitative wholeness of the Achaian army. Once the army begins moving in response to the herald's call, Homer presents the first simile:

> so as they marched, from the magnificent bronze the gleam went
> dazzling all about through the upper air to heaven.
>
> These, as the multitudinous nations of winged birds,
> of geese, and of cranes, and of swans long-throated... 4

Not long after this, Homer resorts to another simile to expand further the numerical dimension of the Achaian host as it gathers for war:

> They took position in the blossoming meadow
> of Skamandros,
> thousands of them, as leaves and flowers appear
> in their season.
> Like the multitudinous nations of swarm-
> ing insects
> who drive hither and thither about the stall
> of the sheepfold
> in the season of spring when the milk splashes
> in the milk pails:
> in such numbers the flowing-haired Achaians
> stood up
> through the plain against the Trojans, hearts
> burning to break them.5

Homer prepares for the catalogue and the invocation by these similes suggesting the impossibility of naming such a vast quantity of men. The heroic context is reaffirmed by the eager attitude expressed by the "flowing-haired Achaians" to join battle, but, even this image is extended into a more peaceful setting in spring "when the milk splashes in the milk pails;" this extension into an atmosphere of peace and domesticity intensifies the vivid presence of the epic mythos.

Homer's pattern of the call to arms, simile, invocation and catalogue is followed closely by Milton is his epic catalogue of Book I of Paradise Lost. Following Satan's call to arms, "Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n!" the angels begin to move much in the way the Achaians do in response to Agamemnon's heralds:

> They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung
> Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
> On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
> Rouse and bestir themselves ere full awake.
> Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
> In which they were, or the fierce pains not
> feel;
> Yet to their general's voice they soon obeyed
> Inumerable.
> (I. 331-38)

Milton's description of this first stirring of the defeated angels differs from Homer's assembly of the Achaians only through the emphasis placed on fear and pain as motivating forces. For Homer, Athena actively rouses the Achaians into their battle formations; here, that role is played by fear, which supports the diabolical rather than heroic ambiance.[6] Like Homer, Milton uses a single word to suggest the presence of large numbers, "Inumerable;" Homer uses "multitudinous" to suggest the combined numbers of men and leaders. "Inumerable," however, receives additional emphasis by being the last word in the sentence and first word in the following line, which syntactically and positional are very strong characteristics. Once the general image of quantitative proportions has been established, the Milton resorts to the simile as another poetic method of describing the impossible:

> As when the potent rod
> Of Amram's son in Egypt's evil day
> Waved round the coast, up called a pitchy cloud
> Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
> That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
> Like night, and darkened all the land of Nile:
> So numberless were those bad angels seen
> Hovering on wing under the cope of hell
> 'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires;
> (I. 338-46)

This is an extraordinary simile for two reasons: first, like Homer's "multitudinous nations of insects," a "pitchy cloud of locusts" conveys a dramatic sense of the physical presence of great numbers that is intensified further by the power of darkness that it has over the land, "all the land of Nile;" and second, this simile points out a very real real difference between the epic vision of Homer and Milton. Homer's "nations of birds" live "in the Asian meadow beside the Kaystrion waters;" his "nations of swarming insects" hover "about the stalls of the sheepfold/in the season of spring when the milk splashes in the milk pails," and even his commanders are like "goatherds among the wide goatflocks." These similes depict either the beauty of natural abundance or the rustic life overflowing with peace and local pleasures. The hardships of the heroic vision of life is contrasted with these versions of peace.

However, Milton's simile has a very different source from the pastoral or peaceful worlds, and that source is Exodus. The "pitchy cloud of locusts" overhanging the "realm of impios Pharaoh" recalls the reason that the Lord ordered Moses to "Stretch out thine hand over the land of Egypt for the locusts" was because Pharaoh had hardened his heart against "the children of Israel and would not let them go." (Exodus. 9.35) This simile with its allusion to the captivity in Egypt suggests the Biblical context in which the catalogue of fallen angels is to occur, and unlike Homer, who draws his similes from images of peace, Milton draws his similes from moments of Biblical and historical conflict. Even Milton's second

simile before the catalogue refers to cultural and religious war between Christian and non-Christian hoards:

> Their course, in even balance down they light
> On the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain;
> A multitude, like which the populous North
> Poured never from her frozen loins, to pass
> Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
> Came like a deluge on the South, and spread
> Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands.
> (I. 349-55)

This reference to the "barbarian invasions of Europe in the early Middle Ages," as Douglas Bush says, extends the idea of religious conflict in history from Judaic-non-Judaic to Christian-non-Christian situations.[7] Neither of Milton's similes sets up a moment of contrast with the epic context; instead, each extends the possibilities of the fall into history by these references to religious conflict. And this pattern of futurizing the identity of the fallen angels will, of course, shape the catalogue.

Another significant difference between Milton's catalogue and its epic models is that the "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" is not a pre-battle array in the way that the "Catalogue of Ships" and the "Catalogue of Italian Legions" are. Both Homer's and Virgil's catalogues lead to battle; Milton's leads to a conference in which the plans for future battles are worked out, so that in a sense Milton's catalogue is a pre-battle array only in terms of future Biblical and historical conflicts. This is a significant redefinition of the epic context from the local and historical to the moral and Biblical,

and this shift in epic context seriously affects the way in which the catalogue presents the names, deeds and histories of the various angels; in fact, Milton's catalogue is not the memorialization of heroes and their names but of anti-heroes and their anti-names:

> Though of their names in heav'nly records now
> Be no memorial, blotted out and razed
> By their rebellion from the Books of Life.
> Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve
> Got them new names, till wand'ring o'er the earth,
> Through God's high sufference for the trial of man,
> By falsities and lies the greater part
> Of mankind they corrupted to foresake
> God their Creator, and th'invisible
> Glory of him that made them to transform
> Oft to the image of a brute, adorned
> With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
> And devils to adore for deities:
> Then were they known to men by various names,
> And various idols through the heathen world.
> (I. 361-75)

This is a most important qualfication of the act of naming about to be presented in the catalogue since it actually redefines the nature of the catalogue as a collection of names into a collection of anti-names and thereby changes the incusion principle. Because the angels have lost their pre-fallen names, "... blotted and razed/... from the Books of Life," they can only receive their future names, their "new names" acquired through "falsities and lies." No other catalogue that we have looked at makes this statement about the names of the figures about to be included in the list; only <u>Paradise Lost</u>, through its context of moral inversion, transforms an epic trope into in anti-epic trope, in which inclusion

can only be interpreted as an indication of moral failure and misdeed.

Once the preliminary material of the call to arms and the similes has been presented, Milton then invokes the Muse for assistance in naming those angels who responded to Satan's call. In this, Milton has followed Homer and Virgil who use the invocation to suggest the difficulty involved in naming a multitude of characters and to intimate that the catalogue envisions realities from a primordial past, or as Eliade said, in Myth and Reality, a time of the original realities.[8] Milton's invocation suggests, especially when taken in conjunction with the Biblical names given to the fallen angels, that this catalogue will actually show the beginning of a reality, in this case, of the reality of the false gods:

> Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
> Roused from the slumber on that fiery couch,
> At their great emperor's call, as next in worth
> Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
> While the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof.
> (I. 376-80)

This densely packed invocation performs a number of tasks: first, it brings the Muse into the fiction as a source of information needed to name angels whose original names have been lost; second, it refers to the opening of Book I, which specifically mentions the Muse's presence at these original events, "Instruct me, for thou know'st; thou from the first/ Wast present..."; and third, it establishes the direction

and the order of importance in the catalogue itself. Milton reinforces the idea of the priority governing the situation in Hell by referring to "who first, who last" as part of the array's sense of pattern; this reference to first and last in conjunction with Satan's designation as "their great emperor" creates a vision of diabolical society based on a travesty of classical values and an inversion of moral principles. Homer's invocation mentions that he will name the "lords of the ships," and Virgil makes it clear that he will name the "chieftans" and not every member of the squadrons; Milton' however, declares this distinction between leaders and followers indirectly by the contrast between "singly" and "promiscuous:"

> Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
> While the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof.
> (I. 379-80)

The contrast between "singly," i.e. those who are the leaders by virtue of their having been individualized by their roles in history, and those of the "promiscuous crowd," i.e. those who are an undifferentiated mixture of less distinguished angels, reveals the hierarchical arrangements that exist in an inverted form in Hell. And as a further reinforcement of the order of power in Hell, the angels "Came singly where he stood on the bare strand," which reveals a clear "prevailing direction" to the center of power, the icon of diabolical sovereignty, Satan. By placing Satan at the center of the

catalogue, Milton reveals him to be the visual as well as the moral usurper of the tradition icons of sovereignty.

The iconography of illegitimacy is firmly established by the lines between the invocation and the body of the catalogue itself, which focus on the anti-masque activities of the angels within the Biblical context of the struggle for theological and religious supremacy:

> The chief were those who from the pit of hell,
> Roaming to seek their prey on earth on earth,
> durst fix
> Their seats long after next the seat of God,
> Their altars by his altars, gods adored
> Among the nations round, and durst abide
> Jehovah thund'ring out of Sion, throned
> Between the Cherubim;
> (I. 381-86)

This passage clarifies Satan's position, and indeed that of the other fallen angels, by setting their present situation in Hell against their role in Biblical history and by referring to desecrations of legitimate shrines and altars by these usurping deities who position their altars next to Jevohah's and even mock the centrality of Jehovah's shrine in Jerusalem, "throned/ Between the Cherubim."[9]

Milton has followed carefully the Homeric pattern of summons, similes, invocation and then catalogue, but he also adds a range of qualifications concerning the names and moral value of the angels about to be catalogues. These explicit comments of moral and religious worth, "yea, often placed/Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,/Abominations; and with cursed things/His holy rites and sacred feasts profaned,"

redefine the imaginative significance of this catalogue in terms of a vision of the Biblical and symbolic power of illegitimacy. Neither The Iliad nor The Aeneid explicitly defines the worth of the figures included in the catalogue; there are references to a character's past, and even if there are some negative details mentioned, these are referred to as historical rather than moral incidents. Homer's sense of history, as expressed in the catalogue, opposes the power of naming to the power of mutability; Virgil's is to assert naming as a reaffirmation of human value in the presence of political transformations. Milton, however, assesses the effects of the fall of angels in terms of historical situations, which can be imagined in a visionary context, and the epic catalogue of fallen angels is the first major tansitional moment in Paradise Lost. As Eliade made clear in Myth and Reality, myth narrates a time of beginnings:

> Myth narrates a sacred history; it relates an event that took place in primordial Time, the fabled time of beginnings. In other words, myth tells how, through the deeds of Supernatural Beings, a reality came into existence. 10

This idea is particularly appropriate to Paradise Lost, since it is clear that the "deeds of Supernatural Beings," God and the fallen angels, all bring into being that reality known as history. More than anything else, Milton's "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" is a mythical device demonstrating in striking visual terms how acts from "primordial time,"

" the fabled time of beginnings," brought about transformations in the nature and the shape of reality. The lines, "Who from the pit of hell/Roaming to seek their prey on earth," recall in vivid terms that transformational moment in which the confrontation between two realities, that of hell and human life, causes a change in the structure of human life by initiating it into history.

When Samuel Barrow writes in a prefatory poem to Paradise Lost that,

> Qui legis Amissam Paradissum, grandi magni
> Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta legit?
> Res cuncta, et cunctarum primordia rerum,
> Et fata, et fines continet iste liber.

he is suggesting a similar conclusion about epic and mythical poetry: that epics look at the "cunctarum primordia rerum" for an explanation of the current state of reality and the inescapable effects of events from the beginning that have shaped reality.[10] The fall of the rebel angels precipitates human history; Pope recognized the Homeric catalogue to be a confrontation between "the extensive knowledge of the Divinities on the one side, to the blindness and Ignorance of mankind on the other;" Milton, however, goes beyond the problem of knowledge in the catalogue to the problem of the origin of reality as we understand it. His invocation makes it clear that he is not concerned with number and the problem of quantity; instead, he expresses concern for recalling those who left the pit of hell and roamed the earth,

usurping the position of Jehovah in human history; and the catalogue by detailing the angels in their Biblical roles shows history coming into existence as a result of the actions of supernatural beings, who transform the space of eternity into history at the time of beginnings.

Milton intensifies this relationship between the fall of angels and the creation of history through the details used in the individual entries in the catalogue, which not only visualize the effects of the fall at this early moment in the poem, but also provide explanations for certain historical atrocities. The connection between those "who from the pit of hell/Roaming to seek their prey on earth," and the false gods of Biblical history reveals in detail what Milton means when he says that this poem will sing of "all our woe;" this visionary catalogue, then, does not examine a figure's past but that figure's role in future human history. The entries in The Iliad and The Aeneid are more 'historical' in that they bring into focus a figure's past in order to preserve a memory of individual value; but the catalogue of fallen angels does not examine the past but the future activities of each angel-turned-devil-turned-false-god; in this way it may be said to be more of a visionary and mythical catalogue.

The meaning of the connection between creatures of hell and human history is made very clear from the very first entry, which really sets the pattern for the remainder of the catalogue:

> First Moloch, horrid king besmeared with blood
> Of human sacrifice, and parent's tears,
> Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
> Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
> To his grim idol.
> (I. 392-96)

Compared to the relatively mild description of Moloch in "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," this portrait is much more severe, focusing on the grisly sacrificial nature of Moloch's usurped monarchic role. Here the noise of "drums and timbrels loud" does more than those "cymbals" calling a departed god to this temple; these drums and timbrels do not call the faithful to worship but to human sacrifice, which, too, is a reversal, a literalization of the idea of offering sacrifice. The relationship between human misery and these false gods is strengthened by the sacrificial character of falsehood which, like Moloch, "besmeared with blood/Of human sacrifice," immediately envisions the "prey" that the fallen angels will seek on earth.

Milton's version of the epic catalogue, however, really goes further than simply presenting the fallen angels in bloodthirsty situations and continues to explore the nature of falsehood in seducing the human imagination away from visions of truth. Since the idea of deception is so important to Milton's understanding of the fall of man, it is not surprising that the catalogue also envisions the history created by that original transgression as a struggle between truth and falsehood:

> Him the Ammonite
> Worshipped in Rabba and her watr'y plain,
> In Argob and in Basan, to the stream
> Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such
> Audacious neighborhood, the wisest heart
> Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
> His temple right against the temple of God
> On that opprobious hill, and made his grove
> The pleasant valley of Hinnam, Tophet thence
> And blackest Gehenna called, the type of hell.
> (I. 396-405)

Milton's technique here includes some of Moloch's more infamous activities, while at the same time using the articulation of place names to suggest the dimensions of historical space. Within this historical space, moreover, Milton makes it clear that the struggle which began in primordial time through the acts of deception will continue in history,' using the same machinery: fraud. That a reference to Solomon's being mislead "by fraud" occurs at this point is a specific way of extending the effects and, more importantly, the chief weapon of the false gods, fraud, into history; fraud plays a major role in seducing Adam and Eve from truth in Edenic space, and that moral inversion, according to this entry in the catalogue, will continue to be an active weapon in the historical extension of that struggle. In fact, this entry brings together more than the use of fraud in Biblical history; it also focuses on the continuing usurpation by the fallen angels of the central position: "to build/His temple right against the temple of God;" this is clearly an attempt by Moloch to usurp the spatial icon of sovereignty, the temple of god, which is a central representation of legitimacy.

As a further indication of the mythical structure of the epic catalogue, the entry on Moloch also refers to "blackest Gehanna called, the type of hell," which reveals in one sense that hell is one of those primordial realities necessary for the existence and the current shape of reality. Hell is the prototype for the spatial location of illegitimacy just in the way Pandemonium becomes the prototype for classical cities. "Type" in this entry means the source, the model, the origin of future version of spatial illegitimacy, so that "blackest Gehenna'" is not only a spatial attempt to usurp the legitimate position of the "temple of God," but it is related by type to that original, primordial, attempt at overthrowing the legitimate monarchy of that supernatural being known as god.

Although Milton's epic catalogue is shorter than the other two major epic catalogues in The Iliad and The Aeneid, it should be noted that Milton engages in a more diverse range of speculations than does Homer or Virgil. Neither The Iliad nor The Aeneid goes beyond narrating an abbreviated epitome for the figures included in the catalogue; Milton, however, includes brief narratives but also moral and even metaphysical speculation within the body of the catalogue itself. This is another redefinition of the catalogue made by Milton in order to bring the tropical nature of cataloguing into the context of a mythical epic poem. This opening of the catalogue's limits can be clearly seen in the presentation of Chemos, which begins as an extension of the idea of fraud and fall and then becomes something

of a metaphysical speculation:

> Next Chemos, th'obscene dread of Moab's sons,
> From Aroer to Nebo, and the wild
> Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon
> And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
> The flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines,
> And Eleale to th'Asphaltic pool:
> Peor his other name, when he enticed
> Israel in Sittim on their march from Nile
> To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
> (I. 406-14)

This passage includes some typical details, such as the name and alternate name of the fallen angels, place names and Biblical history; it also continues the extension of the modality of the fall, "he enticed/Israel," fraud, into the arena of human history. By alluding to the seduction of the tribe of Israel, Milton again highlights fraud, guile and deceit as the principal agents of falsehood. But this entry continues in another direction not found in Homer, Hesiod or Virgil:

> For Spirits when they please
> Can either sex assume, or both; so soft
> And uncompounded is their essence pure,
> Not tied with manacled joint or limb,
> Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
> Like cumbrous flesh; but in what shape they choose,
> Dilated or condensed, bright or obscure,
> Can execute their airy purposes,
> And works of love or enmity fulfill.
> For those the race of Israel oft forsook
> Their living Strength, and unfrequented left
> His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
> To bestial gods;
> (I. 423-35)

This is not merely speculation for the sake of making the

catalogue's scope more inclusive; Milton shows us the metaphysics of fraud in this detail about angelic substance and the possibility of different shapes. There is an intimate connection between the angelic power to alter shape and the ability to alter moral situations so as to make them appear desirable rather than fatal; this too has for its prototype Satan's imbruting himself into the serpent for the purpose of deceiving Eve and working what he calls, his "dark intent." The physical transformations practiced by the fallen angles all come under the heading of "obscure" purposes: as Satan prepares to enter the serpent he refers to his ability to "glide obscure" and his "dark intnet;" and, finally, his assumption of bestial "slime" for the purpose of working "subtle wile" all prepare for the shapes of Middle Eastern history that seduced Israel from the "righteous altar," and caused the Israelites, like Eve who does "low reverence" to the tree, to bow "lowly" to falsehood. Here then the catalogue provides for the telegraphing of shape-shifting and fraud into history as part of the struggle between truth and falsehood.

Because the criteria for inclusion and exclusion are based on the confrontation between truth and falsehood, the theme of appearance and reality becomes one of the principles by which the catalogue of fallen angels arranges its particular details. Unlike the Homeric or Virgilian epic catalogues, Milton's epic catalogue deals more with the moral expansion and extension of the fall into history than it does with quantity or with memory, and this factor causes

the particular details to conform to a pattern of seduction and beguilement as the controlling idea uniting each of the individual bits of spectacle:

> With these in troop
> Came Astoreth, whom the Phoenicians called
> Astarte, queen of heav'n, with crescent horns;
> To whose bright image nightly by the moon
> Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs;
> In Sion also not unsung, where stood
> Her temple on th'offensive mountain, built
> By that uxorious king whose heart though large,
> Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
> To idols foul.
> (I. 437-46)

The "uxorious king" is Solomon, whose intellect could not resist the appearance of the fair idolatresses; this entry further defines the moral context of the catalogue to include all those versions of falsehood that beguile the intellect as well as the senses in presenting only the appearance of good instead of the substance. By the subtle confusion of good and evil through the manipulation of appearances, the fallen angels are able to continue their seduction of mankind throughout history. "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" begins to clarify Milton's attitude toward the lovely appearance of some of the objects of falsehood, and Paradise Lost works out the seriousness of this moral inversion at great length as part of the explanation of man's fall. What is captured by the context of the initial human transgression is the primordial moral inversion that urged Adam into error and continues to delude the imagination in history with its many different and pleasing shapes.

This pattern is also developed in the entries about some of the cyclic deities:

> Thammuz came next behind,
> Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
> The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
> In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
> While smooth Adonis, from his native rock
> Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
> Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
> Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
> Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
> Ezekiel saw, when by the vision led
> His eye surveyed the dark idolatries
> Of alienated Judah.
>
> (I. 446-57)

Again the emphasis falls on the beautiful and seductive appearance of error and on the ability of that illusion to alienate the race of Israel from its proper worship; it is clear from this passage that one of the effects of this version of falsehood is for the faithful to be "infected" with these appearances and thereby become alienated from the legitimate source of their existence. The catalogue seems to expand the meaning of dark and obscure to include these "love-tales" that are capable of distorting the religious imagination and cause it to accept a false rather than a true deity.

This imposition on credibility can also be manifested in terms of natural as well as physical beauty; some of the entries stress the beauty of the place where the false god establishes his illegitimate spatial sovereignty:

> Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat
> Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks

> Of Abbana and Pharphor, lucid streams.
> He also against the house of God was bold.
> (I. 467-70)

The moral confrontation between appearance on the one side, "delightful seat," "fair Damascus," "lucid streams," and reality, at least, moral reality, "He also against the house of God was bold," reveals that the assault upon human credulity, like the shapes of airy spirits, may be "Dilated, or condensed, bright or obscure," depending on the moral perspective. This pattern of using the catalogue to extend the fall into history and to show in detail how the moral values of the contest remain the same from the primordial assault through the historical assaults creates a very sophisticated tropical catalogue, that contributes to the presence of what Geoffrey Hartman calls the "counterplot:"

> Milton varies points-of-view shifting in space and time so skillfully, that our sense of the reality of hell, of its power vis-a-vis man or God, never remains secure. Spirits, we know, can assume any shape they please; and Milton, like Spenser, uses this imaginative axiom to destroy the idea of the simple location of good and evil in the spiritual combat. But despite the insecurity, the abyss momentarily glimpsed under simple events, Milton's main effort in the first books is to make us believe in Satan as a real and terrible agent, yet never an irresistible power. No doubt at all of Satan's influence: his success is writ large in religious history; which may also be one reason for the epic enumeration of demonic names and place names in Book I. 12

We have seen how the demonic names and place names create a

belief in Satan's power by the very degree of success shared by the false deities throughout religious history. Hartman's idea about Milton's rejection of the "simple location of good and evil" also suggests that one of the major purposes of the catalogue is to universalize the extent of the fall historically and geographically by de-localizing the fallen angels from the pit of hell and placing them not only in mid-eastern mythologies but in mythologies from Greece, Rome, Egypt and Northern Europe. Moral history is not confined to local situations, and, since this history takes place within an epic format, it is in keeping with the idea of the encyclopaedic nature of epic to detail the fall in terms of complex localities.[13]

The path of disclosure towards more widespread systems of theological error leads the catalogue toward an expansive conclusion, taking it beyond the Middle East and into other versions of untruth. First, however, Milton includes the gods of Egypt as historical versions of the primordial struggle:

> After these appeared
> A crew who under names of old renown,
> Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,
> With monstrous shapes and sorceries abuse
> Fanatic Egypt and her priests, to seek
> Their wand'ring gods disguised in brutish forms
> Rather than human. Nor did Israel scape
> Th'infection when their borrowed gold composed
> The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
> Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan,
> Lik'ning his Maker to the grazed ox--
> Jehovah, who in one night when he passed
> From Egypt marching, equaled with one stroke
> Both her first-born and all her bleating gods.
> (I. 476-89)

This important passage specifies a particular type of error: the conception of god in any form other than human or divine. This bestial fallacy not only beguiles Egypt but also the race of Israel who, like the Egyptians, placed their trust in a version of falsehood disguised as a "bleating" god. Here the fallen angels are seen once again using their shape-shifting ability to delude the imagination and seduce mankind from a conception of the true god, Jehovah, and to detract from the value of the human form divine by making "monstrous shapes" and "brutish forms" more representative of divine reality than the human form. This recapitulates within history Eve's credibility in the lower forms of life, the serpent and the tree, to which she gives "low reverence;" so the brutish delusions actually continue this aspect of the fall into history as a extension of that initial imaginative error.

Following this description of the Egyptian gods is the final major passage in the catalogue that actually brings the list to a conclusion and enlarges the standards of inclusion until they embrace the possibilities of Celtic mythology:

> The rest were long to tell, though far renowned,
> Th'Ionian gods, of Javan's issue held
> Gods, yet confessed later than Heav'n and Earth,
> Their boasted parents; Titan, Heav'n's first-born,
> With his enormous brood, and birthright seized
> By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove,
> His own and Rhea's son, like measure found;
> So Jove usurping reigned. These, first in Crete
> And Ida known, thence on the snowy top
> Of cold Olympos ruled the middle air,

> Their highest heav'n; or on the Delphian cliff,
> Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
> Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
> Fled over Adria to th'Hesperian fields,
> And o'er the Celtic roamed the utmost isles.
> (I. 507-21)

This concludes the catalogue of fallen angels. Even in this final entry, Milton focuses on the illegitimacy of their claims to be gods and on the instability of their reigns as false gods. The references to "birthright seized" and "usurping reigned" characterize the quality of the reign of a false god as one subject to frequent changes in power; these are reigns based not on legitimate right but on the deities' ability to defend that right against challengers. Just as Satan and the rebel angels challenged the right of Jehovah to the throne of heaven, so that within their systems of mythology and sovereignty, these false gods continually challenge each others right to rule; the conclusion is that these false angels exist within a world of theological and political chaos.

Milton's "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" extends the effects of the fall into history; continues the struggle between appearance and reality in Biblical terms; creates an immediate sense of historical space; connects the diabolical moral environment to the non-local historical environments of the future and seeks out the shape of current reality in the time of the beginnings. In addition, when Milton describes the assembled host of angels as greater then Uther's sons, greater than those who fought at Thebes, Ilium,

Aspramont, Montalban or even at the battles of Charlemain, he anticipates the inevitable heroic moment associated with the position of the fallen angels, whose power is far beyond "Compare of mortal powers." Milton reserves some of the residual brillance of the angels before they begin their transformation into devils and brutish forms. Even Satan, who "above the rest/In shape and gesture proudly eminent/ Stood like a tower," complete the tableau of the angels as they begin to undertake their second most serious transgression; yet the catalogue has already shown some of the historical results and techniques of that transgression. The final moment in the catalogue occurs when Satan, surrounded by his followers, is revealed to be the absolute center of this diabolical and historical situation; the catalogue preserves a final silent visual moment before erupting into discourse:

> He now prepared
> To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
> From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
> With all his peers: attention held them mute.
> (I. 615-18)

And at this poetic moment, Milton transforms the modality from visual to oral.

(b) Milton and the Temptation Catalogue

The epic catalogue in Paradise Lost develops as one of its major themes the historical continuation of the struggle

between falsehood and reality as it is manifested in the religious conflicts in the Bible and in Western Europe. Many of the particular instances of the abuse of the human imagination by a false deity revolve around some special mode of deception in which the reality of evil is disguised as an alluring appearance or as a subhuman creature. Seduction of the human religious imagination throughout history was one of the catalogue's main revelations and also suggests an alternative to those deceptive modes of thinking that have plagued mankind from the beginning of the historical situation.

Part of the psychology of temptation involves seduction through visual or oral acts of illusion. In this kind of rhetoric, one essential persuasive device is to overwhelm the imagination not only with particulars but also with a general configuration that appears to share in the nature of reality. Throughout history, at least, religious history, the fallen angels never confined their configuration of falsehood to one particular version. As Hartman made clear, one of the strengths of the forces of evil is this very ability to change shapes and appearances, thereby presenting the imagination with the illusion of variety and difference. In "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity," for example, the exiled deities display some very seductive qualities, least of not which is the variety of their appearance, ranging from those nymphs in "twilight shade of tangled thickets" to the Lars and Lemurs moaning with "midnight plaint." One of the strongest arguments in favor of the exiled deities lies in their

assumption of a number of seductive and alluring shapes.

Milton creates another mode of seduction in <u>Paradise Regained</u> that depends on the use of a highly successful configuration to conceal the defects in individual elements in a temptation while focusing on the general appearance as a desirable and worthwile whole. In <u>Paradise Regained</u>, Satan relies heavily on the catalogue as a weapon in his temptation of Jesus for the very reason that he is trying to seduce him in terms of appearance and reality, which is one very effective way of covering the nature of reality and creating a uniform surface in which all elements appear to have equal value. In Book IV, for example, Satan tires to overcome Jesus' sense of resistance by describing an alluring but essentially limited array of Greek culture:

> There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power
> Of harmony in tones and numbers hit
> By voice or hand, and various-measured verse,
> Aeolian charms and Dorian lyric odes
> And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,
> Blind Melesigines, thence, Homer called.
> Whose poem Phoebus challenged for his own.
> (IV. 254-60)

These "Aeolian charms and Doric lyric odes" fall into the same category as "Haunted spring and Dale," as beautiful but ultimately unsatisfactory and unrevealed renderings of imaginative truth. What gives this temptation its power, however, is that way in which the particular details are stacked together, assaulting the imagination through the power of

quantity and multiplicity. The triple division of "voice, hand, and various-measured verse," the "Aeolian charms and Doric lyric odes," and the "tones and numbers" impose upon Jesus' credulity as a man, or try to, by pretending that the individual aspects of poetry give it the same moral immensity as the redemption of the world. The enumeration of particulars further lures the imagination into dealing with the specific beauty of each instead of perceiving that the configuration itself is a deception.

Earlier we saw how the epic catalogue appeals for a certain amount of credibility from the reader whether in historical or imaginative situations. The temptation catalogue, on the other hand, uses the very same techniques to instill credibility to situations and elements whose worth itself is exaggerate by the general weight of the catalogue. Jesus quickly perceives that Satan is imposing on his sense of credibility by his offer of the particulars of classical poetry in exchange for a human soul and the souls of all of humanity, and his rejection of Satan's offer does not name each particular but rejects the catalogue as a whole:

> But these are false, or little else but dreams.
> Conjecture, fancies, built on nothing firm.
> (IV. 291-2)

The interplay of temptation and rejection reveals that Milton saw the perversions of reason and argument that can lead to sin; he also perceived the power of the visual array in seducing the moral imagination away from the individual failures

and into a vision of the moral credibility of the whole.

Another example of the temptation catalogue occurs earlier in Paradise Regained during the temptation of power. Satan takes "our Saviour" to a mountain top where he displays the kingdoms of the world which can be Christ's if he is willing to acknowledge Satan as an object of worship:

> Here thou beholds't
> Assyria and her empire's ancient bounds,
> Araxes and the Caspian lake, thence on
> As far as Indus East, Euphrates west
> And oft beyond; to south the Persian bay,
> And inaccessible the Arabian drought:
> Here Nineveh, of length within her wall
> Several days' journey, built by Ninus old,
> Of that first golden monarchy the seat,
> And seat of Salmanassar, whose success
> Israel in long captivity still mourns;
> There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues,
> As ancinet but rebuilt by him who twice
> Judah and all thy father David's house
> Led captive and Jerusalem laid waste,
> Till Cyrus set them free; Persepolis
> His city there thou seest, and Bactra there;
> (III. 269-85)

This list continues for some lines, naming Ecbatana, Hecatompylos, Susa, Seleucia, Nisibis, Artaxata, Teredon and Ctesiphon. The listing of these names expands the breath of Satan's offer to include the kingdoms of the world in exchange for Jesus' worship. For Satan, it makes no difference which or all attract Christ, as long as he succumbs to one of the temptations offered; temptation language is very disposable as language, since its individual characteristics exist only to seduce the listener into agreement; which city or empire performs this feat is irrelevant

to Satan as long as it is accomplished.

In the above passage, the relentless gathering of names, the relationship between the reinforcement of the seduction through the sound of Assyria, Araxes, Caspian, etc. blends picture and sound into a single weapon until the final offer of all historical places is dismissed by Jesus through his recognition that the offer is deceptive. His counter-argument includes a catalogue of the negative reality of these exotic places that goes beyond Satan's rhetoric of abundance to the dissolution of the worth of worldly power:

> Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm,
> And fragile arms, much instrument of war,
> Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
> Before mine eyes, thou hast set, and in my ear
> Vented much policy, and projects deep
> Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues,
> Plausible to the world, to me worth nothing.
> (III. 387-93)

All of the seductive power of multiplicity and abundance dissolves before the counter-list exposing the unreality of "projects," "enemies," "aids," "battles" and "leagues." The repetition of the word "much," "much ostentation," "much instrument" and "much policy" makes it clear that Jesus recognizes Satan's attempt to use quantities to make plausible what are essentially implausible conditions. The final line, "Plausible to the world, to me worth nothing," challenges the credibility of moral situations and temptation that seriously assume the shape of numerical abundance. Morality in human terms has to be a question of particulars and in

Satan's attempted seduction, particulars and their shortcomings must be covered up within the deceptive array. In the satiric catalogue, the force of multiplicity brought the imagination into a recognition of folly and absurdity through the abundance of vice; in the epic catalogue, naming and quantitative abundance suggested credibility in the scope and accuracy of history; here, however, in the temptation catalogue, the act of naming and suggesting numerical abundance reveals an intent to obscure the character of the particular details. In order to protect his imagination from the imposition of this version of deception, Jesus rejects the temptation catalogues in their entirety.

(c) Milton and the Thaumaturgic Catalogue

Another variation on the act of cataloguing concerns that type of catalogue which is not part of an epic or of a triumph. Once again this brings us really to a consideration of just what makes some lists exciting and creative and others tedious and non-creative. There are many catalogues that have very little imaginative energy or that do no really important work within a poem or a piece of prose, even when the containing work may be very dynamic. From what we have seen in Homer, Hesiod, Virgil and Milton, those catalogues possessing either a mythical or historical direction seem to be more successful in creating a shape capable of producing rather than stiffling energy. In some of Bacon's scientific catalogues, such as the _Historia Ventorum_, the

Historia Densi or Rari, or even his non-scientific Apophthegms, he clearly is more interested in establishing the scope of empirical realities than musing on the range of poetic meanings available in such verbal shapes; yet there are moments, particularly introductory moments, when Bacon does create a framework, a non-scientific framework, in which he sets the specific empirical observations that he considers significant. For example, the beginning of the History of Winds describes the winds in what must be called very colorful language:

> To men the winds are as wings. For by them men are borne and fly, not indeed through the air but over the sea; a vast gate of commerce is opened, and the whole world is rendered acessible.
> ...
> The nature of the winds is generally ranked among the things mysterious and concealed; and no wonder, when the power and nature of the air, which the winds attand and serve (as represented by the poets in the relation of Aeolus to Juno), is entirely unknown. 14

Despite the promise of a lively exploration into the nature and purpose of winds, the remainder of the Historia Ventorum takes the form of tables, questions and answers, observations and lists of conclusions based on these observations. Even the Historia Densi et Rari never really goes beyond being a catalogue of observations on the different distributions of matter. Here, too, the predominant mode of discussing questions of density and rarity is a series of empirical observations designed to arrange as much information as possible into an effective form. For example, under the heading of contrac-

tions, Bacon lists the following observations:

1. In old age the skins of animals wrinkle, and the members dry.
2. Pears and apples that are kept long gather wrinkles; and nuts are so contracted as not to fill the shell.
3. The outer rind of old cheese wrinkles up. Wood in beams, posts, stakes (especially if they be put in green) becomes so contracted as to separate and gape. The like happens to bowls. 15

Bacon gives many more of these observations as he catalogues information for the sake of interpreting it in terms of the properties of density and rarity. What connects these observations together and gives them an overall coherence is the fact that they are bound into a single catalogue by the basic principle underlying this particular history. Because of Bacon's intention to use this particular information to understand a larger more complex part of natural reality, these individual bits of observation are united by that guiding purpose into a meaningful array of empirical realities and details.

A similar although not identical situation exists in George Herbert's Outlandish Proverbs which have no controlling ethos at all, aside from the fact that they occur within the same volume. Because Herbert avoids any statement of controlling purpose, these proverbs exist as unrelated entries within a catalogue:

1. Man Proposeth, God disposeth.

2. Hee begins to die, that quits his desires.
3. A handful of good life is better than a bushell of learning.
4. He that studies his content, wants it.
5. Every day brings his bread without it. 16

Between the Outlandish Proverbs and the Jacula Prudentum, there are eleven hundred eighty four of these proverbs. What is really important here for our understanding of the catalogue is that the mechanical act of listing does not necessarily create a mythical or magical catalogue. We return to this question of the literal act of listing as opposed to the tropical act of cataloguing because some of the catalogues we are about to examine may at first seem nothing more than literal lists. The difference between Herbert's "Hee begins to die, that quits his desires" and Blake's "He who desires but acts not, breeds pestilence" is that the "Proverbs of Hell" rest upon the prevailing mythos of The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, which not only dwells on the question of dynamic energy, but also relates that energy to the idea of progression within the human imagination. The exploration of the nature of the moral order in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell provides a unifying principle on which the catalogue builds its own qualifications; this mythos allows Blake's "Proverbs of Hell" to be more than a congerie, as Peacham remarked about formless lists, and, even more importantly, to share in the significance and the power of repetition.

The question of the significance of repetition

enters into this discussion as one of the sustaining ideas behind the process of cataloguing since so much of the actual structure of a catalogue depends on repetition. However, not all repetition is meaningful or capable of thaumaturgic effects; there is nothing thaumaturgic about the repetition of form, i.e. the proverb in Herbert's Outlandish Proverbs or in any of Bacon's Historiae. The repetitive power of words abounds in the forms of many rituals, both religious and civil, and clearly enters into the structure and the effects of ritualized language. From what we have seen, however, the ability of a repeated form to affect a reader or listener also depends on a framework which in itself heightens the intensity of the repetition. It is one thing for Herbert to repeat the proverbial form in a situation lacking any prevailing ethos; it is quite another for Blake to urge the reader on to inverted moral awareness through proverbial repetition within a non-proverbial and satiric setting.

One minor variation of the catalogue is the short list that is found in many lyric and non-epic modes of poetry. Catalogues like Chaucer's list of trees in the Parlement of Foules or of flowers in Lycidas depend on the closely packed stanza, highly and rapidly repetitive, for some of their more thaumaturgic effects. What distinguishes these catalogues from some of the others we have looked at is first, the larger framework in which meaning resonate, and second, the carefully patterned repetition designed to control the rhythm itself. Chaucer's "Catalogue of Trees" in the Parlement of Foules and Spenser's imitation of that catalogue in Book I,

canto i, of <u>The Faerie Queene</u> are usually said to be related to the <u>locus classicus</u> of this form, Ovid's "Catalogue of Trees" in Book X of his <u>Metamorphoses</u>. This catalogue in Ovid reveals more than the rhythmic effectiveness of repetition; it associates this version of the catalogue with one source of visionary poetry, Orpheus.

The passage from Book X of Ovid's <u>Metamorphoses</u> is often footnoted as the model for Milton's or Spenser's catalogue of trees; however, as with all models, Ovid's "Catalogue of Trees" needs to be discussed in itself before it can be related to other catalogues by different poets. Unless Ovid's catalogue and its specific occurrence within an episode of the story of Orpheus and the power of song are related to the subsequent catalogues of this type, then we are ignoring a vary important aspect of repetitive language, which may be termed thaumaturgic.[17]

The catalogue occurs after Orpheus has lost Eurydice and wanders through the land of Thrace, teaching the men of Thrace of the art of making love to boys:

> One day while walking down a little hill
> He sloped upon a lawn of thick green grasses,
> A lovely place to rest-- but needed shade.
> But when the poet, great-grandson of the gods,
> Sat down to sing and touched his golden lyre,
> There the cool grasses waved beneath green shadows,
> For trees came crowding where the poet sang,
> The silver poplar and the bronze-leaved oak,
> The swaying lina, beechnut, maiden-laurel,
> Delicate hazel and spear-making ash,
> The shining silver fir, the ilex leaning
> Its flower-weighted head, sweet-smelling fir,
> The shifting-coloured maple and frail willow
> Whose branches trail where the gliding waters flow; 18

The most important feature in this catalogue is that the trees respond to Orpheus' song and come to shade him from the heat of the sun. When Orpheus touches "his golden lyre," he summons the trees through the magical power of words, tune and repetition, and there is no delay in the effect that the power of song has upon the natural world, for the "trees came crowding where the poet sang" without any hesitation: the power of song is immediate. In a footnote to the catalogue of trees in The Faerie Queene, Book I, canto i, the editors, Kellogg and Steele make the point that Ovid's passage is the beginning of the long tradition of the catalogue of trees that was very popular in classical and mediaeval literatures;[19] yet, this point of origin has the complex figure of Orpheus at its center, giving a very special meaning to the catalogue by blending elements of song, repetition and magic into one particular trope.

Ovid also integrates the catalogue into his overall structure by associating trees as they approach Orpheus with stories of metamorphosis:

> Then came the cypress with its cone-shaped fruit:
> The tree was once a boy love by Apollo,
> God of the twanging lyre and the bow. 20

Ovid then tells the story of Apollo and Cyparissus in some detail. Another entry also refers to stories of metamorphosis; the pine, beloved of Cybele:

> And the tall pine, beloved of Cybele
> Since Attis her loyal priest stipped off his manhood,
> And stood sexless and naked as that tree. 21

Of course the story of Apollo and Cyparissus is told in much greater detail than that of Cybele and Attis, but the suggestion contained within Ovid's method of listing these trees is that there are narratives associated with each one, stories of metamorphosis and homosexual and heterosexual love, and that the catalogue serves almost as a list of possible stories for Orpheus to tell.

The catalogue of trees concludes with a general reference to what has taken place after Orpheus began his singing:

> These were the trees of miracles and wonders
> That Orpheus' music made into a forest;
> Encircled by wild beasts and fluttering birds,
> He tuned his lyre with a delicate hand. 22

Most important of all here is that these were "trees of miracles and wonders," and that one manifestation of that miraculous power is their coming to shade Orpheus; they are lured by the song, the power of song, into movement, revealing the thaumaturgic presence of language, and finally, as they circle Orpheus, they reinforce that magical presence with a visual icon of the power and centrality of song.

This version of the catalogue surfaces in Chaucer's Parlement of Foules and Spenser's Faerie Queene, in which lists of trees and birds invoke the presence of allegorical

meanings that will beomce a significant part of each poem. In The Parlement of Foules, Chaucer catalogues both trees and fowls; in each case, however, the catalogue serves as a reflection upon the action of the debate that is to follow. For example, in the catalogue of trees, which has the model from Ovid in its literary background, Chaucer reveals a great deal about the type of allegory about to take place:

> The byldere ok, and ek the hardy ashe;
> The piler elm, the cofre unto carayne;
> The boxtre pipere, holm to whippes lashe;
> The saylynge fyr; the cypresse, deth to pleyne;
> The shetere ew; the asp for shaftes pleyne;
> The olyve of pes, and eke the dronke vyne;
> The victor palm, the laurer to devyne.23

This passage is steeped in the human associations with trees and their uses in human life. Chaucer qualifies each entry by means of uses, both daily and extraordinary uses, so that the overall effect of the catalogue both for benevolent realities, "the laurer to devyne," and for certain acts that are clearly lacking in benevolence, "holm to whippes lashe;" this also prepares the reader for the type of allegory that is to be presented, and suggests, within certain limits, the kinds of identification that may be made with regard to particular aspects of nature.

Chaucer carries this process of qualification and identification beyond the catalogue of trees into another and even more important catalogue, which not only lists the kinds of birds that will appear, but also makes suggestions about their moral natures:

The waker goos; the cukkow ever unkynde;
The popynjay, ful of delicasye;
The drake, strovere of his owene kynde;
The stork, the wrekere of avouteryе;
The hote cormeraunt of glotenye;
The raven wys; the crow with vois of care;
The throstil old; the frosty feldefare. 24

By associating each of these creatures from nature with human characteristics, Chaucer prefigures the discord that will follow during the debat d'amour; the potentially violent use of trees, "holm to whippes lashe," and the viciousness of certain of the fowls, "The drake, strovere of his owene kynde," urges the imagination to envision the possibility of the disorder and harmfulness present in nature. The catalogue invokes the presence of the human and natural to expand the allegorical realities to include visions of discord as well as of harmony in the natural world.

Spenser's catalogue of trees in Book I of The Faerie Queene performs much in the same way that Chaucer's catalogues do; however, Spenser goes even further in qualifying the nature of the allegory that is about to take place:

And forth they pass, with pleasure forwarded,
Joying to hear the bird's sweet harmony,
Which therein shrouded from the tempest dread
Seemed in their song to scorn the cruel sky.
Much can they praise the trees so straight and high:
The sailing pine, the cedar proud and tall,
The vine-prop elm, the poplar never dry,
The builder oak, sole king of forests all,
The aspen good for staves, the cypress funeral.

The laurel, meed of mighty conquerors
And poets sage, the fir that weepeth still,
The willow worn of forlorn paramours,

> The yew obedient to the bender's will,
> The birch for shafts, the sallow for the mill,
> The myrrh sweet bleeding in the bitter would,
> The warlike beech, the ash for nothing ill,
> The fruitful olive, and the platan round,
> The carver holm, the maple seldom inward sound. 25

Spenser creates an entire range of human emotions and activities with this catalogue and suggests that the wood that Red Cross and una are about to enter is a wood filled with local and domestic realities as well as more marvelous possibilities. What this catalogue does through its repetition and qualification is expand the scope of the allegory to include the moral difficulties inherent not only in extraordinary situations but also in local and apparently harmless realities. Lines such as "The sailing pine" or "the cedar proud and tall" coax the reader into seeing the world from an allegorical point of view, in which all of the natural and human phenomena have meanings beyond their simple appearance. In this vision, there are no pine or yew trees; instead there are "yew obedient to the bender's will" and "the sailing pine." This is an allegorical world in which a forest of trees represents the labyrinthine quality of daily life, which may or may not be morally precarious.[26]

What makes this use of the catalogue thaumaturgic is the way in which a presence is invoked by means of the listing and repeating of certain forms. Neither Chaucer nor Spenser simply presents a list of trees or fowls; these catalogues possess a special power, a power beyond anything we have seen in the satiric catalogues and different from the

epic catalogues in Homer, Hesiod and Virgil. The process of invoking the presence of an idea, a place or an allegorical vision seems to depend on the way in which the individual entries are qualified, and since most catalogues list substantives rather than adjectives, this qualification allows for the creation of a very special presence. Chaucer's "Catalogue of Fowls" combines repetition and qualification so that the poem's vision emerges from the catalogue itself; Spenser's does much the same in his presentation of the trees in the wood of error.

In the thaumaturgic catalogue, order does not create the presence of a vision; instead, that vision results from the qualification of each particular entry and from the way in which the repetition of the qualified material invokes a presence that is both magical and credible. In _Lycidas_, Milton uses the thaumaturgic catalogue at a crucial moment in his poem to summon the active power of life to confront and dispell the appearance and the apparent victory of death. After Milton has criticized those faithless shepherds, who "scarce themselves know how to hold/A sheep-hook," he then begins the poem's final movement towards an affirmation of life in the presence of death:

> Return, Alpheus, the dread voice is past
> That shrunk thy streams; return, Sicilian Muse,
> And call the vales, and bid them hither cast
> Their bells and flow'rets of a thousand hues.
> (132-35)

This is the beginning of the movement toward reaffirmation of

life that brings Lycidas to a close. Milton, more precisely, the voice of the shepherd poet, summons the images of life that surround the pastoral world, the streams, the vales, the valleys and the Muse, in the awareness that these images can and will counteract the power of death; it is the presence of the pastoral conventions in conjunction with Christianity that leads to the vision of the reborn Lycidas, "mounted high/Through the dear might of him that walked the waves:"

> Ye valleys low where the mild whispers use
> Of shades and wanton winds and gushing brooks,
> On whose fresh lap the swart star sparely looks,
> Throw hither all your quaint enameled eyes,
> That on the green turf such the honied show'rs,
> And purple all the ground with vernal flow'rs.
> Bring the rathe primrose that forsaken dies,
> The tufted crowtoe, and pale jessamine,
> The white pink, and the pansy freaked with jet,
> The glowing violet,
> The musk-rose, and the well-attired woodbine,
> With cowslips wan that hang the pensive head,
> And every flower that sad embroidery wears,
> Bid amaranthus all his beauty shed,
> And daffadillies fill their cups with tears,
> To strew the laureate hearse where Lycid lies.
> (136-51)

All of these flowers, these "vernal flowers," begin to suggest the possibility of survival by means of the power of cyclic rejuvenation or metamorphosis, but even more important is the way in which the enumeration and repetition combine to produce a steady, almost relentless list of beauty and sadness, while at the same time creating a powerful image of the rich variety and passion of human and natural life. The flowers, though sad, create a pastoral moment so full of life,

that the imagination, while aware of death and "every flow'r that sad embroidery wears," is urged into the presence of life.

At the center of this catalogue is the short line, "The glowing violet," which suggests in terms of the language, a center filled with the pulsation of activity and vitality. The thaumaturgic power here rests on the catalogue on flowers as a prefiguration of the affirmation of life that results from the reality of Christian salvation in "the blest kingdom meek of joy and love." But before the religious element is introduced, Milton creates the presence of life through the catalogue of flowers, which urges the imagination to prepare for the final statement about Christian rebirth:

> Weep no more, woeful shepherds, weep no more,
> For Lycidas, your sorrow, is not dead, ...
> (165-6)

This statement, rather a declaration, follows the stanza containing the catalogue of flowers, and strongly suggests that the list of flowers prepares for rebirth on a natural level while Christianity opens up the possibility of a spiritual reaffirmation of life. This is a special use of the catalogue, giving it a significance far more sophisticated than some of those non-thaumaturgic lists we saw in Herbert or Bacon. Clearly, the catalogue has many different functions as well as structures that shape it as a trope; perhaps none are as exciting as this compact thaumaturgic list invoking the presence of life and vitality in the presence of death.

(d) Milton and the Prophetic Catalogue

Much of the energy released by the "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" in Book I of Paradise Lost carries with it a vision of the future consequences of the fall within the possibilities of human history. This effect clearly rises out of Milton's careful orchestration of the vision of the angels in their historical and mythological roles and through his manipulation of all of the details included in those entries to reflect the history of falsehood. What is important for an understanding of the different type of visionary modes used in cataloguing is that the list of fallen angels projects angels into their future roles as devils and false gods; this is a vision of the future in terms of a simultaneous recognition of the future in the present. Milton does not announce that this is a future vision; instead, he describes the angels in their future aspect and that is enough to extend the fall and its consequences into human history.

There are other kinds of visionary techniques available to the catalogue that create equally successful visions of the future and extend a vision or a situation into its distant relationship with a state of reality. In antiquity, visions of the future were available from the oracles, and, even more importantly, from the underworld. Two major visions of what is to come occur in literary contexts: The Odyssey and The Aeneid, and these are both visions of the future gathered from the underworld. In Book Eleven of The

Odyssey, the wanderers have found solace at the court of Alcinous and Arete, in Phaiakia, and retell some of their adventures. One such adventure is Odysseus' experience of the underworld to seek a vision from the shade of Teiresias: "Mother, I came here, driven to the land of death/in want of prophecy from Teiresias' shade." The linking of the underworld to the prophetic brings this type of catalogue into the foreground as one, a vehicle with which to record those final moments in a heroe's life and, two, to gather any possible information available about the future realities of the quest.

After questioning his mother concerning his father and Penelope, Odysseus then declares his serious intention of seeking information from the other shades, in what is known now as the "Procession of Heroines:"

> I took thought
> how best to separate and question them,
> and saw no help for it, but drew once more
> the long bright edge of broadsword from my hip,
> that none should sip the blood in company
> but one by one, in order; so it fell
> that each declared her lineage and name. 27

The passage establishes the nature of the vision that is about to unfold within the movement of the heroines across the visual field Homer has created within the underworld. The shades, like those in the *Inferno*, speak for themselves, in many instances, and reveal the last moments of their lives, thereby allowing Odysseus to record the fates of those whom he has not seen since leaving Troy. In this way, Homer is

able to comment on the conclusions of some of the other great stories, such as the death of Agamemnon:

> It was Aigisthos who designed my death,
> he and my heartless wife, and killed me, after
> feeding me, like an ox felled at the trough.
> That was my miserable end--and with me
> my fellows butchered, like so many swine
> killed for some troop, or feast, or wedding banquet
> in a great landholder's household. 28

Not all of the entries are as complex and detailed as the entry on Agamemnon; some, in fact, are quite brief, showing only a small portion of a character's story:

> And next I saw
> Amphitrion's true wife, Alkmene, mother
> as all men know, of lionish Herakles,
> conceived when she lay close in Zeus' arms;
> And Megare, high-hearted Kreon's daughter,
> wife of Amphitrion's unwearying son. 29

The criteria for inclusion here is that of fame in oneself or through ones offspring. Once the catalogue has listed famous heroines, it then proceeds to inquire into the destiny of some of the more important Achaian warriors. There are present the shades of Agamemnon, Achilles, Patroclus and Aias Telamonius; there is even a vision of the conventional populace of the underworld, Orion, Tantalus, Tityos and Sisyphos. My point is that Homer uses this catalogue on one level to create a sense of the marvelous before the court of Alcinous, and on another, more sophisticated level, to extend the stories of those other Trojan warriors into a vision of

their conclusions. This seems to be a central feature of the catalogue as trope: that power of extension into the past or the future of a particular story or detail, so that a complete picture of an occurrence is created. By using the catalogue to complete in abbreviated form the stories of the other Achaians, Homer expands the vision of the wandering of Odysseus to include those who either failed to return to their native lands or those who returned only to find even more fatal dangers. Homer's "Catalogue of Heroines" is a major ironic vision of the complexity of homecoming:

> I answered:
> 'Akhilleus, Peleus's son, strongest of all
> among the Akhaians, I had need of foresight
> such as Teiresias alone could give
> to help me, homeward bound for the crags of Ithaka.
> I have not yet coasted Akhaia, not yet
> touched my land; my life is all adversity. 30

A variation on the theme of the prophetic catalogue can be found in Book VI of Virgil's Aeneid, in which Aeneas journeys to the underworld, instructed by the Cumean Sibyl, to seek the shade of his father, Anchises; even his prayer to her refers to the possibility of prophetic vision:

> For if Orpheus could
> recall the spirit of his wife, relying
> upon his Thracian lyre's enchanting strings,
> if Pollux could redeem his brother by
> the death he alternates with him, and goes
> and comes time after time on this same road...
> I need not speak of mighty Theseus or
> of Hercules. I, too, stem from high Jove. 31

Like Odysseus, Aeneas receives more than a simple vision of Anchises as the extent of the catalogue begins to include figures from the future of Roman history and triumph. Virgil is concerned with tracing the mythical and historical origins of Rome to a source that is both exciting as well as profound. This search for origins adds imaginative stability to the present historical reality and reaffirms that Trojan ancestry so important to the political mythology of Augustan Rome. In a sense, Virgil's catalogue of future Roman figures resembles those Biblical genealogies that clearly connect a present historical reality to a distant, almost primordial, source for the purpose of reaffirming the primacy and legitimacy of a particular race, of in Virgil's context, of a nation. Spenser also engages in this process in The Faerie Queene, especially in those chronicles tracing the mythical and historical monarchs of Britain to the present occupant of the throne; this, then, becomes a complex version of that appeal for legitimacy and credibility that influences so much of triumphal and masque literature.

After some preliminary material, Anchises begins his prophetic vision of the future progeny of Rome:

> Listen to me: my tongue will now reveal
> the fame that is to come from Dardan sons
> and what Italian children wait for you--
> bright souls that are about to take your name;
> in them I shall unfold your fates. 32
> (VI. 999-1003)

The catalogue of the descendents of these Dardan sons

resembles the triumphs that we examined earlier in the process of movement, of having figures move across the field of vision in a pageant-like configuration. Included in the vision are the place names of cities as well as of heroes and famous men:

> Next Procas stands, pride of the Trojan race;
> then Capys, Numitor, and he who will
> restore your name as Silvius Aeneas,
> remarkable for piety and arms
> if he can ever gain his Alban kingdom.
> What young men you see here, what powers they
> display, and how they bear the civic oak
> that shades their brows! For you they will
> construct
> Nomentum, Gabii, Fidena's city,
> and with the ramparts of Collatia,
> Oemetia and Castrum Inui,
> And Bola, Cora, they will crown the hills.
> These will be names that now are nameless lands.[33]
> (VI. 1013-25)

This is an extremely important passage not only because it names some of those future Romans who will extend the power of Rome to different parts of the world, but because it blends both the names of heroes and cities into a single portrait of Roman destiny. Milton, also, uses large numbers of place names to create a sense of historical space before that space exists in the scheme of poetic time, and Anchises is very clear about the relationship between time and names: "These will be names that now are nameless lands." The process of naming, of conferring identity, is therefore connected to the spread of Roman sovereignty, so that names and political supremacy take on a larger significance. Anchises lists many of those who will play a role in extending the fame and

sovereignty of Rome across the known world: Aemlius Paula, Cato, Cassus, Scipio, Fabricus, the Fabii and the Gracchi; these all demonstrate the collective temporal and spatial immensity of the empire that will spring from Aeneas and his followers.

However, one very special entry dominates the field of vision, and that is of the Caesars:

> "Now turn your eyes here, to look upon
> your Romans, your own people. Here is Caesar
> and all the line of Iulus that will come
> beneath the mighty curve of heaven. This,
> this is the man you heard so often promised--
> Augustus Caesar, son of a god, who will
> renew a golden age in Latium,
> in fields where Saturn once was king, and
> stretch
> his rule beyond the Garamantes and
> the Indians--a land beyond the paths
> of year and sun, beyond the constellations,
> where on his shoulders heaven-holding Atlas
> revolves the axis set with blazing stars. 34
> (VI. 1044-66)

In one sense this is the apex of the catalogue since it brings the vision to the poem's present, but this description itself is so exact in its admiration and exultation of the race of the Caesars that it confers upon them, especially on Augustus Caesar, dimensions greater than Atlas and Hercules. At this central moment of vision, Virgil goes beyond the historical dimensions of political reality and into the mythical icons of political power.

This connection between the prophetic catalogue and political mythology can be seen also in Spenser's <u>Faerie Queene</u>, which on three occasions relies on the catalogue to

support an epic and mythical view of the legitimacy of Elizabeth's sovereignty. The political chrinicles of Book II bring into focus the mythologies, the political mythologies, of Arthur and Guyon as a vital part of the history of ancient Britain. This two-dimensional history, which Spenser calls "Briton Monuments" and the "Antiquity of Faeryland," enhances the vision of the ancient roots of Englans's monarchs and also reveals how the present monarch embodies all of those others who have been part of the history of Faeryland. Spenser resembles Virgil in this attempt at linking the current political reality to ancient sources, thereby extending that reality into areas that are distant but also immanent:

> Tho Madon reigned, unworthy of his race;
> For with all shame that sacred throne he filled.
> Next Memprise, as unworthy of that place,
> In which being consorted with Manild,
> For thirst of single kingdom him he killed.
> But Ebranck salved both their infamies
> With noble deeds, and warrayed on Brunchild
> In Hainaut, where yet of his victories
> Brave monuments, which yet that land envies. 35
> (II. x. 21)

The surviving monument leave traces of earlier struggle for the throne within view of those who know how to interpret these relics from the past. What is clear from this passage is that the central icon of thie entire chronicle is the throne; that throne of British monarchs is the unifying idea uniting all these other details and obscure figures into a configuration. The throne is at the center of this chronicle because, in one sense, the throne lies at the center of The

Faerie Queene, since all actions and adventures presumably relate to the presence and the court of that queen.

That this is an epic situation is made clear from the very first stanza of canto x, in which the poet implores the Muse for assistance in presenting this obscure information from Britain's past:

> Who now shall give unto me words and sound
> Equal unto this haughty enterprise?

The answer to this is in stanzas three and four:

> Thy name, O sovereign queen, thy realm and race,
> From this renowmed prince derived are,
> Who mightily upheld that royal mace
> Which now thou bear'st, to thee descended far
> From mighty kings and conquerors in war--
> Thy fathers and great-grandfathers of old,
> Whose noble deeds above the northern star
> Immortal fame forever hath enrolled;
> As in that old man's book they were in order told. 36

Although some of the entries branch off into narratives in abbreviated form, of some of the figures who even played a very minor role in Britain's past, the main direction of this catalogue centers on the connection between the current sovereign and those mighty kings and conquerors who ruled Britain during its time of origin. At the center of all this are the icons of British power: the throne and the royal mace, which remain constant, despite the moral quality of the particular monarch.

The chronicle rehearses the names of many figures from Britain's past, including Brute, King Leill, King Lear, Numa, Donwallo, Brennus, Belinus and many others. Finally Arthur, overcome by the joy and the glory of the history of the kings of Britain, exclaims,

> 'Dear country, O how dearly dear
> Ought thy remembrance and perpetual band
> Be to thy foster-child, that from thy hand
> Did common breath and nouriture receive. 37

This concludes the chronicle and begins the "Antiquity of Faeryland," which is an alternate imaginative vision of political and mythological legitimacy.

Spenser seems to require this connection between two dimensions of the past and the present state of political reality in order to intensify the legitimacy and the symbolic power of the reign of Elizabeth, which is very similar to Virgil's association of Trojans and Romans in his version of the founding of the great empire. Even Spsern's presentation of Merlin's account of Britomart's ancestry (III.iii) and of the marriage of the Thames and the Medway (IV. xi) all cooperate in investing the current political and national reality with qualities that are intensely mythical. The "Catalogue of Rivers" in Book IV, does as Gordon Braden believes in "riverrun: An Epic Catalogue in The Faerie Queene," confront the amorphous reality of water and the symbolic possibilities of using rivers to detail the "continual process of dissolution" threatening all political and historical structures.[38] Yet there is another poetic act occurring

simultaneously with this confrontation with dissolution, and that is the reality of place, associated with all of the great kingdoms supported by the catalogic method of enumeration. Like the listing of place names in _The Aeneid_ and _Paradise Lost_, Spenser's "Catalogue of Rivers" also projects the tremendous importance of the animation of place, so that these periods of historical glory or degradation reflect the state of reality in association with place.

For a kingdom to be special, it is necessary for the geographical realities also to be something beyond the ordinary; just as the mythology of Britain, Faeryland, of Brute and Troynovant support the sovereignty of Elizabeth and her realm by extending it into moments of the past that were crucial points in the history of the world, the "Catalogue of Rivers" extends the significance of the geographical realities into the realm of the mythical; not only are the monarchs two-dimensional figures from history and faeryland, but the land and its rivers are also part of an animated and extraordinary reality:

> Then came his neighbour flouds which nigh him dwell,
> And water all the English soile throughout:
> ...
> No, not the stately Severne grud'd at all,
> Ne storming Humber, though he looked stout;
> ...
> There was the speedy Tamar, which devides
> The Cornish and the Devonish confines;
> Through both whose borders swiftly downe it glides,
> And, meeting Plim, to Plimmouth thence declines.39

Even more important than these names and histories of English rivers is the fact that the world's great rivers come for the marriage of the Thames and the Medway, thereby focusing on the geographical centrality of the British Isle:

> Great Ganges, and immortal Euphrates,
> Deepe Indus, and Maeander intricate,
> Slow Peneus, and tempestuous Phasides,
> Swift Rhene, and Alpheus still immaculate
> Ooraxes, feared for great Cyrus fate,
> Tybris, renowmed for the Romaines fame,
> Rich Oranochy, though but knowen late;
> And the huge River, which doth beare his name
> Of warlike Amazons, who doe possesse the same. 40

Leading the entire procession and occupying the principal position is Neptune, "First came great Neptune, with his threeforkt mace,/That rules the Seas and makes them rise or fall." The prevailing direction of this procession is towards the glorification and the animation of the land within which Elizabeth and the Faerie Queene hold supreme power. Drayton's Polyolbion, also, makes it clear that a celebration of the vitality of the British landscape can easily become an appeal for the credibility of Britain's "special" place in history:

> Of Albions glorious Ile the Wonders whilst I write,
> The sundry varying soyles, the pleasure infinite
> (Where heate kills not the cold, nor cold expells the heat,
> The calmes too mildly small, nor winds too roughly great,
> Nor night doth hinder day, nor day the night doth wrong,
> The Summer not too short, the Winter not too

long)
What helpe shall I invoke to ayde my Muse the
while? 41

Drayton makes it clear that "Albions glorious Ile" is a very special physical locality, and that one of the poet's primary responsibilities concerns the revelation of the mythical and geographical wonders of Britain.

Spenser, of course, cannot include every one of the world's rivers, nor can Virgil name all of those living between Aeneas and Augustus Caesar. This use of the catalogue as a visionary trope to connect two periods of reality must also determine which details from a wide choice will be most effective in supporting that connection. By turning from the literal to the tropical, the visionary catalogue connects a series of high points, those points at which historical directions are determined, and in this way, the selectivity reveals major trends, figures or places while at the same time stressing continuity. In the example of the "Catalogue of Rivers," selectivity adds to the centrality of the Thames by the very fact of the importance of those other rivers and nymphs who come to Albion's shore to witness the marriage. The "Chronicle of Briton Kings" and the "Catalogue of Rivers" are prophetic in the very way they inspire credibility in the history and mythology of Spenser's Britain; they create a dimension in British history that is animated, mythical, and yet possesses continuity with the current political and geographical reality. For Virgil, too, the visionary qualities of the catalogue in Book VI rest upon continuity;

although, in Book VI, Aeneas is actually shown those who will come after him and insure Rome's glory, the implication in The Faerie Queene is that prophetic modes are not always in terms of the future but also include visions of continuity with the past. Milton's prophetic catalogues in Books XI and XII of Paradise Lost resemble Virgil's more than they do Spenser's because Adam, like Aeneas, sees what the future will look like; Arthur and Guyon see the past, which, from their points of view and Spenser's, is just as significant a visionary act.

For Paradise Lost, the transformation of edenic space into historical space is one of its major imaginative moments, This transformation, however, occurs at a number of different points in the poem, beginning with the "Catalogue of Fallen Angels" in Book I to the "Catalogue of the History of the World" in Books XI and XII. The earlier catalogue in Book I also examined questions of legitimacy and monarchy, which, because of the nature of the fall at that moment in the poem, becomes necessary to the poem's careful unfolding of the cosmic and historical effects of a fractured universe. The catalogues in Book XI approach history from a more human point of view, since what is important for Adam to know and experience through Michael's visionary powers is the historical consequences of his fall upon his human progeny. This vision is, at times, very specific; yet the need for a vision of the particular quality of error underlies much of Adam's imagination; as an abstraction, sin is confined to Hell, but as a reality, contributing to the quality of human life, sin

exists as particular and detailed transgression of the moral law.

Once Adam and Eve have reconciled themselves to their actions and understand however skectchily what is going to happen to them, Michael then begins his exposition and his vision of the future. The introductory remarks Michael makes to Adam clarify that a definition of space is about to become a part of Adam's experience:

> To whom thus Michael with regard benign:
> "Adam, thou know'st heav'n his, and all the earth,
> Not this rock only; his omnipresence fills
> Land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives,
> Fomented by his virtual power and warmed.
> All th'earth he gave to thee to posses and rule,
> No despicable gift; surmise not then
> His presence to these narrow bounds confined
> Of Paradise or Eden:
> (XI. 334-42)

The mark of God's omnipresence is contained in this vision of the enlarged dimension of space for Adam's imagination as well as for the poem's vision of the transformation of edenic space into historical space.

What is important about this moment, just as it was in *The Aeneid's* vision of the future generations of Rome and it conquests, is that this survey goes beyond the usual limits of sight into the realm of vision; as Michael tells Adam about the future, the poem enters into a prophetic moment:

> Ere thou from hence depart, know I am sent

> To show thee what shall come in future days
> To thee and to thy offspring; god with bad
> Expect to hear, supernal grace contending
> With sinfulness of men;
> (XI. 356-60)

Michael reveals that this is to be a moral as well as historical vision, which fits the poem's attitude towards history as a result of a moral transgression: "good with bad/Expect to hear." Like the prophetic catalogue in Book VI of The Aeneid, this catalogue reveals those men and places that will become important factors in the future history of the world. One difference, however, concerns the manner in which the vision is presented. Anchises informs Aeneas of the identity and importance of those shades who pass before them in the underworld; Michael, on the other hand, leads Adam to a hill from which the vision may be experienced:

> So both ascend
> In the visions of God. It was a hill
> Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
> The Hemisphere of earth in clearest ken
> Stretched out to amplest reach of propect lay.
> (XI. 376-80)

At this point, Milton shifts the poem's time scheme to envision another hill and another guide:

> Not higher that hill nor wider looking round,
> Whereon for different cause the Tempter set
> Our second Adam in the wilderness,
> To show him all earth's kingdoms and their glory.
> His eye might there command wherever stood
> City of old or of modern fame, the seat

> Of mightiest empire, from the destined walls
> Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
> And Samarkand by Oxus, Temir's throne,
> To Paquin of Sinaean kings, and thence
> To Agra and Lahore of Great Mogul,
> Down to the golden Cheresonese, or where
> The Persian in Ecbatan sat, or since
> In Hispahan, or where the Russian Ksar
> In Moscow, or the Sultan in Bizance,
> Turkestan-born;
> ...
> Or thence from Niger flood to Atlas mount,
> The kingdoms of Almansor, Fez and Sus,
> Marocco and Algiers, and Tremisen;
> On Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway
> The world.
>
> (XI. 381-96; 402-06)

The remarkable thing about this passage is that it describes not Adam's but the second Adam's vision, during his temptation of the kingdoms of the world. Adam's vision will be more personal, more particular in its presentation of the effects of his crime, but Christ, as the restorer of the paradise lost through Adam's transgression, must confront the alternative type of power before overcoming the world and its spokesman, Satan. In a way, Satan, in Paradise Regained, performs the role of Anchises or Michael as the bringer of the vision; however, his interpretation of that role is not as an instructor but as a tempter and deceiver. Satan has perverted the act of vision.

This first vision, then, is not Adam's, but instead looks forward to another moment in history in which a vision initiates the process of redemption. The effect of this passage, however, combines with Adam's own vision, to produce a complex revelation of the changes taking place in the nature of geographical reality. Edenic space has become profane,

historical space, which is the second major effect of the fall; the first being the introduction of death into the world: "From his slack hand the garland wreathed for Eve/ Down dropped, and all the faded roses shed."

After Michael has cleared Adam's visual nerve with three drops from the well of life and opened his mental sight to the future, Adam opens his eyes to the effects of his crime:

> "Adam, now, ope thine eyes, and first behold
> Th'effects which thy original crime hath wrought
> In some to spring from thee, who never touched
> Th'excepted tree, nor with the Snake conspired,
> Nor sinned thy sin, yet from that sin derive
> Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds."
> (XI. 423-28)

The fact that this catalogue examines the effects of sin on the shape of history distinguishes it from those other prophetic catalogues that either presented an unbroken vision of political legitimacy or of the future successes and triumphs of a particular empire. Another significant detail in this catalogue concerns the use of first and last positions; of course, Michael is following the pattern of Biblical history, in which fall precedes redemption, so that the catalogue begins with a vision of the first murder, the first entrance of human death into the world, and concludes with the possibility of the restoration of paradise. These two positions do not exert as much power as they would in shorter, more concise catalogues, but they do embody that larger sense of the beginning and the ending of history:

> His eyes he opened, and beheld a field,
> Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves
> New-reaped, the other part sheep-walks and folds.
> (XI. 429-31)

Following a description of the acceptance of Abel's and the rejection of Cain's sacrifice, Milton describes the world's first murder:

> Whereat he inly raged, and as they talked,
> Smote him into the midriff with a stone
> That beat out life; he fell, and deadly pale
> Groaned out his soul with gushing blood effused.
> (XI. 444-47)

Here the principal position is occupied by murder as a direct and powerful indication of the nature of the fall in terms of the changes it will bring in human life.

The final vision, however, looks to the activities of Christ, especially his ultimate re-transformation of the historical world back into the edenic world:

> The Woman's Seed, obscurely then foretold,
> Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord,
> Last in the clouds from heav'n to be revealed
> In glory of the Father, to dissolve
> Satan with his perverted world; then raise
> From the conflagrant mass, purged and refined,
> New heav'ns, new earth, ages of endless date
> Founded in righteousness and peace and love,
> To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss.
> (XII. 544-51)

The vision of death and redemption are first and last visions; there are other, more repulsive moments that Adam must

experience before realizing that his fall does not forever doom man and that a greater man will eventually recreate what was almost destroyed through Adam's fall. It is not practical to point out every detail in this catalogue of the vision of the future, but there is one passage that captures the problems that will afflict the world and the catalogic manner of revealing the particulars of history in a unified shape:

> Immediately a place
> Before his eyes appeared, sad, noisome, dark,
> 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, colic pangs,
> Demoniac frenzy, moping melancholy
> And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
> Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence,
> Dropsies and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums.
> (XI. 477-88)

Michael reveals to Adam all of the versions and sub-versions of death in this "Catalogue of Diseases." Disease in one form or another results from Adam's crime and its effects upon human health; if death is the major transformation wrought by sin upon human biology, then these diseases are all minor version of the larger biological redefinition. All diseases, from horrid ones like spasms and epilepsies to more social ones like moon-struck madness and moping melancholy, result, for many reasons, from the entrance of death into the world. Some diseases are the result of folly; others the result of forces beyond the control of the human body or imagination.

Milton includes both type in this portrait of degradation in order to universalize the effects of the fall and show how those effects permeats almost every aspect of human life.

The position of this prophetic catalogue near the conclusion of Paradise Lost adds to its significance not only as a vision of some of the effects of the fall but also as a parallel to the earlier Book I epic catalogue detailing the religious and theological effects of both the angelic and human falls. The epic catalogue of Book I associates the fall of angels with the presence of false gods and theological settings later on in history; it is also more precise in its method of associating a particular angel with his historical role. In Book XI, however, the catalogue is more difuse, utilizing a larger awareness of structure and narrative to extend Adam's fall into many areas of human activity, such as murder, disease, political power and finally redemption. Because of this larger narrative structure, this catalogue does not resemble those closer-knit structures we examined earlier, especially in Virgil or Homer's versions of epic cataloguing. But Milton's prophetic catalogue really goes beyond a single vision of epic or comic realities to include a vision of the theological structure of human history as it conforms to teleogical beliefs. This catalogue must trace the effects of the fall from the first murder to the final redemption, until Adam comes to the awareness of the central fact of the paradoxical nature of his transgression:

"O goodness infinite, goodness immense!

That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness! Full of doubt I stand,
Whether I shoul repent me now of sin
By me done and occasioned, or rejoice
Much more, that much more good thereof shall
spring,
To God more glory, more good will to men
From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
(XII. 466-87)

This becomes one of the unifying principles of the catalogue since, more than anything else, Michael's vision of the future embodies both the effects and the paradoxically greater paradise brought about by the fall. Just in the way that the "Catalogue of Heroines" in The Odyssey allows Homer to bring to a conclusion some of the other important stories resulting from the Trojan war, and similar to Virgil's underscoring of the historical importance of Aeneas' role in founding the great empire, Milton's "Catalogue of History" unites the first moment of the fall to the final moment of redemption. Not to do so would be to fall into Jason's error in Euripides' Medea, of refusing to see the implications of action and of restricting one's vision only to first moments. Adam's fall, however, must be connected to the redemption, if Paradise Lost is to remain faithful to it promise to sing of both the loss of Eden and the regaining of the "blissful seat."

Footnotes

Chapter Five

1. The Iliad, pp. 87-8.

2. The Aeneid, p. 183.

3. Paradise Lost, Book I, 315-32. Alone among the epics, Paradise Lost directly reports the call to arms.

4. The Iliad, p. 88.

5. The Iliad, p. 88.

6. The Iliad, p. 88. Athena, herself, actually moves among the Achaians, stirring them with a desire for battle:

> among them grey-eyed Athene
> holding the dear treasured aegis, ageless, immortal,
> from whose edges float a hundred all-golden tassels,
> each one carefully woven, and each worth a hundred oxen.
> With this fluttering she swept through the host of the Achaians
> urging them to go forward. She kindled the strength in each man's
> heart to take the battle without respite and keep on fighting.

7. Douglas Bush, ed. The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton (Boston, 1965), p. 220, n. 351. The idea of Milton's similes extending the acts of the primordial time into future history is also explored by Geoffrey Hartman, "Milton's Counterplot," in Milton: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Arthur E. Barker (New York, 1965), pp. 386-97; this article may also be found in ELH, XXV (1958), 1-12.

8. For a more extended discussion of this point, see Mircea Eliade, Myth and Reality (New York, 1963), pp. 16-18.

9. Merritt Hughes in his edition, John Milton's Complete Poems and Major Prose (Indianapolis, 1957), comments on this passage: "The image is that of the "Shepherd of Israel, ... thou shalt dwell between the cherubim," of Psalm LXXX, 1, whose shrine on Mt. Sion in Jerusalem itself was sometime dishonered by apostate kings of Judah who, like Ahaz (II Kings xvi, 10-18), surrounded it with pagan altars."

10. Eliade, p. 5.

11. For a discussion of Barrow's poem, see Northrop Frye, The Return of Eden: Five Essays on Milton's Epics (Toronto, 1965), pp. 4-7.

12. Hartman, pp. 389-90. Although Hartman does not write specifically about the catalogue in this passage, he does touch on one of the catalogue's main effects, the de-localization of evil; this was first suggested to me by Hartman's article.

13. Frye, p. 5, makes the point that epic does include an attempt at being universal:

> The epic, as Renaissance critics understood it, is a narrative poem of heroic action, but a special kind of narrative. It also has an encyclopaedic quality in it, distilling the essence of all its time, and, if completely successful, the definitive poem for its age.

An important element of this encyclopaedic scope is Milton's de-localization of good and evil.

14. The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis and D. D. Heath, LX (Boston, 1864), p. 381---hereafter cited as Works.

15. Works, IX, p. 242. Bacon's tables are an unusal version of cataloguing, but they do point out the reliance on listing as an initial approach to the question of how to order knowledge consisting of minute details.

16. The Works of George Herbert, ed. F. E. Hutchinson (Oxford, 1941), p. 321. The difference between Blake's "Proverbs" and Herbert's is really one of the prevailing ethos of Blak's work as opposed to the lack of such a sustaining idea in Herbert's.

17. Repetition as a means of assuming control over language and a magical situation is a well observed fact. The use of repetition in incantations, religious services, litanies and other ceremonies, contributes to the realization, or the inducing of the realization of a thaumaturgic presence.

18. Ovid, The Metamorphoses, trans. Horace Gregory (New York, 1958), p. 276.

19. Edmund Spenser, Books I and II of The Faerie Queene, ed. Robert Kellogg and Oliver Steele (New York, 1965), p. 82.

20. The Metamorphoses, p. 276.

21. Ibid., p. 276.

22. Ibid., p. 278.

23. Geoffrey Chaucer, The Complete Works of Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), p. 312. For another and earlier view concerning nature and its relationship to man, see Alanus de Insulis, De Planctu Naturae.

24. Ibid., p. 314.

25. Books I and II of The Faerie Queene, I. i. 8-9, p. 82.

26. This idea was first suggested to me by Professor John Hollander, City University Graduate School. For another notion concerning wandering as a moral act, see Angus Fletcher, Allegory (Ithaca, 1964) and The Prophetic Moment (Chicago, 1971).

27. The Odyssey, trans. Robert Fitzgerald (New York, 1963), p. 192. All citations are from this translation, hereafter referred to as The Odyssey. This catalogue is unique as a prophetic one in that it does not envision the unknown future but the unknown conclusions of the past.

28. The Odyssey, p. 198.

29. The Odyssey, p. 193.

30. The Odyssey, pp. 200-01.

31. Virgil, The Aeneid of Virgil, trans. Allen Mandelbaum (Berkeley, 1971), p. 137. Hereafter cited as The Aeneid.

32. The Aeneid, p. 157.

33. The Aeneid, p. 158.

34. The Aeneid, pp. 158-9.

35. Books I and II of The Faerie Queene, II, x, 21, p. 352.

36. Ibid., II, x, 4, p. 348. The "renowmed prince" is Arthur.

37. *Ibid*., II,x, 69, p. 363.

38. Gordon Bradon, "riverrun: An Epic Catalogue in the Faerie Queene," *English Literary Renaissance*, v (1975), pp. 26-7. Bradon makes a number of points concerning the idea of the un-shaped nature of water in relation to the catalogue-s imposition of order and shape.

39. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, intro., by J. W. Hales (New York, 1962), II, Bk. IV, xi, xxx, pp. 132-3.

40. *Ibid*., p. 131.

41. Michael Drayton, *Works*, ed. J. W. Hebel (Oxford, 1933), vol. IV, p. 1.

Bibliography

Adams. Hazard. Critical Theory Since Plato. New York, 1973.

Adams, Robert Martin. Milton and the Modern Critics. Ithaca, 1955.

Allen, Don Cameron. The Harmonious Vision: Studies in Milton's Poetry. Baltimore, 1970.

Allen, Thomas W. The Homeric Catalogue of Ships. Oxford, 1921.

Apollodorus. Apollodorus: The Library, trans. Sir James George Frazer. Cambridge, Mass., 1963.

Apollonius Rhodius. The Argonautica, trans. R. C. Seaton. Cambridge, Mass., 1930.

Aptaker, Jane. Icons of Justice. New York, 1969.

Arnheim, Rudolf. Art and Visual Perception: A psychology of the creative eye. Berkeley, 1965.

Bacon, Francis. The Works of Francis Bacon, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath. 7 vols. Boston, 1864.

-----------------. A Selection of his Works, ed. Sidney Warhaft. New York, 1965.

Baldwin, C. S. Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400). New York, 1928.

Barish, Jonas. Ben Jonson and the Language of Prose Comedy. New York, 1970.

Barker, Arthur, ed. Milton: Modern Essays in Criticism. New York, 1965.

--------------. "The pattern of Milton's Nativity Ode," UTQ, X (1941), 167-181.

Becatti, Giovanni. The Art of Ancient Greece and Rome from the Rise of Greece to the Fall of Rome. New York, 1967.

Beowulf. Beowulf, trans, Charles W. Kennedy. London, 1940.

Bergeron, David. English Civic Pagentry 1558-1642. Columbia, S. C., 1971.

Betrand, Simone. La tapisserie de Bayeux et la maniere de vivre au onxieme siecle. Bayeux, 1966.

Beye, Charles Rowan. The Iliad, The Odyssey, and the epic tradition. Garden City. 1966.

Bloomfield, Morton. The Seven Deadly Sins. Michigan, 1967.

Braden, Gordon. "riverrun: An Epic Catalogue in the Faerie Queene," English Literary Renaissance, V (1975), 25-49.

Bowra, Cecil M. Tradition and Design in the Iliad. Oxford, 1930.

Brisman, Leslie. Milton's Poetry of Choice and Its Romantic Heirs. Ithaca, 1973.

Burke, Kenneth. The Philosophy of Literary Forms. New York, 1941.

--------------. A Grammar of Motives. Berkeley, 1945; 1969.

Burton, Robert. The Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith. New York, 1927.

Bush, Douglas. Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry. New York, 1963.

Buxton, Charles Roden. Prophets of heaven and hell: Virgil, Dante, Milton, Goethe. Cambridge, 1945.

Camps, W. A. An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid. London, 1969.

Cassirer, Ernst. An Essay on Man. New Haven, 1962.

Chadwick, Hector Munro. The Heroic Age. Cambridge, 1912.

Chaucer, Geoffrey. The Complete Works of Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson. Cambridge, Mass., 1933.

Chew, Samuel C. The Pilgrimage of Life. New Haven, 1962.

Clark, Frank Lowry. A Study of the Iliad in Translation. Chicago, 1927.

Collingwood, R. G. The Idea of History. Oxford, 1946.

Crump, Galbraith M., ed. Twentieth Century Interpretations of Samson Agonistes. Englewood Cliffs, 1968.

Cruttwell, Robert Wilson. Virgil's Mind at Work: An analysis of the symbolism of the Aeneid. New York, 1969.

Daiches, David. Milton. New York, 1966.

Daniells, Roy. Milton, Mannerism, and Baroque. Toronto, 1963.

Dante. The Portable Dante, ed. Paolo Milano. New York, 1947.

Dearin, Ray D. "The Philosophical Basis of Chaim Perelman's Theory of Rhetoric," Quarterly Journal of Speech, LV (October, 1969), 213-224.

Demeray, John G. Milton and the Masque Tradition: The Early Poems, 'Arcades,' and Comus. Cambridge, Mass., 1968.

Diekhoff, John S., ed. A Maske at Ludlow: Essays on Milton's Comus. Cleveland, 1968.

Drayton, Michael. Poly-Olbion, ed J. W. Hebel. Oxford, 1933.

Dubon, David, ed. Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The History of Constantine the Great by Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona. London, 1969.

Duckworth, George Eckel. Foreshadowing and suspense in the epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Virgil. New York, 1966.

Eccles, Mark, ed. The Macro Plays. New York, 1969.

Ehrmann, Jacques, ed. Structuralism. Garden City, 1970.

Eisentein, Sergei. The Film Sense, trans. Jay Leyda. New York, 1947.
------------------. Film Form: Essays in Film Theory, trans. Jay Leyda. New York, 1949.

Eliade, Mircea. Myth and Reality. New York, 1963.
--------------. The Sacred and the Profane. New York, 1959.

Eliot, T. S. On Poetry and Poets. New York, 1961.

Emma, Richard David and Shawcross, John T, ed. Language and Style in Milton. New York, 1967.

Empson, William. Milton's God. London, 1965.

Erasmus, Desiderius. On Copia of Words and Things. Milwaukee, 1963.

Euripides. Euripides, trans. Arthur S. Way. Cambridge, Mass., 1966.

Fenik, Bernard. Typical Battle scenes in the Iliad; Studies in the narrative techniques of homeric battle description. Wiesbaden, 1968.

Ferry, Anne Davidson. Milton and the Miltonic Dryden. Cambridge, Mass., 1968.

Fletcher, Angus. Allegory. Ithaca, 1964.
----------------. The Transcendental Masque: An Essay on Milton's Comus. Ithaca, 1971.

Fowler, Alastair. Triumphal Forms. Cambridge, 1970.
----------------, ed. Silent Poetry. Essays in Numerological Analysis. New York, 1970.

Frye, Northrop. The Return of Eden. Five Essays on Milton's Epics. Toronto, 1965.

Gombrich, E.H. Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance. London, 1972.

Gordon, Cyrus Herzl. Homer and the Bible: the origins and character of East Mediterranean literature. Ventnor, N. J., 1967.

Grace, William J. Ideas in Milton. Notre Dame, 1968.

Gregory, R.L. Eye and Brain: The psychology of seeing. New York, 1972.

Herbert, George. The Works of George Herbert, ed. F. E. Hutchinson. Oxford, 1941.

Hesiod. Hesiod, trans. Richmond Lattimore. Chicago, 1967.
-------. Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn-White. Cambridge, Mass., 1964.

Homer. The Iliad, trans. Alexander Pope. New York, 1965.
-----. The Iliad, trans. Richmond Lattimore. Chicago, 1951.
-----. The Iliad, trans. Robert Fitzgerald. New York, 1974.
-----. The Odyssey, trans. Robert Fitzgerald. New York, 1063.

Hughes, Merritt Y. Virgil and Spenser. New York, 1968.

Jobe, Joseph, ed. Great Tapestries. The Web of History from the 12th to the 20th Century, trans. Peggy Rowell Oberson. Switzerland: Edita S. A. Lausanne, 1965.

Kennedy, Charles W., trans. An Anthology of Old English Poetry. New York, 1960.

Kennedy, George. Art of Persuasion in Greece. New York, 1963.

Kermode, Frank, ed. The Living Milton: Essays by Various Hands. London, 1960.

Kernodle, GeoRge. From Art to Theatre. Chicago, 1964.

Kebler, George. The Shape of Time. New Haven, 1962.

Lange K. and Hirmer M. Egypt: Architecture, Sculpture, Painting in Three Thousand Years. London, 1961.

Leaf, Walter. Homer and History. London, 1915.

Lewalski, Barbara Kiefer. Milton's Brief Epic: the genre, meaning, & art of Paradise Regained. Providence, 1966.

Lewis, C. S. A Preface to Paradise Lost. London, 1942.

Lorris, Guillaume de and Meun, Jean de. The Romance of the Rose, trans. Harry W. Robbins. New York, 1962.

MacCaffrey, Isabel Gamble. Paradise Lost as 'Myth.' Cambridge, Mass., 1967.

MacKenzie, Roy W. The English Moralities from the point of view of Allegory. Boston, 1914.

MacKin, John H. Classical Rhetoric for Modern Discourse. London, 1969.

Mahood, M. M. Poetry and Humanism. London, 1950.

Mallory, Thomas. Works, ed. Eugene Vinaver. New York, 1950.

Marlowe, Christopher. The Complete Plays, ed. J. B. Sterne. Baltimore, 1969.

Martz, Louis L., ed. Milton: A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, 1966.

Milton, John. The Complete Poetical Works of John Milton, ed. Douglas Bush. Boston, 1965.

Murray, Gilbert. The Rise of the Greek Epic. London, 1934.

Nelson, Laury, Jr., Baroque Lyric Poetry. New Haven, 1961.

Nitchie, Elizabeth. Virgil and the English Poets. New York, 1966.

Ong, Walter J. The Barbarian Within. New York, 1962.

Orgel, Stephen. The Jonsonian Masque. Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

Ovid. The Metamorphoses, trans. Horace Gregory. New York, 1958.

Page, Denys L. History and the Homeric Iliad. Berkeley, 1959.

Panofsky, Erwin. Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on Its Changing Aspect from Ancient Egypt to Bernini, ed. H. W. Janson. New York, 1964.
---------------. Studies in Iconology. New York, 1967.

Peacham, Henry. Minerva Britanna 1612. Leeds, 1962.
---------------. The Garden of Eloquence 1577.

Pearsall, Derek and Salter, Elizabeth. Landscape and Seasons of the Medieval World. Toronto, 1973.

Petrarch, Francesco. The Triumphs of Petrarch, trans. Ernest Hatch Wilkins. Chicago, 1962.

Plato. Timaeus, trans. H. D. P. Lee. Baltimore, 1965.

Polanyi, Michael. Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy. New York, 1959.

Prescott, Henry Washington. The Development of Virgil's Art. Chicago, 1927.

Purris, J. S. The York Cycle of Mystery Plays. London, 1962.

Puttenham, George. The Arte of English Poesie, ed. Gladys Doidge Willock and Alice Walker. Cambridge, 1936.

Putnam, Michael C. The poetry of the Aeneid; four studies in imaginative unity and design. Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

Quarles, Francis. Hieroglyphikes 1636, ed. John Hardem. Menston, 1962.

Quinn, Kenneth. Virgil's Aeneid: A Critical Description. Ann Arbor, 1968.

Quintillian. The Instituto Oratoria, trans. H. E. Butler. New York, 1923.

Rabelais, Francois. Gargantua and Pantagruel, trans. J. M. Cohen. Baltimore, 1955.

Rajan, Balachandra. Paradise Lost and the Seventeenth Century Reader. Ann Arbor, 1967.

Rand, Edward Kennard. The Magical Art of Virgil. Cambridge, Mass., 1931.

Rawson, C. J. Gulliver and the Gentle Reader. London, 1973.

Rice, Tamara Talbot. Russian Icons. London, 1963.

Ricks, Christopher. Milton's Grand Style. Oxford, 1963.

Rossi, Paolo. Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch. Chicago, 1968.

Ryken, Leland. The Apocalyptic Vision of Paradise Lost. Ithaca, 1970.

Samuel, Irene. Plato and Milton. Ithaca, 1947.

Schapiro, Meyer. "On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art; Field and Vehicle in Image Signs," Sign, Language, Culture, ed. Griemas. Mouton: The Hague, 1970.

Simmonds, James D., ed. Milton Studies II. Pittsburgh, 1970.
-----------------., ed. Milton Studies IV. Pittsburgh, 1972.

Simpson, R. Hope and Lazenby, J. F. The Catalogue of Ships in Homer's Iliad. Oxford, 1970.

Snell, Bruno. The Discovery of the Mind. New York, 1960.

Spaeth, Sigmund. Milton's Knowledge of Music. Ann Arbor, 1963.

Spenser, Edmund. Books I and II of The Faerie Queene, ed. Robert Kellogg and Oliver Steele. New York, 1965.
---------------. The Faerie Queene, ed. J. W. Hales. vol. 2. New York, 1962.

Spitzer, Leo. Essays on English and American Literature. Princeton, 1962.

Strauss, Leo. Persecution and the Art of Writing. Chicago, 1952.

Stroup, Thomas. Religious Rite and Ceremony in Milton's Poetry. Lexington, 1968.

Summers, Joseph H., ed. The Lyric and Dramatic Milton. New York, 1965.

Taft, Linwood. The Technique of Pagentry. New York, 1921.

Tillyard, E. M. W. Milton. New York, 1930.

Tomson, W. G. A History of Tapestry from Earliest Times to Present Day. London, 1966.

Tuve, Rosemund. Images and Themes in Five Poems by Milton. Cambridge, Mass., 1967.

Virgil. The Aeneid of Virgil, trans. Allen Mandelbaum. Berkeley, 1971.

Vivante, Paolo. The Homeric Imagination: A Study of Homer's perception of reality. Bloomington, 1970.

Waldock, A.J.A. Paradise Lost and Its Critics. Cambridge, 1947.

Whaler, James. Counterpoint and Symbol. New York, 1952.

Whitney, Geffrey. A Choice of Emblems and other Devices. Leyden, 1586.

Willcock, M. A Commentary on Homer's Iliad. nd., np.

Wilson, Thomas. The Arte of Rhetoricke 1560, ed. G.H. Mair. Oxford, 1919.

Wind, Edgar. Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance. New York, 1968.

Withington, Robert. English Pagentry. Cambridge, Mass., 1918.

Wright, B.A. Milton's Paradise Lost. London, 1962.

Yates, Frances. The Art of Memory. Chicago, 1966.