MONUMENTS OF HUMAN ANTIQUITY:

WILLIAM BLAKE'S *MILTON, A POEM*

AS A TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF HUMAN CREATIVITY

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by

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The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the thesis entitled

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and hereby certify that, in their opinion, it is worthy of acceptance.

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Dedication

For my parents, Rich and Julene Sullivan, who have always pushed me to do everything to the best of my ability no matter what.

And for my wife, Stephanie, who keeps me grounded in the daily engagements of life and who continues to amaze me on a daily basis. My debts to her are incalculable.

"Opposition is True Friendship."

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the influences of the eighteenth-century cultural interest in Antiquity on William Blake's illuminated book *Milton, a Poem*. Beginning with William Stukeley's guidebooks, *Stonehenge, A Temple Restor'd to the British Druids* and *Abury A Temple of the British Druids*, this thesis traces how Blake employs the cultural interest in and language of British Antiquities as a way to advance his cooperative theory of art. Branching from Stukeley's influence, this project also examines Blake's appropriation of antiquarian print culture and English garden culture in *Milton*. The second chapter outlines how aspects of Blake's illuminated books, such as mutable page order and greater variability in printing results, encourage participatory reading. These practices, along with the highly resistant full-page designs, call for interaction on the part of the reader. The third chapter takes up the many garden-related images and plot points in *Milton*, examining these elements in regards to eighteenth-century garden theory and practice. In both the spaces described and the actions taken in those spaces, *Milton* advocates for activity and engagement over pleasure and relaxation. This study seeks a more inclusive mapping of the ways Blake applies the idea of cooperative artistic creativity as an alternative to the more traditional model of art as a linear, one-way process.

Introduction:

Monuments of Antiquity: Pure, Sexual, and Human

We do not
want either Greek or Roman Models if we are but
just & true to our own Imaginations, those Worlds
of Eternity in which we shall live for ever; in
Jesus our Lord (Milton 2:22-6)[1]

A study of William Blake's short epic *Milton, a Poem* will naturally be concerned

with the idea of predecessors and successors. The plot of the poem, in a massive

simplification, can be described as relating how the poetic spirit of John Milton passed

from Heaven into William Blake's foot, causing an apocalyptic vision. A more

informative summary would be that *Milton* is Blake's elaboration on how both the

inspiration and creation of art are cooperative processes. The poem is rife with echoes of

Milton's work, particularly *Paradise Lost. Milton* is also the most clearly

autobiographical of Blake's major works, relating closely to his unsatisfactory

collaboration with William Hayley during a three-year stay in Felpham from 1800 to

1803. Both of these relationships are of course tied to the process of making art, and they

are well-documented and ably discussed by scholars far more learned than myself.

However, some other sources of inspiration for this poem have not received similar

scholarly attention. This thesis seeks to develop and encourage a more inclusive study of

Blake's *Milton* and its possible inspirations through an examination of how Blake

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1   I refer throughout to the Princeton University Press edition of *Milton*, which represents copy C. Plate 2,
    the Preface, appears only in copies A and B. It was initially part of copy C, but Blake removed it.
    Essick and Viscomi include the plate from copy B as a supplementary illustration.

addresses the creative process, focusing particularly on Antiquity, a concept of utmost

importance to the eighteenth-century conception of cultural inheritance and creativity.

"Antiquity" can refer to an old, discarded item such as a pot or urn that is found

and dusted off, to a section of Roman pavement uncovered during an excavation, to an

old or ruined building, or to an ideal of human culture (or lack thereof) imagined to have

existed in the distant past. This last definition imbues all the physical manifestations,

such as coins and buildings, with its aura. In fact, the use of the term implies a sort of

value judgment or assignation of value to the object so named. An old coin and an

antique coin are significantly different in value. The old coin is worth only its value as

money, while the antique has a higher-than-original monetary value and additional value

as a piece of history or of a collection. It carries an aura associated with the period of its

minting and the culture that produced it.

Labeling an object as an Antiquity or a person as one of the Ancients is a way of

identifying or embodying a set of values. Most, if not all, cultures esteem a group of

Ancients for wisdom and knowledge greater than the present norm. Today, in America,

the ancients are the Founding Fathers. This heterogeneous group of landowners,

generals, philosophers, inventors and politicians has been amalgamated under this

amorphous term, allowing proponents of nearly any philosophy or political leaning to

claim authority for their views via the Founding Fathers. The Texas Board of Education's

recent party-line vote changing history textbook standards to remove most references to

Thomas Jefferson from the curriculum illustrates this point quite clearly. By excluding

one of the key figures behind religious freedom in America, the Texas Board of

Education has attempted to create a more unitary, more Christian vision of the Founding Fathers.[2]

In eighteenth-century England, Antiquity meant, primarily, a unified image of ancient Greek and Roman cultures in all their glory. The great philosophers and their schools, the Athenian democracy and the Roman republic, the glories of empire and the beauties preserved in sculpture and architecture all rolled together to form a shining model for everything that England, in its imperial infancy, aspired to be. This imperial aspiration led to a culture-wide emulation of the ancients. Sir Joshua Reynolds, the first President of the Royal Academy of Arts, provides a clear explanation of the neoclassical endeavor in art:

> We must not rest contented even in this general study of the moderns; we must trace back to its fountain-head; to that source from whence they drew their principal excellencies, the monuments of pure antiquity. All the inventions and thoughts of the Antients [sic], whether conveyed to us in statues, bas-reliefs, intaglios, cameos, or coins, are to be sought after and carefully studied. (qtd. in Siegel 41)[3]

The careful copying of Greco-Roman forms was closely tied to English national identity. Thus, images of Antiquity were used to celebrate the triumphs of the rising British Empire: the Roman public square was recreated in London's Trafalgar Square, Wellington became memorialized in a statue of Achilles, and Milton became the modern Homer.

However, as the study of Greco-Roman antiquity continued, it became clear that the idea of a unitary antiquity beneath Reynolds's "monuments of pure antiquity" was a

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2 See James C. McKinley, Jr. "Texas Conservatives Win Curriculum Change" *New York Times.* March 12, 2010. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/03/13/education/13texas.html

3   Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art,* ed. Robert Wark (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1959), 106.

foundation of sand rather than rock. Jonah Siegel explains the difficulty:

> It was only when viewed from a distance that the figures of
> antiquity maintained their coherent unity. Once things were
> retrieved and considered closely, it was hard to feel the
> same way about them, not only because of the loss of the
> desire that had motivated the search, but because of the
> troubling nature of the objects themselves. . . . exploration
> and study revealed that the past was quite a different place
> from the one celebrated. (Siegel 55)

The discoveries of Herculaneum (1738) and Pompeii (1748) were the most significant

contributions to the fragmentation of Antiquity. The boldly sexual art found in these

cities created, to borrow a term from Siegel, a "sexualized antiquity" (64). For some, the

revelation of a licentious past was liberating. The sexual imagery of antiquity contributed

to eighteenth-century pornography and to the slightly more dignified exhibitions of

"attitudes" popularized by Emma Hamilton, the famous mistress of Admiral Nelson.

These "arty strip show[s]" consisted of "a kind of performance art in which she

impersonated classical statues in the flesh … in a state of undress appropriate to the

subjects represented" (Cox 622). Naturally, more conservative observers were shocked

and disgusted that their ideal of refinement had proven to be so tawdry.

As the public became aware that the Greco-Roman ideal was based on a

misapprehension and, worse yet for some, that new knowledge of these idolized cultures

revealed aspects that violated contemporary English mores, alternative strategies were

invented to restore that aura of beauty, strength, and authority that came with the myth of

a pure Antiquity. One strategy was to replace the larger idea of antiquity with the artist as

the object of veneration; another way was to change the location of the original antiquity

(Siegel 74).

These two strategies were employed most prominently in a nationalistic effort to establish British Antiquity. The figures of British literature became a new set of Ancients—signaled famously by Samuel Johnson's characterization of Shakespeare as an ancient in his 1765 preface to the Bard's plays. This project also sparked a re-evaluation of the ruder poetry and prose of earlier British literature. By the mid-eighteenth century literary criticism had made a sea-change. The previously-espoused model of refinement was replaced with a model of decline, and "critics found the linguistic distance and aesthetic difficulty of Shakespeare and Spenser (and occasionally Chaucer as well) important elements of what made these writers canonical" (Kramnick 1090). The championing of primitive British literature reached its apex in James Macpherson's "translations" of the Ossian poems, with their rough, non-metrical construction and strong aggrandizement of an imagined Celtic past.

Beyond literary endeavors, the movement for British antiquities sought historical evidence to justify a claim to a pre-Grecian Antiquity. One of the most influential figures in this movement was William Stukeley, whose guidebooks to the megalithic ruins at Stonehenge and Avebury attempted to establish through an elaborate argument that the sites were constructed by pre-Mosaic Hebrews who came to England from Phoenicia, and that the Druidic religion was a sort of proto-Christianity. While his theories were not universally accepted, elements of his project made it exceedingly popular. By transforming the ancient Druids into Christians, Stukeley's project raised the Ancient Britons to a higher stature than the Greeks and Romans. Not only did Stukeley's Christian Druids draw on more ancient knowledge, they were also cleansed of the

paganistic taint that had troubled the neoclassical admirers of Greece and Rome. Another

powerful positive for Stukeley's theory was the presence of symbols for his version of

British Antiquity—the megaliths. Traces of these great stone structures were

spread across many parts of the British landscape and were already associated with

national pride and religion.

Blake's epic *Milton, a Poem* takes up Stukeley's powerful use of the monuments

of British Antiquity to make an oppositional statement about the idea of Antiquity. In

reaction to the plethora of cultural activity attempting to claim a stronger connection to

the authority of the Ancients, Blake makes a powerful case against such a need. In

typical fashion for Blake, he employs the language and imagery of British Antiquity to

denounce the very premises of national Antiquities. Blake provides a more direct

statement of his position than we see in his poetry in his *Descriptive Catalogue* of 1809.

The description of the historical painting "The Ancient Britons," includes a polemic

against the idea of privileging one nation's Antiquity over another: "The antiquities of

every Nation under Heaven, is no less sacred than that of the Jews. They are the same

thing as Jacob Bryant, and all antiquaries have proved. How other antiquities came to be

neglected and disbelieved, while those of the Jews are collected and arranged, is an

enquiry, worthy of both the Antiquarian and the Divine" (*BPD* 428-9). Blake's

opposition to the mainstream is doubly clear when considered in light of the fact that this

language appears in a text ostensibly designed to sell the painting being described. A

typical artist would gladly espouse the nationalism inherent in most historical paintings,

but Blake takes this as an opportunity to voice his opposition to the aesthetics of the

academy and its abjection to the ancient artist:

> It has been said to the Artist, take the Apollo for the model
> of your beautiful Man and the Hercules for your strong
> Man, and the Dancing Fawn for your Ugly Man. Now he
> comes to his trial. He knows that what he does is not
> inferior to the grandest Antiques. Superior they cannot be,
> for human power cannot go beyond either what he does, or
> what they have done, it is the gift of God, it is inspiration
> and vision. (*BPD* 429)

Here Blake gets to the heart of the matter—the ancient artist is no different from the modern artist. Both being human, the potential of their art is equal. Rather than seeking to redeem or reunify a fragmented or "sexualized" Antiquity, Blake envisions a still-existing unitary Antiquity in the equality of all men through divine inspiration. This is the crux of Blake's formulation of incompletion or fallen creation as "Sexual" and inspired, fully creative work as "Human."

In *Milton,* Blake takes the idea and the language of the attempts to restore fragmented or Sexual Antiquity into a pure, unitary form, particularly the project of British Antiquity, and applies it as a way to explore the act of artistic creation. Throughout the corpus of Blake's illuminated books, the essential difficulty is represented as the fall of Albion, the Ancient Man, from a state of Human or "Fourfold" completion to an incomplete, Sexual or "Threefold" state via the loss of harmony between his faculties. Rather than using Antiquity to consider the potential, destiny, or grandeur of a nation, Blake employs this idea to discuss the capabilities of the human imagination.

My inquiry into Blake's approach to a fragmented, sexual antiquity begins with William Stukeley's guidebooks to Stonehenge and Avebury. The first chapter examines the broad array of similarities between Stukeley's texts and *Milton*. I find that they

employ similar means, drawing on similar aesthetics, but use them to advance starkly different ends.

Finding that the correlation between these texts is strong, I move forward in the second chapter to look at these texts through the lens of antiquarian printmaking (a link between the two men, who both made drawings for such publications) and the Picturesque aesthetic that binds these works together. Examining eighteenth-century antiquarian prints reveals that they operate by evoking an emotional response meant to simulate the wonder of encountering antiquities in person. Blake's illuminated books work in this way as well, but the unique qualities of his printmaking process and the finished product create a much more interactive experience.

Another important link between Stukeley and Blake is that they both draw heavily on garden aesthetics. Stukeley's involvement with gardens has to do with domestic tourism and the guides to aristocratic homes and gardens whose style he emulates. Blake naturally incorporates the theme in his extensive engagement with the works of John Milton, particularly *Paradise Lost,* and he also draws upon more recent trends and discourse in garden culture. The final chapter explores the aesthetics of the English landscape garden and how Blake's division and classification of spaces in *Milton* applies garden aesthetics. Interpreting *Milton* in this light, I find that Blake draws upon contemporaneous ideas about the use of landscaped spaces to advocate for a cooperative model of art in which the viewer or reader's engagement is essential.

Chapter 1:

British Antiquity and Human Antiquity: Stukeley's Project Regenerated

> *And did those feet in ancient time,*
> *Walk upon Englands mountains green:*
> *And was the holy Lamb of God,*
> *On Englands pleasant pastures seen!* (2: 27-30)

Much has been made of William Stukeley's influence on the work of William

Blake, but this attention has focused primarily on the broad, thematic similarities or

theological issues and not on the minute particulars of the two men's work. Upon looking

into Stukeley's guidebooks, *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, I noticed some similarities to Blake's

short epic *Milton.* Perhaps the best way to begin a discussion is simply to enumerate the

similarities to be found between the works. Of course, as many commentaries note, the

two projects share a theme of national rebirth. Stukeley seeks to find a link between pre-

Roman British antiquity and modern British culture and religion, especially as practiced

in the Church of England. Blake's *Milton* makes a similar move by placing the

prospective site of Jerusalem, the city of inspiration, in London and thus imbuing

England with a sort of poetic preeminence. Much has been made of this localism in

Blake's work, including the conversion of the poem in *Milton's* prelude into an alternative

English national anthem, "Jerusalem." Whether Blake intended such overt nationalism or

not, it has been taken up by some readers in that light. Another broad, thematic similarity

is in both men's concern about true religion and idolatry. For Stukeley, an Anglican

minister, this is about defending orthodoxy, while Blake's project moves this concern to

the realm of art. Underlying these thematic similarities, we can also see a multitude of

affinities between the texts as well as the illustrations of Blake's and Stukeley's works.

These links are prevalent enough for me to believe that Blake must have been familiar

with Stukeley's guidebooks and likely used one or both of them as templates for aspects

of the structure of *Milton*.

Stukeley's presentation of a site within, and as a part of, its surroundings was an

innovation in the way antiquarians presented monuments and ruins and provides a

suitable starting place for outlining the fundamental parallels with *Milton*. David

Haycock explains the progression:

> In keeping with the text, the plates to both books gradually
> draw the reader into the landscape of the "temples." …
> This is a most dramatic and imaginative introduction to the
> work, and one to which Stukeley devoted considerable care
> and attention in the various versions and amendments he
> made between 1721 and 1724. It provided a detailed and
> attractive plan for the reader unable to visit the site in
> person. (71)

We can see this most clearly in the series of plates at the beginning of *Stonehenge*. Tables

III, V, and VII show first a wide prospect of the countryside with Stonehenge in the

distance near the horizon, then a closer view of the entire circle looking directly at the

entrance, and last a close-up looking through the trilithon that forms the entrance. This

last frame, titled "A peep into the sanctum sanctorum," looks into the temple—drawn as

Stukeley imagines it looked in completion—with druids welcoming the visitors. Haycock

heaps praise on Stukeley's technique, which "offered a perception of the whole context of

the Celtic landscape that easily outrivals even modern guidebooks" (71). In *Abury,*

Stukeley again presents the prospect from a distance leading to another imaginative

drawing of the temple in its original form (Table VIII). Indeed, looking at the plates

while reading the text does allow the reader to gather a strong impression of not only the

ruins in question, but also the situation of the surrounding landscapes—Stukeley even

provides educated surmises as to the reasons for the choice of those particular locations.

Haycock continues, "at Stonehenge, he was the earliest observer really to draw *all* the

surrounding countryside into his interpretation of the site" (72, emphasis in original). If

Stukeley was the first, then we might reasonably assume that when Blake introduces the

landscape in a similar fashion at the beginning of *Milton,* it is due to Stukeley's influence.

    Milton outlines a mental geography of artistic inspiration and creation—the

setting for his monuments of Human Antiquity—presenting these noncorporeal spaces in

a topographical way similar to Stukeley's. Setting the scene early in the book, Blake

pictorially represents a slow approach on plates 3(a) and 4, and by outlining the

formation of sensory perception in the text of those plates, he also presents to us the

domain of "*all* the surrounding countryside." The pictorial approach is given via three

designs on the two plates. About a third of the way down plate 3(a), a row of megalithic

ruins is presented in a distant view between the lines of the poem, and at the bottom of

the plate, more trilithons appear in middle distance. On the next plate, a gigantic trilithon

and another stone dominate the design. The sequence mirrors Stukeley's pictorial

approaches to Stonehenge and Avebury quite closely. However strong the resemblance to

Stukeley's work is here, I find what Blake is doing in the text even more interesting.

    In this section of the text, Blake gives us the setting, principal characters and the

basis of the action in the Bard's Song section, more broadly presenting the basic issue of

the poem. Preceding the visual sequence, Blake makes a preliminary invocation and introduces the song, which begins with a narrative of the formation or creation of the senses. This section (2[b]: 9-27) echoes the creation myths of Genesis, presenting fallen creation through the limitations of the physical senses. Next, we see Los divide into threefold sexuality, and Satan and his brothers are introduced. Here Blake introduces the central problem that drives the story: "The Sexual is Threefold: the Human is Fourfold" (2[b]: 28-3[a]: 5). Additionally, the conflict that drives the Bard's Song is also presented in the following lines, as Los reprimands Satan, "Anger me not! thou canst not drive the Harrow in pitys path" (3[a]: 6-18). Having already created a multi-layered landscape, Blake moves on to transpose this onto the England of his time, invoking a litany of places in England, making it clear that the problems of Eternity just described in the Bard's Song apply to the physical world (3[a]: 21-5: 5). With such a thorough explication of locations (various places but all the same since "All things begin & end in Albions ancient Druid rocky shore" [4: 24]), it is clear that Blake is doing more than merely copying a scheme for presenting landscapes pictorially—he incorporates the idea of presenting the landscape thoroughly into the introduction of the principal characters and plot of the poem. While other epics take similar steps to situate the characters and plots within a present context, emphasizing the relevance of the material, the collaboration between the verbal and pictorial elements in *Milton* follows Stukeley's approach closely enough to be noteworthy.

Other scholars have discussed Stukeley's pictorial influence on Blake, but none have studied this relationship in depth. V. A. De Luca, in his exploration of the sublime

in Blake, shows us the final plate of *Jerusalem* juxtaposed with Stukeley's speculative design of the Avebury "serpent temple," but does not expand his commentary beyond the realm of time and the sublime effect (172). He also comments on *Stonehenge*: "In his treatise on Stonehenge, Stukeley offers, in various rhetorical flourishes and scholarly asides, hints enough of this sort to activate an imagination like Blake's" (De Luca 173). De Luca then goes on to note the personification of stones and the dubious etymologies that include Stonehenge being a Saxon term for Hanging Stones, but does not take the time to do more than note this concordance.

The personification of stones leads us to the next parallel, the transmutation of men into rocks and vice versa. Stukeley's guidebooks maintain a strong relationship between men and rocks, which reappears continually in both volumes. In *Stonehenge*, the metaphor is made explicit: "Other buildings fall by piece meal, but here a single stone is a ruin, and lies like the haughty carcase of Goliath" (12). Stukeley carries forward the idea of a carcase in *Abury*, as he records the destruction of the stones for building material or to clear space. Repeatedly, Stukeley mourns the loss of megaliths with epitaphs, quoting Virgil and Ovid. This practice is carried forward from *Stonehenge*, in which Stukeley deploys an epitaph for the trilithon that fell on the altar (28), but it is much more pronounced in *Abury* due to the presence of a village on the site. He even turns to locals for history and remembrances of the departed stones: "Reuben Horsall clerk of the parish a sensible man and lover of antiquity, remembers it standing. And when my late lord Winchelsea (Heneage) was here with me, we saw three wooden wedges driven into it, in order to break it in pieces" (*Abury* 22). Not only does this

passage have the ring of an obituary, it also has the character of a witness's affidavit—

vouching for the reputation of another witness—as though the stone were a victim of mob

violence. In *Abury,* Stukeley also turns to folklore, relating a story from Camden's

Britannia of a ruin near Enston: "the country people have a fond tradition, that they [the

megaliths] were once men, turn'd into stones" (qtd. in Stukeley, *Abury* 13). Of course,

such folklore is not the only source for Stukeley to get this concept, nor did Blake solely

draw on Stukeley in relating stones to men. De Luca points out that Blake had many

possible sources for this sort of analogy:

> The notion that the earth's craggy surface is God's dead or
> comatose body . . . is neither a theological conundrum nor a
> private poetic extravagance. To arrive at the notion, Blake
> had available to him the mechanist philosophers' widely
> held view that God, in Ernest Tuveson's words, "coincides
> with rather than transcends His universe" and that nature is
> "the very image, so far as we can comprehend it, of God
> Himself, in his extended omnipresence." (163)[4]

Additionally, Blake draws on the Biblical tradition of the body as a temple. Nevertheless,

upon a closer look at the ways Blake uses this theme, I think the influence of Stukeley in

this matter will be clear.

In *Milton*, Blake mentions Druid temples and stones in general as men or men's

souls, mirroring Stukeley's usage. The Bard's song laments the fallen condition of man

and looks forward to restoration using the language of masonry:

> When shall Jerusalem return & overspread all the Nations
> Return: return to Lambeths Vale O building of human souls
> Thence stony Druid Temples overspread the Island white
> And thence from Jerusalems ruins. . from her walls of salvation
> And praise: thro the whole Earth were reard . . . (4: 18-22)

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4   De Luca's note: see Tuveson, "Space, Deity, and the Natural Sublime," 28, 38.

This "building of human souls" is Jerusalem, which has been raided and "Thence stony Druid Temples" have been "reard" from its ruins. Here we can see an interesting reversal—the stones in *Milton* are being stolen to build druid temples rather than to build a village. In Stukeley's works, especially *Abury*, much space is dedicated to tracing the ongoing loss of the ruins to builders who desired materials (many buildings in the village of Avebury are made from the temple's demolished megaliths). Curiously, the editors, Robert N. Essick and Joseph Viscomi, make no mention of the destruction of Druid temples in the notes to this plate, though the reversal is clear.

Perhaps the most explicit of the associations between rocks and men in *Milton* comes in Hillel/Lucifer's speech. Hillel/Lucifer, one of the Seven Angels who stand guard over Milton in Eternity, explains the angels' nature:

> We are not Individuals but States: Combinations of Individuals
> We were Angels of the Divine Presence: & were Druids in Annandale
> Compelled to combine into Form by Satan, the Spectre of Albion.
> Who made himself a God & destroyed the Human Form Divine
> (32*[e]: 10-13)

In light of this passage, perhaps my use of the term "men" is limiting for (or even antithetical to) what Blake likens to stones and buildings. As Hillel/Lucifer explains, the seven Starry Ones are "States" who are given Human form and thus escape petrification. Later in the speech, Hillel/Lucifer admonishes Milton to "Distinguish therefore States from Individuals in those States" (32*[e]: 22), explaining that Individuals can pass from one state to another. The States are thought processes such as Reason and Memory. He goes on to elaborate on the difference between the states that were spared from Satan's compulsion and those that were hardened into stone:

> But the Divine Humanity & Mercy gave us a Human Form
> Because we were combind in Freedom & holy Brotherhood
> While those combind by Satans Tyranny first in the blood of War
> And Sacrifice & next. in Chains of imprisonment: are Shapeless Rocks
> Retaining only Satans Mathematic Holiness Length: Bredth & Highth
> Calling the Human Imagination: which is the Divine Vision & Fruition
> In which Man liveth eternally: madness & blasphemy. against
> Its own Qualities, which are Servants of Humanity, not Gods or Lords
> (32*[e]: 14-21)

Here Blake sets up a clear opposition between Human forms, associated with "Freedom & holy Brotherhood," and the "Shapeless Rocks" of sacrifice, war, and imprisonment.

One of the States Hillel/Lucifer enumerates is Satan, which is associated with selfhood, and selfhood is also a central concern both in Stukeley's guidebooks and in *Milton,* though in different senses. In both, stones are the principal building materials used to build these selfhoods. Stukeley's project sees selfhood as positive in the form of national pride and is largely occupied with building up British identity through his syncretic history of Britain. *Stonehenge*'s popularity was at least partially tied to public interest in the antiquarian nationalism of the eighteenth century. The physical remnants of Druidic culture were the centerpiece of Stukeley's claims of a glorious national past for Britain, and "Stonehenge was presented as a unique monument to the skill and strength of the ancient Britons, and as such a symbol of patriotic pride as well as an object of curiosity" (Sweet 134). This emphasis on rebuilding went far enough for people to build replicas of British structures, such as megaliths and castles, for gardens, a practice that parallels the more widespread use of Greek and Roman-style temples. Stukeley himself actually oversaw the building of a mini-Stonehenge for the Earl of Pembroke's garden at Wilton.

While Stukeley and others built replicas of the Druidic megaliths, Blake's project

calls for the destruction of these Druid temples, which, in his analogy, can only happen

through the destruction and rebuilding of Milton, an icon of Englishness, through self-

annihilation. When we view Satan's transformation into the very "opake" selfhood that

Milton descends to destroy, this reading is reinforced:

> Thus Satan rag'd amidst the Assembly! and his bosom grew
> Opake against the Divine Vision; the paved terraces of
> His bosom inwards shone with fires, but the stones becoming opake!
> Hid him from sight. in an extreme blackness and darkness (7: 30-33)

So Satan and opacity or selfhood are linked with stones—this link is carried forward later

when Blake/Milton/Los witnesses Satan near the climax of the poem: "I also stood in

Satan's bosom and beheld his desolations! / A ruind Man: a ruind building of God not

made with hands" (39: 15-16). Once again, as he does consistently throughout the poem,

Blake casts Satan as a building and a ruin. Certainly, the relation to *Paradise Lost* works

strongly here as well; for example, Milton describes Beelzebub in Book II as resembling

> A Pillar of State; deep on his Front engraven
> Deliberation sat, and public care;
> And Princely counsel in his face yet shone,
> Majestic though in ruin … (II: 302-05)

This fact does not detract from Stukeley's influence in Blake's work. Rather, it simply

shows that viewing Blake through Stukeley adds another layer of meaning to the Miltonic

paradigm at work in the poem.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Hillel/Lucifer's speech is that it provides a

clear interpretation of what meanings accompany flesh and stone in the poem. Satan is

linked with rocks and buildings—and not just any buildings. The rocks take the form of

prisons for States. S. Foster Damon defines States as "stages of error, which the Divine

Mercy creates (or defines) so that the State and not the Individual in it shall be blamed"

(386). In their petrification, the States are transformed from agents of freedom and

redemption to the rocks of altars for human sacrifice. I tend to think of the States as

thought processes, or more colloquially, mental states, which become deformed and

trapped in systems of belief. Thus forgiveness and self-sacrifice ossify into state religion

and curiosity about the physical world hardens into materialism. They become

"Shapeless Rocks / Retaining only Satans Mathematic Holiness Length: Bredth &

Highth." (32*[e]: 17-18). Through Satan's self-imbuing influence, these States gain bulk,

but they retain only this and lose something of their initial character, thus becoming

"Shapeless." The imprisonment within a system of Newtonian measurement carries

forward a theme found throughout Blake's work while also presenting another connection

to Stukeley.

  We can find some clarity in the starkly different meanings stone takes on in the

two men's works through Stukeley's discussion of closed temples and open-air temples.

Stukeley ascribes the ancient practice of building open-air temples to the idea that God

cannot be contained. But this practice is done away with in the building of the Hebrew

Temple at Jerusalem. Stukeley explains the reasoning:

> In time, by the corruption of mankind, these places were
> desecrated to idolatrous purposes; and writers pervert the
> intent of them. So that God Almighty, raising up the Mosaic
> Dispensation, was oblig'd to interdict the very use and
> practice of these open temples, and introduce the cover'd
> one of the tabernacle; by way of opposition to heathenism,
> as well as with other important views. (*Stonehenge* 52)

Stukeley here highlights an issue that is also important in *Milton,* the enclosure of God in a church. Stukeley claims the stones of Stonehenge and Avebury as markers of both natural religion and state religion (which are nearly one and the same for Stukeley), concepts that Blake repudiates. Blake parallels this in the repeated enclosure of characters within the bosoms of other characters (often described as temples or tents) and in the characterization of rocks as prisons noted above. All of these instances take on negative connotations within the poem,. In Blake's thinking, to hide away God in a closed temple, or within a rock, is an act of jealous protection and a means of separating oneself from others, thus creating selfhood, or Satan. The imputation of idolatry we see in Stukeley's work reflects Satan's cry "I am God alone / There is no other! let all obey my principles of moral individuality" (7: 25-6). Blake's most powerful repudiation of this enclosure comes in Milton's confrontation with Satan. Milton refuses to harm Satan, saying,

> Satan! my Spectre! I know my power thee to annihilate
> And be a greater in thy place, & be thy Tabernacle
> A covering for thee to do thy will, till one greater comes
> And smites me as I smote thee & becomes my covering
> Such are the Laws of thy false Heavns! . . . (39: 29-33)

Rather than striking Satan down and becoming a Tabernacle for him, Milton joins with Ololon and the Angels of the Divine Presence to become "One Man Jesus the Saviour," importantly a human form (45[44]: 11). As Jon Mee helpfully points out, "Blake's history of religion … implies that any religion which worships a deity outside of the human is in danger of forgetting that 'All deities reside in the human breast'" (132).5

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5   Mee's note: see the Preface to Jacob Bryant's *A New System* 3 vols., 2nd edn. (London, 1775). Essick discusses Blake's engraving for Bryant's book in *William Blake, Printmaker*, 31.

Blake upholds the mind, not some rock, as the place to be close to God, and thus

emphasizes Human proportions over Mathematical.

Stukeley takes great pains in *Stonehenge* to delineate the Druids' units of

measurement, and Blake makes a similar move in *Milton*. Central to the justification of

Stukeley's patriarchal theory (so central it appears in the first chapter) is the assertion that

the megalithic ruins measure out evenly in Hebrew cubits. Not only is this key to

Stukeley's assertion—it is also a large part of his refutation of John Webb's theories about

Stonehenge, which takes up a large part of the third chapter. He goes so far as to provide

an English foot-to-Hebrew cubit conversion table (*Stonehenge* Table VI). Blake also

carefully defines the units with which he measures time and space. After an explanation

of the division of time and the actions of the Sons of Los and the Daughters of Beulah in

the succession of moments, he defines the basic unit of time:

> Every Time less than a pulsation of the artery
> Is equal in its period & value to Six Thousand Years.
> For in its Period the Poets Work is Done: and all the Great
> Events of Time start forth & are concievd in such a Period
> Within a Moment: a Pulsation of the Artery. (27: 62-28: 3)

After this there is an explanation of space in which Blake contradicts the Newtonian

vision of the physical world, and goes on to posit a new measure for space:

> For every Space larger than a red Globule of Mans blood,
> Is visionary: and is created by the Hammer of Los
> And every Space smaller than a Globule of Mans blood. opens
> Into Eternity of which this vegetable Earth is but a shadow;
> The red Globule is the unwearied Sun by Los created
> To measure Time and Space to mortal Men, every morning. (28: 19-24)

This section on inner and outer spaces, just like the section before on the pulsation of the

artery, is Blake's assertion of a correct unit of measure. For Blake, as for Stukeley,

establishing a system of measure that makes his theories coherent is essential. To do this,

Blake must take control over time and space, defining them in human terms. By

establishing a human unit of measure, Blake seeks to find a connection between the

antiquity of Fourfold or unfallen humanity and Threefold humanity—the central dilemma

of the poem. That is, Blake is reaching toward the past of Human Antiquity

(paradoxically found in the radical present) in a move similar to Stukeley's project to

establish that British Antiquity is also Hebrew or proto-Christian Antiquity.

Stukeley's method of presenting his treatise on British antiquity is curiously

unique for mythography, but typical for topography. He gets to the purpose of his

method as he describes the approach to Avebury:

> The whole temple of *Abury* may be consider'd as a picture,
> and it really is so. Therefore the founders wisely contriv'd,
> that a spectator should have an advantageous prospect of it,
> as he approached within view. To give the reader at once a
> foreknowledge of this great and wonderful work, and the
> magnificence of the plan upon which it is built, I have
> designed it scenographically in Table VIII. the eye being
> somewhat more elevated than on the neighbouring hill of
> *Wansdike*, which is its proper point of sight, being south
> from it. (*Abury* 18)

The vista referred to is the same image that Blake carried forward into his design in

Jerusalem, plate 100—a wide-angle view that incorporates the entire temple structure and

surrounding area, including Silbury Hill, as it might have looked when in use. Haycock

takes notice of this technique, along with his inclusion of illustrations of each monument

from many points of view: "He [Stukeley] even included views *from* Stonehenge, with

the viewer's back to the monument itself—an apparently original innovation for an

antiquarian image" (71). The effect of this technique on antiquarian publications was

profound, as Robert Essick explains:

> In his apprenticeship years, Blake had already begun to consider the same subject from different points of view, out of each creating distinct but interrelated works of art. Mechanically predictable views of monuments are of course far less sophisticated than Blake's psychological perspectivism, yet the same basic mental processes generated the dual perspective offered by *Songs of Innocence and of Experience,* and are repeated by the engaged reader as he investigates the relationships between those contrary states. . . . Blake's fourfold levels of vision, important to many of his poems . . . are his most complex development of those simple forms of multiple perspective learned from Basire. (37)

Here Essick has made a connection for me that I will strengthen momentarily. Besides borrowing Stukeley's pictorial effect, Blake applies this idea by presenting the various landscapes in his poem from many different angles.

The most striking example of multiple perspectives in *Milton* comes in the description of Milton's descent from Eden to Blake's foot in Generation. The first twenty lines of plate 14 illustrate what Blake repeats in greater detail in the following text, depicting Milton's view of his own descent (14: 21-35) and various characters' views of the descent (14: 36-17[d]: 3). In the first two lines, "As when a man dreams, he reflects not that his body sleeps, / Else he would wake," Blake alerts the reader to the idea that the perception of reality depends upon the viewer's status. He then goes on to explain Milton's added awareness due to the aid of the Seven Angels of the Presence, who "gave him still perceptions of his Sleeping Body" (14: 4). Next, following Milton, Blake explains, "His real and immortal Self; was as appeard to those / Who dwell in immortality, as One sleeping on a couch / . . . / But to himself he seemd a wanderer lost in

dreary night" (14: 11-12, 16). And to the Spectres he appears as "a trail of light as of a comet" (14: 19). This quick summary of how the inhabitants of Eternity view Milton's descent works as a microcosm of the descriptions given in the following plates from the perspectives of Milton, Blake, Los and Enitharmon, Urizen, Tharmas, and Luvah.

Having found that Stukeley's style of presentation carries over into a few fairly obvious aspects of *Milton,* I would like to see what other styles or traditions might carry through the two men's work. Haycock's qualification that Stukeley's method of representation was new for *antiquarian* images opens the door to examine the traditions that Stukeley draws upon. Haycock goes on to relate that "We may even see this same idea expressed in the context of the eighteenth-century garden; for example, in Sarah Bridgeman's *View from the Brick Temple*, from her *Views of Stowe* (1739), where it is the view rather than the structure that is significant in the printed image" and a similar approach and departure sequence of images is presented (72). This style of presentation was probably influenced by architectural drawing as well as garden aesthetics.

The way Stukeley emulates popular guidebooks to country estates and gardens is illustrated aptly in an aside about the Druid cove that still stands in Avebury: "King Charles II. in his progress this way, rode into the yard [of the inn which was built there in more modern times], on purpose to view it" (*Abury* 23). This is the sort of thing that would be noted of a country estate or garden to raise its prestige. And Stukeley's guidebooks indeed raised the prestige of the sites, functioning similarly to the guides he emulates. Haycock outlines the use and effect of *Stonehenge*: "The many works published in the years following 1740 clearly indicate its [Stonehenge's] growing

popularity as a tourist spot, with short guidebooks fulfilling an explanatory function similar to those published for visitors to the houses and gardens at Stowe and Blenheim" (71). Many of the guidebooks for Stonehenge were simply rip-offs of Stukeley's book, minus the historical theories. Notably, they operated similarly to the tour books to the gardens and homes of aristocracy, such as Stowe and Blenheim, walking the reader through the site to either enhance the experience of visiting or to simulate that experience for those who could not attend in person.

Comparing *Milton* to Stukeley's guidebooks in terms of their functions reveals an interesting dichotomy. On one hand, both Blake and Stukeley raise the profile and prestige of the spaces that they guide their readers through. Stukeley certainly helped to raise the profile of Stonehenge, as the many copycat publications attest. While Blake's work was not widely appreciated in his time, the enormity of Blake studies and his influence on studies in Romanticism certainly speak to the poet-painter's success in raising the profile of his mental spaces. On the other hand, their subjects (British Antiquity and Human Antiquity) reveal a sharp contrast in the political, religious and practical implications of the two men's work.

This comparison of Blake with Stukeley highlights the fact that they draw on shared pictorial aesthetics, which leads me to ask what those values are and how they play out in *Milton*. Since both men were involved in the production of antiquarian texts, my second chapter will explore this issue further by examining the practices of antiquarian printmaking. While Blake applies an aesthetic strongly influenced by his experience with antiquarian works, this chapter reveals how his innovative production

methods reflect an important distinction.

The similarities between Blake and Stukeley also draw attention to the presence of a landscape architecture theme in *Milton* that goes far beyond pictorial aesthetics. This difference leads me to ask what inflections can be found by reading *Milton* through the lens of eighteenth-century garden culture, guiding my inquiry in the final chapter. Blake's work reflects an awareness of contemporaneous garden aesthetics and history. In a move similar to his treatment of British Antiquity, Blake applies garden aesthetics to make an oppositional statement.

Stukeley's influence on Blake reveals itself in more than their shared interests in religion, nationalism, printmaking, and gardening. In regards to the organization of spiritual spaces, Blake's approach to Antiquity produces a dialogue with Stukeley's approach. In contrast to Stukeley, Blake insists on distinguishing between the material remains (the ruins or corpses) of British Antiquity and the creativity that animates such spaces and transforms them from mere rocks to something that lives in our imaginations.

Chapter 2:

Wordless Wonder and Wandering Words

> *I will not cease from Mental Fight,*
> *Nor shall my Sword sleep in my hand:*
> *Till we have built Jerusalem,*
> *In Englands green & pleasant Land* (2: 39-42)

In the Preface to *Milton*, Blake strikes upon the theme of British Antiquity,

speculating on the tradition in British folklore of Jesus coming to England during his

lifetime, and finishing with this statement of resolution and commitment for a project of

renewal. The title of Stukeley's guidebook, *Stonehenge A Temple Restor'd to the British*

Druids, also conjures the idea of renewal. These texts are not idiosyncratic in this; a

concern for the preservation and restoration of Antiquity prevailed in many eighteenth-

century texts.   For many, restoration of British antiquities meant raising contemporary

culture to the level of an imagined, unitary, Greco-Roman Antiquity—an aim that gained

importance as early archaeological finds uncovered a fragmented Antiquity. Stukeley

seems to have been an early adopter of this change, seeking to renew England by

restoring its ancient sites rather than aspiring to the Greco-Roman model. Blake applies

the same idea on both universal and ultra-local levels, seeking to restore Human

creativity. Notably, the above-quoted statement of resolution expresses the rebuilding of

Jerusalem as a cooperative process—he will not rest "Till we have built Jerusalem." This

chapter examines these projects of renewal, particularly in the sphere of antiquarian

printmaking, to find a means to better understand the cooperative process Blake proposes

to restore Human Antiquity from the "sexualized" or national antiquities.

There is a common theme to be found in antiquarian prints and *Milton* in the viewer's reaction to antiquities. Drawing on Maria Grazia Lolla's argument that antiquarian prints operate by invoking the awestruck admiration viewers experience in reaction to the monuments of antiquity, I find that Blake's books operate similarly, but with the difference that he asks for active participation on the part of his reader. Blake expresses this reciprocal relationship in two ways: by highlighting the act of creation through the variable construction of his books—which parallels his emphasis on the Moment of inspiration in *Milton*—and by creating monuments within the book that provoke reader engagement.

Projects for renewing Antiquity generate a great deal of interest and power from being essentially impossible. As Jonah Siegel puts it, "The energy of neoclassicism is derived from an anxious reaching toward what is not there" (54). The simple fact that the past is past, fundamentally unreachable—despite the many learned, enlightening, or creative attempts to reach it—creates a gap between the rhetoric of reclaiming Antiquity and the practices by which such attempts are made. This gap leads to the fact that antiquarian prints, which ostensibly preserve monuments of antiquity in lieu of the much more difficult task of restoration, actually preserve the admiration for Antiquity that motivates the commission of prints.

Stukeley and Blake were both actively involved in the antiquarian project of preserving antiquities through printmaking. In *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, Stukeley expresses the two major motivations behind such efforts: national/religious pride and appreciation

for the picturesque aesthetic. Blake's interest was also tied up with antiquarian topics, so much so that his tastes may have contributed to his apprenticeship in James Basire's shop. Basire held an exclusive contract as engraver to the Society of Antiquaries, and Blake worked for seven years (1772-79) as his apprentice, making drawings and engravings under Basire's supervision.[6] During this period, Basire produced a series of large, extravagant engravings of historical paintings, for which he was well paid by the Society of Antiquaries (Sweet 96). If not for the business generated through his contract with the Antiquaries, it is possible he would have had no need to take on Blake as an apprentice. The experience was clearly formative for Blake. Basire's linear style of engraving was taken up and modified by Blake, who shared antiquarian interests with his master (Essick 5).   Blake's artistic style was likely also influenced by working on, or at least near, these prints, which were "in tune with the vogue for history painting which currently dominated the Royal Academy, where two medals for paintings illustrating scenes of national history were awarded annually" (Sweet 97). Notably, Blake would later enter his own historical paintings in those competitions. Certainly the subjects Blake worked on under Basire shaped not only the style, but also the themes of Blake's later work.

1: A Paradoxical Relationship:

Preserving Antiquities in Order to Restore Antiquity

Restoration of antiquities was a common practice in the realm of sculpture. The pits and cracks inflicted by time were typically filled in to create "the smooth finish and

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6   See Paul Miner, "The Apprentice of Great Queen Street" *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* 67
(1963) 639-46, for a concise review of the work Blake did under Basire and some surviving work.

complete form of restored statues such as those in the Townley Gallery" (Siegel 61). This

practice contributed to the disgust with which many greeted the Elgin Marbles. The

acceptance of these fragmentary statues required a re-evaluation of aesthetics: "they had

to be seen as Keats would see them, through the prism of time, and admired for what they

had been through, not only for what they had been" (Siegel 64). This strategy had

already been applied to the monuments and ruins for which restoration was not practical.

The project of preserving or renewing antiquities required a method of

interpretation, or mode of looking, to make sense of an essentially impossible endeavor.

Maria Grazia Lolla makes an interesting argument that identifies this mode of looking in

the Society of Antiquaries' print series *Vetusta Monumenta.* She observes, "it was not just

the monument that was published. What was published was a lot less and a lot more—a

great deal other—than the given monument" (Lolla 20). Lolla identifies a unifying

aesthetic in the depictions of people in antiquarian prints. She takes note of the figure in

Stukeley's Waltham Cross design and his satisfied air of accomplishment, relating it to

the many other figures in similar prints: "Perhaps what the hundreds of pointing,

admiring, and palavering figures who so frequently people antiquarian illustrations

represent most clearly is 'admiration'—an even more influential motive for publishing

than the concern for preservation" (22). According to Lolla, the need to convey this

admiration was central to the activity of printing antiquities, and this point is reinforced

by the lack of explanatory text in the first volume of *Vetusta Monumenta.* She goes on to

point out that the first volume's prints were initially published over a 30 year span and

"retrospectively assigned the function of preserving the memory of British things" (22).

The early prints of *Vetusta Monumenta* mutely convey a sense of wonder that cannot be expressed in words. This mute admiration lies at the heart of the picturesque aesthetic and captures "the quintessential antiquarian response to monuments, one that made antiquarianism both hopelessly unpopular, so novel as an intellectual undertaking, and so unpredictably close to Romanticism" (Lolla 23). The link to Romanticism indeed seems unlikely, but there does seem to be some truth to the observation. Antiquarian projects for national renewal like Stukeley's certainly have a Romantic flavor—a feeling of potentiality and extraordinariness ascribed to the English character that feels similar to later poets' (particularly the Romantics') exuberant claims about human potential.

Ostensibly, the intention behind the prints was to preserve monuments, but in actuality, they worked to build up the idea of the monuments. Many of the objects and buildings in *Vetusta Monumenta* were engraved shortly before the destruction of the originals, and some of the prints, like Stukeley's imaginative reconstruction of Verulanum, attempt to reconstruct lost monuments (Lolla 19-20). But the fact is that antiquarian prints could not transmit three-dimensional objects like ruined cathedrals onto paper without substantially transforming them. The Antiquaries were aware of this difficulty, which perhaps explains the large number of nearly two-dimensional objects depicted in *Vetusta Monumenta,* such as coins, seals and inscriptions. As Lolla observes,

> the specific representational choices contribute to rendering
> the objects as immaterial. In fact, the only object
> consistently reproduced as three-dimensional is paper—
> which is almost invariably represented as being rolled, or
> folded, displaying creases and casting shadows on the
> background. Otherwise, hardly any attempt is made at
> reproducing the individual monument. (20)

Despite the fact that prints are essentially ineffectual as means of preserving actual

monuments, the Antiquaries continued to issue prints into the twentieth century. Lolla

notes that "Indeed, it is in the criticism that the 'art of engraving' was actually responsible

for the destruction of monuments that we find some evidence that the Society pursued

publishing as the best technology of preservation" (19). While this explanation makes

sense, I suspect that the lack of a better technology was not the only reason for the

persistent popularity of the Society of Antiquaries' prints.

On a practical level, drawing, engraving, and printing representations of the

monuments worked as a sort of middle ground for preservation. Balancing the realities

of the costs, technological challenges and property issues involved, antiquarian prints

simply made more sense as a means to preservation than other methods. Sweet explains,

> It was one thing to decry the desecration and damage of the
> Civil War iconoclasts; another to try to check the insidious
> and inevitable disintegration brought about by the passage
> of time, or to oppose the progress of agricultural
> improvement in the interests of preserving antiquities. . . .
> An active commitment to the preservation, let alone
> restoration, of monuments of antiquities was by no means
> axiomatic to the profession of antiquarianism. (Sweet 285)

Perhaps part of the appeal of preservation through prints was in its conservatism.[7] The

Society of Antiquaries was by no means breaking new ground with the concept of

antiquarian prints (Sweet 301, Lolla 16), but it did take up the practice to such an extent

that the Antiquaries were almost synonymous with their publications—indeed, many

members joined primarily to collect the Society's publications (Sweet 106). Although

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7   I am not addressing political conservatism here, though political considerations did apply for
some. For an interesting discussion of the political aspects of antiquarian printmaking, see Sweet, 296-97.

preservation was not a universal urge among the Antiquaries, printmaking carried an

incentive with it which greatly augmented the Society's popularity and certainly

encouraged the Antiquaries in this activity—it lent itself to the antiquarian proclivity for

collecting. The collecting urge also applied to fine art collections, and also to pictorial

aesthetics, more particularly the picturesque aesthetic.

While some eighteenth-century voices called for restoration of antiquities, the

majority took a less proactive stance due to their appreciation of the picturesque.

Preservation efforts catered to this aesthetic—they generally sought only to slow the

decay of monuments in order to appreciate them more fully and over a longer period.

"From the picturesque perspective," Rosemary Sweet explains, "the greater the state of

decay into which a building had fallen, the better. The history of the ruin was less

important than its gradual disintegration back into the soil from which it had originally

been erected; such ruins embodied an organic unity between nature and culture" (298).

While the motivations for picturesque appreciation and preservation of antiquities

sometimes worked hand in hand, often they were at odds with each other. Sweet

highlights this point by calling attention to reactions to Francis Grose's *Antiquities of*

England and Wales (1772), a popular reference for tourists. Grose "was pleased to note

that three sides of the tower at Kirkstall Abbey near Leeds had recently fallen down: 'a

circumstance which, far from impairing the beauty of the ruin, has rendered it rather more

picturesque than before'" (Sweet 298-99). This typically picturesque point of view was

decried by William Bray:

> "One cannot but regret", he wrote, "that they (the ruins)
> should want the little care which would preserve them very

long from farther destruction." For him the cattle housed
within the abbey symbolized the wilful neglect of the ruins
and were a sacrilege upon the memory of its original use.
Yet for the picturesque artist the cattle provided a "natural"
contrast to the man-made ruins in which they grazed.
(Sweet 299)[8]

Bray's comment does not even bring up the idea of restoring the Abbey. Antiquarian

preservationists gained cultural capital through the sentimental attachment generated by

such publications, leading to a feeling that such monuments of antiquity ought to be

preserved (Sweet 299). For those who wished to raise the prestige of English culture, this

elevation of British Antiquity was all that was really necessary.

The regard for British antiquities proved to be of more consequence than the

preservation of the physical monuments. While there was not an active push against

preservation, practical considerations lined up with picturesque aesthetics to limit such

activities. However earnest some members were in their desire to enact such

preservation, the Antiquaries found themselves in an ironic position during the second

half of the eighteenth century, due largely to pecuniary issues created by their expensive

printmaking activities. Despite growing popularity and public sentiment for

antiquarianism, "the society was not in a position to capitalise upon the situation.

Individual members might take an interest in preservation or excavation, but the society

as a body did next to nothing" (Sweet 109). Projects for serious preservation and

excavation had been undertaken, including Stukeley's efforts to preserve Waltham Cross;

however, this example was typical in that it was an isolated project spearheaded by one

man that accomplished little. Eventually, systematic, government-sponsored preservation

8   See William Bray, *Sketch of a Tour* (1777) 137.

and restoration projects would come to fruition, but such projects were not even

contemplated, it seems, until the nineteenth century in the aftermath of the Wyatt-Carter

controversy over the renovation of cathedrals, and actual action did not take place until

much later with the exception of Durham Cathedral (Sweet 285-307). While the

protection and restoration of the physical monuments of antiquity did not come to

fruition during the eighteenth century, the Society of Antiquaries did garner attention and

support through the production of prints.

As the Society of Antiquaries increased its publishing activities, it also increased

its membership and prestige. The increase in membership, however, along with more

money and influence, also brought in a wider range of tastes and interests, diluting the

antiquarian fervor of the body with more superficial sensibilities. Naturally, some of the

more serious-minded members, most notably Richard Gough, were frustrated with the

fashionable new members who knew little to nothing of antiquarianism. Just a year after

joining the Society, "He ridiculed the way in which his fellow members gaped over non-

descript items presented for their inspection . . . he feared that the fortunes of the society

would deteriorate further and that it would hasten along the path of fashion rather than

inquiry" (Sweet 94). Sweet notes that for many, membership was about status and the

making of social and business connections or about adding to their print collections, and

not about antiquarian scholarship (107-08). Despite the wide range of reasons for

membership and levels of involvement in the Society of Antiquaries, it seems the

membership was fairly united in valuing a shared aesthetic and the publication of

antiquarian prints. In turn, the Society's engraver, Basire, reflected and consolidated

these values in the training of the young William Blake.

2: Stukeley's Application of the Picturesque

In *Stonehenge*, Stukeley illustrates the picturesque aesthetic through drawings of the monument in both its observed state and as imagined in its original perfection. He explains which plates provide corresponding views of Stonehenge as imagined and as observed (*Stonehenge* 27). As previously noted, Stukeley laments the loss of megalithic ruins in *Stonehenge* and *Abury*, but he does not call for an active program of restoration. The closest Stukeley's antiquarian interests bring him to active restoration is in his crusade to preserve Waltham Cross beginning in 1720 when "he was responsible for having two oak posts erected to prevent carriages running against it" and continuing into the 1750s, but he never sought to reconstruct or restore the monument (Sweet 448n.). Stukeley applies the picturesque aesthetic in a way that adds to the grandeur of Stonehenge and Avebury by highlighting the effects of time with his juxtaposition of time-worn and imagined-as-new images and by advocating preservation while lacking a restoration agenda.

We can track a correlation between Stukeley's adoption of the picturesque and his interest in British Antiquity through the prints of Waltham Cross in *Vetusta Monumenta.* Stukeley's drawing of Waltham cross from 1721, one of the series's earliest prints, was followed up by a set of prints of all the surviving Eleanor Crosses in the 1790s, drawn by Jacob Schnebbelie and engraved by Basire. The contrast between Stukeley's and Schnebbelie's drawings of Waltham Cross is striking. Sweet ascribes the differences to changes in aesthetics:

A comparison of the two sets of images illustrates the changes which the antiquarian aesthetic underwent over the course of the century. Stukeley's image was divorced from its surrounding and focused upon illustrating the form and ornamentation of the cross, providing a cross-section and view of the statues hidden from sight. By the 1790s the antiquarian aesthetic had shifted towards the picturesque and the cross was shown in all its decay, located in its vulnerable position on the edge of the road, with iron bars holding the structure together. (448-9n.)

Stukeley's isolated cross also contrasts with his later work in *Stonehenge,* which David Haycock praises for incorporating the landscape, as noted in my previous chapter. This shows that the change in aesthetics was happening during Stukeley's lifetime, well before Schnebbelie's drawings. Significantly, Stukeley's adoption of the picturesque coincides with his taking up of syncretic history to augment British Antiquity.

We can see this picturesque aesthetic carried on in later writings on Stonehenge in the pages of the Society of Antiquaries' journal, *Archaeologia.* In a piece on the 1797 fall of a trilithon at Stonehenge, William George Maton focuses on the monument's change as a part of its natural decay. The accompanying illustrations, showing a strong Stukeley influence, feature a man and a woman observing the monument before and after the trilithon's fall. These images highlight the essence of the picturesque mode, inviting the viewer to join the figures in the drawings in admiring the difference made over time. This particular event seems to draw additional interest because of the dramatic difference effected by a near-instantaneous event. Despite the dramatic change, Maton expresses no outrage and little sadness at the continued decay of the monument. Rather, his tone seems almost gleeful: "Though I could not contemplate without emotions of peculiar awe and regret such an assault of time and the elements on this venerable structure, I

must own these emotions were in some measure counterbalanced by the satisfaction of being now enabled to discover the original depth of these stupendous stones in the ground" (Maton 105). This sort-of-sentimental confession of emotion was typical of an educated gentleman on the Grand Tour. But Maton's expression of emotion, coupled with the illustrations, also seems to be a reaction to Stukeley's *Stonehenge,* as though Maton felt that he was required to make such a statement because of Stukeley's precedent. While he gives no epitaph, Maton gestures toward Stukeley's memorializing mode.

Besides picturesque admiration, Maton's account highlights the scientific opportunity in the trilithon's fall, reflecting a culture-wide phenomenon in eighteenth-century England. Stukeley expresses a similar enthusiasm: "Many drawings have been made and publish'd, of Stonehenge. But they are not done in a scientific way . . . I have therefore drawn four architectronic orthographies" (*Stonehenge* 20). Maton builds upon Stukeley's work, applying the same ethic for scientific accuracy. He ascribes the trilithon's fall to a "sudden and rapid thaw" and explains how this worked to complete the effects of time upon the ground underneath the trilithon, subverting the structure's foundation (105). Referring to Stukeley's drawings for a historical record, Maton tracks the trilithon's slow tilt: "In all probability the trilithon was *originally* perfectly upright, but it had acquired some degree of inclination long before the time of its fall. This inclination was remarked by Dr. Stukeley, though it was not so considerable, I think, as is represented in his north view of Stonehenge" (105). While Stukeley considered his work to be substantially more accurate than that of his predecessors, Maton holds to a still higher degree of accuracy.

The emphasis on scientific accuracy not only helped to convince some readers of

the veracity of claims made by Stukeley and others who sought to raise the profile of

British Antiquity, it also, surprisingly, helped to make the idea of past greatness come

alive. Lolla explains the reasoning for this emphasis: "Accurate plates were understood

as the most intellectually honest response to inherently opaque monuments—monuments

that eluded final explanation just as they incessantly yielded information." (24). This

elusive quality paradoxically also makes the monuments compellingly direct in their

effect on viewers. Because the printmakers were intent on creating intellectually honest

recordings of the monuments, they emphasized their emotional responses in addition to

making an effort to represent the physical qualities of the monuments accurately. The

information these prints "incessantly yielded" speaks directly to the emotions:

> By emphasizing admiration, antiquaries made it clear that
> the past was not just an intellectual construct beyond the
> reach of the senses but also an aesthetic experience as
> well—a subjective, emotional and imaginative response. In
> this respect the antiquarian admiration is reminiscent of
> both the Romantic wonder and the Romantic understanding
> of the role of imagination. (Lolla 24)

Perhaps this quality is what attracted Blake's interest in antiquarian prints at such an early

age. The "initial compelling, unquestioned, and unexplained impulse to transmit" that

antiquarians experienced and passed on in their prints seems to have infected Blake as

well (Lolla 23).

3: Blake's Unorthodox Application

Blake's illuminated books reflect a concern for portraying the present act of

creation in the final product. Drawing on the antiquarian imperative for accurate

representation, Blake's opaque, resistant representation of his mental processes provides

an intellectually honest response or representation of his experience or vision of human

creativity. Lolla makes an analogous connection between the "dumb and increasingly

accurate duplication of monuments" and "the work of literary antiquarians whose

appreciation of the exoticism of the past made them reluctant to modernize, improve or

manipulate such ancient literature" (24). Blake certainly fits into the mold of a "literary

antiquarian," producing rough, loosely metrical work of a similar character to other

primitivistic poetry such as James Macpherson's Ossian poems. Blake's illuminated

poems, like antiquarian prints, defer explanation in preference for conveying an

emotional and imaginative response.

To achieve this shift to the radical present, Blake shifts the focus from the piece of

art as a previously created object to the artist and viewers engaged cooperatively in the

process of making art as a present experience. This emphasis on the present is evident in

the Preface to *Milton*. After a brief paragraph on the writings of the past, Blake launches

into the present in an imperative call to action:

> Painters! on you I call!
> Sculptors! Architects! Suffer not the fashionable Fools
> to depress your powers by the prices they pretend to
> give for contemptible works or the expensive adver
> -tizing boasts that they make of such works" (2: 16-20)

While many have read this, with good reason, as Blake's reaction to his experience

working with William Hayley, one could also read this section as an attack on the tastes

and practices of the "fashionable Fools" of the Society of Antiquaries. But more importantly, by making a call to action, Blake is implicitly casting this piece of art as a cooperative endeavor. These painters, sculptors and architects—and also the reader— make up the "we" with whom Blake will rebuild Jerusalem. The observation that Blake's vision of art is cooperative is by no means new. My understanding is informed by Morris Eaves's discussion on *Jerusalem,* in which he describes Blake's vision of artistic creativity as a relationship between humans:

> [A]cts of imagination, to be complete, must be mutual; and the conditions for them are the same as for any profound human relationship, the forgiveness and love that assure mutual commitment and engagement, because complete human relationships are also imaginative acts. In other words, a work of art is one kind of profound human relationship, and in essential ways a model for all others. (793)

The focus on human relationships points to a key difference between how Blake and Stukeley convey their ideas. Stukeley presents a relationship with the megaliths of Stonehenge and Avebury, while Blake forges a relationship with his reader. Conversely, we can also see Blake's emphasis on human relationships as a Stukeleyan move here. By establishing a relationship between the reader and the figures in the landscape who share an appreciation for the monuments depicted, Blake applies the idea behind the "palavering" figures of Stukeley's and other antiquarians' prints.

The tension between relationships with things and relationships among humans leads me to a mythographic connection illustrated by Jon Mee. Mee discusses the idea, which some mythographers of the eighteenth century promoted and to which Blake subscribed, that the problem with religion is that ancient poetry has been appropriated by

manipulative priests and misrepresented as fact or Scripture. In a discussion on *The Song of Los*, Mee explores the relationship between eighteenth-century mythography and state religion:

> Thomas Blackwell, for instance, described "the Birth of the Gods, the Rise of Things, and the Creation of the World" as "the common Theme of the first Poets and Lawgivers." Blackwell went on to describe how the cosmogonies and theogonies of the ancient poets came to be appropriated by manipulative priests who presented poetic fictions as metaphysical realities. "The Ambition and Avarice of the Priests, and the Superstition of the credulous" led to a situation where the arbitrary nature of the sign was forgotten, "the Representations" were mistaken "for Things." (123-24)[9]

Mee points to Blake's description of this process in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*: "a system was formed, which some took advantage of & enslav'd the vulgar by attempting to realize or abstract the mental deities from their objects; thus began Priesthood" (*MHH* 11, *BPD* 74). This conflation of poetry and myth with truth cuts to the heart of Stukeley's project of syncretic mythography since a large part of his argument hinges upon literal interpretations of the scriptures. In contrast, Blake's illuminated poems reverse this process by creating physical objects from his "mental deities."

Blake's creation of physical objects, the illuminated books, carefully reenacts the creative process and reflects a keen attention to the meaning of the materials used. Robert Essick discusses Blake's choices in media:

> Blake's technical experiments in a wide range of graphic

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9   See Blackwell, *An Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer* (1735), 96, and *Letters Concerning Mythology* (1748) 275, 176.

media testify to his deep concern with the methods by which images are communicated. For him, a disembodied, generalized image or idea did not exist—all images and ideas were necessarily realized within specific modes and materials. Blake's high level of consciousness, as both an aesthetic theorist and a practicing artist, of the interactions between concepts and the media in which they are expressed led him to exploit the fullest possibilities for making such interactions an essential part of his art. (Essick xxi-xxii)

The most notable element in the material process of Blake's creation is his unique process called relief etching. Essick explains the significance of Blake's process as opposed to the popular method of intaglio etching-engraving in which "both craftsman and publisher wanted complete uniformity among all impressions" (120). Breaking from this practice, "Blake used relief etching exclusively for original composition and never attempted to disguise it as another medium. Variations in inking and subsequent coloring—the products of both chance and intention—distinguish each impression from all others" (Essick 120). In addition, Blake used colored ink in 84 percent of the extant illuminated books, further distinguishing each printing (Essick 121). Beyond the variations in the printing, Blake individually watercolored his books, adding another layer of individuality to each book. Blake's unique printmaking methods create a singular style that sharply contrasts with the mainstream antiquarian prints of his time, especially in the lack of uniformity from one printing to the next.

Blake's arrangements of plates also vary among individual printings of the same book. Mee, discussing the tension between oral tradition and the hegemonic, written text within the context of 1790s politics, observes that "the structure of his illuminated books operates against logocentricity" and that "Blake sought to achieve a means of literary

production that was fluid and operated against the notion of the single authoritative Word" (105-06). As he explains more fully,

> His books always went beyond the state of Urizen's books of metals, that is, the copper-plate, and each of the final states varied one from the other so none could claim the status of scriptural authority. None of the different versions of *The Book of Urizen* can be claimed as Blake's definitive version of the Creation myth. Indeed the word 'version' itself is inadequate since no original as such exists, only different performances. For Blake the notion of a single, authoritative text of divine revelation was anathema. (106)

While Mee is specifically addressing the Urizen books, this also applies in *Milton*—both design plates and text-covered plates appear in different orders in the four extant copies, and all the arrangements work. This mutability between copies of *Milton* reflects the performativity Mee describes, an element of uniqueness in the act of creating each individual book.

In contrast to the variability of the performances of *Milton,* Stukeley's guidebooks are printed in the traditional commercial way, with black ink and near-absolute uniformity between copies. Stukeley apologizes for the mechanical nature of his designs: "They are made for use and instruction, like mathematical figures, and cannot be expected much to please the eye; being form'd chiefly from bare lines, admitting no picture-like decoration" (*Stonehenge* 9). This passage calls to mind the Satanic/Newtonic system of measurement described in the Hillel/Lucifer speech discussed in my first chapter. Stukeley's didactic tone and literal interpretation of scriptures, along with the conventional printing practices of Stukeley's books, clearly contrast with *Milton*'s resistant, opaque text and inventive construction. These differences reflect the two men's

nearly opposite points of view on the significance of antiquity. Stukeley interprets the

past in a way that affirms the authority of church and state while Blake places authority

within the human imagination. This location of authority is foregrounded in the settings

of the two men's books. *Stonehenge* and *Abury* go to iconic monuments of British history

while *Milton* invents mental regions to be explored cooperatively by the author/illustrator

and the reader.

Blake provides a retrospective on hegemonic or hierarchical art through Milton's

eyes during his descent into Ulro. Milton understands at this point that his work was not

cooperative, but rather a handing down of dogma, in which, "He saw the Cruelties of

Ulro, and he wrote them down / In iron tablets" (16: 9-10). These Cruelties were then

taken by his daughters, "and they wrote in thunder smoke and fire / His dictate; and his

body was the Rock Sinai" (16: 13-14). The iron tablet is an image carried forward from

Urizen's books of iron, a symbol of "all forms of cruelty" (Damon 198). Milton's body,

or the body of his works, as the "Rock Sinai" with all of its biblical connotations, calls up

the idea of poetry ossified into religion, powerfully illustrating Blake's oppositional

stance toward the hegemonic deification of Milton (though he paradoxically practices this

with the multiple instances of Milton-as-Christ in *Milton*).

One more element of *Milton* powerfully exemplifies all of the qualities of

performativity and radical presentness discussed above. The full-page designs act as

monuments within the poem, mutely conveying a sense of mystery and wonder,

incessantly providing detail but never reaching conclusions. Arguably the most

compelling of these monuments is plate 38, which features a man and woman lying on

rocks at the edge of a body of water with an eagle soaring or hovering above. Essick and

Viscomi's lengthy explanatory notes on this plate clearly demonstrate the fecundity of this

plate. In the first paragraph of the notes, it becomes clear just how unclear the plate is:

"The design has been interpreted in a variety of ways, depending on the answers to

several key questions. Is this a pre-, post-, or non-coital scene? Is the eagle a threatening

bird of prey, an avian equivalent to the 'Covering Cherub' (3:22 note), or like the lark

(31:29 note) a creature of inspiration? And who are the man and woman?" (*Milton* 30).

Critics seem to be unable to find a consensus on who the couple in the picture are

supposed to be or what the design means. I am inclined to agree with Joseph Anthony

Wittreich, Jr., who claims the plate is "deliberately ambiguous" (qtd. in *Milton* 31).[10] By

creating ambiguous plates, Blake replicates an impression similar to the wordless prints

of *Vetusta Monumenta*. As Essick and Viscomi's scholarship shows, the wordless wonder

invoked by this plate has produced a corresponding plethora of words—a vigorous

engagement with the art. Standing as a very different type of monument from Stukeley's

iconic sites of British Antiquity, provoking discourse and disagreement, Blake's full-page

designs in *Milton* are his monuments of Human Antiquity. They exemplify his vision of

art as a cooperative process.

The ways in which Blake and Stukeley explore their settings of antiquity reflect

the ideologies of the authors. Stukeley's guidebooks provide unitary experiences of real

monuments with very specific didactic ends in mind. In contrast, each copy of *Milton*

takes a slightly different path through essentially the same material. In each act of

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10 See Wittreich, *Angel of Apocalypse: Blake's Idea of Milton*, (Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 1975) 30.

creation, Blake illustrates the work in progress, the phenomenon of creation within the pulse of the artery, just as the antiquarian prints depict the wordless wonder instigated by the ruins of antiquity. The performances of Blake's imaginative journey differ in the order in which he chooses to visit the monuments, or plates, of his Human Antiquity, and these monuments vary in the specifics of printing and watercoloring, just as a garden's colors and mood differ from season to season.

The strong correlations between Stukeley's guidebooks *Stonehenge* and *Abury* with Blake's *Milton* present themselves in terms common to discourse on eighteenth-century gardens. Given the influence of gardens upon both men's work, an examination of *Milton* through the lens of eighteenth-century garden culture may shed more light on the Blake's reciprocal vision of artistic creation. In the next chapter, I examine garden aesthetics to discern how Blake displays his monuments of Human Antiquity.

Chapter 3:

Placing the Human in the Landscape:

The Eighteenth-century Garden in *Milton*

How wide the Gulf & Unpassable! between Simplicity and Insipidity

This epigraph from plate 30, beginning the second book of *Milton,* provides a compelling statement about Blake's treatment of garden spaces. He separates two abstract concepts with spatial language. Simplicity and insipidity, being conceptual, both reside within the human mind, and so they may reside together or they may be divided by an imaginary or conceptual gulf. Blake applies this capacity for multiple spatial associations throughout *Milton,* overlapping mental, biblical and geographic spaces in order to create a layering of meanings. As discussed in my second chapter, difficult content can help promote reader engagement. Drawing on the garden as both a symbol and a locus of cultural knowledge, Blake arranges the mental states and processes that are the primary subjects of his poem spatially, sometimes as the spaces and sometimes as subjects within those spaces, creating parallels with the theory and practice of English landscape gardening, as well as with biblical and Miltonic gardens, to create a discursive space, if you will, where his readers may engage with the text. Not only does Blake provide the space for engagement, he also provides models for his cooperative theory of art—illustrating inspirational and delusive garden experiences—in the types of gardens in the poem and the activities which go on within.

The scholarship on Blake's use of gardens illuminates the distinction between Blake's mental gardens, Beulah and Eden, as delusive and inspirational spaces, but does not place this within the context of contemporaneous garden culture. Considering that the garden theme in Blake's poetry and art is so pervasive, one would expect to find a great deal of discussion on the topic within Blake studies. However, there is a surprising dearth of scholarship on gardens in Blake's work. The few sources that do address the garden theme helpfully outline the broad range of Blake's influences. Harold Bloom notes sources for Blake's gardens in the *Song of Solomon, The Book of Isaiah,* John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress,* nonconformist hymns, and a poetic tradition including Spenser and Milton (21). It should also be noted that scholars have identified Italian landscape gardens, in addition to the obvious biblical sources, as a source of inspiration for *Paradise Lost.*[11] A helpful article on Blake's garden symbolism by Elaine M. Kauvar draws on the work of Northrop Frye and Harold Bloom in explicating this theme, particularly the concept of Beulah. Kauvar explains the garden of Beulah as it appears in *Milton* thus:

> Though it rests within the perimeters of Eden, it is not Eden itself, but a lower state of existence and vision. It is the intermediate stage between the purely spiritual state found in Eden and temporal life. Beulah involves Innocence and, like that state, projects its protective qualities: in Beulah nature fosters, nourishes, and protects life. (65)

This bit of information on Beulah makes it sound pretty great, but Frye provides a more detailed, less sunny description: "Beulah is a place of perilous equipoise, being as it is the region of the imagination which falls short of the disciplined unity of art. Eden is

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11 See, for example, James Dougal Fleming, "Meanwhile Medusa in Paradise Lost," *ELH* 69 (2002) 1009-28.

'human'; Beulah is 'sexual,' the region of passive pleasure" (233). Frye's vision of Beulah takes on the problem of threefold sexuality I highlighted in my first chapter as the central problem in *Milton*. While Beulah is a garden, and it is pleasurable, it does not achieve the level of inspiration that is only to be found in Eden. For Kauvar, "A garden, prolific or barren, characterizes the condition of nature in each state from Innocence through Experience to Higher Innocence" (67). The figure of the garden "demonstrates Blake's conviction that if one denies the existence of a garden temporarily made barren and accepts only the garden of repose where the children of *Innocence* play, the realization of paradise will be forever precluded" (67). Kauvar points out the essential problem of art that lacks cooperative engagement, but since her article is a broad overview of the garden symbolism in Blake's work, she does not explore this in great detail. As for scholarship on *Milton,* many have outlined, mapped, diagrammed, or otherwise interpreted its cosmology, looking at the macrocosmic level, but few have examined it in its microcosmic aspects, and such explorations have generally treated Blake's works collectively or have not incorporated the element of garden culture.

In order to help close this gap in Blake studies, this chapter will examine *Milton* through the lens of contemporaneous garden culture. My investigation of gardens stems from John Dixon Hunt's observation that early eighteenth-century English gardeners, building on ideas from Italian garden design, "saw their designs in terms of theater" and thus their "gardens were organized in perspectival views like stage sets, but like those in the theater their *scenes* were unthinkable except as stages for human action" (Hunt

114).[12] Taking the idea of setting art within the realm of human action to the extreme,

Blake sets up a world in which everything is human interaction because the world is

created by the Sons of Los, who are embodiments of aspects of human creativity (*Milton*

163n. 32).

While garden culture evolved throughout the century, this emphasis on human

reactions to surroundings prevailed throughout and can be seen in Thomas Whately's

Observations on Modern Gardening (1765), which gives detailed instructions on how to

achieve certain emotional or intellectual effects with landscape gardening. Notably,

rather than discussing activities or uses for the space, Whately focuses on the invocation

of feelings or, as he calls them, characters. In the eighteenth century, gardening was

considered by many to be a full-fledged art, equal if not superior to the other arts, as

Whately asserts in the opening lines of his book:

> Gardening, in the perfection to which it has been lately
> brought in England, is entitled to a place of considerable
> rank among the liberal arts. It is as superior to landskip
> painting, as a reality to a representation: it is an exertion of
> fancy, a subject for taste; and being released now from the
> restraints of regularity, and enlarged beyond the purposes of
> domestic convenience, the most beautiful, the most simple,
> the most noble scenes of nature are all within its province:
> for it is no longer confined to the spots from which it
> borrows its name, but regulates also the disposition and
> embellishments of a park, a farm, or a riding. (1)

Contemporaneous feelings on the subject of gardening suggest that a study of Blake's

work in the context of garden culture is perhaps as relevant as a similar endeavor to track

the influences of literature or painting on Blake's work.

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12 David Haycock also relays this point, 73.

My exploration of the gardens in *Milton* begins with the spaces, outlining the various types of gardens that appear in the poem, and then considers the activities within and movements through those spaces, drawing on Whately's instructions for invoking "character" in a scene and how those scenes affect the Blake's characters. The next section provides a brief exploration of eighteenth-century garden culture. I go on to discuss Blake's use of various types of garden spaces, focusing on the distinction between inner and outer spaces. The third section addresses activities within these spaces. Then, I explore the idea of movement through those spaces, particularly through the idea of the garden walk. The last section takes up Whately's distinction between gardens and farms and how the harvest theme in *Milton* plays into Blake's cooperative model of artistic creation.

1: Gardens as Poems, Poems as Gardens

Landscaped or cultivated spaces are arranged and used in widely varying ways in different cultures and time periods. Reflecting this fact, the term "garden" can invoke many images, from a carefully plotted, ornamental garden to a patch of cucumbers and tomatoes in the back yard. Walpole addresses the many meanings given to the word: "it appears how naturally and insensibly the idea of a kitchen-garden slid into that which has for so many ages been peculiarly termed a garden, and by our ancestors in this country, distinguished by the name of a pleasure-garden." (Walpole 242). This confusion over terminology is also recognized by Whately, who addresses this issue by designating four different types of landscaped spaces and distinguishing these spaces by their uses and their extent. Gardens and farms are enclosed spaces of limited extent, and parks and

ridings are larger areas. This distinction is important to Whately's project because large

and small spaces bring about different considerations for the designer. He gives detailed

examples, referring to famous aristocratic gardens, of how such spaces are used and to

what effects. My project here points out some of the parallels between Whately's variable

instructions for the design of garden spaces and Blake's many types of gardens and their

applications.

Many kinds of writing about gardens flourished in the century preceding *Milton*.

Didactic poems on gardening abounded in the eighteenth century, notable examples being

Erasmus Darwin's *The Botanic Garden* (1791), for which Blake executed both original

designs and engravings after Fuseli; and Richard Payne Knight's *The Landscape* (1795), a

didactic poem in three books, addressed to and debating with Knight's friend and fellow

garden enthusiast Sir Uvedale Price. In addition to poetry, guidebooks to country houses

proliferated to accommodate growing domestic tourism. As recorded by John Harris, at

least ninety guidebooks to country houses and an astounding thirty-one editions of guides

to Stowe (the Temple family seat in Buckinghamshire, now property of the National

Trust), were published from 1740 to 1840 (Watkin vii).[13] Thomas Whately's

Observations on Modern Gardening (1765), a text that has proved essential to this study,

"was translated into French within the year and reached a fifth English edition by 1793"

(Hunt & Willis 301). Others attempted to outline the history of the English landscape

garden, including William Mason in the first book of his didactic poem *The English*

Garden (1772), though the most influential example is Horace Walpole's *History of the*

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13 John Harris, "English Country house Guides 1740-1840." *Concerning Architecture.* ed. J. Summerson,
     1968 58-74.

Modern Taste in Gardening, first published in 1771, which attempted to record the changes in taste in a systematic manner.

Milton's vision of the Garden of Eden became the prototype for the English landscape garden of the eighteenth century, which reached its most characteristic state in the style of the highly popular and prolific garden designer "Capability" Brown. Despite, or perhaps because of, the flourishing of garden poetry, exposition, and analysis, gardeners and poets alike were still reacting to *Paradise Lost* well into the nineteenth century. The passage most referenced by garden enthusiasts is Book IV, lines 223-63, which Hunt and Willis helpfully excerpt. In the headnote, they point out that Walpole compares Stourhead with lines 223-27 and Hagley Park with the following three lines in his *History* (79). They explain Milton's influence on gardening, quoting Milton to emphasize the point: "From Milton was derived authority for serpentine lines, natural treatment of water, rural mounds, wooded theatres, and for the rejection of 'nice Art / In Beds and curious knots' in favour of 'Nature boon / Poured forth profuse on Hill and Dale and Plaine'*"* (79). This placement of authority was still being made as late as 1827 by an editor of Walpole, James Dalloway. In his notes for Walpole's *History*, Dalloway praises the blind poet: "When Milton, in his earlier poems, describes a garden, he pourtrays what he actually saw—when he wrote his Paradise Lost he could not see; and he trusted to and followed the force of his own imagination, and memory of the classics" (Walpole 248n.). There is a parallel in the defense Blake's Bard in *Milton* makes when the Eternals ask from whence he got his tale, "I am Inspired! I know it is Truth! for I Sing / According to the inspiration of the Poetic Genius" (11: 51-12: 1). Such claims of inspiration are of

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course typical, but in projects so directly concerned with origins, they also reveal the interest in claiming authority for the speaker's point of view. These are claims of self-evident truth, placing the opinions presented above the realm of taste or art.

The Brown style attempts to conceal its art, to make the carefully planned and manicured yards and forests appear to have naturally occurred that way in an effort to cultivate or enhance a certain character or feeling present in the landscape. In the seventeenth century, British gardens tended to follow the French style, with geometric patterns and highly manicured opulence. These designs allowed visitors to roam freely and facilitated a wide variety of "discrete experiences rather than an organized structuring of one dominant meaning or mood" (Smiles 213). Visitors to a French-style garden could meditate upon nature and human cultivation or dominion over it in these spaces, but were not generally guided to any particular line of thought. This began to change in the middle of the eighteenth century, as a more directive approach or attitude for gardens began to come into vogue, a period marked by Richard Grenville, Earl Temple, taking over the development of the gardens at Stowe in 1749. Sam Smiles notes the difference:

> Thenceforward many of the more prestigious British
> gardens would include at least one carefully designed
> emblem of the past as a spur to meditation and reverie.
> The cult of the past allowed, indeed promoted
> contemplation of the relics of antiquity, and their
> metonymic presence in landscape gardens is of a piece
> with the growth of archaeology and antiquarianism in this
> period. (194)

That is, constructions of antiquity in the gardens of the gentry, as well as in public gardens such as Kensington Gardens and Hyde Park (owned by the crown but open to the public) in London, were common, reflecting the popular taste of the time and providing a

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medium for rumination on many subjects in a familiar milieu. "Programmatic gardens"

as Smiles calls them, "like Stourhead and Stowe function rather like poems, with an

unfolding discourse articulated by the prescribed route to be followed and a metaphorical

meaning achieved through the associative stimulus of buildings and sculpture" (213).

These structures provided context for the visitors to contemplate, helping to provide the

"meaning"; they "acted rather like staffage in painting to deliver a message or point a

moral" (Smiles 194). This is one particularly prevalent way gardens function as scenes of

human activity, and it reflects the longstanding tradition in both Eastern and Western

culture of gardens serving as places of meditation. Given this explanation of how

English landscape gardens operate like poems, Blake's move to make his poem work like

a garden makes sense.

2: A Garden of Delight & a Building of Magnificence

Throughout *Milton*, Blake repeatedly turns the reader's attention to the inner

reality and away from the outer "visionary" spaces—recalling Blake's counterintuitive

use of that word: "For every Space larger than a red Globule of Mans blood, / Is

visionary" (28: 19-20). Getting directly to the point, Blake makes a direct address to the

reader, urging attention to mental space:

> Seest thou the little winged fly. smaller than a grain of sand?
> It has a heart like thee; a brain open to heaven & hell,
> Withinside wondrous & expansive: its gates are not clos'd,
> I hope thine are not: hence it clothes itself in rich array;
> Hence thou art cloth'd with human beauty O thou mortal man
> Seek not thy heavenly father beyond the skies: (19[18]: 27-32)

Blake ties the image of open gates to "human beauty" and expresses hope that the

reader's gates are not closed, implying a positive value for movement, which we will

explore below. By directing our attention to the fly's brain, "Withinside wondrous &

expansive," Blake also attributes a greater importance to his mental geographies than to

the physical. Perhaps the most appropriate instance of Blake directing our gaze comes

during the long explanation of geography/cosmology at the end of Book I: "And every

Generated Body in its inward form, / Is a garden of delight & a building of magnificence"

(25[26]: 31-2). Significantly, in both of these passages, Blake does not elaborate on the

outward form of Generated or physical bodies. Throughout the poem, the mental spaces

of Eden and Beulah receive significant attention and explanation, while the physical

spaces of Generation and Ulro are marginalized by comparison.

Starkly contrasting with Blake's attention to mental spaces, Stukeley's guidebooks

focus our attention on the physical spaces of Stonehenge and Avebury. His detailed and

enthusiastic descriptions of the landscapes betray a strong interest in the subject. It is

well known that Stukeley was an avid participant in the garden culture of the day—in

fact, he was something of a trendsetter. But Stukeley's impact entailed more than simply

encouraging domestic tourism. One element of eighteenth-century garden culture was

the building of replicas or mock-ups of ancient temples, obelisks, mausolea and the like,

popularly known as follies. Haycock ascribes the interest in Celtic-themed mock-ups, at

least in part, to Stukeley's influence (76). As early as 1743, the idea of building Celtic

follies had begun to catch on. In the Dedication to *Abury,* Stukeley addresses his patron,

the Earl of Pembroke, noting the "fine and costly model of Stonehenge, which Your

Lordship introduces in the garden at Wilton" (unpaginated). This bit of conventional

bootlicking also seems to have been an example of crass self-promotion (also thoroughly

conventional) since it was Stukeley himself who oversaw the construction (Smiles 203).

As the interest in primitivism grew, and as the interest in Druids gained steam, Stukeley's

idea caught on, and Druid temples began to join the repertoire of artificial ruins.

While Druidic follies made up a "sporadic and often marginal" proportion of

garden buildings (Smiles 195), never outstripping the neoclassical influence, the overall

phenomenon of garden buildings evoking British antiquity was considerable (Watkin 52).

One possible reason for the marginality of Druidic follies has to do with the added

difficulty in reading the meanings associated with them. This very ambiguity could only

have increased Blake's impulse to apply landscape gardens, and Druidic follies in

particular, in *Milton*. Hunt asserts that

> In a garden responsibility for the action rests with the
> temples, statues, inscriptions, and other such devices, for
> the human has no permanent place in the design; the
> "action" of a garden's painting is supplied by the visitor,
> stimulated by the scene and its allusions; the garden visitor
> becomes a protaganist [sic] by his act of reading these
> devices. (117)

This problem (or, in Blake's case, opportunity) is even further compounded when

prehistoric British antiquity is the subject. Smiles elaborates: "Most garden motifs were

open to ambiguous readings, but prehistoric ensembles in particular gained in

interpretative possibilities from the absence of reliable historical knowledge. [They] were

empty vessels into which could be poured a variety of different associative meanings"

(195). This assessment echoes the discussion of Blake's full-page designs in my previous

chapter—these monuments of Human Antiquity operate quite similarly to the Druidic

follies. It also calls to mind the phenomenological aspect of *Milton* discussed in the first

chapter—each character interprets his or her surroundings based on what he or she brings into the setting.

The use of buildings in landscape gardening also relates to Stukeley's discussion of closed and open-air temples and to the nationalistic application of follies. By building fake ruins, gentry and aristocracy like Stukeley and Pembroke attempt to appropriate the authority of antiquity. This purpose for landscaped spaces comes right out of Whately's instructions, where he discusses the common quality of ridings and gardens:

> [E]xclusive of that community of character which results
> from their being both improvements, and both destined to
> pleasure, a closer relation arises from the property of a
> riding, *to extend the idea of a seat,* and appropriate a whole
> country to the mansion; for which purpose it must be
> distinguished from common roads; and the marks of
> distinction must be borrowed from a garden. (Whately 227)

Placing Stukeley within this context, one can see his use of the sites of Stonehenge and Avebury as extensions of the British claim to antiquity. By claiming that the Druids (ancestors to the English) were proto-Christians privy to knowledge more ancient than the Romans and Greeks, Stukeley claims that mythical, original knowledge as British property through inheritance.

More broadly, the widespread feeling about the English landscape garden was one of national pride. Walpole argues for the British style in blatantly nationalistic terms: "We have given the true model of gardening to the world; let other countries mimic or corrupt our taste; but let it reign here on its verdant throne, original by its elegant simplicity, and proud of no other art than that of softening nature's harshnesses and copying her graceful touch" (277). Rather than crediting previous models, Walpole

seems to be placing the English in the role of the Ancients. Later, Walpole supposes that the English style will not spread to the continent, claiming an inimitable quality in the exemplary freedom of the English: "The expence is only suited to the opulence of a free country, where emulation reigns among many independent particulars" (280). This chest-puffing deflates under its obvious hubris when viewed from a twentieth- (or twenty-first-) century perspective. Watkin takes aim at the nationalism inherent in eighteenth-century garden culture, a style "in which it has been appropriate to lay out gardens that look like landscapes, and landscapes that look like gardens," likening the style to national institutions:

> for example the Anglican Church, a Protestant body
> expecting to be taken for part of the Catholic church; and
> the monarch, still crowned with full mediaeval panoply as
> the Lord's anointed yet neither exercising power nor
> wishing to do so. The element of make-believe has often
> been central to English architecture, and nowhere more so
> than in the romantic chain of sham castles. (viii-ix)

The prideful act of raising a fake ruin to build a faux-historical feeling in a country gentleman's property lends to all the most stereotypically negative views of aristocratic excesses—conspicuous expense, use of land for no practical purpose (another display of wealth), and an overweening sense of entitlement (curious how that tends to come with titles). More importantly, Blake would see this practice as delusive, just as the attribution of authority to any object is a folly to Blake; after all, the "little winged fly" has gates to eternity just as the wealthy country gentleman does.

Given the emphasis on the placement and situation of elements in landscape gardening, Blake's arrangement of geographies, both mythic and real, takes particular

importance. In *Milton,* Blake employs London garden spaces, adding specific

connotations to some scenes.   Blake's reference to the Apollo Gardens, for instance, most

likely reflects a keen awareness of the tawdry reputations of many privately owned

pleasure gardens in London. As Los rallies the workers of the Great Vintage, he calls for

the harvest to begin in a cluster of places with negative associations, including this

garden with the Bishop's residence at Lambeth Palace and the Royal Asylum for Female

Orphans (24[25]: 48-50n). Prostitution and other unsavory practices were common after

nightfall in the gardens of London (Wroth 267). The proprietor of the Apollo Gardens,

Walter Claggett, bragged about "the patronage of the nobility and gentry, and vaunted the

'chastity and dignity' of the place," but by 1792, "the place was known to be a resort of

cheats and pickpockets" (Wroth 269). The Apollo was closed down by the magistrates in

1793, and Claggett went bankrupt while the garden fell into disrepair and was eventually

built over. Accounts from 1796-97 describe the place as ruinous (Wroth 270n.) During

this period, Blake lived in Lambeth; obviously he was aware of the garden's state and

reputation. He even seems to have incorporated a feature from this garden in his

descriptions of Beulah. The concert hall at the Apollo Gardens featured "a kind of orrery

in the dome, displaying a pallid moon between two brilliant transparencies" (Wroth 268).

It's interesting that the Temple of Apollo featured a moon rather than a sun. This possibly

contributed to Blake's use of moon imagery in *Milton.* Damon associates the moon with

Beulah (285), and indeed the spaces of Beulah in *Milton* are consistently labeled as

moony or sealed with a moon.

　　　Blake also employs London geography to discuss the issues that he associates

with state-enforced religion. Tyburn Tree and Hyde Park act similarly to Whately's

gardens and ridings—as extensions of the King's domain. Through the spectacle of

capital punishment, augmented by its location at a park or garden, the King extends his

domain over the bodies of his subjects in London, and in the setting of *Milton,* Satan's

petrified states of reason, memory, and religion seek to sacrifice the human form to his

Mathematical holiness. Blake calls attention to the use of spaces for nationalistic

aggrandizement by situating Tyburn gallows at the border of Beulah, mirroring its

position at the edge of Hyde Park in London. Here, as he does throughout the poem,

Blake conflates the real geography of London with his mythic geography. The Tyburn

tree, a scene of horrific capital punishment for hundreds of years until 1793, loomed just

outside the large, pleasant grounds of Hyde Park. The park is one of the earliest models

of the English style in landscape gardening, having been remodeled by order of Queen

Caroline in 1728, at which time Kensington Gardens was divided from the space with the

construction of a ha-ha (The Royal Parks Foundation par. 10). Mrs. Alec Tweedie, author

of a sentimental history of Hyde Park, makes an interesting comment about Tyburn

square: "That is just where history awakens us from musings to the unexpected reality of

things" (204). Evidently Blake witnessed a similar dynamic in London—people went to

Hyde park as an escape, but ran smack into the spectacle of Tyburn, a place where

bleachers were set up for monthly executions, tickets and concessions were sold, and up

to twenty-four persons could be hanged at a time (Tweedie 210-23). The juxtaposition of

these sites comes to the forefront when Los tries to shield Enitharmon from the horrors of

Satan becoming opaque:

> But Los hid Enitharmon from the sight of all these things.
> Upon the Thames whose lulling harmony repos'd her soul:
> Where Beulah lovely terminates in rocky Albion:
> Terminating in Hyde Park. on Tyburns awful brook (9: 2-5)

Los's attempt at protecting Enitharmon fails miserably as the boundary of Beulah, the site of execution where Satan is sentenced to eternal death, is right there. As we see in the action of the Bard's song, Enitharmon is fully aware of and active in the events.

Blake enacts the horror of Tyburn in several sacrifice scenes spread throughout *Milton*, never allowing the specter of capital punishment to fully escape the reader's consciousness. The most relevant of these scenes comes early in the poem, as Blake establishes the larger setting. Significantly, this passage appears on the same plate as the first two groups of megaliths, visually establishing Blake's topographical approach, as discussed in my first chapter:

> Between South Molton street & Stratford Place: Calvarys foot
> Where the Victims were preparing for Sacrifice their Cherubim
> Around their loins pourd forth their arrows & their bosoms beam
> With all colours of precious stones, & their inmost palaces
> Resounded with preparation of animals wild & tame
> (Mark well my words! Corporeal Friends
>   are Spiritual Enemies)
> Mocking Druidical Mathematical
> Proportion of Length Bredth Highth
> Displaying Naked Beauty! With Flute &
>   Harp & Song (3[a]: 21-29)

In addition to the horror of human sacrifice brought to light in both text and images, this scene also introduces several other important themes. This passage includes the first mention of a place where Blake lived (the house at 17 South Molton Street was the Blake home from 1803 to 1821). The autobiographical context adds a personal layer that fits in with the strong sense of personal significance for the author throughout the poem. It is

quite possible that the horrid spectacle of Tyburn disrupted Blake's days before the

"Triple Tree" was taken down, and he certainly carried a strong remembrance of it. This

passage places human sacrifice in a specifically British context, and it is also the first

reference to Mathematical things and stony bosoms in the poem, highlighting the

correlations between *Milton* and Stukeley's works by tying the Church of England to

Druidical human sacrifice.

Curiously, the stones in this passage beam "With all colours of precious stones,"

rather than being opaque, signifying, I suppose, a quality opposite to Satan's opaque

selfhood. Coupled with the arrows (a symbol of intellect or desire) which "pourd forth,"

I read this as a scene of martyrdom at Tyburn—a fate which many suffered for their

religion. Last speeches were customary at Tyburn and perhaps led to the current use of

the space as Speakers' Corner, a site where anyone can speak on any topic—religion,

philosophy, and politics being common topics. The arrows here could refer to these

speeches, pouring forth from the victims rather than toward them. The references to

animal sacrifice and to their resounding noise could also be pointing toward the tradition

of last words.

Blake's celebration of these victims as they mock "Druidical Mathematical /

Proportion" further supports this reading. Recalling the discussion of mathematic

proportions in my first chapter, we can read this act as defiance against the established

church and perhaps against the very idea of forcing humans to conform to such stony

regulations as swearing allegiance to the crown and accepting the Church of England's

dogma. This idea also appears in Blake's earlier poem "A Little Boy Lost" from *Songs of*

Experience, in which the boy is burnt as a heretic.[14] "Displaying Naked Beauty," the victims are showing their divine Humanity.

Nakedness clearly has positive connotations within the poem, as Milton disrobes before his speech and heroic descent into Ulro (12: 13) and later he explains self-annihilation to Ololon in terms of bathing:

> To bathe in the Waters of Life; to wash off the Not Human
> I come in Self-annihilation & the grandeur of Inspiration
> To cast off Rational Demonstration by Faith in the Saviour
> To cast off the rotten rags of Memory by Inspiration
> To cast off Bacon. Locke & Newton from Albions covering
> To take off his filthy garments, & clothe him with Imagination
> (44[43]: 1-6)

The repetition in this passage emphasizes the need to remove restrictions. Essick and Viscomi note that "Coverings of all types are generally images of prohibition, blockage, and disguise in *Milton*" (114n.).[15] This scene enacts the preparation of a victim for sacrifice. This reading works with the language and imagery that casts Milton and Ololon as Christ-figures who voluntarily descend to the eternal death of Ulro. In this reversal, Blake presents Christian sacrifice as an antithesis to Druidic sacrifice. Casting off the inhuman filth of the current establishments of Rational Demonstration and Memory via the agency of Inspiration and Imagination enables a sort of sacrifice of the "Not Human." Similarly, Blake's repetitive use of human sacrifice in *Milton* is a way of emphasizing the human costs of the "Not Human" systems that petrify thoughts and ideas.

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14 Thanks to Dr. Noah Heringman for pointing out this connection.

15 For more on weaving and clothing imagery in the poem, see Morton D. Paley, "Figure of the Garment in *The Four Zoas, Milton,* and *Jerusalem*" in *Blake's Sublime Allegory,* ed. Stuart Curran and Joseph Anthony Wittreich, Jr. (Madison, WI: U of Wisconsin P, 1973) 119-39.

In the eighteenth century, an analogous debate over systemization and stagnation went on in writings on garden culture. Whately's chapter "Of Art" opens up with a discussion of art being reduced to mathematics in the French-style garden:

> [A]rt was carried to excess, when from accessory it became
> principal; and the subject upon which it was employed, was
> brought under regulations, less applicable to that than to
> any other; when ground, wood, and water, were reduced to
> mathematical figures; and similarity and order were
> preferred to freedom and variety. These mischiefs,
> however, were occasioned, not by the use but the
> perversion of art; it excluded, instead of improving upon
> nature; and therefore destroyed the very end it was called in
> to promote. (136)

He goes on to ascribe this perversion to the extension of the ideal of regularity from architecture into the garden. He cautions the reader against an overly prescriptive approach: "never to suffer general considerations to interfere with *extraordinary great effects*, which rise superior to all regulations, and perhaps owe part of their force to their deviation from them. Singularity causes at least surprise, and surprise is allied to astonishment" (Whately 21). Other writers also accused the Brown formula of being overly formulaic in its application of variety. For example, Walpole tells of how the painter William Kent helped establish the aesthetics of English landscapes and how he and his followers took it too far: "Having routed *professed art,* for the modern gardener exerts his talents to conceal his art, Kent, like other reformers, knew not how to stop at the just limits. . . . His ruling principle was, that *nature abhors a straight line*—His mimics, for every genius has his apes, seemed to think that she could love nothing but what was crooked" (Walpole 270). This monotony of variety came about largely because of Brown's incredible success, as Watkin observes: "What we have called Brown's

formula was established by 1750 . . . and was repeated consistently until . . . 1782,

regardless of whether the house were mediaeval like Alnwick Castle, Tudor like

Burghley, Baroque like Blenheim, or Palladian like Wardour" (67). Through sheer

numbers and indiscreet application, a style designed to heighten the already-existing

effect of a landscape began to impose a generic effect on landscapes regardless of the

setting, and the ownership of a landscape garden became more important to many

landowners than its effect.

This tasteless application of the Brown style seems to have found its expression in

the eighteenth-century debates on the definition of the Picturesque aesthetic. The

distinction between the picturesque object and picturesque viewing became important,

particularly in the debate between Richard Paine Knight and Uvedale Price: "Knight . . .

accepted the existence of picturesque qualities but not the term Picturesque . . . for

Knight, the Picturesque was a way of looking, not a quality inherent in particular objects"

(Watkin 78). This sentiment was also taken up by Humphrey Repton, who objected to

"seeking for distinctions in external objects, which exist only in the modes and habits of

viewing them" (qtd. in Walpole 317). This distinction evokes Blake's description of

religion as "attempting to realize or abstract the mental deities from their objects" in *The*

Marriage of Heaven and Hell (*BPD* 74).   By turning their attention to the act of viewing,

these garden theorists also address the radical present, the reciprocal act of creation

between the designer and visitors of a garden.

Blake explicitly constructs this moment of creation, the Pulse of an Artery as a

garden—or rather a succession of gardens. This internal garden is further elaborated, in

what V. A. De Luca calls "the anatomy of a sublime moment reconstructed as a spatial survey" (111), as the Sons of Los construct time, providing couches, tents, gates, walls, signs, terraces, barriers, towers, and moats that divide measurements of time in a spatial sense with various garden accoutrements as the passage builds toward the explanation of the Moment of Inspiration (27: 44-59).   Working hand in hand with Blake's printmaking practices and variable arrangements of the prints, Blake's delineations of space highlight the radical present of artistic creation and resonate with the aesthetics of antiquarian prints and the English landscape garden.

3: Gardens of Pleasure and of Produce

Blake's emphasis on the Moment of Inspiration of course goes beyond simply stating its existence: a prime concern in *Milton* lies in how the Moment is used. This preoccupation plays out in the relationship and differences between Beulah and Eden. While the opening of the poem proper gives primacy to the inward space, the call to the "Daughters of Beulah" parodies a conventional call to the Muses, drawing attention to the purposes of mental activity. By describing Beulah as a place of "soft sexual delusions / Of varied beauty" (1[3]: 3-4), Blake invokes the traditional call to the Muses, but breaks radically from the typical formula. Blake's characterization of this space as one of "sexual delusions," rather than truth or inspiration, aligns it with the central dilemma of the poem—the lapsed, sexual (or deluded) state of Man. The nod to variation points to Beulah's status as a garden and highlights the fleetingness of the charms of Beulah as opposed to the eternal grandeur of Eden. Similarly, after this invocation, Blake starts the action of the poem in a Bard's song which is sung in Eternity, creating a paradoxical

fusion of the fleetingness of a song with the fixedness of Eternity.

Blake also makes much of the differences between Eden and Beulah at the beginning of Book II. The two noncorporeal realms are shown to be different through the phenomenological, situated viewing discussed in my first chapter. Beulah appears differently to Sons of Eden than to the Daughters of Beulah:

> But Beulah to its Inhabitants appears within each district
> As the beloved infant in his mothers bosom round incircled
> With arms of love & pity & sweet compassion, But to
> The Sons of Eden the moony habitations of Beulah,
> Are from Great Eternity a mild & pleasant Rest. (30: 10-14)

Here Blake sets up a traditionally chauvinistic construction of genders—the male as active and the female as passive—which he disrupts elsewhere in the poem, particularly through the activity of Ololon. The inhabitants of Beulah see this realm's comforts as a necessity, in the same sense that a mother's care is necessary to an infant. To leave this realm, they must undergo a change, as the multitudes of Ololon must unite into the form of a virgin girl and take a physical body to enter Ulro. As a sharp contrast, the Sons of Eden see that the comforts of Beulah are not a constant need, but only a welcome rest from the intensity of Eden. This difference moves us closer to the essential difference between the two gardens.

The result or end of the activity of cultivation is central to the distinction between Beulah and Eden. As a region of pleasure and rest, Beulah fits the mold of the English landscape garden quite well, but Eden seems to ask for something more. Edenic inspiration hinges on the production of art, which in Blake's formulation is a cooperative process. I find an analogous difference in Whately's distinction between a garden and a

farm. Whately spells out the relationship:

> Though a farm and a garden agree in many particulars
> connected with extent, yet in *style* they are the two
> extremes. Both indeed are subjects of cultivation; but
> cultivation in the one is *husbandry*; and in the other
> *decoration*: the former is appropriated to *profit,* the latter to
> *pleasure:* fields profusely ornamented do not retain the
> appearance of a farm; and an apparent attention to produce,
> obliterates the idea of a garden. (160)

Whately's discussion on the uses of buildings in gardens also provides helpful context on

the uses of spaces in landscape gardening. He distinguishes between the uses of

buildings as seats and as objects:

> Buildings probably were first introduced into gardens
> merely for convenience . . . they have since been converted
> into objects; and now the original *use* is too often forgotten
> in the greater purposes to which they are applied; they are
> considered as objects only; the inside is totally neglected;
> and a pompous edifice frequently wants a room barely
> comfortable. . . . But in a garden they ought to be
> considered both as beautiful objects, and as agreable [sic]
> retreats. (117)

In language that parallels our discussion of Blake's distinction between inner and outer

spaces, Whately makes a rare gesture toward how garden spaces are used. For Whately,

the buildings of a garden do not need to fulfill the same function as the original, and in

most cases they should not. The buildings reproduced in the landscape garden served

various purposes (defense, worship, religious seclusion, etc.), but as garden ornaments,

their various intentions are all boiled down to beauty and comfort. In this light, we can

view the edifices of landscape gardens as similar to Blake's Beulah.

Eighteenth-century gardenists were aware that landscape gardens carried an

element of aristocratic exclusivity and extravagance. However, it should not be

surprising that such observations were generally made of the older, formal style. For

example, Walpole characterizes the walls and partitions put up around the formal, French-

style gardens of the aristocracy as self-indulgent and wasteful, describing "the inundation

of luxuries which have swelled into general necessities" and summing up, "Thus

difficulty and expence were the constituent parts of those sumptuous and selfish

solitudes; and every improvement that was made, was but a step farther from nature"

(Walpole 243). While it is hard to disagree with Walpole here, the same charges could be

made against the English landscape garden as well.   For example, Watkin elaborates on

the sumptuous and selfish aspects of the Brown stlye:

> Brown was able to create an extraordinary sense of
> amplitude and of opulence, enshrining an ideal image of the
> rural scene from which he had eliminated ploughed fields,
> cowsheds, kitchen gardens and all the evidence of toil. His
> parks are not calculated to stimulate philosophical or
> historical reflections like early-eighteenth-century gardens,
> but to create a sense of almost physical well-being, a
> beneficent calm rooted in the pride of land-ownership. (67)

The removal of any sign of work is certainly emblematic of the stereotypical English

gentleman's lifestyle. A fashionable gentleman kept himself busy with duties and

diversions, but "work" in a manual sense was not something in which he partook. A

passage from Robert Hugh Benson's novel *The Conventionalists* (1908) expresses quite

clearly the intentional decadence of the English landscape garden: "a well-padded motor

and an English park are perhaps, above all else, the two things most calculated to induce

a materialistic frame of mind. They are so supremely comfortable, so adequate to lower

needs, so entirely representative of imagination fettered to the requirements of the body"

(qtd. in Watkin 68). As one can easily infer from these examples, the selfishness inherent

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in many of these parks and gardens is tied closely to national pride and class-based elitism and is expressed through extravagance and indolence.

One minor complication in my reading is that Blake's terminology does not line up neatly with Whately's. For example Blake uses gardens as both delusive and productive spaces in *Milton,* and he never uses the word farm, which muddies my semantic distinctions between these types of spaces slightly. Most notable of these productive spaces is Blake's own garden in Felpham, but the Moment of Inspiration is also described as a garden where Ololon rests after (or during?) her entrance to Ulro (35: 48-67). Blake provides another term that indicates the delusive garden. Instead of gardens, Blake designates these spaces as labyrinths. Leutha relates the creation of Satan's hell using this term:

> Satan astonishd, and with power above his own controll
> Compell'd the Gnomes to throw banks of sand
> Around the fiery flaming Harrow in labyrinthine forms.
> . . . .
> The Harrow cast thick flames & orb'd us round in concave fires
> A Hell of our own making, see, its flames still gird me round"
> (10: 16-18, 22-23).

The Miltonic resonances are strong in this passage, as they are in a later description of the Mundane Shell as "a cavernous Earth / Of labyrinthine intricacy" (16: 25-6). These spaces are associated with selfhood, separation and the creation of Ulro or Hell. As noted above, focusing too narrowly on the objects of Blake's gardens could be problematic and not accurately relate to the aesthetic with which he is working. With this in mind, I will return to discussing the activities that go on in *Milton* and how they relate to the garden theme.

4: My Path Became a Solid Fire

As mentioned in the first chapter, movement is important in *Milton*. In programmatic gardens, it is not just the location that helps to provide meaning or facilitate meditation; the act of walking, of traversing a certain path, is a key component of the experience. Max F. Schulz explains that the tradition of circuit walks was alive and well by the early eighteenth century and that these walks allowed visitors to take part in "a paradigmatic action which lent itself to a secularized and (if you will) faintly frivolous parody of the soul's circuitous passage in this world from its earthly to heavenly home" (qtd. in Haycock 73).[16] Of course, whether the walk is a parody or a serious approximation of the soul's track is dependent primarily on the walker's intention.

Blake conjures the idea of gardens and the garden walk through his use of pavements. As Whatlely points out, the idea of movement can be evoked by the very presence of a paved or gravel walk: "The gravel paths have been mentioned as contributing to the appearance of a garden; . . . a field surrounded by a gravel walk is to a degree bordered by a garden . . . whatever it be, the walk is certainly a garden; it is a spot set apart for pleasure" (206-07). This principle still holds up to a certain extent in modern landscaped spaces—when we see a well-maintained path of gravel or pavement, we know that this is a space for recreation. Blake applies this idea in several instances, the most illuminating of which is the confrontation between Milton and Satan on plate 40. Blake as narrator describes the action: "Suddenly around Milton on my Path, the Starry Seven / Burned terrible! my Path became a solid fire, as bright / As the clear Sun &

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16 Schulz, Max F. "The Circuit Walk of the Eighteenth-century Landscape Garden and the Pilgrim's Circuitous Progress." *Eighteenth-Century Studies*.15 (1981): 3.

Milton silent came down on my Path" (40: 3-5). The words "my Path" appear in three contiguous lines, emphasizing the idea of a garden walk and that Blake must follow this path. This is not terribly surprising; naturally Blake would set the challenge he places before his literary predecessor before himself as well in his most autobiographical work. What is surprising about this passage is that this garden path is anything but the "spot set apart for pleasure" that Whately would have it be.

The paths in *Milton* do serious work, running counter to Whately's idea of a garden as a place for pleasure that excludes labor and toil. Milton and Ololon cooperate to establish and widen a path between Eternity and Ulro, and this cooperative act is central to the meaning to be found in this reading of the poem. When Ololon (still a multitude) descend along Milton's Track, they are greeted as successful garden designers or laborers:

> O how the Starry Eight rejoic'd to see Ololon descended:
> And now that a wide road was open to Eternity,
> By Ololons descent thro Beulah to Los & Enitharmon.
>
> For mighty were the multitudes of Ololon, vast the extent
> Of their great sway, reaching from Ulro to Eternity
> Surrounding the Mundane Shell outside in its Caverns
> And through Beulah. and all silent forbore to contend
> With Ololon for they saw the Lord in the Clouds of Ololon
> (35: 34-41)

This passage strongly echoes scenes from *Paradise Lost*—the "broad and ample road" to God's house (7.576-77) and the "broad and beat'n way" made by Sin and Death from hell to earth (2.1026) (*Milton* 194n. 35); it also echoes contemporary ideas about garden walks. The Starry Eight rejoice not only at Ololon's descent, but also at their handiwork in widening Milton's Track, as though they were the landowners gladly surveying a new

improvement to their land. Not only is the Track widened, it is now also making a circuit

around the Mundane Shell. Recalling Whately's commentary on gravel walks, Ololon

has made a grotesque garden, or labyrinth, as noted above, of the Mundane Shell.

In addition to the paths, the movements of characters in *Milton* are significant,

signaling either progression or stagnation. Nearly every character moves at some point in

the poem, and these movements happen in moments of inspiration, such as Milton's

descent to Ulro and Ololon's parallel voyage, or in moments of fear, such as the many

times a character hides or is hidden within another.   In topographical terms, the

difference between these two types of movement is exemplified in the contrast between

the River Ololon and the lake Udan-Adan. This may seem odd, but it actually makes

sense when considered in the context of Whately's commentary on the use of water

effects. Whately spells out a principle for the effects of water on a garden's character:

"The characteristic property of running water is *progress*; of stagnated, is *circuity*"

(Whately 63). This evaluation holds true in *Milton*; lakes, principally Udan-Adan, are

places of stagnation while rivers, most notably Ololon, allow for progress. Blake

becomes aware that "There is in Eden a sweet River, of milk & liquid pearl, / Namd

Ololon" (20[19]: 15-16), directly pulling from *Paradise Lost* Book IV as many gardeners

and enthusiasts have done. This passage is sandwiched between Blake's binding on the

sandal "to walk forward thro' Eternity" and Los helping Blake to bind the sandal "in

Udan-Adan" (21[20]: 9). This strange interruption of chronology reflects the Eternal,

noncorporeal quality of the action and strengthens the in-the-moment feeling of Blake's

vision of Eden and the River Ololon. Despite this source of confusion, it is clear that

when Blake is able to move forward, he is privy to Ololon, and when he is not, he stands

on the shores of Udan-Adan with curtailed vision.

Just as a river flows, Ololon moves forward, as all the scenes of productive

inspiration in *Milton* involve forward movement. One such scene is Ololon's entrance

into the Polypus. This scene exemplifies the idea of inspiration as a present-tense notion:

> There is a Moment in each Day that Satan cannot find
> Nor can his Watch Fiends find it, but the Industrious find
> This Moment & it multiply, & when it once is found
> It renovates every Moment of the Day if rightly placed
> In this Moment Ololon descended to Los & Enitharmon
> (35: 42-47)

The return of the capitalized Moment refers us back to Blake's establishment of the Pulse

as the base unit of time, implying that this inspiration can be found anytime, so long as

the seeker is "Industrious." As with the scenes in which Milton and Los descend upon

Blake, this scene is followed by a burst of inspired knowledge (35: 48-36: 12). In these

scenes there is always an activity since entry into Edenic or Human Inspiration requires

passage through experience, in keeping with Frye's assessment of the passage between

these realms. After the initial burst of knowledge, Ololon knows that they/she must step

into the Polypus to enter Generation and find Milton (36: 13-16). And it is only through a

step forward, the experience of physical generation, that they/she can progress from the

Sexual to the Human.

5: The Human Harvest

When Ololon descends into the physical world, she visits Blake's own garden in

Felpham. It is notable that, according to Damon's *Blake Dictionary*, this was a vegetable

garden, a place of production, and that in this garden Blake had mystical experiences

including the vision recorded in *Milton* (136-37). Of course, Blake's personal gardens may have incorporated some of the elements to be found in the gardens of his well-to-do patrons, but the only detail we have about the extent of Blake's garden is that, at least in Felpham, he employed the help of a gardener, at least occasionally, who had need of an assistant one day in August 1803. This led to the incident with the drunken soldier and sometime garden assistant, John Schofield, and his ensuing charge of sedition against Blake.[17] Notably, Blake's garden is not described in any way in *Milton* except in a fairly nondescript drawing of his cottage on plate 36, which, according to Alexander Gilchrist "bears no accurate resemblance to the real place" (qtd. in Damon 137). This is probably because it is a physical/outward space, and thus not part of the focus of the poem.

The requirement of activity, or of toil, for access to Human inspiration is signified throughout the poem by the pervasive theme of the Great Harvest. In keeping with poetic tradition, and building on Revelation, Blake casts his time of artistic maturity as the harvest. In the Bard's song, the harvest theme is made clear by the occupations of Satan, Palamabron and Rintrah as miller, harrow driver and plowman. The song relates a farm economy thrown into chaos by Satan and Palamabron's switching of duties. Since they are Sons of Los, Blake clearly intends this story as an allegory for the creative faculties of Man, or "the offspring of imaginative insight into the human psyche" as Essick and Viscomi put it (*Milton* 118n.). There is a strong metonymic relationship between the plow and harrow and the apocalyptic harvest, drawing on Revelation, as well as a relationship to Blake's engraving tools. Blake's stay in Felpham, where his cottage

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17 For more on this incident, see Blake's letter to Thomas Butts, August 16, 1803 and his memorandum, *Blake's Poetry and Designs* 485-89.

overlooked wheat fields, also relates to these farm implements (*Milton* 117n. 42, 118n. 1). The fact that plowing and harrowing are springtime activities while milling is associated with the fall harvest highlights the usurpation plot of the Bard's song.[18] It also draws attention to the fact that agricultural production is traditionally a communal effort. When Satan and Palamabron exchange roles, they are no longer able to cooperate harmoniously, and so their creative energies produce labyrinthine hells instead of heavens.

With the farm economy of the Bard's song in mind, we can say that while Ololon's actions are significant in moving the plot forward, to cast the resolution of *Milton* as Ololon's act alone would not only be inaccurate, but also miss the major point that all of this garden imagery makes clear. Having worked through the major garden images and ideas in the poem, the theme of reciprocity discussed in the previous chapter seems all the more important to *Milton*.

Returning to plate 30, the opening of the second book of *Milton*, we observe that the distinction between Beulah and Eden appears as a difference in viewing. The first epigraph, "How wide the Gulf & Unpassable! between Simplicity and Insipidity," sets the reader up to look for a contrast—an expectation that is soon met. The next epigraph, "Contraries are Positives" stands in contrast to the text below, describing Beulah as a place "Where no dispute can come" (30: 3). The reverse writing of the epigraphs serves to highlight the idea of productive resistance (plate 30n.). The obvious construction of resistance in the reversed text stands out even more when juxtaposed with the change to a much more simple style of language in the second book. This initial contrast also mirrors

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18 Thanks are due again to Dr. Heringman for pointing this out.

the larger one between the first and second books of *Milton*. Susan Fox notes the feminine emphasis on "resolution" in Book 2, in contrast to the focus on "struggle" in the more masculine Book 1 (*Milton* 30n., 182).[19]

Thinking of the gender distinction in terms of gardens and tourism, we could then look at Ololon (a multitude) as the (feminine or feminized) populace who visit the gardens, bringing their own thoughts and intentions, becoming the protagonists of the gardens' plots. We can think of the "gardens" here as actual sites of British antiquity such as Stonehenge, as literary sites of British antiquity such as John Milton's works, or Blake's monuments of Human antiquity in *Milton*. Whichever garden the visitors or readers attend to, the decision is theirs—to undergo productive struggle to find true inspiration or to passively enjoy the sensual delusions at surface value. Passive enjoyment of the garden leads to no progression and instead to stagnation while productive engagement in the work brings the risk of pain and fear but also greater rewards. This is a distinction in the act of looking, not in the object of observation. With this distinction in mind, we will find that passages throughout the poem take on a new coherence, particularly the many scenes in which a character hides or is hidden.

At several points in the poem, characters hide or are hidden in temples (which are the bosoms of other characters). These are instances of Beulah's comfort and rest being chosen over Eden's struggle for growth and inspiration. The most notable instance is that of Leutha, who hides within Satan's brain as she leads him to "Delusory love to Palamabron: admiration join'd with envy" (10: 4-7), and later hides herself in

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19 See Susan Fox. *Poetic Form in Blake's* Milton. (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976), 127-28.

Enitharmon's Tent (11: 14). Among the many cases of hiding, I choose to look at this one

primarily because of Leutha's close parallel to Sin in *Paradise Lost*. Milton's Satan

begets Death on Sin, and Blake's Leutha enacts a reversal of this process by begetting

selfhood (analogous to death in Blake's formulation) on Satan. And, significantly, she

does this as Enitharmon hides her "In moments new created for delusion" (11: 39-40). I

find it telling that the self-declared cause of Satan's opacity takes refuge in a delusory

dream—a folly. In the retreat into passivity, the possibility of experience and the true

inspiration of Eden is precluded.

In contrast, Milton rejects the passivity of Beulah (32*[e]: 1-7). Milton's

rejection of Beulah begins "I have turned my back upon these Heavens builded on

cruelty." I read "Heavens" as Beulah because of the placement of this plate within the

long section on the songs and lamentations of Beulah. Even though Blake moved this

plate around from one copy to another, it was always within the section on Beulah

(32*[e]n.). Milton says, "I have turned my back"—using the present perfect tense—

meaning that his rejection of the passive way of viewing is actuated by a change in point

of view. Milton is figuratively turning his back on the model of art based on the passive

acceptance of what is presented in favor of a cooperative model.

The union of Milton and Ololon is the culmination of this idea: in the figure of

Jesus the Savior, they form the cooperative union of artist and audience. In the speech in

which Milton lays out his reasons for self-annihilation to convince Ololon to join with

him (42: 29-44[43]: 28), this union seems to be a middle ground between the indefinite

and the petrified. Milton calls for the casting off of the "filthy garments" of Bacon,

Locke and Newton, aligning these systems of thought with filth or earth (44[43]: 5-6), which is analogous to the stones of Hillel's speech. He also calls for a move away from "the tame high finisher of paltry Blots, / Indefinite, or paltry Rhymes; or paltry Harmonies" (44[43]: 9-10). These paltry forms of poetry align with Beulah and the unengaged consumption of art. Blake's image of the Human body takes a middle position between the undefined, moonlit Beulah and the rocky hardness of Satanic/Urizenic systems. In terms of thought, Blake seems to be advocating for a similar middle ground. He turns away from the "paltry" poetry of simple rhymes and pleasing sounds that lacks depth of meaning (which can be found in any era), and he also turns away from the idea of conflating or reducing poetry to historical fact, as many have done with ancient scriptures.

Ololon's transformation is an inversion of Los's division in Book 1. After witnessing (or performing?) the Creation of Urizen, "Terrified Los stood in the Abyss & his immortal limbs / Grew deadly pale; he became what he beheld" (2[b]: 28-29). Seeing the state of fragmentation and disunity, Los replicates it by dividing into Threefold Sexuality. The union of Milton, the Angels of the Divine Presence and Ololon reverses this action, and they become Jesus the Savior: a figure of redemption and unification. Significantly, it is Ololon who becomes Jesus' robe, "a Garment dipped in blood / Written within & without in woven letters: & the Writing / Is the Divine Revelation in the Litteral expression" (45[44]: 12-14). Here it is Ololon who creates the text—not Milton. This opposes the traditional gender construction of the author-audience relationship. As Jonathan Kramnick describes it, "public demands are experienced as a cloying, 'female'

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presence" which is corrected or regulated by the author/critic who acts as a "serious, solemn dictator" (1096). Ololon becomes what she beholds—the text/robe of a cooperative, self-annihilating, artistic creation. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that she becomes *how* she beholds.

Conclusion:

The Great Harvest

       The findings of this study are by no means revolutionary. This reading merely explores Blake's reaction to the antiquarian craze through some aspects of eighteenth-century culture that have been overlooked in Blake scholarship. Happily, the fascinating works of Haycock, Lolla, Hunt, Watkin, and others have provided useful information about the art forms of the time period, making this study possible.

       The idea that pervades this study is that viewers become what they behold, or perhaps how they behold, the monuments of Antiquity. In the eighteenth century, a sexualized Antiquity was discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii. Some beheld with delight, emulating the libertine ancients, and in the case of Emma Hamilton, becoming the statuary she beheld in as literal a way as possible through her exhibitions of "attitudes." Others, such as Stukeley, turned toward local history and became the ancient Druids of their imaginations. Stukeley went so far as to take up the pseudonym Chyndonax in honor of a legendary Druid. He was not unique in the use of such monikers—many antiquarians of his day regularly signed their correspondence with fanciful pseudonyms. In Blake's later years, a small group of artists who appreciated the antiquarian aesthetic and admired Blake's work, including Samuel Palmer, George Richmond, and Edward Calvert, took to calling themselves The Ancients or the Shoreham Ancients. These artists, who are known for conservative political and theological attitudes, (or, more generally, artists of their bent) could have been a primary

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audience for Blake's radical message in *Milton*.

Milton addresses the cultural interest in Antiquity with a self-enacting treatise on cooperative, co-authored art, presenting mind-bogglingly resistant monuments to the Human Antiquity of the present creative moment. Through powerful images and ideas coupled with "opake" presentation, Blake creates a text that challenges the reader to become his or her own Ancient.

I find this phenomenon of becoming what one beholds happening in my own work. After months of engagement with the resistant, non-linear *Milton,* it seems to have become more difficult for me to present ideas in a linear, logocentric manner (my apologies if sections of this text seem less than lucid). I find myself wishing for the time and talent to create a graphic representation of the information in this thesis, and the many diagrams and doodles in my notes for this project attest to this urge.

My engagement with *Milton* is just one of hopefully many such explorations that will arise from a more inclusive inquiry into the sources and inspirations that helped to shape the daringly resistant work of William Blake. These speculations should not be read as positivistic declarations of the new-found truth of Blake's work, but rather as early forays into a terrain that few have journeyed to as of yet. While working on this project, the thought occurred to me, "Why go through the trouble of such a speculative and resistant line of study?" And an answer came as well—because "Contraries are Positives."

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