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COUNTRY HOUSE ENTERTAINMENTS IN PARADISE LOST, BOOKS 5-8

That Milton was personally familiar with traditional country house customs and entertainments is evinced in his Arcades and Ludlow Mask. In these works the poet praised the virtuous owners, the Countess Dowager of Derby and the Earl of Bridgewater, and their landed estates. Both Harefield and Ludlow Castle are presented as estates where grace has entered the natural world. Guarded over by transcendent powers, the Genius of the Wood and the Attendant Spirit, these estates are "holier ground," enclaves where the divine will operates. The entertainment and masque, performed by members of the aristocratic households, honored the courtly ideals of those who resided at these country estates. After the turbulent years of the 1640s and 1650s when Milton wrote polemical tracts against the institutions of the ruling elite, he returned in Paradise Lost, Books 5-8, to country house entertainments. Drawing on a varied range of resources, Milton revalued the ideology expressed in both manorial customs and literary models, especially the country estate poems of Jonson, Carew, and Herrick.¹ It is the purpose of this essay to examine Milton's revaluation of the social ideals of the country house through his techniques of incorporation, rejection, and modification. The reader may better understand the relevant episodes from Paradise Lost once social, cultural, and literary sources are brought to bear on them.

Both the country estate poem and Paradise Lost stress the theme of hospitality as an expression of the benevolence, courtesy, and charity of the lord. This hospitality is shown in his preparation, his greeting, and the various entertainments for his noble guest.

Milton contrasts Raphael's visit to the garden of Eden with the monarch's Progress to a nobleman's great country estate. Queen Elizabeth on her annual

Progresses would honor her loyal subjects by visiting their estates and sampling their hospitality. These visits, however, were frequently long and ruinously expensive. The visit of King James was also the occasion for entertainments, which usually included hunting for sport, sumptuous feasts, and costly masques featuring spectacle, music, and dancing. These typical entertainments were opportunities for the aristocrat to show his wealth, power, and honor, as well as to fulfill his ambition to outdo all rivals for royal favor.

Milton's description of Adam's and Eve's preparation for their angelic guest recalls a passage in "To Penshurst." Lady Sidney reaps "the just reward of her high huswifery" (85) in expectation of her guests. She has "her linnen, plate, and all things nigh,/ When she was farre" (86-7). Similarly, Milton describes Eve hastening "to entertain" the expected visitor.² As Adam has suggested to her, she will "bring forth and pour/ Abundance, fit to honor and receive" (5.314-15) the heavenly stranger. After turning "on hospitable thoughts intent/ What choice to choose for delicacy best" (5.332),³ she plucks fruits, "ripe for use" (5.324). Then she heaps the board "with unsparing hand" and prepares her "fit vessels pure" (5.345-47).

Awaiting the arrival of their guest, Adam sits "as in the door. . .Of his cool Bow'r," away from the "fervid Rays" of the hot sun, "more warmth than Adam needs" (5.299-302). This image suggests the biblical Abraham as "he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day" (Genesis 18:1) just before he greets his visitors, the three angels. Milton models Adam's entertainment on the account of Abraham's entertainment of the angels. Just as Abraham tells his wife Sara to make ready, and then he personally prepares for his guests, so Adam and Eve arrange things in readiness for their angelic guest. The poet explicitly contrasts the simplicity of the biblical model with the excessively

elaborate and showy royal entertainments at the country estate. In describing Adam greeting his visitor, he writes:

Meanwhile our Primitive great Sire, to meet
 His god-like Guest, walks forth, without more train
 Accompanied than with his own complete
 Perfections; in himself was all his state,
 More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
 On Princes, when thir rich Retinue long
 On Horses led, and Grooms besmear'd with Gold
 Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all agape (5.350-57).

In contrast to the "tedious pomp" of the Royal Progress in the fallen world, Adam meets the angel simply, naturally, with manliness and integrity, "all his state." The naked Adam has greater dignity than the affectation and obsequiousness of the courtier with his trappings and flattery. There is courteous decorum, however, in Adam's greeting:

Nearer his presence Adam though not aw'd,
 Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,
 As to a superior Nature, bowing low (5.358-60).

Like the lord of a great estate greeting an exalted monarch, Adam ceremonially welcomes a far more exalted angel of God. His greeting is not awed or fearful, but expressed with "native Honor clad/ In naked majesty" (4.289-90) and self-possessed grace.

The traditional entertainments at the country house included civilized social discourse, feasting, masquing, and hunting. This last pastime is described by both Jonson and Carew in their country estate poems. The status of hunting had become elevated under the patronage of James I. Gervase Markham in his Country Contentment (1611) describes hunting as the pastime "which doth

many degrees go before and precede all others being most royal for the stateliness thereof."³ In "To Penshurst" Jonson writes:

There's nothing I can wish, for which I stay.

That found King James, when hunting late, this way,

With his brave sonne, the Prince, they saw thy fires

Shine bright on every harth as the desires

Of thy Penates had beene set on flame,

To entertayne them (75-80).

Hunting was the traditional pursuit of kings, princes, and aristocrats, and therefore the accepted pleasures for the noble guests of the manorial estate. The sport of shooting game is described by the poets as an opportunity to experience the natural plenitude of the land and to enjoy, as Jonson calls it in "To Sir Robert Wroth," the blessing of "un-bought provision" (14).

In this poem Jonson describes hunting as the "master's sport" (23). When James I visits Durrants, Wroth arranges a stag hunting expedition for him and turns his manor into the king's court. Manorial hunting is presented as an integral part of hospitable entertainment, an expression of the lord's generosity made possible by natural abundance and his good management.

Carew in "From Wrest" likewise celebrates the sport of hunting, concluding his poem by describing "the pursuit/ Of bucks and stags." It is an activity of "blest peace" at Wrest Park and at the same time "th'emblem of war," which keeps the memory of real war alive (107-10). In chasing beasts, noblemen test their physical courage, exercise their skill in shooting, and practice military maneuvers.

Milton's exclusion of hunting as an entertainment is an inevitable but significant departure from the shared norms of manorial life and country estate poetry. Hunting seems consistent with the familiar topos that

represented the generous compliance of Nature, existing for man's pleasure. If Nature is spontaneously giving, however, then man as hunter is being selfish, exploitative, greedy, and violent in taking its wealth by force. The relationship between Adam and Eve and Nature is a chaste one because it is unselfish, respectful, and loving.

Hunting as necessity or pastime is not an activity in the prelapsarian world of Paradise Lost. Death has not yet invaded Nature, and innocent mankind lives in peaceful harmony with the beasts. By naming the animals, Adam has shown his domination over them but also his knowledge of their natures. Raphael says to him: "And thou thir Natures Know'st, and gav'st them Names" (7.493). No creature is ferocious or noxious, and they are all obedient to man. God had given Paradise to Adam and Eve "as Lords" to "Possess it, and all things that therein live,/ Or live in Sea, or Air, Beast, Fish, and Fowl" (8.339-41). Responding to Adam's request for a helpmeet, God reminds him that he knows the language and habits of the living creatures, and they "reason not contemptibly" (8.374). At Adam's command, all the animals will come to him. For innocent pastime, Adam and Eve watch from their rural seat "All Beasts of th'Earth, since wild, and of all chase" (4.341) who playfully sport and frisk before them.

Milton's allusion to Nimrod "who is a mighty Hunter" (12.35) suggests the connection between hunting and political tyranny. Through the figure of Nimrod Milton traces the descent of demonic kingship into human history. Nimrod's hunting was given metaphorical interpretation by the exegetical commentators, and Milton borrowed from the tradition. Nimrod the hunter and political tyrant is based on Genesis 10:8-12 and Micah 5:6. In Genesis he is described as "a mighty hunter before the Lord." Exegesis of this phrase was that "mighty" probably meant "cruel," and that "before" meant "against" God.⁴

Moreover, Nimrod's name is from the Hebrew verb marod, 'to rebel,' hence Milton's line, "from Rebellion [he] shall derive his name" (12.36). Traditional Babylonian sources represent Nimrod as skilled in chase, and on monuments he is depicted killing lions, bulls, and serpents. These images of hunting, however, are symbolic of a coronation ritual.⁵ An Assyrian king noted for his prowess in hunting, Nimrod was interpreted in the commentaries as a cruel tyrant. The standard exegesis was that the quarry Nimrod hunted was man. Michael says of him to Adam: "And Men not Beasts shall be his game" (12.30). Milton had compared Charles I to Nimrod in Eikonoklastes: "And yet the Bishops could have told them, that Nimrod, the first that hunted after Faction is more properly the Kings Game; and these Hounds, which he calls the Vulgar, have bin oft'n hollow'd from Court"⁶. The political authority symbolized by Nimrod derived its power from an aristocracy of warriors, and this authority is seen by Milton as Nimrod's usurpation, arrogating "Dominion undeserv'd/ Over his brethren" (12.27-8).

What is suggested in Milton's presentation of Nimrod in Paradise Lost is that his blood-lust in hunting and his political despotism are inseparable because both involve violence against nature, through coercion, predation, and bloodshed. The Nimrod allusion implicitly includes Milton's experience with Stuart tyranny. The tyrannical exercise of power not only violated the laws of nations, but desecrated the Law of Nature and transgressed the Law of God.⁷

Therefore hunting for sport is one of the corrupting effects of the first sin. Irrational and warlike, it is part of the fallen world. Moreover, hunting is a privileged sport, indulged in by predatory and arbitrary monarchs and their courtiers. For Milton, it is associated with the ruling ideology of the Stuarts and the aristocrats, who having "Fame in the World, high titles, and

rich prey," changed their course in times of peace "to pleasure, ease, and sloth,/ Surfeit, and lust" (11.793-95).

Milton in Paradise Lost includes the manorial custom of the feast for the noble guest. The dining scene in Book 5 shares many of the motifs of country estate poems, the plenitude of nature, the hospitality of the lord, and the relaxation of hierarchy. Scenes of feasting symbolize the inexhaustible bounty of the landed estate and the largesse of the lord and lady. At Penshurst Sir Robert Sidney's "liberall boord doth flow" (59), and all are welcome to partake of his natural wealth and "housekeeping." Consumption of his bounty in the form of food and drink express a sharing in the moral, social, and natural order.

In Carew's "To Saxham," the lord's table is "blest with plenty" (13-4), and while GN's more humble guests at Wrest eat "at large tables fill'd with wholesome meat" (35), those of "better note" are "fed/ With daintier cates" (35-9). The aristocrats "freely sit/ At the lord's table" (41-2), which is "fill'd with Meats/ Of choicest relish" (44-5). The table, Carew writes, cracks "Under the load of pil'd up dishes" (46).

In the dining room of Hardwick Hall, one of the ostentatious houses to which Carew may be alluding in "From Wrest," the plasterer modelled a life-size Ceres with overflowing cornucopia above the chimney-piece. This is an apt decorative emblem in a room where the bounty of nature is to be fully enjoyed.⁸ However, Carew emphasizes "real use," and says the architect of Wrest "made things not fine,/ But fit for service" (55-7). Therefore Amalthea and her horn of plenty, Bacchus, and Ceres "with a crook'd sickle in her hand" are not an artist's carvings in stone or marble, mere "emblems to the eyes," but "useful deities" who are immanent in the wine and bread: "We press the juicy god and quaff his blood/ And grind the yellow goddess into food" (57-68).

Herrick in "To Pemberton" compares the lord to Jove, "that Hospitable God" (61) who enjoys seeing his guests eating and drinking at his table. Here there is a full board of "choice viands" (67). The poet is specific in listing some of the foods served at Rushden. For meat, there are "mighty Chines" (7), "large Ribbes of Beefe" (9), bullocks thighs, veal, and fat mutton. For poultry,

The Pheasant, Partridge, Gotwit, Reeve, Ruffe, Raile,

The Cock, the Curlew, and the quaile (63-6).

As Lawrence Stone has demonstrated in The Crisis of Aristocracy, there was a "sustained carnivorous orgy" at aristocratic households where tremendous quantities of meat and poultry were consumed. "The stupendous cost of the banquet," he writes, was "partly due to the rarity of the dishes, partly to the exquisite refinement of cooking, and partly to sheer exuberance of scale."⁹

It is clear, however, that the principles of comunality and charity are important in the poets' praise of the lord's feasts. Wroth's "open hall," for example, allows "the rout of rurall folke" to "come thronging in" to share the "welcome grace" of Wroth's lady (49-53). At Dorrants hierarchy is relaxed because "freedom doth with degree dispense" (58). Herrick celebrates the "Guest-rite" at Rushden, and describes "the lanke-Stranger" and the "sowre Swain" who are given relief in the hall, "where both may feed, and come again" (11-2). The rural poor are not chased away by the porter at the door, but "each may/ Take friendly morsels," and if one likes, may stay to warm "his thinclad members" at the hospitable hearth (16-17). In their presentation of "relief" in the country estate poems, the poets do not explicitly say that some peasants became rural vagabonds because they were victims of economic depression, enclosures, evictions, and unemployment. In "To Saxham" Carew describes the winter season and the peasants' need for relief:

The cold and frozen air had starv'd
 Much poor, if not by thee preserv'd,
 Whose prayers have made thy table blest
 With plenty, far above the rest (11-14).

The poor express their good will in their prayers at Saxham, and it has caused God to provide a full table. Carew's biblical images underscore the theme of sacrifice. The ox, lamb, and other creatures participate in the household's charity by willingly offering themselves to be eaten. A related image with religious associations is the "weary pilgrim" (38) who wanders in the night and is drawn to the warmth of the manor and the hospitality of the lord. Both lord and servant welcome this stranger, a rural vagabond or spiritual wayfarer roaming the countryside.

Jonson, Herrick, and Carew all stress the theme of caritas in their descriptions of manorial hospitality and feasts. These feasts are based on the mutual respect between master and the rest of humanity, and therefore implicitly on God's love for man.

Although Milton's dining scene conforms in many ways with those of country estate poems, he radically transforms it by going to the source of all the dinner scenes. Defining "Hospitality" in Christian Doctrine, Milton says it "consists of receiving under our roof, as providing for the kind reception of the poor and strangers," and cites several biblical passages, among them Hebrews 13:2 : "Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares" (CE, XVIII: 381-83). In Eden the noble guest is "the Godlike Angel" (7.110) Raphael, and the hosts are Adam and Eve, our unfallen ancestors. Therefore Milton invests his dinner scene with a spiritual significance not possible in the great hall of a worldly lord. In this radicalization Milton implicitly questions the spiritual adequacy of the sociopolitical values expressed in the genre.

Milton's scene takes place not in a crowded hall, a place of the landowner's feudal power, but in a garden, a setting for an intimate conversation between angel and man "as friend with friend" (5.220). That it is a meal *al fresco* suggests its openness, naturalness, and simplicity. Eve at table "Minister'd naked" (5.442), and she has "no fear lest Dinner cool" (5.396). The table in the garden is "Rais'd of grassy turf" and "mossy seats had round" (5.391-92). In contrast to the "sustained carnivorous orgy" of the country house feast, Raphael will eat a temperate meal of savory fruits to please true appetite, and drink the unfermented juice of grapes rather than intoxicating wine to make "the smirk face. . .to shine" (Herrick, 72). Eve says that the feast that she has prepared will cause their angel guest to "confess that here on Earth/ God hath dispens't his bounties as in Heav'n" (5.329-30).

In "thir discourse at Table" (5."Argument") Raphael discusses the relation between earth and heaven, the natural and the supernatural, the low and the high. Everything the Creator gives Mankind, he says to Adam and Eve, is "in part Spiritual" (5.405-6), exalting the natural world. Even the physical process of digestion becomes a spiritual act. Raphael explains that he converts food into his own "intelligential substance" (5.409) by physiologically transforming the "corporeal to incorporeal" (5.414). Then he sits and eats with Adam and Eve, the three falling "to their viands" (5.433-34). The poet describes Raphael's eager desire to eat, "with keen dispatch/ Of real hunger, and concoctive heat/ To transubstantiate" (5.436-38). Milton's use of the word "transubstantiate," with its Eucharistic associations, describes the process by which nutriments "convert" to "proper substance" (5.492-93). It is suggested, then, that this dining scene is more than an occasion for communality; it is an occasion for communion.¹⁰ Adam and Eve participate with "the

Godlike Angel" in a sacramental expression of thanks for God's favor. The table "Rais'd of grassy turf" is the Lord's Table; the meal they eat is a prelapsarian prefiguration of the Lord's Supper. This Supper illustrates Milton's view of the sacrament as sealing the Covenant of Grace (CE, XVI: 205). "A sacrament," he writes in Christian Doctrine, "is a visible sign ordained by God, whereby he set his seal on believers in token of his saving grace," and "we on our part testify our faith and obedience to God with a sincere heart and a grateful remembrance" (CE, XVI: 165).

Raphael promises Adam and Eve that if they continue to be obedient and steadfast in their love of God, the time may come when they "With Angels partecipate, and find/ No inconvenient Diet, nor too light fare" (5.494-95). The meal in the garden is the counterpart of the celestial banquet enjoyed by the angels. He describes "Heav'n's high feasts" (5.467) and banquet tables "pil'd/ With Angels' Food" (5.632-33). There "They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet/ Quaff immortality and joy" (5.637-38). The sacramental aspects of words like "communion" and "transubstantiation" suggest that Milton's presentation of the meal is an example of agape, a spotless feast of charity (Jude:12). Taking the theme of charity from the country estate poem, he transposes it to a supernatural key.

After the feast, noble dignitaries visiting country houses were usually entertained by private theatricals, featuring spectacle, music and dancing. Barbara K. Lewalski notes that in Paradise Lost the poet reverses court practice by having the exalted guest supply the magnificent shows, The War in Heaven and The Creation. The angel appears as a kind of masquer himself, wearing an extravagant costume of six pair of wings "with downy Gold/ And colors dipt in Heav'n" (5.283-84). But Raphael does not need ornate and costly machinery. By his own poetic art he elicits from his audience a sense of awe and wonder.¹¹

Raphael's account of the War and Creation has many characteristics of the masque. Whereas his narrative of the War is like an antimasque, the story of the Creation is like the main formal masque. The War in Heaven shows a world of vice, misrule, and anarchy; the Creation shows divine goodness, order, and bounty.

In the antimasque Satan attempts to lead his troops of rebel angels in an armed insurrection against omnipotent God. The faithful angel Abdiel tells Satan that it is folly to rebel: "Fool, not to think how vain/ Against th'Omnipotent to rise in arms" (6.135-36). Satan's folly, his envy and presumption, lay the groundwork for the "devilish Enginry" (6.553) and "foul disorder" (6.388) of the antimasque. The seditious angel will use "force and Machines" (6."Argument") in his futile attempt to vanquish the spiritual power and love of the Creator.

The 'Tournament' is "Wild work in Heav'n" (6.698), resembling "the loud misrule/ Of Chaos" (7.271-72). The narrator's style, moreover, continually shifts from excessively inflated diction to low punning and the use of alimentary and anal images describing "Intestine War" (6.259). These shifts express both the vainglory and baseness of the rebel angels, and contribute to the pervasive antic mood. Satan describes grotesque choreography, "Somewhat extravagant and wild" (6.616), as he gleefully anticipates disorder among the loyal angels once they have been fired upon by the rebels' artillery. Even more wild is the grand finale when the loyal angels tear up and lift hills "by the shaggy tops" (6.646) and then hurl them like missiles at their foes.

On the morning of the third day, the Son of God appears in "The Chariot of Paternal Deity" (6.750) and "at his right hand Victory" (6.762), bringing an end to the War in Heaven. Just as God creates cosmic peace out of anarchic war, so his Word creates cosmic order out of the confused matter of the

universe. Out of the antimasque of anarchy and destruction, Raphael creates the masque of order and Creation.

His account of the Creation and the triumph of the Son evinces the influence of the formal masque, its scenic representation, glittering costumes, choreography, and music. Milton places great emphasis on visual spectacle and aural magnificence that express order, pattern, and baroque complexity. The theatrical design of the fourth day of Creation, for example, offers a background of a "thousand thousand Stars. . . Spangling the hemisphere" (7.383-84). Then we see the Milky Way in a perspective set: "A broad and ample road, whose dust is Gold/ And pavement Stars" leading to "God's Eternal House" (7.575-79).

There are many gorgeous heraldic costumes adorning the newly created animals: fish that "Show to the Sun thir wav'd coats dropt with Gold" (7.406), a peacock "whose gay Train/ Adorns him, color'd with the Florid hue/ Of Rainbows and Starry Eyes" (7.444-46), and winged insects "In all the Liveries deckt of Summer's pride/ With spots of Gold and Purple, azure and green" (7.478-79). Earth herself is "in her rich attire" and "Consummate lovely smil'd" (7.501-2). Nature participates in a formal dance of thanksgiving: "the stately Trees" in a joyful celebration "Rose as in dance" (7.324), and "the Pleiades. . . danc'd" (7.374) to the harmonies of Creation.

George Whetstone in An Heptameron of Civil Discourses (1582) described a week of feasting and discussion at the "stately Palace" of Queen Aurelia and "a chosen Company." He notes how each day ended with supper in the great chamber, followed by dancing and masquing. The next morning, he writes, he came out of his chamber "somewhat timely," and

entered the great chamber with as strange a regard, as he that cometh out of a house full of torch and taper lights, into a dark

and obscure corner; knowing that at midnight (about which time I forsook my company) I left the place, attired like a second paradise: the earthly Goddesses, in brightness, resembled heavenly creatures, whose beauties dazzled men's eyes more than the beams of the sun; the sweet music recorded the harmony of the angels, the strange and curious devices in masques seemed as figures in divine mysteries. And to be short, the place was the very sympathy of an imagined paradise.¹²

This evocative description of the masque is suggestive of Milton's paradisaical masque in Paradise Lost, its "dazzling beauties," angelic harmonies, and "divine mysteries." John G. Demaray has explored the poet's "presentation of grand, ceremonial, masquelike Triumphs in Heaven."¹³ Music and song in the theatrical spectacle of the Creation emphasize the divine mysteries of God's creating Word and the praise of angels.

The harmony of celestial music is heard throughout the Creation. In contrast to the clangorous dissonance of the three-day Tournament, here there are the harmony and resonance of angels. Their choric hymn of praise, "Glory to him," accompanies the beginning of Creation, for God's "Wisdom had ordain'd/ Good out of evil to create" (7.184-88). On the first day of the Creation, celestial choirs celebrate the "Birth-day of Heav'n and Earth," filling "the hollow Universal Orb" with hymns and music of "thir Golden Harps" (7.256-58). Then a choir of angels on the sixth day praises God's "Master work" (7.504), Man "in the Image of God" (7.527). The angelic music on the Sabbath is given the fullest description, for here Raphael is most comprehensive and specific. His account of the Son's triumphant entry into Heaven after the Creation illustrates both the grandeur and ceremony of the formal masque, particularly in the use of music. Heaven resounds with a rising crescendo of harmonies from many instruments,

the Harp

Had work and rest not, the solemn Pipe

And Dulcimer, all Organs of sweet stop,

All sounds on Fret of String or Golden Wire

Temper'd soft Tunings (7.594-98).

Singing "Choral or Unison" (7.599), a host of angelic voices joyously pronounce the Son "greater now" (7.604) than in his return following the War in Heaven. The Son's great entry and his rising is described as a Triumphal Procession, "Follow'd with acclamation and the sound/ Symphonious of ten thousand Harps that tun'd/ Angelic harmonies" (7.557-61). The constellations, which like masque singers are personified, join in the celestial music, and "The Planets in thir station list'ning stood,/ While the bright Pomp ascended jubilant" (7.564-65). In the Triumph of the Son, Milton transcends the traditional country house masque with his own celestial masque of mystical revelation.

The philosophical discussion between Raphael and Adam is a major episode in Paradise Lost, Books 5-8. Milton's presentation of the dinner conversation has a number of similarities with Clarendon's description of discussions at Lord Falkland's country house at Tew. Describing Lord Falkland's retirement to his country house, Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, recalls the wonderful conversations enjoyed there. He says of Lord Falkland, "Truly his whole conversation was one continued convivium philosophicum, or convivium theologicum, enlivened with all the facetiousness of wit, and good humor, and pleasantness of discourse, which made the gravity of the argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable." Further, Clarendon says that at Tew, "the lord of the house" met his guests at dinner or supper. "Otherwise," he observes, "there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint. . .to make them wearying of staying there."¹⁴ Raphael's discussion with Adam resembles

Clarendon's description of Lord Falkland and his learned friends from Oxford and London visiting his country house. Such a resemblance comes from the likeness of social context, but Milton's narration of an angel of God discussing spiritual and moral subjects with unfallen Man in Eden can have no parallel in the fallen world. Indeed, Milton elevates the discussion through both its serious ideas and its participants.

Raphael first appears when God instructs him to converse "half this day" with Adam "as friend with friend" (5.229). He is to advise man "of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy at hand." The angel speaks with Adam about these subjects, and "whatever else may avail Adam to know" (5. "Argument"), including the relation of spirit and matter, the scala natura, and free will, love, and obedience. Responding to Adam's inquiries, Raphael narrates the epochs of divine history. Further, he explores with Adam other philosophical matters, cosmology, epistemology, and human and divine love.

Raphael has been chosen among God's angels to visit Adam and Eve because he is "the sociable Spirit" (5.221). Good-tempered, friendly, truthful, and tactful, he exemplifies Aristotle's virtues of social intercourse. From the beginning through the conclusion of the visit, Raphael demonstrates in conduct and speech his angelic manners. He is courteous, affable, and generous with praise. He greets Eve with a holy salutation, "Hail mother of mankind," and blesses her fruitful womb (5.388-89). Then he pays a compliment to Adam about their Edenic state. "Adam," he says, "I therefore came, nor art thou such/
Created, or such place hast here to dwell,/ As may not oft invite, though
Spirits of Heav'n/ To visit thee" (5.372-75). Later, Raphael praises Adam for his rational understanding and ability to speak well: "Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of men,/ Nor tongue ineloquent" (8.218-19).

Because of his sweet-tempered reasonableness and receptivity, Raphael creates a sense of fellowship with Adam, who feels free to ask him direct, challenging questions about the nature of things. His responses are frequently expressed in the concrete language of analogy. Joining his hosts at the dinner table, it is especially fitting for Raphael to compare knowledge with food. This comparison enables him to analyse temperance of both the physical and intellectual appetites, a subject to which he returns. When explaining the scala natura, Raphael draws an analogy from horticulture, particularly apt in the garden. Later, when Adam requests that he explain divine events, the angel tells him that this would require him to "unfold/ The secrets of another World, perhaps/ Not lawful to reveal." But he agrees to tell him for Adam's own good, "By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms/ As may express it best," although this divine history "surmounts the reach/ Of human sense" (5.568-74). Based on an extended analogy, his narrative of events is concrete and vivid, appealing to Adam's imagination as well as intellect.

As a moral teacher Raphael understands what is important for Adam to know, and he is astute in using the most effective language. Raphael's speech is clear, concise, and memorably pointed. For example, he says, "Son of Heav'n and Earth,/ Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God;/ That thou continu'st such, owe to thyself" (5.519-21). Moreover, he teaches moral precepts plainly and with dignified practicality. "Be lowly wise" (8.873), he tells Adam, and then when he bids him farewell, his parting words are, "Be strong, live happy, and love, but first of all/ Him whom to love is to obey" (8.633-34).

Finally, his tone of friendly truthfulness is conducive to their mutual understanding. When Adam becomes distracted by abstruse speculations about cosmological theories, Raphael tactfully restrains this tendency, telling him

that it is "prime Wisdon. . .to know/ That which before us lies in daily life" (8.192-94), and that Adam and he should "speak of things at hand/ Useful" (8.199-200).

Because their conversation is learned, lively, and pleasant, "the gravity of the argument," to use Clarendon's phrase, is communicated by Raphael with love, candor, and an understanding of human nature. Only when Adam reveals that he feels "Commotion strange" (8.531) because of Eve's beauty is there a perceptible change in the emotional atmosphere. Adam betrays his vulnerability and potential weakness in allowing his passion for Eve to have too much power over him, and Raphael reacts "with contracted brow," warning him: "Accuse not nature, she hath done her part;/ Do thou but thine" (8.560-62). This is followed by a tense moment when Adam questions Raphael about the sexual union of heavenly spirits. The angel flushes "Celestial rosy red" (8.619), but rather than abruptly terminating their discussion, he maintains his composure and good temper, and describes sexuality among the angels.

Raphael has set the sociable tone of civilized discourse in "one continual convivium philosophicum," and his respect for Adam's intellect, eloquence, and social decorum, gives their verbal exchange, with its sense of tension and intellectual play, a pleasantness as well as moral gravity. Adam in appreciative of Raphael's "sociably mild" (11.575) temperament, and courteously tells his departing guest: "Thou to mankind/ So good and friendly still, and oft return" (8.650-51).

Raphael's visit with Adam and their philosophical discussion illustrate what Jonson in "To Penshurst" calls "The mysteries of manners, armes, and arts." Jonson says of the Sidney children:

They are, and have beene taught religion: thence

 Their gentler spirits have suck'd innocence.

Each morne, they are taught to pray,
 With the whole household, and may, every day,
 Reade, in their vertuous parents noble parts,
 The mysteries of manners, armes, and arts (93-8).

Jonson's word "mysteries" sacralizes a poem so that it is more than mere social compliment. The word has a range of meaning from the 'mysteries' of a craft, a secret social rite, to the Christian religion. It prepares the reader, moreover, for the equally rich multivalence of the poem's final lines:

Now, Penshurst, they that will proportion thee
 With other edifices, when they see
 Those proud, ambitious heaps, and nothing else,
 May say, their lords have built, but thy lord dwells. (99-102)

The phrase "thy lord dwells" not only praises the exemplary aristocratic land-lord who resides on his estate, but also implies both the king as source of virtuous nobility, and the supreme power of God who "dwells," providentially regulating the ordered universe of which Penshurst is a microcosm. The poet thus brings together meanings that are religious, political, social, and esthetic.

These mysteries also have thematic bearing in Paradise Lost, especially the books which narrate Raphael's visit with Adam and the entertainments in Eden. The mystery of manners is exemplified by their decorum, both social amenities and moral conduct. The mystery of arms is found in the angel's account of "secrets of another World" (5.569), the story of "th'invisible exploits/ Of warring Spirits" (5.565), and the spiritual victory of the Son. The mystery of arts is revealed in Raphael's poetic vision of both the War and the Creation "that may lift/ Human Imagination" (6.298-99). Another, even

greater, mystery of arts is the masque of Creation by the deus artifex. The 'mysteries' are all manifestations of the relationship between the physical and spiritual, human and divine. Raphael is the "Divine instructor," an adept who initiates Adam into religious truths only known from divine revelation.

NOTES

1. Quotations from Jonson's "To Penshurst" and "To Sir Robert Wroth" are from The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson, ed. William B. Hunter, Jr. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), pp. 77-84, Carew's "To Saxham" and "To My Friend GN from Wrest" from Minor Poets of the Seventeenth Century, ed. R. G. Howarth (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1953), pp. 85-6 and 134-37, and Herrick's "Panegyrick to Sir Lewis Pemberton" from The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 146-49. Subsequent references and line numbers appear in parenthesis in my text.
2. Citations from Milton's poetry in my text are to Complete Poems and Major Prose, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957). 5.328. Subsequent references are within my text.
3. Quoted in Dennis Brailsford, Sport and Society Elizabeth to Anne (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967), p. 101.
4. Arnold Williams, The Common Expositor: An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527-1633 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1948), pp. 160-61.
5. Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), p. 128.
6. The Works of John Milton, ed. Frank Allen Patterson et al., (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931-38), V. 185. Subsequent references are within my text as CE.
7. Stevie Davies, Images of Kingship in Paradise Lost (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1983), p. 33.
8. Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, The English Country House, A Grand Tour (Boston: Little Brown, 1985), p. 120.

9. Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of Aristocracy, 1558-1642 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 597-60.
10. John C. Ulreich, Jr., "Milton on the Eucharist: Some Second Thoughts about Sacramentalism," in Milton and the Middle Ages (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1982), pp. 37-44.
11. "Paradise Lost" and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), pp. 207-08.
12. Quoted in Mark Girouard, Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 83-4.
13. Milton's Theatrical Epic: The Invention and Design of Paradise Lost (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 86.
14. Selections from "The History of the Rebellion and Civil War" and "The Life by Himself," ed. G. Huehns (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), p. 65.