

Qualities of Movement: Travel and Environment in Modern Epic Literature

by Melanie Wood, BA, MA

Thesis submitted to the University of Nottingham
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, October 2001.

Resubmitted, May 2003.



Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Robert Cockcroft, for his patient guidance throughout my period of research. I am also grateful to Dr. Shaun Regan, for feedback and encouragement in the early stages of my work.

This thesis could not have been completed without the financial and emotional support of my parents, Dr. Clifford Wood and Sheila Wood, to whom I dedicate this work.

Table of Contents

Chapter One

Introduction	1
I. Introduction to Epic Literature	3
II. Genesis of a Genre: Heroic Sagas Expanded into Epic	5
i. Sagas and Lays	5
ii. Expansion into Epic	6
iii. Geography and Travel in the Oral Tradition	7
iv. Broader Geography of Epic	8
III. Definitions of Epic	10
i. Pre-Twentieth-Century Epic Criticism	10
ii. Industrialised Epic	25
iii. Genre Theory	28
iv. Twentieth-Century Epic Criticism	33
IV. Synopsis	40
i. A Geographical Approach	40
V. Expository Structure	45
Notes	49

Chapter Two

"Mazes intricate" (v.622): John Milton's <i>Paradise Lost</i> (1667)	60
I. The Renaissance	60
i. Religion	60
ii. Human Consciousness	62
iii. Travel	62
iv. Miltonic Universe	63
II. Epic Context	66
III. <i>Paradise Lost</i>	69
i. Satan	70
ii. Adam and Eve	93
Notes	102

The Romantic Period	107
I. Perceiving the Environment	107
i. Travel	108
ii. The Transformed Environment	110
iii. Novelty (The Grand Tour)	113
II. Aesthetic Experience	115
i. The Picturesque	116
i. The Sublime	117
III. Epic Context	120
i. The Epic Journey	121
Notes	126

Chapter Three

Boundaries and Destinations: William Wordsworth's <i>The Prelude</i> (1805)	130
I. The Lyrical Tradition in Epic	130
i. The <i>Border Ballads</i> and <i>The Prelude</i>	131
II. <i>The Prelude</i>	134
Notes	165

Chapter Four

<i>Carpe Diem</i> and Perpetual Motion: Lord Byron's <i>Don Juan</i> (1819-24)	169
<i>Don Juan</i>	169
Notes	201

Chapter Five

"A very short space of time through very short times of space": James Joyce's <i>Ulysses</i> (1922)	207
I. Epic Context	209
i. Epic Time	209
ii. Epic Space	211
iii. Heroism	212
iv. The Novel	213
II. Dublin	215
III. <i>Ulysses</i>	221
i. Stephen Dedalus	222
ii. Leopold Bloom	229
Notes	244

Chapter Six

"Time is the metre, memory the only plot": Derek Walcott's <i>Omeros</i> (1990) and Aidan Andrew Dun's <i>Vale Royal</i> (1995)	247
I. Epic Context	248
i. Ideas of Landscape	248
ii. Journeys	248
II. <i>Omeros</i>	251
i. Achille	253
ii. Major Plunkett	258
iii. Narrator	264
III. <i>Vale Royal</i>	269
i. Blake	274
ii. Chatterton	277
Notes	290
 Conclusion	294
Summary of Arguments	294
i. Milton	298
ii. Wordsworth	300
iii. Byron	301
iv. Joyce	302
v. Walcott	303
vi. Dun	305
Notes	307
 Afterthought: Trends in Contemporary Epic	308
i. Epic in the Twenty-First Century	308
ii. Recent Epic	310
iii. Performance Epic	315
iv. Current and Future Trends	317
Notes	319
 Bibliography	324
Primary Texts	324
Secondary Texts	324

Abstract

Epic literature has often been interpreted as a static genre, conforming to conventional structural and thematic characteristics. This study argues that epic is a genre of movement and transition, in terms of its literary style, and its humanist representation of journeys and geography.

Taking a thematic approach, this study draws upon images of movement, modes of transport and perceptions of the environment to argue that modern epic is concerned with describing both an animate universe and humankind's position within it.

Chronological discussions of individual narratives focus upon John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), William Wordsworth's *The Prelude* (1805), Lord Byron's *Don Juan* (1819-24), James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), Derek Walcott's *Omeros* (1990), and Aiden Andrew Dun's *Vale Royal* (1995). This carries the study across the modern period, from the Seventeenth Century to the present day. Literary and philosophical contexts are engaged with, and culturally-specific interpretations of a perceived human condition are drawn out.

The study concludes that epic must be perceived as a genre which evolves alongside cultural developments. The epic journey is one of the prime vehicles for expressing change, and for guiding the hero and reader towards new revelations or ways of understanding material and social environments.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Conventional notions of tradition and genre must be challenged when applied to epic literature because it is a genre of movement and transition, in terms of its literary style, and its humanistic representation of journeys and geography. This is a study of physical movement in modern epic from the perspectives of literary development, and the hero's journey in its relations to time, space and perceived motion in the natural world. It is concerned with ideas of environment and the historical practicalities of travel. It focuses on images of movement, modes of transport; and on epic tradition to demonstrate that through travel, epic becomes an exploration of human development both informed by, and informing, the changing environment.

This chapter outlines some of the critical positions to have dominated epic theory, and explains why they are often incompatible with my understanding of epic. In the first section, I offer examples of more contemporary epics which do not necessarily resemble Classical models but which nevertheless fulfil epic requirements. I restate the importance of images of motion to a genre which describes movement and which itself defies all perceptions of it as a static genre.

The second section discusses the emergence of epic literature as a process of expansion. It closes with a discussion of the changing functions of place and geographical awareness in oral heroic poetry and secondary epic. The nature and purpose of travel has influenced cultural perceptions of heroism and informs the alternative visions which are proposed by epic. My geographical approach to epic has governed my interdisciplinary interpretation of the texts, the emphasis upon travel has informed my selection of primary texts and related sources, and my definition of epic as

a metamorphic genre has guided me towards a study of modern narratives.

The third section provides an analysis of epic criticism. I begin with the most influential pre-twentieth-century approaches which often sought rigid patterns of characteristics between multifarious texts. I provide examples from later narratives to explain why these approaches are no longer valid. I draw upon the increasingly industrialised perception of heroism, which emerged with the rise of a commercial class in the Eighteenth Century, to demonstrate one of the ways in which epic has evolved. My argument, that epic is not characterised by stasis, has profited from an analysis of genre theory. This section closes with an analysis of some twentieth-century approaches to epic, which have also benefited from a reassessment of 'tradition'.

Section four explains my focus in more detail. My geographical approach to epic connects Edward Relph's concept of "geographical imagination" with humanist geography. My perhaps unfashionable humanist approach to epic not only informs my analysis of images of environment, the hero, and the alternative cultural visions which epics offer; but also provides a methodology.

The final section outlines the expository structure of this thesis. The chapters which follow explore individual texts and their relations to immediate precursors, contemporary, and posterior narratives to contribute to an understanding of how apparently unrelated texts nevertheless participate in an evolving epic tradition. Focusing upon the natures of these epic journeys contributes to understanding the purpose and nature of epic. This emphasis on travel and geography delivers a new approach to understanding some of the themes in epic. It demonstrates that place in epic is not only a setting but a significant agent, determining the hero's spiritual, psychological and emotional progress, in addition to framing his physical route. This approach also serves to challenge limited perceptions

of epic, since promoting the importance of the journey over generic patterns of characteristics, allows a much greater range of narratives to be included in the classification.

I. Introduction to Epic Literature

Epic was considered second only to tragedy by Aristotle¹, and ranked as the premier genre by John Dryden² and other Renaissance and Augustan critics such as William Webbe³ and Thomas Blackwell⁴. Aristotle's definition, drawn from a comparison with tragedy and comedy, appropriates epic as the most potent standard of comparison for his preferred genre, tragedy. Writers, such as Henry Fielding in the Eighteenth Century, have redefined or invented branches of epic in a pretence of grandeur. Hence *Joseph Andrews* (1742) and *Tom Jones* (1749) are marketed as comic epics in prose but are really picaresque novels assimilating aspects of mock-epic⁵.

Modern epic has abandoned formal, stylised language and hyperbolic imagery but still identifies itself with the epic tradition: James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) parallels Homer's *The Odyssey* (c.1000 BC.), to which Derek Walcott's *Omeros* (1990) is also indebted. Brendan Kennelly fills a gap in *The Bible* with the hitherto unwritten *Book of Judas* (1991), Seamus Heaney published a new translation of *Beowulf* (1997), and in *Tales from Ovid* (1997), Ted Hughes dramatises Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1st Cent. AD.).

Epic evolves from old narrative models into narratives appropriate to the age in which they are written, and this evolution accommodates some continuity in epic. However, as a genre of movement, epic cannot be sufficiently described by rules of convention governing theme, language, or characterisation. What distinguishes epic from other genres is its consciousness of its inheritance--as evidenced by naming and imitation. At

the same time, through the process of adaptation, epic narratives interpret the human condition as it appears within the context of the author's immediate culture. Since a persistent emotional idiosyncrasy is a compulsion to imagine the future, epic authors also project ideas ahead to successive generations in a bid for timeless recognition and relevance. As J. Bronowski introduces his theory of cultural evolution in *The Ascent of Man* (1976):

In every age there is a turning-point, a new way of seeing and asserting the coherence of the world. . . . Each culture tries to fix its visionary moment, when it was transformed by a new conception either of nature or of man. But in retrospect, what commands our attention as much are the continuities--the thoughts that run or recur from one civilisation to another⁶.

Epic attempts to preserve that cultural "turning-point", to promote a particular vision. It achieves this by transforming the genre whilst still maintaining some form of continuity with precursor models.

No other genre is as certain of the progression and expansion of life within the continuum of time. Epic is aware of universal growth and change, of the maturation of humanity, and of the cyclical and perpetual motions of Nature. Aptly then, epic authors often view the narrative process itself as a journey: Wordsworth describes his plan for *The Prelude* (1805) as a road lying plain before him, the writing of his autobiography is a journey "of determined bounds", whilst following the windings of a more varied theme could render him lost (*Prelude*, 1.668-72)⁷; David Jones prefaces *The Anathemata* (1952) with "Now making a work is not thinking thoughts but accomplishing an actual journey"⁸. The epic journey represents a journey through symbolic time. The hero, traversing the globe, signifies a desire to participate in the creative flux of an active universe; and what the author and traveller seek is an enlivening of old experience into something new⁹.

II. Genesis of a Genre: Heroic Sagas Expanded into Epic

II.i. Sagas and Lays

The precondition for epic literature was heroic poetry: sagas and heroic lays. A. T. Hatto, reflecting on Germanic and Serbo-Croat lays, defines the heroic lay as "the short dramatic-narrative poem of heroic content transcending all balladry by virtue of its high seriousness and appropriate language"¹⁰. The two traditions, heroic lays and epic, are connected through the shared characteristics of narrative, grandeur and heroism.

Since the Sixteenth Century, 'lay' has commonly described historical ballads and adventure narratives. However, the original lays, such as the *Contes* of Marie de France, were short narratives or lyrics of romance, often based upon legend¹¹. (Chaucer used the term in both contexts: in the prologue to *The Legend of Good Women* [c.1386], he refers to "Layes of love", and in "The Franklin's Prologue" [1387-1400], connects lays to the "diverse adventures" of ancient Britons¹².) Sagas were Scandinavian prose narratives recounting the actions of renowned heroes or warriors¹³. Sagas, such as *Gisla saga Súrssonar* (1179-1241), or *Egils saga* (c.1230), were composed when the country was first settled so they belong to C. M. Bowra's first category of heroic poetry--the primitive. Nomads, and the first pastoral peoples, required poetry which could be recited under any circumstances because of the elements of mobility and unpredictability in their lives¹⁴. That poetry needed to appeal to an audience whose existence depended upon physical strength and adaptability.

Modern studies of ancient cultures reveal the spiritual importance of travel to 'primitive' people. Feet symbols occur in Egypt and India, on dolmens in Brittany, and Scandinavian rock-carvings¹⁵. When Native Americans wandered the plains, their festivals often involved references to

compass points¹⁶. Aboriginal practices similarly link land forms to Dreamtime, the source of all new knowledge¹⁷. Preliterate cultures acquired knowledge from the landscape as they walked across it. The instability of life achieved an illusory stability through images of travel and geographic/geological references which became part of an hereditary consciousness. Tales celebrating a travelling past could remind early settlers of their ancestors, and validate claims to the land they now inhabited.

Both lays and sagas belonged to the oral tradition. They were founded upon ideas of honour and heroism--ideas which were perpetuated in epic poetry. Irrespective of place and time, the concept of the heroic among early societies appears to have been unified, as Bowra demonstrates. They share the fundamental idea that honour is found in exercising physical superiority through (usually violent) action¹⁸.

II.ii. Expansion into Epic

Epic literature, (initially belonging to the oral tradition), was inspired by the same premises that the hero must exert strength and courage over his enemies, and must prove himself through some physical and spiritual test. Through a process of expansion, epic incorporated the heroic ideal of early experience into more elaborate narratives. Bowra describes how the short poem (the poems of the *Elder Edda* [c.1250] vary between 40-384 lines) evolved into the long epic (*The Iliad* [c.1000 BC.] stretches to 15 000 lines) due to a greater exploitation of action and dialogue; through digressions such as the story of Freawaru and the war of the Danes against the Heathobards in *Beowulf* (C8th-C10th), and through incidental detail¹⁹. Later, written poetry permitted episodes to be approached from several angles, an elevated style of language to develop, and 'epic machinery' to be habitually included.

II.iii. Geography and Travel in the Oral Tradition

In *Traditions of Heroic and Epic Poetry* (1989), Hatto argues that in the environment in which heroic narratives unfold, the heroes of life, legend, and poetry have shaped their own topographies by leaving physical marks of their deeds as memorials on the landscape²⁰. From burial mounds and Roman statues, to the Easter Rising bullet holes in the Dublin General Post-Office, First World War associations with the River Somme, and relics from the Border Wars in Cumbria and Northumberland--we find the topographical influence of heroes (real or mythical) across Europe.

Hatto observes that borders are important in heroic poetry and that, "there is often a markedly linear movement of heroes and armies, of attack, counter-attack, retreat, and renewed attack, along the same axis, the termini of which may be Good and Bad Places respectively"²¹. Codifying the land in this way is mapping territory according to human emotions and spiritual associations. Defining the immediate environment according to good and bad events fulfils a primitive need to unite abstract human experience and physical substance. Emotional and spiritual concepts are given form and meaning in the physical world and this transfiguration is an early form of memorialisation. In chapter three, I argue that Wordsworth also memorialises emotions and events by linking them to specific places. His is a more sophisticated, and perhaps individual, form of memorialisation than the examples of a more communal memorialisation cited above. I shall argue that Wordsworth links events in his poetic development to geographic places, not merely to remember the good and bad in life, sometimes with reference to the same place, but to preserve whole experiences, "spots of time", which territorial reminders can restore to the memory.

People, in various, historically-specific ways, throughout time and

across the world, define themselves by reference to memories of landscapes and journeys. Americans celebrate the voyage of English Puritans from Plymouth to New England (1602). Indeed, in *Accordion Crimes* (1997), described on its cover by the *Daily Telegraph* as "an epic social history of America", E. Annie Proulx explores immigrant cultures²². In it, we find people clinging to memories of abandoned homelands, and using recollected journeys to America as sources of determination. And Lucinda Lambton created a television programme from architectural examples of how American immigrants "created enclaves of the worlds they left behind" or, how the "roots of the Old World [were] transplanted into the New"²³. Even journeys from a forgotten past, once rediscovered, can be used to symbolise cultural identity. For example, the Uigurs have seized upon the discovery of a 4 000 year old Caucasian mummy in the Xinjiang Uigur Region in Western China. They are attempting to define themselves, via a belief in the migration of an early Indo-European community to a remote area of China, to argue for the region's independence²⁴. There are many more cultures for which an important journey has been a defining and unifying factor in the perceived identity and practices of social groups: the Mormon journey to Salt Lake City, the Spanish conquest of Aztec Mexico, the Boer 'Great Trek', and Viking expeditions to name but a few.

II.iv. Broader Geography of Epic

Epic has often turned the primitive associations of heroic poetry into allegory. Journeys through the Underworld feature in Virgil's *Aeneid* (c.30-19 BC.) and Dante's *Divina Commedia* (c.1310); and in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678-84), Christian travels through the Slough of Despond, and the Valley of Humiliation before arriving at the Celestial City. Such journeys emerged in the earliest epics. As N. K. Sandars observes, the journey through the Cedar Forest in *Gilgamesh* (c.3000 BC.), like

Medieval allegory, operates on several levels:

The forest is an actual forest, sometimes the Amanus in north Syria, or perhaps in Elam in south-west Persia; but it is also the home of uncanny powers and the scene of strange adventures like those of Celtic heroes and medieval knights; and it is the dark forest of the soul²⁵.

The epic convention of a journey, which is both grounded in reality and a heroic quest for fame and wisdom, touches upon an enduring notion, common to many cultures, which associates ambition with the human spirit and a desire to cross the boundary from the ordinary into the extraordinary world. Pre-epic cultures often located signs of spiritual guidance (from gods, or ancestral spirits) in actual, albeit primitive, geography. Epic, on the other hand, does not always map allegorical onto real landscapes. Seeking Teiresias, Odysseus' journey takes him to the ends of the Earth, as does Gilgamesh's. Gilgamesh's journey, in the second half of the narrative, also marks a withdrawal from actual geography into a spiritual landscape, in the manner of Dante. In the words of Sandars, "the topography is other-worldly in a manner which before it was not. The planes of romantic and of spiritual adventure have coalesced"²⁶.

Where heroic poetry was concerned with defending frontiers, I argue that epic is concerned with expanding frontiers, in the sense that it confronts the limits of place, and of knowledge, and aims to overcome them. Homer's *Iliad* (c.1000 BC.) may be perceived as an anomaly since it describes only an episode in the long siege of Troy²⁷. However, although the walls of Troy provide a frontier, the Greek ships are lined up along the coast creating an impression of prospect--the end of the sea is beyond sight. The ocean, and the open plain where the battle is fought, suggest departure; that is, the action is not strictly linear, along a frontier; it involves movement to, and the possibility of movement away from, the frontier. At

the same time, Homer was promoting honourable virtues--*The Iliad* (c.1000 BC.) challenges the perceived limits of valour and aims to take its heroes across the boundary of mortal virtue, into divine virtue. Epic expands the range of geographies which may be explored, from the earlier physical geography, to spiritual and psychological geographies. Engaging with internal frontiers is especially relevant for the study of Wordsworth since *The Prelude* (1805), describing the "growth of the poet's mind", narrates the inward struggle to push forward the boundaries of self.

A purpose of epic is that it presents something new; either in its subject, linguistic structure, or its proposed system of beliefs--as I stated earlier, epic is a genre of (usually outward, or forwards) movement. Thomas Greene affirms this when he argues that epic "characteristically refuses to be hemmed in, in time as well as space; it raids the unknown and colonizes it"²⁸. The prospect of the landscape in epic is often correspondingly wider than that of early heroic poetry. Just as the characterisation, plot and language of epic are an extension of heroic lays and sagas, so does the geographic structure enlarge to accommodate the travelling hero.

III. Definitions of Epic

III.i. Pre-Twentieth-Century Epic Criticism

In this section, I focus on some earlier attempts to define epic literature. As with Aristotle, these writers, as may be expected, have founded their ideas upon comparisons with other dominant genres of their periods. They have also been influenced by aspects of their immediate cultures: Dryden incorporates his interest in a stable monarchy and government by endorsing Virgil's loyalty to Augustus in *The Aeneid* (c.30-19 BC.). From what could only be a relatively limited sample of narratives, these writers have looked for signs of an epic tradition. Tradition, before the Twentieth Century, was perceived to be an established pattern of characteristics

which were transferred to successive narratives, and which enabled the reader to distinguish between genres. The critical trend was to approach epic from aspects of its construction. During the Twentieth Century, as I shall discuss in sections III.iii and III.iv, the concepts of genre and tradition were questioned. This allowed critics to approach epic as a literary form which incorporated aspects of several genres. The focus shifted from conventional approaches towards seeking an 'epic spirit'.

Aristotle

Aristotle's theory is important despite its shortcomings for the modern reader because subsequent critics have reinterpreted it to accommodate later epic writers, while having been reluctant to abandon his ideas altogether. Aristotle contrasts epic with tragedy. Although convinced that they are both "imitation in verse of admirable people", he maintains that they are separate genres, different in scale and form, and to be assessed by different criteria²⁹. If I were to apply Aristotle's definition to Milton's Adam, then he would be read as a tragic hero, falling from grace to shame, not through vice but through the error of abandoning judgement in favour of his love for Eve, when his only security was in obedience to God³⁰.

Epic, Aristotle argues, should be long enough to be of larger scope than tragedy, but not so long that the audience cannot remember plot³¹. The verse should be narrative³² and should only be written in heroic hexameter because "heroic verse is the most stately and grandiose form of verse"³³. This places a severe constraint upon the epic form beyond his own cultural context. While Classical writers may have used the dactylic hexameter, English texts (such as *Paradise Lost* [1667]) have used blank verse or unrhymed pentameter, French epic often used the alexandrine meter, and Italian epic has used the hendecasyllabic line³⁴. Aristotle's rule naturally precludes the possibility of prose epic, therefore excluding Joyce's *Ulysses*

(1922), William Carlos Williams' *Paterson* (1946-58), Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1851), and Leo Tolstoy's *War and Peace* (1865-72). Rules which might have been valid during the Fourth Century BC., are no longer valid in the Twenty-First Century AD.

Aristotle at least raises the issue of matching the epic subject to a suitable poetic form, anticipating Matthew Arnold's concern that the proper laws of poetry are ignored in Romantic and Victorian epic. It also suggests that the quality of poetry should not be allowed to detract from the quality of the material--an argument which Shelley later develops when he argues that the reader is aware of the epic poet's talent as it is revealed through the language.

Aristotle's key point is that the plot "should be concerned with a unified action, whole and complete, possessing a beginning, middle parts and an end, so that (like a living organism) the unified whole can effect its characteristic pleasure"³⁵. By unity of action, Aristotle means that only those episodes which are relevant to the main substance of the plot, and which connect with the final conclusion of the narrative, deserve inclusion. Likewise, the characters must be appropriate to, and consistent with, the narrative³⁶.

Although he places no time restrictions upon the epic action, he (inevitably) fails to take cognisance of the later perception (we find it in Shelley and Arnold), of epic aspiring to transcend time, having definite links with its immediate culture, but at the same time having universal appeal³⁷. Nevertheless, the idea of eternal fame, which may be linked to epic timelessness, was evident first in *Gilgamesh* (c.3000 BC.) and Homer, and was perpetuated in later epic (Edmund Spenser refers to "Fame's eternal beadroll" in *The Faerie Queene* [1590-6]³⁸). Some epics achieve this transcendence through ambiguity about the passing of time so, although we know that the action of *Ulysses* (1922) takes place on one specific day,

we are not so certain of the movement of time in Byron's *Don Juan* (1819-24) or, until we get a clearer idea from letters, memoirs and biographies, about *The Prelude* (1805).

Aristotle compares epic to a "living organism" and, in formulating characteristics, defines it as a static genre. His pre-Darwinian concept of the body would not have acknowledged mutation, thus his idea of epic is that the whole consists of fixed parts within an epic structure. My post-Darwinian feeling is that epic may be compared to a living organism, but because it evolves through successive writers. Epics written in one particular phase of history, Romantic epics for example, may share characteristics and, broadly speaking, be of one species. Over time however, in an accelerated version of evolution, epic will alter to adapt to new cultural environments. "Man ascends" says Bronowski, "by discovering the fullness of his own gifts . . . and what he creates on the way are monuments to the stages in his understanding of nature and of self"³⁹. Epic represents a writer's monumental talent which itself is the culmination of his/her culture's knowledge and achievements. As a comment on the ways in which we perceive ourselves and our environments, epic must engage with new disciplines and innovations. If it does not evolve then it will fail to make a statement about its immediate cultural context and will become extinct. This is a reason why some scholars maintain that epic died in the Eighteenth Century, because poets chose to imitate Classical epic models instead of reflecting contemporary interests and anticipating future concerns.

Tasso

Aristotle put forward a definition of epic based on the characteristics of length, meter, diction and unity. In *Discourses on the Heroic Poem* (1594), Tasso describes an epic template based upon the ability to deliver

pleasure: "I say that the heroic poem is an imitation of an action noble, great, and perfect, narrated in the loftiest verse, with the aim of giving profit through delight"⁴⁰. "Perfect" could indicate flawlessness since he emphasises the virtuous Classical heroes: Aeneas is pious, Achilles is courageous, and Ulysses is prudent⁴¹. Moreover, one of his four epic components is moral habit⁴². We can even speculate that Tasso has in mind a spiritual virtue because he is quick to emphasise divine intervention (citing Apollo and Minerva in *The Iliad* [c.1000 BC.] and *Odyssey* [c.1000 BC.], Venus in *The Aeneid* [c.30-19 BC.], and Michael in *Orlando Furioso* [1532]), not in their capacity to meddle in human affairs, but as advisors and aides⁴³. On the other hand, "perfect" could denote completion (reflecting Aristotle's directive that the narrative should work towards a unified end) since Tasso's epic heroes are not morally perfect. Rather, virtue is gradually acquired as the hero confronts his iniquity and passions.

The journey is a useful vehicle for epic because it operates on a metaphorical level to represent human development. Growth and transition, or the attainment of knowledge and resolution of problems, can be conceptualised as a physical process of movement: departure, debate and return. As narrative guides the reader through time so might a journey and destinations be described, in the words of B. Curtis and C. Pajaczowska, as "a passage through symbolic time, forwards towards a resolution of conflict and backwards towards a lost aspect of the past"⁴⁴. The journey reveals the path to virtue to both the hero and reader.

The problem with Tasso's definition, for the modern reader, may be demonstrated by *Paradise Lost* (1667) which poses theological questions but lacks an obvious hero, contains immoral action, and not even God strikes the reader as being perfect (as William Empson emphatically argues in *Milton's God* [1961]). Satan confronts his disobedience as he travels, wretched and alone, towards Eden but, despite the difficulty of his

route, never acquires virtue. Instead, he descends further into a psychological and spiritual hell. Later epic, like *Don Juan* (1819-24), rejects the need for righteousness altogether. *Don Juan* (1819-24) professes to be highly moral but, in Byron's realistic recognition that humanity will never be faultless, its unprincipled hero never conquers his desires.

Tasso also ascribes importance to epic instructing its audience through delight. Epic presents an alternative system of beliefs to its immediate community: Wordsworth describes the poetic development of his mind in order that he may share his final imaginative vision, of a spiritual truth, with his readers so that they too can achieve his way of perceiving Nature. But who is to say that the alternative must be positive? When Brendan Kennelly gives Judas a voice, the vision of what could be, or could have been, is as bleak as what is. For example, in one of the short poems which comprise the epic, "The Twelve Apostles", Jesus is accused by Judas of being a "prejudiced son-of-a-bitch" for having all male apostles. In nominating female apostles, Judas not only recommends adjusting the sex balance. He also proposes a more human, flawed idea of religion to replace Christ's virtuous, value-based ideal to which we are supposed to aspire. Judas' vision "bear[s] in mind inevitable sin / As well as necessary concepts of virtue and honour"⁴⁵.

Sidney

A common critical trend has been to echo Ben Jonson's praise of Homer and Virgil as "the best Masters of the *Epick*"⁴⁶. In *An Apology for Poetry* (1583), Philip Sidney credits Classical figures (Achilles, Aeneas, Turnus, Rinaldo, and Xenophon's Cyrus) with being archetypal epic heroes⁴⁷. Despite giving a modern resonance to the models, his definition of heroic poetry relies on what is, from a twenty-first-century perspective, the primitive and Classical past--characterised, for Sidney, by violence and

belief in the supernatural⁴⁸.

Though excited by ancient examples, Sidney introduces another side of epic into his enquiry. He writes of the Welsh bards who survived Roman, Saxon, Danish and Norman conquests, and observes that Roman poets were known as *vates*, meaning prophet⁴⁹. Sidney almost articulates the idea that epic authors intend their texts to appeal to future readers. Northrop Frye, contrasting narrative authors with epic authors in *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957), observes that "a Southey or a Lydgate, may write any number of narratives, but an epic poet normally completes only one epic structure, the moment when he decides on his theme being the crisis of his life"⁵⁰. Epic narratives attempt to transcend the barriers of time: they make an important observation which applies directly to the author's community, but which is intended to be relevant for the future.

Le Bossu

According to H. T. Swedenberg, the most expansive treatise on epic in the Seventeenth Century⁵¹, was Le Bossu's *Traité du poème épique* (1675) in which he tabulates epic characteristics, having a rigid idea about how the elements of epic should be presented⁵².

Le Bossu's primary concern, according to Swedenberg, is that an epic poem should be written for moral instruction, which lesson is part of the general action, or fable: "Ainsi, la Morale & les instructions qui sont la fin de l' Epopée, n' en sont point la matiere"⁵³. (Joseph Addison also prioritises this in his praise of Milton⁵⁴.) He insists that the poet's duty is to select a moral first, then weave an allegory around it using historical action and characters, although he later concedes that it is permissible to fictionalise historic events⁵⁵. The action, defined by Le Bossu as the episodes (or indeed, as everything which does not constitute the single fundamental moral in its most basic form--what he calls the fable), takes a secondary

role⁵⁶. When I discussed the expansion of heroic sagas and lays into epic, one of the principal ways in which expansion was achieved was through episodes. This has achieved a gradual broadening of the heroic poem generically, and in terms of possible scope. At the same time, new ideas of epic have led to a gradually deeper penetration of the human condition. Aristotle believed episodes distinguished epic from other literary forms because only epic was of sufficient length, scope, and diversity to cope with digressive material.

With hindsight, we see the episode becoming increasingly important for modern epic, particularly in prose. Writing about *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), John Carey explains that Joyce perceived epiphanies (a type of episode) to be "commonplace events or objects that had a special, inexplicable radiance"⁵⁷. Carey refers to an incident in which Stephen Dedalus, walking by the harbour, sees a young woman standing in the water, skirt around her waist. Sensing she is being watched, the girl lets her skirt fall back down and stirs the water with her toes. Although *A Portrait* (1916) is not epic, epiphanies similarly occur in *Ulysses* (1922). Le Bossu would consider such an episode inconsequential--it is not part of a general action or fable. The girl, "touched with the wonder of mortal beauty", turns Stephen away from his aspirations towards priesthood, thus the episode nevertheless captures a pivotal moment⁵⁸.

Renaissance

Renaissance criticism largely focuses on epic's moral framework. In 1607, Paolo Beni asserted that the hero should exemplify all the virtues because only then does he become the extraordinarily moral figure who moves the reader⁵⁹. As John M. Steadman reminds us, in *Milton and the Renaissance Hero* (1967), this stipulation excludes Homer who gave individual characters single virtues⁶⁰. Spenser, observes Steadman, does

likewise but makes Arthur the perfect hero by Renaissance standards: possessed of all virtues. Steadman describes how epic tradition (emphasising military virtue), and theological tradition (emphasising saintliness) converged in the Renaissance to permit the idea of a comprehensively moral hero⁶¹. This, he writes, is best exemplified in Milton whose work fuses Christian and secular ideals, with the Christ of *Paradise Regained* (1671) personifying the complete hero⁶².

The following discussion about the imperfect hero which, I will argue, became a post-Renaissance ideal, is linked to the Romantic preference for more recognisably human heroes, and to the impact of industrialisation upon the audience's perception of common human values. Considering *The Epic Strain in the English Novel* (1958), E. M. W. Tillyard points to a change in society, and audience, in the Eighteenth Century. He asserts that the epics of Homer, Virgil, Tasso, Spenser, Milton, and Sidney could only impassion an aristocratic audience⁶³. (Although it does not refute Tillyard's assertion, it is worth observing that Jonathan Richardson, belonging to the eighteenth-century middle-class, championed Milton⁶⁴, and that nineteenth-century readers could obtain cheap copies of his work⁶⁵.) Eighteenth-century epic reverted to ancient models but the emergence of a new, commercial middle-class created an audience which was unconcerned with military valour and morality. The middle-class hero, exemplified in novels, was the survivor, the ambitious achiever; he was Robinson Crusoe "embrac[ing] both the elements, the adventurous and the domestic, of contemporary puritanism"⁶⁶. Most importantly, the audience demanded realism. In *The Rise of the Novel* (1957), Ian Watt explains how a new value was attached to originality, the realistic representation of life, and the portrayal of a variety of human experiences⁶⁷. Today, commercially driven cultures have generated a new sense of epic struggle. (Industrialised epic concepts will be the subject of section III.ii.)

The perfect, complete hero, as post-Renaissance epic recognises, could never be the realistic ideal. In the Romantic Period, an emphasis on individual experience and emotional, rather than rational, responses to the world meant that the hero became more recognisably human. Flawed heroism is more acceptable to the audience and means that the vision proposed by the author is more attainable. Adam and Eve, as seen at the end of *Paradise Lost* (1667), are imperfect heroes by Renaissance standards. For later epic however, they represent a more human and accessible idea of heroism which is closer to the reader than even some imperfect heroes of pre-Renaissance epic (such as Ariosto's Orlando and Rinaldo). They facilitate eighteenth and nineteenth-century explorations of imperfect heroism which comes from recognising mistakes, confronting them and moving emotionally and psychologically, if not morally, forward.

In *The Prelude* (1805), Wordsworth writes about his childhood mischief, and describes his disappointments, laziness, cowardice, and impatience; while Byron gives us a Don Juan who, though he can be brave, entertaining and optimistic is nevertheless selfish, rash, and incorrigible. In those modern epics, and aspects of epic in other genres, which have been adapted to suit a commercial audience, the 'virtues' of the hero have also changed. Rather than acquire spiritual virtues, the hero is expected to acquire industrial skills which Peter Conrad, in *Imagining America* (1980), interprets as the "old epic hero's monster-slaying physical prowess . . . diversified as an adaptable variety of skills"⁶⁸.

Dryden

In his *Dedication of the Æneis* (1697), John Dryden agrees that:

A heroic poem, truly such, is undoubtedly the greatest work which the soul of man is capable to perform. The design of it is to form the mind to heroic virtue by example; 'tis conveyed in verse, that it may delight, while it instructs⁶⁹.

Dryden supports two methods of instruction: leading by positive example, and teaching by negative example. We admire, and wish to imitate the virtuous hero but, presented with a deficient hero, we seek to avoid those unpraiseworthy qualities⁷⁰.

What Dryden leaves unsaid creates the greatest problem. He does not want to write a treatise of epic but, at the same time, what he implies constitutes a narrow definition⁷¹. He argues that Ariosto is too "trifling" to be epic⁷², excludes Boiardo, Scudery, and Chapelain, and is dismissive of Spenser and Milton: "Spenser has a better plea for his *Fairy Queen*, had his action been finished, or had been one. And Milton, if the Devil had not been his hero, instead of Adam"⁷³. This was probably rivalry, preparing the ground for Drydenic epic (in the essay "Apology for Heroic Poetry," [1677] he describes *Paradise Lost* [1667] as "One of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime poems which either this age or nation has produced"⁷⁴). However, he implies that epic should be written in a hyperbolic style, its action should be important and complete, that the themes of romance (popularly adapted to heroic poetry by Ariosto and Spenser) should not be the themes of epic, and that supernatural elements should occupy secondary roles. Superficially, Dryden advocates the freedom to reinvent history and to experiment with levels of morality, but is nonetheless no more progressive in his definition than his predecessors and seems to favour the tradition of conventionally spiritual heroism⁷⁵.

William Myers highlights the historical parallels in Dryden's translation of *The Aeneid* (c.30-19 BC.): Aeneas coming to the kingdom of Latius, and Augustus coming to the republic of Rome, foreshadow William of Orange's

arrival in England; and Ascanius and Pallas are the "echo and shadow" of the exiled Prince of Wales⁷⁶. Dryden, through recurrent themes, argues that history is repetitive. He does not state this in his *Dedication* (1697), but demonstrates that an epic narrative may be written specifically for its immediate audience but, because epic themes re-emerge, they carry a certain potency for later readers.

Shelley

In *A Defence of Poetry* (1821), Percy Bysshe Shelley focuses on the timelessness of epic poetry (Sidney failed to properly communicate this idea), and the ability of epic authors to memorialise themselves:

The poetry of Dante may be considered as the bridge thrown over the stream of time, which unites the modern and antient world. The distorted notions of invisible things which Dante and his rival Milton have idealized, are merely the mask and the mantle in which these great poets walk through eternity enveloped and disguised"⁷⁷.

For Shelley, the content of epic poetry allows it to transcend time, but the poetic skills of sustaining the epic style, characterisation, and a lively philosophical debate mark the poets out in history. In the passage quoted above, Dante and Milton are judged to have converted theology ("distorted notions of invisible things") into art (which, as an idealised representation of life, means the representation of idealised morality and spiritual virtues). The narratives will always hold some relevance for the reader but, Shelley argues, it is Dante and Milton's abilities to transform that gives them universal appeal. (I shall return to this point shortly.)

Shelley's first law of epic is its ability to "excite the sympathy of succeeding generations of mankind"⁷⁸. He divides pleasure into the durable, universal and permanent (this being the pleasure derived from

epic), and the transient, particular (other poetic forms)⁷⁹. Shelley thinks of the epic poet as the articulator of great knowledge; the poet's place in history is ensured by the far-reaching philosophical thought (S)he displays. A creative power, wisdom and status are being attributed to the epic poet which rival God's knowledge and importance; for the idea that poetry is "at once the centre and circumference of knowledge"⁸⁰ reminds us of a line (attributed to a missing treatise of Empedocles, and quoted by S.

Bonaventura in *Itinerarius Mentis in Deum* [1259], and in the *Roman de la Rose* [c.1230]⁸¹): "The nature of God is a circle of which the centre is everywhere and the circumference is nowhere". This is expressed elsewhere in Romantic writings. In the Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* (1850), Wordsworth claims "Poetry is the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge"⁸²; Samuel Taylor Coleridge, in *Biographia Literaria* (1817), says "No man was ever yet a great poet, without being at the same time a profound philosopher"⁸³; and John Keats writes "A long poem [epic] is a test of invention which I take to be the Polar star of poetry"⁸⁴.

Shelley's argument defines epic in two useful ways. Firstly, he places the emphasis on the enduring quality of epic with the clarity and strength of its content, without restricting the poet within a rigid theoretical framework as earlier critics had done. The onus is on the poet to create a narrative which is a comprehensive expression of the age, and to craft it in such a way that it will have a bearing upon future thought. This is possible because the novelty in the work of a true epic writer, and the strength of the writer's imagination, will be so great that they will engage equally with contemporary and later readers. M. M. Bakhtin, writing about "images of languages" in the novel, says something similar about the inherent presence of the novelistic author:

The author (as creator of the novelistic whole) cannot be found at any one of the novel's language levels: he is to be found at the center of organization where all levels intersect⁸⁵.

Bakhtin perceives the novel to be composed of 'interanimating' languages so that different "language levels" (national and social) intersect and are cross-referenced, but without the direct language of the author as author⁸⁶. Nevertheless, Bakhtin says we are aware of the author as the organiser of these disparate voices⁸⁷. (Ironically, Bakhtin uses this to differentiate between the 'polyglossic' novel and the 'monoglossic' epic. In my opinion, epic is just as 'polyglossic' as the novel.)

Secondly, Shelley radically departs from conventional perceptions of epic as a static genre and asserts that epic metamorphoses with the evolution of culture:

Homer was the first, and Dante the second epic poet: that is, the second poet the series of whose creations bore a defined and intelligible relation to the knowledge, and sentiment, and religion, and political conditions of the age in which he lived, and of the ages which followed it, developping itself in correspondence with their development⁸⁸.

Not only between Homer and Dante, or between successive works by the same author, but also with every new age there is the potential for a literary development which corresponds to a changing audience. This depends, of course, upon the emergence of a sufficiently talented author to effect the transformation. An epic narrative begins as a statement about contemporary culture. Knowledge, sentiment, religion, and politics are the bases of culture but are not fixed ideas. Epic must evolve accordingly or it will cease to have relevance--just as the reading of older epics must evolve to reflect current preoccupations and cultural conditions.

Again, Bakhtin's comments on the novel are useful for an understanding

of epic although he would disagree, believing epic to be a "direct discourse" which disappeared early in literary history⁸⁹. The key to novel writing, according to Bakhtin, is to approach literary language from outside⁹⁰. Parody (mis)represents the direct language of someone for comic effect--the author, looking in on someone's world, is able to play with linguistic boundaries⁹¹. "Mnogojęzyčie", or "polyglossia", is defined as a plurality of national languages operating simultaneously in a single culture, for example, the languages of ancient Rome and Renaissance England uniting in a single European culture⁹². This, argues Bakhtin, transforms old literary forms into novels but, and Shelley would probably agree, this is also one of the ways in which epic is capable of evolving.

Arnold

Matthew Arnold agreed that epic should transcend time and thought by appealing "to those elementary feelings which subsist permanently in the race, and which are independent of time"⁹³. Participating in Victorian interest in social behaviour and character formation, Arnold defines the appropriate epic subject as human action and emotion, believing there are some sentiments which are fundamental to all people, at all times. (Ian McEwan's 2001 Hay-on-Wye lecture draws upon literature and science [particularly Darwin] to argue in favour of a common human nature based on emotion, expression, and a concern for language⁹⁴.)

Arnold is not as permissive as Shelley. His conservative philosophy of epic demonstrates that the Aristotelian legacy still had its hold in a preference for unity of action. Arnold is unimpressed by modern practices of putting expression before action, and concentrating on separate thoughts and images⁹⁵. The trend for "domestic epic" which, in his opinion, has no one end in its sight, and the recourse of poets to their own mind, outrage him⁹⁶. No great poetry, he says, has been written to the end of allegorising

the poet's mind⁹⁷ (for example, Wordsworth's *Prelude* [1805] or *Excursion* [1814]). Arnold would rather poets followed a general template for good poetry: "the practice of poetry, with its boundaries and wholesome regulative laws" which will never leave fashion⁹⁸. However, fashion is ephemeral. Poets of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, such as William Carlos Williams, often question the value of language and try to discover a new language which has greater relevance to the current position of society. Writers, of poetry and prose, are exploding language and images, inventing new lexicons of 'modern-speak'.

III.ii. Industrialised Epic

Industrialisation has altered the priorities of Western cultures and has increasingly required new language and ways of perceiving the environment. Epic, as a genre which comments upon culture, has found it necessary to accommodate this profound change in our perception of civilisation from a labour intensive, to a labour saving, way of life. It has also taken on characteristics from newer literary genres, as well as moving into new mediums like cinema. This section considers the inevitable impact of industrialisation upon epic, and aspects of epic in other genres.

In *Imagining America* (1980), Peter Conrad distinguishes between the novel, as a feminine genre of leisure and private emotion, and the epic, as a masculine genre of labour. He, like Tillyard, thinks of Robinson Crusoe as the "original hero of industrial epic" but discovers economic and industrial images in epic as early as Homer's description of the making of Achilles' weapons⁹⁹. Although he does not make this his central argument, Conrad's theory depends upon humankind's relationship with the environment.

Ancient epic can be read as a battle to defend or appropriate territory and to locate the identity of a hero, group, or nation within that area of land. Conrad argues that it is in America that epic finally metamorphoses from a martial

into an industrial genre¹⁰⁰. He sees this most clearly in the whaling images of *Moby-Dick* (1851), in Henry James' description of the American businessman "seamed all over with the wounds of the market and the dangers of the field"¹⁰¹, and in the works of Rudyard Kipling which he interprets as an economic recasting of "the buoyant fatalism" which early societies found through climatic instability¹⁰². Conrad reads modern epic as the battle to generate money and productivity from the environment: industrial strategies are attempts to establish humankind's supremacy over the natural landscape, and economic superiority over other companies.

The point which Conrad should exploit more fully is that, in all of his examples, financial opportunities are provided and dictated by the locality and travel. In Kipling's *Captains Courageous* (1897), the crew of the 'We're Here' are at the mercy of tidal currents, sand banks, inclement weather and must follow the shoals of fish¹⁰³. It is because Disko Troop has navigated the waters for so long that he is an expert fisherman who respects the sea and has acquired good fishing etiquette; and Dan's self-advancement comes with the opportunity to sail the clipper trade routes. Even Harvey Cheyne, the millionaire businessman, made his fortune initially from the railroads and later, from a fleet of clippers. The images of industrial America originate not so much in a desire to generate wealth and glory in the process of stabilising and improving a location, as they do in a desire to search for more profitable ventures further afield. Expansion of wealth is associated with geographic expansion in terms of travel and colonisation, themselves becoming commercial industries, and in terms of travel revealing different commercial opportunities.

Conrad connects the language of epic with the principles, or 'virtues', of industry by describing it as "purposeful and energetic"¹⁰⁴. He even describes epic cataloguing as "enumeration", so that Homer's list of ships is perceived as economic ritual and inventory--in much the same way as

statistics are recorded in business¹⁰⁵. Pertaining more to later, industrialised epic, he observes:

the epic poet employs a specialized jargon, a language exclusive to the occupation he is describing, so his characters employ dialect (as members of racial or national tribes) and argot (as members of a professional clique)¹⁰⁶.

Epic, especially when it becomes commercialised, is multi-lingual. The author speaks in his own voice, but different dialects and technical terms denote occupations, differentiate between classes, genders, and nationalities, and describe complex working relations within a commercialised society. This resembles Bakhtin's idea of "polyglossia", or an interanimation of language levels, which, (and I will challenge this later), he only applies to the novel¹⁰⁷.

I argue that epic is a humanist genre relying on images of the hero interacting with the environment, through travel, to reveal a particular human situation. Conrad's observation is compatible with this idea as the language of labour is often influenced, not only by the physical environment which is exploited, but also by the social environment of the workplace. In *Captains Courageous* (1897), the language of fishing takes its form from conditions at sea and from naming fishing equipment, but these references are also applied to the behaviour of the men: the physical and working environments affect how the fishermen view one another. Salters, a farmer turned fisherman, sometimes adopts the language of his former profession. Kipling's story also illustrates how travel can unite people: although there are aggressive incidents involving cut mooring and fishing lines, when they meet at the banks the fishing community, drawn from all over the world, forget their rivalry and bond through seafaring stories.

III.iii. Genre Theory

Pre-twentieth-century epic criticism, as I said earlier, attempted to define an epic tradition based upon inherited characteristics. The trend was often to suggest that all epic narratives share fundamental rules of construction. As I have been arguing, these earlier definitions are too rigid to describe later epic. Understandably, earlier critics did not perceive genre in terms of evolution and mutation but, in the Twentieth Century, some academics questioned conventional notions of tradition and genre. Twentieth-century epic criticism benefited from this re-evaluation.

In this section, I will outline some of the genre theories which I perceive to be relevant to an understanding of epic as a genre of transition, and which appear to have influenced twentieth-century epic criticism. The theories explain genre and tradition as a meeting of various factors instead of the continuance of a stable set of characteristics. These factors change according to the writer's preoccupations, cultural conditions, and literary trends. Consequently, it becomes possible to think of epic as a genre which is inclined towards movement.

Wittgenstein

Ludwig Wittgenstein, in *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus* (1922), wrote:

Wie wir uns räumliche Gegenstände überhaupt nicht
 ausserhalb des Raumes, zeitliche nicht ausserhalb der Zeit
 denken können, so können wir uns keinen Gegenstand
 ausserhalb der Möglichkeit seiner Verbindung mit anderen
 denken.

Just as we cannot think of spatial objects at all apart
 from space, or temporal objects apart from time, so we
 cannot think of *any* object apart from the possibility of its
 connexion with other things¹⁰⁸.

Wittgenstein describes how humans seek to classify their world, and how traditions are formed. We connect things which have a common theme. This connecting of objects according to their similarity constitutes metaphor¹⁰⁹. However, as David Lodge explains in *The Modes of Modern Writing* (1977), it is consciousness which operates in this way because the imagination is free to move in whichever way it pleases¹¹⁰. When we find objects without an obvious theme, or which explore several themes, we seek to relate them to other objects and attempt to devise some form of categorising. Finding metaphorical relations in such circumstances is therefore an artificial experience which, it could be argued, negates the idea of tradition as it was perceived by earlier critics. Tradition is a notion which humankind has devised to introduce the appearance of order.

In epic theory, notions of tradition are attempts to control and unite heterogeneous narratives under an homogeneous concept. In *A Map of Misreading* (1975), Harold Bloom distinguishes between "the anxiety of style" and "the anxiety of influence"¹¹¹. It is "anxiety of style" which I interpret as the early perception of an epic tradition, whereby narratives were required to directly resemble precursors.

Bloom's "anxiety of influence" is closer to how we perceive the epic tradition today. It is based upon relations between texts--a notion that Michel Foucault champions. Modern theory takes into account metaphorical connections of similarity (and acknowledges dissimilarity), but it also takes into account metonymical connections. Connecting objects which are contiguous (metonymy¹¹²) is a more valid way of looking at objects because it is the way in which we naturally experience the world. In Lodge's words, "We move through time and space lineally and our sensory experience is a succession of contiguities"¹¹³. When we travel we are aware of passing through changing scenes as we progress through time and space. It makes sense to approach epic in the same way. Of course,

there must be a fundamental similarity between texts or we would not know that a narrative was epic but, to look for metaphoric relations is to often exclude texts which belong to the genre, but which deviate greatly from existing epic models. We discover many possible relations between them--both metaphoric and metonymic. In order to understand those relations we need to rebrand the notion of tradition as something which evolves and permits change.

Bloom

Two of Bloom's "revisionary ratios" in *The Anxiety of Influence* (1973) are useful for an explanation of the way in which we should think of epic tradition today. His theory of poetry centres around the belief that poets are significantly conscious of their "precursors"¹¹⁴. Ordinary poets may be overawed by earlier poets and subsequently, may doubt their own talents. Great poetry however, "is a history of anxiety and self-saving caricature, of distortion, of perverse, wilful revisionism"¹¹⁵. Bloom means that successful poets use their anxiety to surpass past poets to rework aspects of past poetry into something original.

"*Clinamen*" is the first of Bloom's "revisionary ratios" to have relevance for epic tradition, as I understand it. From his synopsis;

A poet swerves away from his precursor, by so reading his precursor's poem as to execute a *clinamen* in relation to it. This appears as a corrective movement in his own poem, which implies that the precursor poem went accurately up to a certain point, but then should have swerved, precisely in the direction that the new poem moves¹¹⁶.

Whilst epic authors are conscious of the perceived tradition they are writing in, and both borrow and imitate some of those conventions, they also attempt to create something new within that tradition. I have explained that

this occurs parallel to cultural growth and change. Bloom describes this poetic growth as "a corrective movement", implying that the old poetic model (as it is represented by the new poets) is correct only to a limited degree and that in mutating the model, new poets rewrite it as they think it should originally have been written. Although this basic principle works for epic, it must be remembered that individual narratives and authors have been praised. Earlier epic narratives reflected the cultures, and more closely fitted the critical theories, of the times in which they were composed but, although they continue to have relevance for later audiences, modifications to the genre are required to make epic appropriate to subsequent readers.

The second theory is "*daemonization*" whereby:

The later poet opens himself to what he believes to be a power in the parent-poem that does not belong to the parent proper, but to a range of being just beyond that precursor. He does this, in his poem, by so stationing its relation to the parent-poem as to generalize away the uniqueness of the earlier work¹¹⁷.

Let us suppose that every epic author desires to create a unique narrative. Whatever is composed, is done so in the knowledge of an epic tradition; but that is not to say that the poet is unable to make some new departure within that tradition. Indeed, it is his/her duty to innovate. An author will sometimes try to substantiate their position as an epic writer by referring to past narratives but Bloom suggests that some poets will set up the relation, between old poems and their own, in a way which demeans the original poet. Although a reference may be to a specific author or text, it will often focus upon a feature which is non-specific, creating the impression of an homogenous tradition with which the later author identifies, but in such a way as to make the new author appear more innovative. Epic narratives

are exposed to the danger of losing their individuality.

Foucault

Bloom's deconstruction of genre and tradition is moderate: he refutes the idea of an absolute generic continuum but recognises the importance of old literary characteristics merging with new inventions. Michel Foucault, in *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969), argues that;

the frontiers of a book are never clear-cut: beyond the title, the first lines, and the last full stop, beyond its internal configuration and its autonomous form, it is caught up in a system of references to other books, other texts, other sentences: it is a node within a network.¹¹⁸

The problem which Foucault poses is that a text cannot be considered as an isolated narrative but, at the same time, it is dangerous to seek the unity between texts that is tradition. Foucault gives two examples to support his argument: what he calls "the same relation of individuality" does not exist when we compare novels by Stendhal and Dostoevsky as when we compare Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) with Homer's *Odyssey* (c.1000 BC.)¹¹⁹. Foucault proposes that we question and abandon notions of tradition because these are "intended to give a special temporal status to a group of phenomena that are both successive and identical (or at least similar)"¹²⁰. Epic necessarily metamorphoses and reinvents itself; it is a literary magpie, borrowing ideas and forms from other genres and areas of culture in order to achieve contemporary relevance.

Foucault directs us towards internal and external relations¹²¹.

Post-nineteenth-century literary (and epic) criticism should be an exploration of various shaping factors which are independent of tradition. We find this approach in recent critical writing on the Canadian long poem. Paul West finds the "Canadian voice" unsystematic, with no concern for

unity of form¹²².

In a country that is more of a myth than of a conurbation, the epic writer is the man most likely to succeed. When history's magic and the modern scene have been brought subtly, grandly and colloquially together, the epic of a "fabulous country" will be a dignified reality.¹²³

West envisages a Canadian modern epic as a meeting of relations; different thematic strands, forms and voices woven together. (Bakhtin's theory of language levels in the novel seems appropriate, since much of the criticism on the Canadian long poem implies that Canadian poets are still trying to find their own voices among the many language levels intersecting a country which has yet to discover its identity.) The "embryonically epic mind", in West's view, is exemplified by Ronald Bates who, in *The Wandering World* (1959), "creates a massiveness of colloquial flux in which everything seems relevant"¹²⁴.

III.iv. Twentieth-Century Epic Criticism

Since Wittgenstein described literary tradition as a seeking of relations, scholars have tried to discover new relations between texts. In epic criticism, Northrop Frye and E. M. W. Tillyard uphold a relatively conventional idea of epic tradition but nevertheless attempt to show that epic is a broadening genre, accommodating changing preoccupations, and becoming more congeneric as it increasingly shares characteristics with other literary modes. Following the same theory as Bloom (that old traditions are reinvented), critics such as Smaro Kamboureli argue that other genres have absorbed aspects of conventional epic and, somewhat confusingly for those trying to define the genre, that epic has likewise absorbed aspects of other genres. Other critics, such as Bakhtin and Masaki Mori, almost entirely reject the prevailing ideas about epic tradition.

They do not accept the ancient definition of epic, even when modern theory updates it by conceding that conventional characteristics are transformed by modern and cultural concerns. Although they do not dismiss the idea of a tradition, they attempt to change the focus of the perceived heritage--Bakhtin through the idea of epic distance, and Mori through a thematic approach.

Frye

In *Anatomy of Criticism* (1957), Northrop Frye argues that every literary period produces a "central encyclopaedic form" which is both mythical and revelatory¹²⁵. At the foundation of all epics is, he argues, a cycle of rejuvenation, repetition, and continuation. Epic is increasingly capable of becoming more encyclopaedic in the scope of its themes, but the essential impetus behind epic writing remains, Frye implies, the need to explain history as a repetitive process, carrying the inevitability of new beginnings.

We might expect Frye to argue that the cyclical structure of epic allows it to transcend time but he argues that the "convention of beginning the action *in medias res* ties a knot in time"¹²⁶. This alone cannot explain epic's temporal mastery. Beginning *in medias res* allows the author to connect with the present (because the retrospective narrator is situated in a textual 'now' which links to the 'present' of the reader), and to look back, via flashbacks, but it does not enable the author to project into the future. That is often achieved through visions or prophecies--although it might prompt the expectation of a forward view. It might be more useful to think of beginning *in medias res* as forming a loop in time which is one half of a figure of eight: linking present and past. The other half of the figure is the loop in time achieved by prophecy: linking present and future. In this way, the three temporal dimensions become inseparable.

Tillyard

In *The English Epic* (1968), E. M. W. Tillyard distinguishes between epic form and "the essential spirit" of epic¹²⁷. Focusing on a perceived epic spirit enables him to connect epic with other genres, such as seeing the epic strain in the novel¹²⁸. This is what I have argued in favour of: a much more open concept of epic, relying less upon a unified notion of tradition, and more upon the idea of continuous metamorphosis and experimentation. Yet Tillyard fails to fulfil his intention to define an epic spirit, it remains something of an abstract concept. In principle, the idea of an epic spirit crosses literary boundaries but, because Tillyard never fully realises it as an idea in practice, his proposal cannot, as it stands, be accepted as a valid critical definition.

Tillyard rightly says that the act of defining literature should not be a process of examining a small sample of narratives and a narrow group of characteristics and then extrapolating the conclusion to a wider range of texts which are unlikely to fit all of the criteria¹²⁹. However, his method seems equally inappropriate for defining epic. It involves a "passing to and fro between the works [he knows he] will include and those [he thinks] doubtful"¹³⁰. It is based on an arbitrary choice of texts, apparently selected on the basis of personal preference but, from the works he cites, it is clear that Tillyard's preference is guided by his acceptance of the pre-eminence of the conventionally approved older texts. Tillyard reverses the usual method (seeking out characteristics and then applying them to other texts) and, from an apparently finite list, attempts to discover links between them. Tillyard defines his own taste but does not necessarily define epic. There is also a danger that, in already knowing which texts one intends to include, one will seek out relations between texts which are tenuous links, or even, discover accurate connections which are, nevertheless, not epic.

Tillyard thinks of the epic author as a "mouthpiece" for his immediate

society¹³¹. He contrasts epic with tragedy by arguing that tragedy is timeless by nature, whilst creating the impression that epic is inherently connected to the culture from which it came¹³². The epic author is represented as someone who has enormous faith in their own age because only then can they "include the maximum of life in their vision"¹³³.

I agree that the author is aware of his/her culture and how it affects thought and action, and that epic must maintain a direct link with the author's culture. However, if the author placed enormous faith in his/her society, then there would be no need for an alternative vision to be proposed. The vision is invariably one of an alternative future, a new system of beliefs which, for better or worse, would take the author's culture in new directions. I also take issue with the implication that epic only belongs to the author's immediate time. Like Shelley, I perceive that epic bridges time and, in order to achieve this, must blend general and particular qualities. If the author is too involved in the present, then what will be written is a treatise on a specific period of time and that could be achieved through most literary forms. As I opened this introduction by saying, epic is conscious of passing time, of continual flux, of cycles and evolutions and it, more than any other genre, aspires to become part of that eternal progression. Paul Merchant summarises this when he says of the epic hero; "we are confronted not by a man at a moment of history, but by Man in History"¹³⁴.

Bakhtin

Bakhtin perceives epic to be "a genre that has not only long since completed its development, but one that is already antiquated"¹³⁵. He refers primarily to orally-based epic, or at least to an idea of the literature of primitive societies as both monoglossic and monocultural. Ironically, it is when he writes about the novel, as a developing and incomplete genre, that

he discusses ideas that I would apply to epic¹³⁶. He says, "only that which is itself developing [he means novels] can comprehend development as a process"¹³⁷. However, epic narratives frequently focus on the developing processes of the universe via images of changing seasons, stellar movements, flowing water, ageing, migration--the world in perpetual motion. Even in the narration, the epic writer is aware of past conventions and will deliberately set out to change them, drawing the readers' attention to the act of literary evolution. (Byron is perhaps best at doing this--he establishes epic conventions and then announces that he will not follow them ["Most epic poets plunge in *medias res* That is the usual method, but not mine / My way is to begin with the beginning" *Don Juan*, I.6-7]. The opening chapters of *Tristram Shandy* [1760-7] also play with the notion of beginning in *medias res*, as well as beginning *ab ovo* with the act of conception.)

Kamboureli

Smaro Kamboureli warns that length can be a deceptive characteristic of epic. Kamboureli attempts to distinguish the long poem from epic but has found the two genres are often confused because of their length. This, Kamboureli believes, is due, in part, because proper epics (*The Odyssey* [c.1000 BC.] and *The Aeneid* [c.30-19 BC.]) and long poems which have absorbed aspects of epic (*The Prelude* [1805] and Robert Browning's *The Ring and the Book* [1868-9]) are both accorded "high status"¹³⁸. Length, it is argued, makes cross-referencing possible between old and new material and genres, and it is this borrowing of epic concepts which misguides our literary judgement¹³⁹. Kamboureli is enthusiastic about the long poem and eager to establish the Canadian long poem, in particular, as a genre in its own right. While I do not think that every long poem qualifies as epic, I am concerned that Kamboureli has fallen into the same trap that is perceived to have claimed epic enthusiasts (though, evidently, for the opposite reasons).

That is, according high status to the long poem and sometimes mistakenly disassociating it from epic through a narrow perception of epic characteristics.

Kamboureli identifies a central aspect of epic, that it attempts to say something which is important for cultural development. This does not necessarily imply that epic celebrates an important event from the past, as Kamboureli seems to think. As I have argued, epic must be closely connected to the author's present and the comments made about that present culture, and the alternative vision for cultural development, are crucial. This importance is amplified when placed in historical context--the epic author's awareness of time (remembrance of the past, recording and memorialising of the present, and conjectures towards the future), makes the author's immediate readers more aware of where their culture is situated, and informs later readers of cultural development. Epic is very much a cultural text: the author is informed by contemporary culture, and attempts to communicate to that culture. By including, as Tillyard says, a comprehensive view of life, and by seeking, in Georg Lukács' words "to create the impression of life as it normally is *as a whole*", epic also attempts to relate to a timeless reader, to say something about culture generally as well as about a culture specifically¹⁴⁰.

Mori

Masaki Mori believes that philosophical and poetic approaches have been inadequate for defining the epic and, in *Epic Grandeur* (1997), takes a thematic approach¹⁴¹. Mori accepts traditional definitions only so far as to agree that epic is a long narrative. To this, it is argued, can be added the concept of "epic grandeur" which derives from "the hero's attitude toward his mortality, his communal responsibility, and the dual dimension of time and space he and the entire work must cope with"¹⁴². This encapsulates

some of the more important ideas about epic which have emerged through earlier studies: individual heroism (to which I would add 'confronting inevitable personal mortality in a world of apparently ceaseless change'), the hero as a representative of his culture, both the disputed time scale of the narrative (see Le Bossu) and epic's transcendence of time, the scale of the epic journey, and the author's ability to sustain the narrative (see Shelley and Tillyard).

Mori's phrasing places greater emphasis upon the situation of the hero coming to terms with the world in which he lives. It focuses on the problem of human limitations in a challenging environment and the responsibilities of the hero in attempting to overcome physical boundaries (of landscape and human pain) and the boundaries of knowledge, in order to discover some way forward for the community. The human dignity in epic, says Mori, comes from the expansive representation of time, space and culture, but it also comes from revealing "human thought organiz[ing] those incomprehensible dimensions into a meaningful system and reassur[ing] people about their existence in an unfathomable universe"¹⁴³.

Mori emphasises the importance of the epic journey. The physical and spiritual journey is central to epic as a means of expanding both the hero's and the reader's understandings of the universe and human life. Through travel, a deeper personal insight is achieved at the same time as a perception of the world is broadened. Mori is convinced however, that the physical distance travelled must be commensurate with the spiritual distance travelled: "a literary figure . . . who roams within a small circle no farther than his native town or village, does not deserve the name of an epic hero"¹⁴⁴. *Ulysses* (1922), confining its hero to his native Dublin, would be excluded by Mori. In *The Dunciad* (1728), a short physical journey is disproportionate to the metaphorical distance it represents. Pope confronts human mortality by confining his characters within restricted spaces while,

at the same time, he presents a panorama of temporal geography. On the other hand, Byron articulates a perception of infinite space and yet, although Juan proves heroic, his extensive physical movements are similarly disproportionate to what he learns about himself.

Mori argues, as I do, that epic must evolve to maintain relevance for each new age. "Each great epic" Mori claims in an echo of Bloom, "involved some kind of renovation which allowed it to surpass its predecessors"¹⁴⁵. Epic is a genre of metamorphosis.

IV. Synopsis

I have demonstrated that epic is a genre which refuses to be limited by the groups of characteristics by which some scholars have traditionally defined it. My research supports the current theory of some scholars that epic is characterised by expansion. Therefore, I will include some of the more unanimously agreed epic narratives, and more contemporary texts; examining the ways in which epic and the epic journey have evolved.

This study will emphasise the physical movements of the hero. I intend to link the prevailing travel theories and world-views of the authors' cultures, to the literary journeys of the hero, both as a measure of realism in the presentation of an actual journey, and in its often intended representation of a metaphorical voyage through life.

IV.i. A Geographical Approach

In *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900*, Franco Moretti writes about geography in novels, specifically about the national and economic importance of where characters are from, and where the action occurs. His methodology has apparently been to investigate a selection of nineteenth-century novels, to plot the places involved on maps which he then interprets according to his basic premis that class distinctions are

closely connected to geography. More importantly, he argues that by tracing the geography of novels, a person can reveal connections and patterns between geographic place and narrative:

geography is not an inert container, is not a box where cultural history 'happens', but an active force, that pervades the literary field and shapes it in depth. Making the connection between geography and literature explicit, then--mapping it: because a map is precisely that, a connection made visible--will allow us to see some significant relationships that have so far escaped us.¹⁴⁶

Criticism has been levelled at this study because Moretti does not position his argument within a critical framework.

The same criticism could be made of this study, that it fails to fully engage with feminist or colonial discourses, for example. However, I think it is misguided to try to force an argument so that it fits within certain frameworks. For example, Gillian Rose and other feminist geographers such as Nancy Duncan and Karen Warren study figures in the landscape and introduce the concept of the body as space. They seek out examples of engendering the landscape, arguing that the male dominance of geography has perpetuated sexual power play in representing environments. I am more persuaded by the arguments of Moretti and of Brian Jarvis who writes "Spaces are not simply the passive backdrop to significant sociohistorical action, rather they are a vital product and determinant of that action"; that space can indeed be representative of culturally-coded social structures but that that cultures change and representations of landscape are responses to many different historically-specific beliefs¹⁴⁷.

The multi-disciplinary study of geography and literature (also known as ecocriticism) is gaining support as a means of exploring relationships

between humankind and the external environment, and of offering new interpretations of literary works¹⁴⁸. This is an aim of Moretti, although I do not think that he fully achieves it. Moretti marks places as points on a map but does not trace journeys as such, and does not provide detailed analyses of how places, movements and human developments are interlinked. He focuses upon ideas of state, nationalism and 'the cultural other' (Rose argues that 'the same' is always understood in terms of masculinity; 'the other' is always female¹⁴⁹) but fails to zoom in upon precise topographies.

It is my contention that the landscape of epic plays a role greater than that of a background to a journey or human action. Epic often begins with a moment of crisis which precipitates the hero's travelling. The hero can be said to seek, in the external world, some new form of meaning which can be used to validate personal and cultural experience. If the hero's community represents security and conventional knowledge then, when the stability of this is challenged or destroyed, the outer world represents human insecurity; it forces an awareness of human mortality and limitations, it threatens knowledge. Once the hero enters this world, he must confront external boundaries of the environment, and internal boundaries of self, and in this way the journey becomes a precondition for any revelation of self or alternative vision concerning the human and cultural situation.

Edward Relph has invented the term "geographical imagination" to describe:

a way of thinking that seeks to grasp the connections between one's own experiences of particular landscapes and the larger processes of society and environment, and then seeks to interpret these in a manner that makes sense for others¹⁵⁰.

This is related to the humanist approach to geography, which emerged in

reaction to social unrest in the late 1960's and 1970's¹⁵¹, and which attempted to understand the human situation beyond the perceived self-destructive nature of modern society, technology and politics¹⁵². Humanist geographers try to understand the world through Relph's concept of "geographical imagination". (Rose argues that humanist geographers, focusing on emotional responses to environments, are "masculinist" because they argue that understandings of place are objective and exhaustive while she believes that representations and interpretations of place are subjective and dominated by paternalistic ideas.¹⁵³)

I propose that this is very relevant for the study of epic literature. The hero interacts with the landscape to accommodate and validate his journey. The hero's identity is influenced by the culture to which he belongs, and the principles and ideas of his culture will guide his responses to the environment. Simultaneously, the landscape will direct the hero's route and decisions, along both the physical and metaphorical ways. The limits which it will cause the hero to confront will, in turn, lead the hero to contemplate the broader implications of his personal revelations in terms of their social significance. The epic author will directly, or through the hero, present an alternative vision which is, in effect, an interpretation of the epic journey into an experience which is understood by, and relevant to, the audience.

My idea of epic is that it is a humanist narrative which relies upon the environment (urban or natural), and the epic journey to reach an understanding of individual humanity. Epic also relies upon these two factors to encourage society to interpret experiences of landscape (based on ideas of emotion and soul as well as thought) into an understanding of culture and humanity within the context of human mortality in an eternal world. Epic suggests that humankind both shapes its environment (through construction, war, cartography, landscaping etc.) and is shaped by the world (when landscape guides us to spiritual awareness, resources dictate

demographics, and cyclical changes in nature guide our perceptions of history and time etc.).

I also argue that, in epic, it is not enough for the hero to react with the environment, it is necessary that the hero travels. Marywn S. Samuels writes:

human history is a geography of movement, of uprootedness, of collapsing or changing reference points in the lives of men.

The immigrant who grasps a new place as his own was first an emigrant. And the situation of the uprooted emigrant in search of a place is, in existential terms, the *sine qua non* of the human condition as a whole¹⁵⁴.

When the epic hero travels through an environment, particularly through an unfamiliar environment, an awareness of boundaries is created: physical boundaries posed by mountains etc., language barriers, theological boundaries, and so on. These boundaries create an awareness of the hero's limitations and form our perceptions of territory and space. It is through travel that the hero meets other cultures and becomes aware of the dichotomies of belonging and cultural otherness, of home and abroad. Travel allows the hero to reassess the world previously understood, to extend a personal and social knowledge of environment and humanity.

Samuels argues that human history is a history of movement and unstable frontiers. Epic, as a comment on the human situation within the continuum of time, must therefore address the question of uprootedness. War, curiosity, banishment, self-imposed exile--these are reasons for human displacement. Epic even goes so far as to say that this displacement (temporary or permanent) is a vital part of human development in general. Moreover, as I said at the beginning of this introduction, it signifies humankind attempting to join the creative movements of an active universe, using the knowledge gained from

travelling through, and interacting with, the environment to effect some sort of cultural regeneration.

Yi-Fu Tuan has written extensively about the variety of emotional responses and attitudes towards environments and, like Moretti, is interested in the ways in which economic and class distinctions impact upon a person's idea of place¹⁵⁵. He places importance upon all of the ways in which we perceive environments, including the application of all physical senses. Joyce appreciates that a single text is too limiting to describe a whole city but he does capture a part of Dublin in a multi-layered way, bringing the streets to life through visual stimuli, sounds, smells and physical sensations as well as revealing the effects of these experiences upon the character's perceptions of the city and how this appeals to their sense of self within the external world. Tuan's belief that, although codes can be embedded in representations of environment, that human responses are very different goes some way to explaining the universality of epic¹⁵⁶. Each reader brings their own interpretation to the text and the journeys and places described therein. That is why this study tries to provide arguments which are based on close readings of the texts and not to be swayed by theories which are themselves grounded in cultural codes (feminist readings for example). This study is concerned with the experiences of the heroes as they are shaped by the ideas and perceptions of the writer's immediate cultures, while drawing out some similarities between epic texts.

v. Expository Structure

The emphasis upon movement and geography has directed my methodology and selection of source material. Although it has been beyond the scope of this research to address a fully chronological range of narratives, my primary texts have also been chosen to demonstrate the

progression within epic tradition as historically and culturally-specific ideas about travel, environment, heroism and appropriate epic form and subjects have emerged. In a challenge to earlier epic criticism, and to avoid reinforcing the dominant perception that epic distinctly resembles Classical models, I provide close readings of universally accepted texts and some more marginal, contemporary narratives. This supports my argument that epic is a transitory genre and demonstrates that, far from belonging to a literary past, epic exists in current literary consciousness.

My secondary sources range from literary criticism, biography and letters to travel writing, maps, architecture and visual art. This diversity is useful for locating the identity of the epic writer in the text, and for presenting epic as an expression of culture, weaving together different strands of human experience.

This thesis moves chronologically through the modern period. It also explores specific aspects of movement and spatial vision through individual chapters. Chapter two introduces the image of the maze as an important concept in epic, particularly in making distinctions between righteousness (associated with guided movement); and spiritual weakness (associated with labyrinthine wandering). It begins with a simplified summary of the Renaissance context for John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) before providing an analysis of the text. The discussion draws upon images of geographic scale and emotional attachment to place. Satan's physical ascent precipitates a psychological descent and from this emerges the idea of place as a meeting of relations with other beings rather than simply landscape. This idea is confirmed by the journey of Adam and Eve as they are able to find solace in each other despite leaving Eden.

Chapters three and four are preceded by a subsection on the Romantic Period and justification for including two narratives from this age. Artistic and philosophical approaches to landscape became important concepts in

Romantic culture and aimed to standardise public perceptions of environment. In chapter three, I demonstrate how William Wordsworth allowed these approaches to influence him so that his journey, described in *The Prelude* (1805), became an attempt to overcome the boundaries and limitations which seemed to be imposed by the external world. I draw out links with oral heroic poetry, and with Milton from whom Wordsworth borrows the ideas of Nature guiding humanity towards closer contact with a spiritual eternity, and of a moral opposition between aimless motion and purposeful travel. Wordsworth also follows Milton's lead in exploring the individual emotional and psychological nature of a humanised hero. An important feature of *The Prelude* (1805) is Wordsworth's emphasis on named places and specific spatial co-ordinates--using places to describe a map of his poetic and imaginative life.

Chapters three and four represent the change of epic scale from the cosmic vision of *Paradise Lost* (1667) to the European spaces of *The Prelude* (1805) and Byron's *Don Juan* (1819-24). In chapter four, Romantic approaches to landscape are rejected in favour of personal response. Juan is unconsciously influenced by his changing environment and is compelled by speed and an awareness of human mortality. Juan forms no emotional attachment to place--the version of geography which Byron presents is dominated by human organisation and relations. *Don Juan* (1819-24) represents an alternative response to exile from that expressed in *Paradise Lost* (1667); it describes travel as an escape from responsibility.

Chapter five analyses James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922), focusing on the contraction of epic space to a capital city, and of epic time to a day. With this comes a retreat into the self and the loss of an heroic quest. Joyce's use of geography is very precise and this chapter examines the use of mundane landmarks to map local culture. It also considers the impact of the hero's unstructured movements through a structured environment.

Joyce's close observations mean that Dublin is not just represented in topographical detail, but that he engages with the sensory layers of urban experience.

Chapter six discusses Derek Walcott's *Omeros* (1990) and Aiden Dun's *Vale Royal* (1995). In *Omeros* (1990), the St. Lucian environment permits the recollection of different global pasts which have been erased from the island community's official collective memory. Politically biased cartography has overwritten human experience but the landscape reveals the truths of individual mundane heroism, forgotten journeys and obscured history. A sense of memory and of history are intrinsically linked to the physical world.

In *Vale Royal* (1995), the geography of London prompts an imaginative journey across the topography of the city and through layers of history and myth. Images from a global consciousness become assimilated into a view of one city. This final chapter leads into a brief survey of contemporary epic in an afterthought. Epic appears to have come full-circle as performance poets like Dun and Basil Bunting make a return to epic's oral beginnings by expressing a preference for delivering their work via recordings and readings rather than in printed formats. We have arrived back at this oral phase via the power of Miltonic and Joycean language.

Notes

- ¹ Aristotle, *Poetics*, trans., introd. and notes Malcolm Heath (London: Penguin, 1996) 9.
- ² John Dryden, "Dedication of the *Æneis* (1697)," *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker (Oxford: Clarendon, 1900) 154.
- ³ E. M. W. Tillyard, *The English Epic and its Background* (London: Chatto, 1968) 251.
- ⁴ L. Whitney, *English Primitivistic Theories of Epic Origins in Modern Philology*, qtd. in Tillyard, *English Epic* 495.
- ⁵ Henry Fielding, *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*, ed., introd. and notes Martin C. Battestin (London: Methuen, 1961) 7.: "Now, a comic romance is a comic epic-poem in prose".
- ⁶ J. Bronowski, *The Ascent of Man* (London: Book Club Associates, 1976) 20-4.
- ⁷ William Wordsworth, *The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850: Authoritative Texts, Context and Reception, Recent Critical Essays*, eds. Jonathan Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams and Stephen Gill, Norton Critical Ed. (New York: Norton, 1979). Unless specified, references are to the 1805 text.
- ⁸ David Jones, Preface, *The Anathemata* (London: Faber, 1952) 33.
- ⁹ Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800*, *Studies in Anthropology and History*, ed. Nicholas Thomas ([Switzerland]: Harwood, 1995) 4.: Stagl describes a socio-cultural idea of travel in three stages: ① leaving the world of old experience, ② undergoing unfamiliar experiences, ③ returning to the world of one's normal experience--the desire to travel as the need to change one's normal practices and experiences.

¹⁰ A. T. Hatto, "What is an Heroic Lay? Some Reflections on the Germanic, Serbo-Croat and Fula," *The Uses of Tradition: A Comparative Enquiry into the Nature, Uses and Functions of Oral Poetry in The Balkans, The Baltic, and Africa*, eds. Michael Branch and Celia Hawkesworth (London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, U of London, Finnish Lit. Soc., Helsinki, 1994) 124.

¹¹ J. A. Cuddon, "Lay," *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 3rd. ed. (London: Penguin, 1992).

¹² [Geoffrey] Chaucer, *Complete Works*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, Oxford Standard Authors (London: Oxford UP, 1912).: In text B of the prologue to *The Legend of Good Women* (pp. 349-66), Chaucer uses 'lay' in its romantic sense, which became the more common application from the Sixteenth Century:

And somme songen clere
Layes of love, that joye hit was to here,

(139-40).

In "The Franklin's Prologue" (p. 637), Chaucer uses 'lay' to describe rhymed verse which narrates great adventures. Although he says that they were either read or sung, he locates them in the oral tradition when he refers to the lays being composed in the "firste Briton tonge". This use of the term is historical and primitive:

Thise olde gentil Britons in hir dayes
Of diverse aventures maden layes,
Rymeyed in hir firste Briton tonge;
Which layes with hir instruments they songe,
Or elles redden hem for hir plesaunce;

(709-13).

¹³ Cuddon, "Saga".

¹⁴ C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry* (London: Macmillan, 1952) 477.

- 15 T. W. Rolleston, *Myths and Legends: Celtic* (London: Senate, 1994) 77.
- 16 L. Spence, *Myths and Legends: North American Indians* (London: Senate, 1994) 131.
- 17 R. Tonkinson, *The Mardudjara Aborigines: Living the Dream in Australia's Desert* (New York: Holt, 1978) 18.
- 18 Bowra 2.
- 19 Bowra 330-50.
- 20 A. T. Hatto, "Towards an Anatomy of Heroic and Epic Poetry," *Traditions of Heroic and Epic Poetry*, Vol. 2, Characteristics and Techniques, ed. J. B. Hainsworth, presented by J. B. Hainsworth, A. T. Hatto, J. Opland, K. Reichl and J. D. Smith, 2 vols., gen. ed. A. T. Hatto, Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Assoc., vol. 13, gen. ed. A. T. Hatto, founded upon the transactions of the London Seminar on Epic 1964-1972 (London: Modern Humanities Research Assoc., 1989) 145-294.
- 21 Hatto, *Traditions* 115.
- 22 E. Annie Proulx, *Accordion Crimes* (1996; London: Fourth Estate, 1997).
- 23 *Old New World*, BBC 2, 29 Apr. 2001.
- 24 Peter Martin, "Riddle of the Sands," *Sunday Times* 31 Jan. 1999: magazine 28-33.
- 25 N. K. Sandars, Introduction, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, English version, Penguin Classics, founder ed. E. V. Rieu, ed. Betty Radice (Middlesex: Penguin, 1972) 32.
- 26 Sandars 36.
- 27 Homer, *The Iliad*, trans. and introd. Martin Hammond, Penguin Classics (London: Penguin, 1987).
- 28 Thomas Greene, *The Descent From Heaven: A Study in Epic Continuity* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1963) 10.

29 Aristotle 9.

30 John Milton, *Paradise Lost: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Sources, Criticism*, ed. Scott Elledge, 2nd. ed., Norton Critical Ed. (New York: Norton, 1993).

31 Aristotle 40.

32 Aristotle 9.

33 Aristotle 40.

34 Cuddon "Heroic verse".

35 Aristotle 38.

36 Aristotle 38.

37 Aristotle 9.

38 Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, 2 vols, introd. J. W. Hales, Everyman Library (London: Dent, 1916).: Spenser incorporates the idea of undying fame:

Dan Chaucer, well of English undefiled,

On Fame's eternal beadroll worthy to be filed.

(vol. 2. bk. IV, c. II.xxxii).

39 Bronowski 24.

40 Torquato Tasso, *Discourses on the Heroic Poem*, trans. Mariella Cavalcini and Irene Samuel (London: Oxford UP, 1973) 14.

41 Tasso 44.

42 Tasso 17.

43 Tasso 16.

44 B. Curtis and C. Pajaczkowska, "'Getting There': Travel, Time and Narrative," *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*, eds. G. Robertson et al. (London: Routledge, 1994) 199.

45 Brendan Kennelly, "The Twelve Apostlettes," *The Book of Judas* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Bloodaxe, 1991) 137.

⁴⁶ Ben Jonson, *Discoveries 1641, Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden 1619*, Elizabethan and Jacobean Quartos, ed. G. B. Harrison, reproduced from the series Bodley Head Quartos, London: 1922-26 (USA: Barnes, 1966; Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, n.d.) 104.

⁴⁷ Philip Sidney, *An Apology for Poetry or The Defence of Poesy*, ed. Geoffrey Shepherd, Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library, gen. ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (London: Nelson, 1965) 119.

⁴⁸ Sidney 98.

⁴⁹ Sidney 98.

⁵⁰ Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1957) 318.

⁵¹ H. T. Swedenberg, *The Theory of the Epic in England 1650-1800*, University of California Publications in English, vol. xv, eds. E. N. Hooker, S. B. Hustvedt and Dixon Wecter (Berkeley: U of California P, 1944) 16.

⁵² Le Bossu, *Traité du Poème épique* (Paris, 1693) qtd. in Swedenberg 16.

⁵³ Bossu qtd. in Swedenberg 18.

⁵⁴ Joseph Addison, essay: 327, (15 Mar. 1712), Addison, Steele and Others, *Spectator*, 4 vols., vol. 3, ed. Gregory Smith, introd. Peter Smithens (1907; rev. ed. London: Dent, 1945) 20-7.

⁵⁵ Bossu qtd. in Swedenberg 17-8.

⁵⁶ Bossu qtd. in Swedenberg 16.

⁵⁷ John Carey, "John Carey's Books of the Century: *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*," *Sunday Times* 21 Mar. 1999: 8.9.

⁵⁸ Carey 8.9.

⁵⁹ John M. Steadman, *Milton and the Renaissance Hero* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1967) 4-5.

⁶⁰ Steadman 5.

⁶¹ Steadman 6.

62 Steadman 16.

63 E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Epic Strain in the English Novel*
(London: Chatto, 1958) 27.

64 Jonathan Richardson, "Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's
Paradise Lost (1734)," *Milton Criticism: Selections from Four Centuries*, ed.
James Thorpe (London: Routledge, 1951) 54-64.

65 David Harrison Stevens, *Reference Guide to Milton from 1800 to the
Present Day* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1930).: This survey lists many
versions of *Paradise Lost* which were published between 1800-1900.
Editions were produced for schools, universities, and the general public.

66 Tillyard, *Epic Strain* 42.

67 Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and
Fielding* (London: Chatto, 1957) 13.

68 Peter Conrad, *Imagining America* (London: Routledge, 1980) 127.

69 Dryden, "Dedication" 154.

70 Dryden, "Dedication" 159.

71 Dryden, "Dedication" 164.

72 Dryden, "Dedication" 155.

73 Dryden, "Dedication" 165.

74 John Dryden, "The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic
Licence, Prefixed to 'The State of Innocence and Fall of Man', an Opera,
1677," *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker, 2 vols., vol. 1
(New York: Russell, 1961) 178-90.

75 Dryden, "Dedication" 193.

76 William Myers, *Dryden*, English Lit., ed. John Lawlor
(London: Hutchinson U Lib., 1973) 162-4.

77 [Percy Bysshe] Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Shelley's Poetry and
Prose: Authoritative Texts, Criticism*, eds. Donald H. Reiman and Sharon
B. Powers, Norton Critical Ed. (New York: Norton, 1977) 498.

78 Shelley 498-9.

79 Shelley 500.

80 Shelley 503.

81 *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 3rd. ed. 1979 7:27.

82 William Wordsworth, "Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* and Appendix (1850)," *Selected Prose of William Wordsworth*, ed., introd. and notes John O. Hayden (Middlesex: Penguin, 1988) 292.

83 Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria: Or Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions*, ed. and introd. George Watson (London: Dent, 1975) 179.

84 John Keats, "Letter To Benjamin Bailey," 8 Oct. 1817, *Letters of John Keats*, ed. Robert Gittings, Oxford Letters and Memoirs (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1970) 27.

85 M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, U of Texas P Slavic Series, no. 1, gen. ed. Michael Holquist (Austin: U of Texas P, 1981, trans. of *Voprosy literatury i estetiki*) 48-9.

86 Bakhtin 47.

87 Bakhtin 49.

88 Shelley 499.

89 Bakhtin 55.

90 Bakhtin 60.

91 Bakhtin 51.

92 Bakhtin, glossary.

93 Matthew Arnold, *On the Classical Tradition*, ed. R. H. Super, *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*, vol. 1 (USA: U of Michigan P; Toronto: Ambassador, 1960) 4.

94 Ian McEwan, "The Great Odyssey," *Guardian* 9 Jun. 2001: Saturday Review 1-3.

- 95 Arnold 5.
- 96 Arnold 4.
- 97 Arnold 8.
- 98 Arnold 15.
- 99 Conrad 90-2.
- 100 Conrad 91.
- 101 Henry James, writing about Newport in 1870, qtd. in Conrad 91.
- 102 Conrad 98.
- 103 Rudyard Kipling, *Captains Courageous* (New York: Bantam, 1982).
- 104 Conrad 120.
- 105 Conrad 120.
- 106 Conrad 121.
- 107 Bakhtin 17.
- 108 Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, introd. Bertrand Russell, Intl. Lib. of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method, gen. ed. C. K. Ogden (London: Kegan; New York: Harcourt, 1933) 32.
- 109 David Lodge, *The Modes of Modern Writing: Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Language* (London: Arnold-Hodder, 1977) 80.
- 110 Lodge 113.
- 111 Harold Bloom, *A Map of Misreading* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1975) 20.
- 112 Lodge 80.
- 113 Lodge 84.
- 114 Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (London: Oxford UP, 1973) 25.
- 115 Bloom, *Anxiety* 30.
- 116 Bloom, *Anxiety* 14.
- 117 Bloom, *Anxiety* 15.

- 118 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith, *World of Man: A Lib. of Theory and Research in the Human Sciences*, ed. R. D. Lang (New York: Pantheon, 1972; trans. of *L'Archéologie du Savoir*, France: Éditions Gallimard, 1969) 23.
- 119 Foucault 23.
- 120 Foucault 21.
- 121 Foucault 29.
- 122 Paul West, "Ethos and Epic: Aspects of Contemporary Canadian Poetry (1960)," *Contexts of Canadian Criticism*, ed. Eli Mandel, *Patterns of Lit. Criticism*, gen. eds. Marshall McLuhan, R. J. Schoeck and Ernest Sirluck (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1971) 208.
- 123 West 214.
- 124 West 214.
- 125 Frye 315.
- 126 Frye 318.
- 127 Tillyard, *English Epic* 4.
- 128 Tillyard, *English Epic* 5.
- 129 Tillyard, *English Epic* 5.
- 130 Tillyard, *English Epic* 5.
- 131 Tillyard, *English Epic* 12.
- 132 Tillyard, *English Epic* 12.
- 133 Tillyard, *English Epic* 13.
- 134 Paul Merchant, *The Epic, The Critical Idiom* (17), ed. John D. Jump (London: Methuen, 1970) 4.
- 135 Bakhtin 3.
- 136 Bakhtin 3.
- 137 Bakhtin 7.

138 Smaro Kamboureli, *On the Edge of Genre: The Contemporary Canadian Long Poem*, Theory / Culture, gen. eds. Linda Hutcheon and Paul Perron (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991) 49.

139 Kamboureli 50.

140 Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (London: Merlin P, 1962) 46.

141 Masaki Mori, *Epic Grandeur: Toward a Comparative Poetics of the Epic*, Suny Ser., The Margins of Lit., ed. Mihai I. Spariosu (Albany, NY: State U of New York P, 1997) 3.

142 Mori 47.

143 Mori 50.

144 Mori 50.

145 Mori 61.

146 Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900* (London: Verso, 1998) 3.

147 Brian Jarvis, *Postmodern Cartographies: The Geographical Imagination in Contemporary American Culture* (London: Pluto P, 1998) 6-7.

148 Michael P. Branch, et al., eds., *Reading the Earth: New Directions in the Study of Literature and Environment* (Moscow: U of Idaho P, 1998) xi-xiv.

149 Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Cambridge: Polity P, 1993) 45.

150 Edward Relph, "Responsive Methods, Geographical Imagination and the Study of Landscapes," *Remaking Human Geography*, eds. Audrey Kobayashi and Suzanne Mackenzie (Boston: Unwin, 1989) 157-8.

151 Audrey Kobayashi and Suzanne Mackenzie, "Introduction: Humanism and Historical Materialism in Contemporary Social Geography," *Remaking Human Geography* 2.

152 David Ley and Marwyn S. Samuels, eds., *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems* (London: Croom, 1978) 1.

153 Rose 56.

154 Marwyn S. Samuels, "Existentialism and Human Geography," *Humanistic Geography* 34.

155 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (n.p.: Prentice Hall, 197-?).

156 Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1977).

Chapter 2

"mazes intricate" (v.622): John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667)

This chapter draws attention to the difference between the fallen Satan and the fallen Adam and Eve. Satan forces his way out of Hell thus rejecting the idea of a controlled environment. His wandering is instinctive but it is not ordered as the various modes of his journey demonstrate. Satan becomes an agent of chaos; by causing Adam and Eve to fall he disrupts the harmony of the universe. Adam and Eve, on the other hand, transgress without rejecting the existing order. The pattern of movements on Earth (seasonal, bestial and celestial) are disrupted by their fall but, when the couple leave Paradise, they are guided. Their journey represents an acceptance of the need for order and obedience, and marks the founding of a new pattern of life.

This chapter contains three sections. Since there is insufficient space in this thesis to treat the Renaissance background to *Paradise Lost* (1667), section I provides a brief literature review pertaining to the religious and cultural contexts¹. Section II locates *Paradise Lost* (1667) within its literary context, showing how the narrative combines Classical and contemporary trends and unites aspects of epic, romance, lyric, pastoral verse, scripture, allegory and republicanism. Section III contains a discussion of the text.

I. The Renaissance

I.i. Religion

An important form of instruction, in the Seventeenth Century, was sermon (J. A. Cuddon's *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*

(1992) provides a short survey of the growth and uses of sermon²). Luther had disseminated his beliefs through sermons, and the printing press accommodated a wide readership. Since some literary figures, like Donne, were also preachers it is inevitable that the rhetoric of sermon crossed into poetry and drama.

In "*Paradise Lost*, Books XI and XII, and the Homiletic Tradition," (1996) Jameela Lares argues that the final books of *Paradise Lost* (1667) are informed by the sermon types of correction and consolation³. The main thrust of her argument is that Milton's subject is disobedience, and that repetitive admonishments are designed to clarify that sin. If Adam and Eve, and the reader, can repent their disobedience and subsequently vow to pursue virtue then they may find some consolation, though they might simultaneously feel grief. "Hell" writes Lares, "offers no consolation" and Satan "can know neither repentance nor comfort"⁴.

Persuaded though I am by her study, I am cautious about overemphasising the sermonising tradition within *Paradise Lost* (1667). I can accept Michael as a preacher but am less satisfied that Milton fulfils the same role in preaching to the reader. Samuel Johnson complained that "We read Milton for instruction, retire harassed and overburdened, and look elsewhere for recreation"⁵ but Samuel Taylor Coleridge observed that scriptural language alone was inadequate: "as some personal interest was demanded for the purposes of poetry, . . . [Milton] slips in, as it were by stealth, language of affection, or thought, or sentiment"⁶. Although preaching occupies some of the poem, Milton is at his most enthusiastic when describing movement and geography--from marvelling at Raphael's aerial speed and wings "with downy gold / And colors dipped in heav'n" (V.266-86), to participating in Satan's delight upon first beholding the prospect of Eden (IV.142-65). Indeed, Hilaire Belloc comments "It may be said that if a man has become too poor to travel he can still replace that

pastime by reading to himself the fourth book of *Paradise Lost*⁷. Moreover, Milton is exhilarated by Satan's journey; therefore, he is aroused by an act of disobedience.

I .ii. Human Consciousness

In his overview of Western thought, *The Passion of the Western Mind* (1991), Richard Tarnas describes a liberating cultural revolution as the result of Renaissance discoveries and inventions⁸. Like Satan, having questioned, or discredited, the role of God we consider our achievements superior; elevate the role of the individual, and seek to create things which rival God's creations. This issue has a bearing upon the question of who is Milton's hero: Voltaire maintains it is Adam⁹, Northrop Frye contends that it is Christ¹⁰, Dryden criticises Milton for making Satan his hero¹¹ but Shelley praises him for that¹². Perhaps it is easier for some readers to think of Satan as the hero because he is closer to the character of modern humankind than Adam and Eve. Satan produces material goods, impugns God's supremacy, ventures into uncharted chaos, and (paradoxically, at the point at which he most clearly recognises his debt to God) delves deeper into his psyche. The forms of heroism which he represents reflect the exciting endeavours of the Seventeenth Century, which involved rebelling against old orders of thought and expanding the parameters of knowledge.

I .iii. Travel

In *Worldly Goods* (1997), Lisa Jardine describes how much of the specialised mathematical, astronomical and scientific thinking was applied to the more universally familiar problems of travel¹³. New instruments meant that sailors were placed less in the hands of God, and more in the

hands of mathematicians. When Satan crosses chaos, he finds that he must scramble or ride on the updraught of clouds according to scientific laws, but God does not intervene to stop his approach to Heaven, or thence to Paradise. While he is at the mercy of the God-created universe, and not immune to the operations of God's laws, he has transgressed those precepts and does not perceive himself to be obliged to obey them once ejected from Heaven because he possesses free will.

The idea that travellers are beyond state and religious laws is prevalent in *Don Juan* (1819-24). During the storm, physical and moral boundaries are destroyed and, at the point at which nothing seems recognisable, the passengers cease to obey civic or Christian laws--turning to cannibalism, drunkenness and incivility. And Jardine cites the Portuguese merchants who, trading in the Indian Ocean, claimed they were not bound by Christian law because there were no other Christians in the area¹⁴.

I.iv. Miltonic Universe

In his study of Milton, John Carey refers to two astronomical theories, building on the work of Copernicus, which help to describe the approach to the cosmos and space travel in *Paradise Lost* (1667). The first theory belongs to Thomas Digges who argued, in *Description of the Celestial Orbs* (1576), that the sphere of fixed stars did not exist but rather, that the realm of stars continued infinitely upwards¹⁵. The conventional epic emphasis upon horizontal travel and mapping is displaced, in *Paradise Lost* (1667), by an interest in vertical movement. (Ancient epic usually visits a lower spirit plane, or Underworld, and Classical divinities travel downwards to Earth but these upward/downward journeys are conventionally reserved for episodes within narratives which chart a longer, central horizontal journey, such as Aeneas' migration from Troy to Rome.) While it is true that the angels (both heavenly and fallen) range across their habitat, and that Adam

and Eve step out of Eden to make their way across Earth, the narrator displays only a minimal interest in describing these journeys. He is however, deeply involved in the flights and falls of Satan as he scrambles through the cosmos, awed by modes of angelic transit, and is generally interested in exploring physical and psychological ascent/descent.

The second astronomer cited by Carey is Giordano Bruno who, in 1584, argued for an infinite number of solar systems which therefore negated the importance, not just of Earth, but of the idea of the centre of the universe¹⁶. This resonates with Milton's insistence upon a "vast infinitude" (III.711), a boundless realm of God. When Satan beholds Heaven it is "undetermined square or round" (II.1048). Carey argues that Satan's disadvantageous viewpoint means he cannot determine its shape¹⁷. However, Satan views Heaven from a great distance, it is "Far off", and even from this location, Heaven is "extended wide". The closer Satan moves towards Heaven, the more expansive and of undetermined shape it would become as more of it would fall outside his line of vision. While crossing the universe does not take long in temporal terms, this is disproportionate to the spatial dimensions--celestial spirits, it must be remembered, move with "incorporeal speed" (VIII.37) and Uriel even glides down sunbeams (IV.556). Shape cannot be ascribed to something that is so large it exceeds sight.

In his study of Milton's visual sources, Roland Mushat Frye explains that "the Renaissance delighted in drawing the figure of a man whose outstretched arms and legs touch the corner of a square, at just the points where the circumference of a circle overlies the square"¹⁸ (see Leonardo Da Vinci's drawing *Vitruvian Man* [c.1487]¹⁹). This diagram represented the reconciliation of finitude (straight lines) with eternity (circle) and, Frye asserts, was given three-dimensional realisation through the architecture of Renaissance domed churches such as St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and

St. Peter's Cathedral, Rome²⁰. Despite Renaissance interest in perspective, this nevertheless suggests that the undetermined shape of Heaven is associated with the meeting of cube with sphere, or finite with infinite, which culminates in God.

I shall treat the geography of *Paradise Lost* (1667) more closely as I discuss the text. However, it is useful to begin with a basic understanding of the structure of Milton's universe. Lawrence Babb observes, in *The Moral Cosmos of Paradise Lost* (1970), that Milton "believes that God's physical universe is an emanation from God himself"²¹. Each part of the universe exists in relationship to the other parts and this perhaps explains how, during the creation, the brook knows to take its course under the hills, and Nature forms itself into an harmonious idyll both pleasant to view, and affording a physical realisation of the spiritual scheme of human and environmental interconnectedness. The created universe/world (the act is influenced by the description in Genesis) was formed from that part of chaos which was designated when God turned his compasses. This shows, says Mary F. Norton, "how order evolves out of Chaos" (and the poem comes full circle to show "how order generates its own chaos"²²).

It is in Book VII that Raphael describes the creation to Adam. This account is not one of God manipulating the universe. In an image which resonates with William Wordsworth's later perception at the summit of Snowdon in *The Prelude* (1805), the land rose from the waters and mountains appeared, "their broad bare backs upheave[d] / Into the clouds" (*Paradise*.VII.286-7). In Classical epic, heroes are conventionally manipulated by divinities. Here, Milton describes an environment which both guides human responses and responds to human actions. Later epic would further explore this perception whereby a symbiotic relationship exists between the hero and his/her environment. I argue that epic, certainly from the early modern period onwards, relies upon a changing

environment to precipitate changes in its hero. For example, Nature guides Wordsworth, via his imagination, towards a spiritual union with a divine creative energy; and Wordsworth is then able to reflect his imagination back upon Nature to create his own Paradise. The reader of epic, in following the hero's journey, sees the same landscape in a form of 'passenger vision' and this contributes to the reader's own curve of experience. Milton's animate universe reminds readers that no life is fixed, or determined, and that human actions have consequences for our environments.

II. Epic Context

Milton borrows from Classical epics, especially from the *Odyssey* (c.1000 BC.), *Aeneid* (c. 20-19 BC.) and *Metamorphoses* (1st Cent. BC.), but relocates those ideas and images within his contemporary Puritan culture. As Colin Burrow observes in *Epic Romance* (1993), for example, the waking Eve seeing her reflection (IV) closely resembles Ovid's description of Narcissus who, enchanted, falls in love with his reflection and dies from self-love²³. Milton allows Eve to be guided from the pool by God. Thus, the episode is displaced from its original context into a Christian context. Free will is central to *Paradise Lost* (1667) and Milton rejects the Classical convention of divine intervention to permit his characters to make autonomous decisions within a framework of Biblical values.

The Classical hero is substantially shaped by the national importance of his quest. His actions are driven by his society's demand for martial heroism, and by the necessity of achieving an ultimate aim. (This model is resurrected, via industrialised narratives, by James Joyce in *Ulysses* [1922]. Here, Leopold Bloom attempts to triumph in a commercially-driven culture; his quest being to design the ultimate advertisement.) Conflicts (often divinely orchestrated) manifest themselves between warring

cultures, and between people and their environments. Although similar conflicts continue to occur, in Milton, both the humanised and the Christianised dimensions of his characters permit a new type of conflict--a conflict within the self. (This internalisation is central to William Wordsworth's understanding of his self, God and the external world in *The Prelude* [1805], and also gives an impetus to Achille's, Major Plunkett's and the narrator's needs to trace their roots and pinpoint their identities in Derek Walcott's *Omeros* [1990].) Although readers are aware of the wider aspect of Satan's quest, and of the broad implications of the Fall, they will also be aware of psychological and moral struggles. Moreover, Milton challenges readers to judge themselves.

Romance also focuses upon the individual; indeed, Burrow invents the term "epic romance" to describe the mode of narrative which emerged in the Renaissance²⁴. (Dryden, perhaps fuelled by envy, denigrated *Paradise Lost* [1667], condemning it as more romance than epic.) Milton's universe is less allegorical but its spiritual geography resonates with the *Divina Commedia* (c. 1310), and the sense of Milton's personal journey may be compared with Dante's casting of himself in the role of heroic pilgrim. Moreover, in common with Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1575), *Paradise Lost* (1667) combines supernatural elements, medieval romance, allegory and Christian ideals. *The Faerie Queene* (1590-96) and *Paradise Lost* (1667) both sustain a very visual instantaneity and it is from romance that Milton takes his pastoral settings, themes of love and honour, and his persistent image of the maze, or labyrinth, which I shall draw out in my discussion.

Milton also follows some conventions of Renaissance historical epics as they were established by the fifteenth-century humanist neo-Latin epics characteristic of northern Italian courts. Kristen Lippincott describes a consistent format whereby *The Aeneid* (c. 30-19 BC.), *Iliad* (c. 1000 BC.),

Satius' *Thebiad* (C5th/C6th) and Silius Italicus' *Punic Wars* (c.26-101) were plundered for isolated images and phrases²⁵. Milton similarly plagiarises metaphors and modifies Classical locution: when the fallen rebels lie on the burning lake "Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks / In Vallombrosa" (l.302-3), Milton revises a quotation from *The Aeneid* (c. 30-19 BC.) which reads; "As numerous were they as the leaves of the forest which fall at the first chill of autumn and float down" (bk. 6)²⁶. (Homer and Dante also incorporate this image.)

Some characteristics, like taking an Old Testament subject, are shared by several Renaissance narratives (see *Absalom and Alchitophel* [1681] and Cowley's *Davideis* [1656]). Milton uses prophecy, the forging of a route between Earth and Hell, and human dispersal to reveal the history of humankind. Camoën's *Os Lusíadas* (1572) reverts to pagan epic devices but similarly adopts models of narrative, prophecy and Vasco da Gama's discovery of the Indian sea-route as vehicles for revealing the history of Portugal.

Medieval influences are also prominent in *Paradise Lost* (1667). The maze became a popular image in medieval consciousness and is linked to the idea of pilgrimage: in allegory; in the tiled floors of European Gothic cathedrals, where walking the convoluted 'path' is supposed to bring peace and humility; and in the walking of mazes near some gallows, as a soul-cleansing act²⁷. Adam and Eve operate as both individuals and emblems of the human race, in the tradition of the Everyman stories. The overlapping of straight narrative and allegory in the poem renders Adam and Eve's fates both individual journeys and a pilgrimage towards salvation for all humankind. (This resonates with *Piers Plowman* [c. 1377] in which a corrupt world is replaced by an ideal world based on humility. Selfishness and disobedience destroy that ideal as humankind is undermined by the Devil, creating the need for divine salvation.)

The concept of overlapping applies not just to the convergence of genres and literary traditions in Milton, but also to the structure of the text. (Comparably, Chaucer incorporated sermon, allegory, romance and mock-heroic elements in the *Canterbury Tales* [c.1387].) On one hand, *Paradise Lost* (1667) juggles epic, romance, lyric and pastoral verse, Scripture, allegory and republican rhetoric. On the other hand, it interweaves the journeys of Satan, Adam and Eve, the reader and the author. Moreover, Milton's pen shuttles in and out of chronology so that the narrative unfolds out of historical order, but in such a way as to guide the reader through its moral maze. (Aiden Andrew Dun also reveals episodes out of historical sequence as Thomas Chatterton walks through London, thus becoming a link between geographical and temporal 'places' in *Vale Royal* [1995].)

I shall treat the journeys of Satan and of Adam and Eve separately. Such a structure benefits the clarity of my argument but it does not easily lend itself to conveying a sense of the crossed paths or overlapping events. The interweaving, described above, creates a tremendous sense of mobility, of travelling across the cosmos, cutting through time, and dipping in and out of self-consciousness. It also provides a necessary sense of Renaissance epic reaching backwards to precursor models, sometimes embracing them, sometimes reacting against them; engaging with contemporary culture; and projecting forwards, unwittingly influencing Romantic epic (and later literature) and anticipating the distant future of humankind.

III. *Paradise Lost*

Readers might argue that the narrator of Classical epic functions only as an interpreter of events. Milton, as with Dante and Tasso, anticipates Romantic poetry, such as *The Prelude* (1805), in which an integral part of

the creative and reading experiences is the sense that the narrators learn something about themselves which can be shared with the audience. In *The Prelude* (1805), Wordsworth's physical journey is parallel to a journey of personal poetic and spiritual growth. In *Paradise Lost* (1667), the process of justifying the ways of God to his readers will also be a process of revelation for Milton. "What in me is dark / Illumine" (I.22-3) he requests, and it will be through an impassioned involvement with the language and subject of his narrative that the readers will be challenged to scrutinise their lives in comparison with those of his characters. Milton may judge his characters, but he also turns his assessments of their actions upon himself, describing to the reader how events make him feel so that, in turn, the reader might replicate his emotional and spiritual journey. Milton travels, with Satan and Adam and Eve, in his imagination and in his soul.

III.i. Satan

Paul Carus considers changes in popular perceptions of evil in *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil* (1969)²⁸. Essentially, Milton's Satan unites the earlier traditions (perceiving evil as an external entity, often associated with a specific place) with those of the Seventeenth Century (which viewed evil more as the exclusive and internalised product of humankind). He is a grotesque external figure who acts upon humankind, but is not associated with a specific location. Evil is built into the geographies of Hell and chaos when Pandemonium and the bridge are constructed but it originates within Satan and becomes gradually more internalised, as we see in his soliloquy (IV). Moreover, he is successful in enticing Adam and Eve because many of his characteristics are exaggerations of the human depravity which developed after the Fall. Because Milton's Satan engages with the reader through the psychological insights which he reflects, especially those regarding his physical

displacement from Heaven, he no longer embodies that evil which is inextricably connected to place but seems to exist beyond geography.

His place in the universe is negated by his transgression. Just as the rebellion in Heaven and ranging across Hell by the rebels represents the disintegration of the angelic community, so does Satan's ejection from an ordered environment into chaos represent the disintegration of the relationship between self and place. Emotional attachments to locations form the basis of nostalgia and a sense of a personal past: Wordsworth, for example, memorialises episodes in terms of place because he can then use the image of a physical map to visualise his spiritual and intellectual development. Our sense of identity is also influenced by the way in which our physical environment is arranged, and by the cultural perspective which is suggested by the mapping of that space. There are no buildings or natural landmarks in chaos, unless the "dark pavilion" of Chaos is not figurative, so there is nothing to render that space meaningful for Satan. The lack of paths or roads emphasises his exile and isolation because it signifies excommunication. There is nothing to bind him to the landscape so his journey directs him within his own consciousness just as he exists, not in the physical world, but in the consciousness of the reader.

Chaos will become the space where different narratives intersect as the perspectives and journeys of narrator, rebel angels, and good angels are revealed. These movements form a sort of three-dimensional labyrinth in the reader's imagination as interconnected narratives form layers of time and space. That invisible network of tracks becomes coherent when Sin and Death complete their paving and the landscape both bears the signs of malevolent activity and, in providing one direct and visible route between Hell and Earth, reveals the result of human sin.

Ironically, although God created the universe it is Satan who completes that process by navigating chaos and opening up traffic between Hell and

Earth. His journey through the cosmos, although ruinous, gives disorder a form of order; it inscribes chaos with some meaning and ultimately, the building of the bridge (made possible by Satan) transforms chaos into a landscape by providing a landmark and platform from which to view the expanse--although this is given more form by later artists, like John Martin, than by Milton himself. The bridge represents the turning of chaos as empty space into chaos as a place within angelic/human consciousness which may, for the first time, be understood in its relations to Hell, Earth and Heaven. As Walter Clyde Curry observes in *Milton's Ontology* (1966), when Satan returns to Hell he is able to see the junction between the three places ("and now in little space / The confines met of empyrean heav'n / And of this world, and on the left hand hell / With long reach interposed; three sev'ral ways / In sight, to each of these three places led" [x.320-4]). This, says Curry, gives a visual dimension to "the struggle for the soul of Man"²⁹. Satan's pioneering journey is made consequential because his route is made permanent. The bridge brings chaos into existence, in the moral and spiritual senses, by creating a new physical perception which lends stability to a previously disordered realm.

In his appeal to the muse, Milton begins *Paradise Lost* (1667) retrospectively by reporting how Satan, driven by pride and ambition, "raised impious war in heav'n" (I.43). When the victorious God evicts Satan, the description of his fall is violent:

Him the Almighty Power
Hurled headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamant chains and penal fire,

(I.44-8).

Satan is thrust from Heaven with great force and is powerless to save

himself. It could simply be the speed at which he falls that causes him to flame, but it could also be symptomatic of his indignation in defeat--an apparent ignition of emotion and hatred. Certainly, the act of rebellion reveals the hideousness of his consciousness, which is then given a physical realisation as his body undergoes an uglifying metamorphosis during his plummet. This description is often thought to draw upon the image of a meteorite, or shooting star (Milton later describes Mulciber as dropping "like a falling star" [I.745] and the ensign of Hell is said to shine "like a meteor streaming to the wind" [I.537]). This may strike the modern reader, who is unfamiliar with ancient beliefs, as contradicting the image of "hideous ruin" but this is not necessarily the case. The Spartans, for example, held eight-yearly vigils to observe the sky. The sighting of a meteor or shooting star was regarded as a sign that the king had sinned against their god and must be suspended from his duties³⁰. Other cultures have interpreted meteors as part of the fallen world because they were thought to originate in the sublunary region which was subject to change after the human fall. They carry portentous meaning in Milton. Satan's trespass against God is written in the sky as he takes on the appearance of a flaming star--at once an indication of his offence, and a sign of future wickedness.

Satan is quick to proclaim that he will not be altered by his relocation because "The mind is its own place, and in itself / Can make a heav'n of hell, a hell of heav'n" (I.254-5). The idea that Hell is not a specific place but a state of being is not uncommon. In the Twentieth Century, Jean-Paul Sartre argued that Hell is other people, but in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (1604) we find the same idea that "where we are is hell, / And where hell is, there must we ever be" (*Faustus*, II.i.120-1)³¹. The alteration in Satan's spiritual state, and his physical relocation, will actually effect an inward movement as his ego collapses upon itself.

Satan's rebellion was signposted in Heaven from the moment that God introduced the Messiah. His physical act against God came after a spiritual and emotional distance had developed between Satan and the community of Heaven, and Milton alludes to this internal revolt in his reference to the angels' mazy dance of celebration, in which genuine and seeming pleasure are expressed. Mazes used to be central to community social life--Morris and maypole dancing, and dancing the maze created a sense of intimacy³². The angels celebrated Christ's appointment by similarly dancing "mazes intricate" and this image serves to describe the communal harmony in Heaven. However, "All seemed well pleased, all seemed, but were not all" (v.617). Raphael does not indicate whether Satan participated in this dance but he was the one who was not pleased. His initial fall began here, while still physically in Heaven, but it was a psychological fall (pride and envy) which preceded the physical act of disobedience (the declaration of war).

Satan's "envy against the Son of God" (v.662) became "Deep malice" and "distain"; it prevented him from sleeping and made him think that God loved him less. Although his malevolence was directed towards God and the continually obedient angels rather than the material place, Heaven was the setting for those festering emotions, it was the physical dimension of a community which he no longer loved, trusted or obeyed. And, although his original revolt was evidence of his propensity towards vain pride and megalomania, his consequent arrival in Hell has reaffirmed him in evil.

Moreover, Satan attains a certain release from anxiety when he reaches Hell. Despite his departure having been forced upon him, Satan's rebellion occurred because the social environment in Heaven placed him under some sort of psychological, or super-ego, pressure. Sigmund Freud believes that the 'super-ego' is one of three components of psychic structure. It is manifest in shame and guilt and is associated with the

influence of parental judgements. In Satan, the 'id' (representing instincts and innate needs) is in conflict with the wisdom of God. Freud argues that the third component of the psychic structure is the 'ego' which adapts to the external world and which causes us to seek out pleasure. Satan's ego will strengthen and grow as his new environment away from Heaven allows him to indulge his impulses and, for the most part, to suppress that part of his psyche which is preconditioned by the perceived prohibitive theocentrism of Heaven³³. Heaven is therefore associated, in his subconscious, with unresolved quarrels and a sense of injustice. The rebellion represents a direct challenge to God's supremacy, and an indirect attempt to resolve Satan's emotional and psychological issues with God's command. The descent from Heaven to Hell provided an escape from those pressures and that is why Satan considers it "Better to reign in hell, than serve in heav'n" (I.263). It is also why Satan declares "Here at least / We shall be free" (I.259-60). Although the rebel angels suffer in Hell, there is a sense of hope and release once they have left Heaven and, in their envious and hostile eyes, an oppressive God. This release enables them to think that they can achieve greatness, and it will lead them to believe that travel will procure power (II.392-30). Eviction from Heaven was essential to Satan's development into someone who is psychologically sufficient to undertake the perilous journey to Earth.

When Satan gathers his principal followers around him, to debate the merits and demerits of continued war, he does not know for certain that Earth exists but his jealousy of the Son has already been redirected onto Adam and Eve. He had heard a rumour in Heaven that God intended to create a new world in order to raise a race which would be loved no less than the heavenly angels. He proposes that they journey to this place because "this infernal pit shall never hold / Celestial Spirits in bondage" (I.567-8) or, in other words, he wants his followers to believe that escaping

their bounds would be an act of defiance against God, and a demonstration of their strength and resolve. He is indignant at his physical confinement. However, if Satan's torment is not so much to do with his physical relocation as it is to do with his severance from God then it follows that he would be jealous of anyone who is to be one of God's chosen favourites so jealousy of Adam and Eve is his prime motive. Satan's use of "Celestial" suggests that he has not come to terms with the finality of his descent because, although the rebel angels were indeed *from* Heaven, in their fallen and transformed states they can no longer be accurately described as being *of* Heaven. Moreover, his leadership is undermined by the desperation implied by his wish to destroy something which may not even exist.

Satan is encouraged by his belief that he can ascend from Hell. As Moloch argues: "in our proper motion we ascend / Up to our native seat" (II.75-6). The descent from Heaven was a "laborious flight" and, because "descent and fall / To [them] is adverse" (II.76-7), then the upward journey cannot be more difficult than the journey downward. In 1656 James Harrington published *Oceana* in which is described the establishment of a new commonwealth. This commonwealth has a "natural motion" and all motion is spherical to imitate the motions of orbs in the sky. Under the new civic structure, people and governing bodies rotate and this forms a perpetual circular political movement. 'The Oratour' appoints Gallaxies which, operating for three years, are likened to the constellations of a hemisphere "that setting cause those of the other to rise". The constitution of the Parliament "is not unnaturally compar'd unto that of the Moon, either in consideration of the Light, borrowed from the Senate as from the Sun; or of the ebbs and floods of the People"³⁴. Harrington's political system mimics the celestial system of movement. He directly links the laws of Heaven to those of Earth. This also follows from the theory of Thomas

Hobbes, a materialist who believed that the universe was a system of material in motion--'material' here meaning everything from the planets to people³⁵. Although I have found no sources to indicate whether Milton was familiar with *Oceana* (1656), Satan's belief that his rightful position in the universe rests upon notions of ascendancy seems to derive from the same debate about the relationship of political structures to the natural order.

While Milton constantly reminds the reader that both humans and angels were created with free will, Satan suppresses the importance of this. Unsurprisingly, he diminishes the role of free will because that would mean he accepted full responsibility for his rebellion and fall (although he comes to accept his culpability later). It is easier for Satan to absolve himself and remain angry with God if he can blame it on heavenly laws. Moreover, if he can believe that he is governed by the same laws which cause planets to revolve, then this validates his optimistic faith that he will, in time, re-ascend to Heaven. The debate continued into the early Eighteenth Century. Isaac Newton disproved Aristotle's theory that different laws governed celestial and terrestrial bodies when he proved that the same laws of gravity and motion applied universally to movement³⁶. These laws were used to explain many structures and systems on Earth; from politics, to biology, and to the royal court. Pierre de Maupertius applied Newtonian laws to living organisms and so the idea of an attractive force controlling all forms of movement prevailed³⁷. If *Paradise Lost* (1667) were to have been written following the emergence of Newtonian physics, Satan might have placed his faith in such an attractive force drawing him back up to Heaven.

As it is, the height of Heaven and the depth of Hell are brought into important contrast. Later, the young Wordsworth would find that, from the bottom of a valley, he could not see beyond the mountains which encircled him. This lack of a sweeping physical view would be compensated for by an imaginative view, not only of a divine creator above him, but also of the

external natural landscape as he perceived it. Wordsworth's imaginative geography expands upwards and outwards. In contrast, although fallen to such a physical depth in the universe, at this point Satan only exercises his imagination along an upwards plane, or vertical dimension. His vision of a new angelic order is inextricably linked, in his mind, to the idea of physical rising.

The scheme to corrupt Earth being proposed, debated and accepted, the next step is to appoint someone to undertake the journey to Earth, and of course, Satan has emerged as the obvious candidate. Beëlzebub does not pretend that the task will be easy but he does glorify the journey, making it clear that he requires a hero. Whoever is selected will need to forge their own route from Hell since the abyss is unmapped and untravelled. "Wand'ring feet" is an example of Milton's irony as the chosen adventurer will be both wandering in the sense of unguided movement as he attempts to find his way through the uncharted cosmos and, in the views of Milton and his readers, his journey will give a physical shape to the metaphysical transgression. He will be raised in rank within the community of rebels for having what they perceive to be chivalrous aims (in the sense of proving his courage and winning admiration), but Milton encourages the reader to condemn him for persisting in sinful ways:

Who shall tempt with wand'ring feet
 The dark unbottomed infinite abyss
 And through the palpable obscure find out
 His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight
 Upborne with indefatigable wings
 Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
 The happy isle; what strength, what art can then
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
 Through the strict senteries and stations thick
 Of angels watching round?

(II.404-14).

Beëlzebub entices the rebels with the promise of a "happy isle": the Earth of their imaginative geography is a kind of utopia. They anticipate that physical movement from Hell will precipitate a simultaneous psychological movement: their inner torment is viewed as being proportional to their proximity to Hell. As we shall later see, Satan's journey in fact leads him deeper within his own thoughts and, at least momentarily, the journey towards Heaven and Earth increases his feeling of being trapped in misery. The volunteer must have a military ability to use the environment to his advantage, to merge into his immediate surroundings and so pass the angelic sentries undetected. Force might be necessary but Beëlzebub also refers to "art", or cunning--the traveller must be sharp to outmanoeuvre God's legions. The rebels' hero must ultimately be unshakeably confirmed in evil and, like most earlier conventional epic heroes, absolutely committed to their community of "devil with devil damned" (II.496).

Satan begins his journey by searching for the way out of Hell. He

Explores his solitary flight; sometimes
 He scours the right-hand coast, sometimes the left,
 Now shaves with level wing the deep, then soars
 Up to the fiery concave tow'ring high.

(II.632-5).

Satan is both testing his ability to fly (with "swift wings") and casting about for the exit from Hell. John G. Demaray argues, in *Cosmos and Epic Representation* (1991), that Milton not only exploits seafaring metaphors, but also draws upon the south-eastern sea route down the western coast of Africa, around the Cape of Good Hope, and east to India (discovered by Vasco da Gama) as it was described in the travel accounts published by Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas³⁸. Milton's naming of places from this route (Bengala, Ternate, Tidore) would draw in the informed contemporary reader by providing a modern model for the route, and a modern perspective on the struggles which Satan experiences with the winds. (Milton returns to this route as a source of comparison for Satan's approach to Paradise, although Satan is sailing in the opposite direction.) It also suggests that Milton is promoting a modern form of heroism, based upon a pioneering spirit, rather than duplicating the arduous voyages from Classical epic.

Although at first, it appears that Satan's movement is voluntary and controlled, the subsequent comparison with a ship caught in the trade winds suggests that his progress is slow as he tries to hold his course. He is sometimes able to maintain a steady tack, and at other times veers upwards. His movement to and from the "fiery conclave" does not represent hesitation or uncertainty, neither does it indicate that he is seeking the weakest part of the boundary because he flies in this manner for some time before the gates eventually appear. Rather, he must steer his course by indirect ways in order to make headway towards the gates

(apparently located on the horizontal plane of the universe, although Satan's legion may have entered through a door on the vertical plane).

Satan's casting about also shares links with the general maze and pilgrimage themes which dominate *Paradise Lost* (1667). Although no material structure is described, Satan's oscillating movement resonates with the dead ends, long passageways and false doors which are common features of mazes, from Ancient Egyptian tomb complexes to the surreal puzzles of Lewis Carroll's rabbit hole and looking-glass world. He is inside the enclosure of Hell and is supposed to be prohibited from penetrating the universe beyond. His journey to the gates is therefore akin to starting at the centre of a maze and seeking the way out. In the process, he redoubles, twists and turns, and travels loops in search of an exit.

Boundaries do not have much effect upon Satan's perception of his environment. He accepts that he must cross a border in leaving Hell but views the formidable gates as a difficult but not insurmountable physical obstacle. The gates are guarded by Sin and Death, the respective products of Satan's lust and perversion in Heaven. They shared his physical fall and now are charged with keeping the gates securely locked. At first Satan, though not afraid, is struck by their hideous appearance. When Sin explains their origins to him, his attitude mellows from aggression to benevolence. It is unclear whether Satan explains his journey as a quest to lead them, and the rebels, to Earth to parody the Messiah's sacrifice for humankind (as Scott Elledge argues in a footnote to his edition of *Paradise Lost*³⁹), or whether it is merely a psychological ploy to persuade Sin to unlock the gates. He ironically calls Death "fair" and Sin his "Dear daughter" (II.817-8) and describes a blissful life for them if his mission is successful, halting his discourse when "both seemed highly pleased" (II.845). My reading of the episode is that Satan's quest is more for personal vengeance than the deliverance of his followers, despite his assuming the role of liberator for his

community. Completion of his task depends, more than upon anything else, on escaping the bounds of Hell. He is merely coaxing Sin and Death into acquiescence that is, talking his way through the gates rather than displaying any of the physical strength or military stealth which had been anticipated despite his physical confrontation with Sin and Death.

The opening of the gates is therefore of seminal importance:

from her side the fatal key,
 Sad instrument of all our woe, she took;
 And towards the gate rolling her bestial train,
 Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,
 Which but herself not all the Stygian powers
 Could once have moved; then in the key-hole turns
 Th' intricate wards, and every bolt and bar
 Of massy iron or solid rock with ease
 Unfastens: on a sudden open fly
 With impetuous recoil and jarring sound
 Th' infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
 Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
 Of Erebus.

(II.871-83).

In taking the key, Sin becomes complicit in the destruction of Adam and Eve, and therefore of all humankind. Milton prolongs this episode because it is so essential to the sequence of events, and because it makes agonising reading as we are forced to dwell on Satan's escape. The powerful language and harsh, bold sounds drive home the excruciating horror of the consequences of this act, and emphasise the considerable physical effort required to open the gates.

This also alerts us to a problem concerning God, although there is insufficient space in this thesis to explore the issue. If Sin alone possessed

the power to open the portcullis then Hell's boundary must have been very secure. However, the omnipotent God would have anticipated Sin's weakness and Satan's duplicity. William Empson argues, in *Milton's God* (1961), that God intended to spite Satan from the beginning and that he lies when he announces his 'new' plan to punish Satan and create humankind⁴⁰. The counter view may be upheld by citing Milton's repeated insistence that angels and humans were created with free will.

The gates are both a robust construction of iron and rock, and an intricate working of locks. The delicate complexity of the locking mechanism is disproportionate to the heaviness of the gates, their size, and to the ease with which Satan achieves their unbolting. When the internal notches of the mechanisms match, the doors spring apart to a dreadful grating and thunderous noise. This contrasts with the "Harmonious sound / On golden hinges moving" (V.206-7) of Heaven's Gate when it is opened to let the Messiah depart on his expedition, and with the musical sounds accompanying Earth's creation, celestial motions, and the general sounds of Heaven. The noise is sufficient to make the universe physically feel the moment, just as the Earth will feel the wound of the human fall. Chillingly, once the gates have opened, they cannot be closed and this resonates with the impossibility of Satan ever regaining Heaven, and of the unlikelihood of humankind ever returning to prelapsarian bliss because Sin and Death will have unlimited access to our world.

The enclosure of Hell opens into a vast prospect: "a dark / Illimitable ocean without bound, / Without dimension" (II.891-3). The Greek *khaos* means empty space and it is from this that the now obsolete meaning of chaos as an abyss or vast chasm derives⁴¹. According to the Classical myth of creation (as recorded by Ovid), chaos was the infinite space of shapeless, confused matter which existed prior to the ordered universe, and which was ruled by Chaos and his wife, Nyx, the goddess of Night⁴². It

is this Classical source which influences the physical description of chaos in *Paradise Lost* (1667) as a yawning, black void. This impression also partially derives from the psychology of emerging from a state of imprisonment into a state of liberty, as oppressive limits would seem to recede. And it is influenced by the rules of perspective for, standing at the edge of Hell, and no longer having his sight restricted by the convex fire, Satan's plane of vision would expand horizontally and vertically--the landscape seeming to gape before him.

The idea of "unessential night", which was applied to chaos in line II.439, connects with the idea of "utter loss of being" in the way that all things in the gulf appear to be reduced to nothingness. We relate our self-awareness to the materiality of people and things around us; therefore, if the gulf has no substance, Satan is at risk of losing his physical bearings, and sense of reality and self. The reader may imagine an individual disappearing into the gulf that is, becoming insignificant against the hugeness of the environment--as Freud might say, there is little in the external environment of chaos upon which Satan's 'ego' can feed. This resonates with the Hebrew word *tōhû*, meaning a wilderness where the deranged wander, paralleling the future Limbo of Fools⁴³.

Chaos is a chasm where matter exists but is disordered; where noise levels cut across each other, where there can be no consciousness of distance or direction, and where elements compete. Chaos has the potential to become an ordered cosmos because it contains the materials of creation, and indeed, God has apparently created Hell and Earth (and perhaps Heaven) from this unstructured empire. However, just as there is a great physical distance between the Hellside plane of chaos and the Heavenside plane, so is there a great distance between disorder and order. This is reflected in Satan's journey. He embarked on his quest without a clear ambition or plan and now, realising the enormity of his task, hesitates

at the edge of Hell to contemplate this abyss. Satan becomes part of the physical disorder of chaos when he loses his composure and displays psychological confusion and despair.

When he does plunge into chaos, his mode of travel degenerates into its own kind of disorder and this is the first step towards complete disorientation. When he coasted towards Hell's gates, Satan had to steer hard but maintained his flight. In chaos, he boldly soars upwards on his "sail-broad vans" (II.828) and ascends by many leagues but this cannot be sustained. Suddenly, he plummets "Ten thousand fathom deep"--a measured distance in an unmeasureable realm. In the words of Mary F. Norton in "The Rising World of Waters Dark and Deep" (1995); "dimensions may be 'lost' but are certainly not absent, for disorientation and confusion are not the equivalent of absence"⁴⁴.

Satan does not have Milton's grasp of distance and can neither map nor direct his own movement. His journey becomes dictated by chance: just when it seems as though he may endlessly descend, a counter blast from a fiery cloud propels him upwards again. Finding himself on marshy ground, he must then learn to be flexible and adapt to the new terrain:

O'er bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way,
And swims or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies

(II.848-50).

His persistence in persevering across chaos may be admired, or it may seem grotesque and degrading. He is undertaking a journey which none have attempted and is undeterred by this adversity. On the other hand, he was able to utilise the natural materials of Heaven to military advantage, and was able to transform the inhospitable environment of Hell into Pandemonium, but cannot manipulate the environment of chaos. God has created order from chaos and his success shows Satan to be inferior.

Moreover, in the lines quoted above, we see Satan in most unheroic postures. He is threatened by the varied and hostile terrain and we see the gargantuan demon floundering in his (nonetheless successful) efforts to cross the breach. He leads with whatever modes of travel are possible but he "sinks" and "creeps". His motions are uncoordinated, chaotic even and, wading through mud, he is stripped of any dignity he once possessed.

Satan admits that he is "half lost" and asks the allegorical figures Chaos and Ancient Night for directions to Heaven. His position (as the Archfiend and author of all evil) is undermined by his need to be led. As with Sin and Death, Satan displays an aptitude for persuasive speech and, with a promise to restore Earth to chaos, endears himself to the anarch (i.e. one who has no rules). Only by winning Chaos and Night to his side is he able to revive his former heroic vigour and, with renewed speed and strength, pursue a more treacherous and demanding journey than that of Argo or Ulysses.

At this point we become aware of the author's involvement in Satan's journey. While his interest in the cosmological landscape, meteorology and modes of travel have been apparent, the favourable comparison of Satan's expedition with Classical epic journeys (II.1017-20) conveys Milton's admiration for Satan's pioneering courage. An invocation at the beginning of book III (13-22), recalls Milton's imaginative journey from "the Stygian pool", "through middle darkness" and re-ascension to Heaven as if he has followed in Satan's very footsteps. If Satan's journey has been heroic then Milton's parallel journey has been similarly epic (and the narrator of *Don Juan* [1819-24] can also be said to participate in the journey of his hero).

As Demaray observes, demonic journeys in *Paradise Lost* (1667) are associated with cosmological discovery and sea voyages to India (while divine journeys are associated with visionary spirituality derived from Biblical sources, especially the Psalms and Apocalypse)⁴⁵. When Satan

approaches the border between chaos and Heaven, the sailing metaphor which was used to describe his route to Hell's gates is used to create a sense of relief:

and now with ease
 Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light
 And like a weather-beaten vessel holds
 Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn;

(II.1042-4).

Satan has hauled himself through chaos where he was unable to isolate landmarks, plot co-ordinates, or feel in control of his environment. The realm threatened his sense of place and sense of self-possession since he was forced to ask for guidance and to abandon his arrogant flight for inglorious scrambling. Now, the light of Heaven constitutes the promise of restored order, of a recognised location. The image of Satan making for port reinforces the idea that he is heading 'home', that he has ascended to a place where he feels again the light and love of God. If Hell's environment emphasised the physical and emotional distance to which he had fallen from Heaven then, in chaos, it was impossible to place himself in relation to anything because all physical matter was confused. Heading for the light of Heaven brings Satan's emotional distance from God back into the forefront of his thoughts. It is both reassuring to be physically nearer to God and Heaven (the familiar environment), and painful. Satan sees the new world, which is physically attached to Heaven by a gold chain, and this reignites his fury, reconfirming him on the path to "mischievous revenge" (II.1054).

When we next meet Satan, he has alighted on the convex of the outermost orb of the world and paces, excited by the proximity of his prey. Earth represents a newly discovered, unexplored country to which he intends to relocate the rebel host and his offspring, Sin and Death, who will subsequently pave a visible and permanent path behind him. The

description of his first sight of the created world is influenced by the tradition of explorers' logbooks (Milton studied eyewitness accounts by voyagers such as Hugh Willoby):

a globe far off

It seemed, now seems a boundless continent
 Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
 Starless exposed, and ever-threatening storms
 Of chaos blust'ring round, inclement sky;
 Save on that side which from the wall of heav'n
 Though distant far some small reflection gains
 Of glimmering air less vexed with tempest loud:

(III.422-29).

On one level, Satan's physical perspective has altered with his travelling. Previously, he could only view the Earth from far off and this impressed upon him the vastness of the universe, the enormity of his mission, and the great distance he needed to cross to reach his destination. Now, seeing the world close up, he views it across a horizontal (albeit curved) plane stretching out around him, which is the outer shell of the cosmos--later to become the Limbo of Fools. He is able to make a primitive assessment of its size and hospitality and these environmental factors are important to the viability of his scheme. He is also able to make fundamental geographical observations, noting that one side of the cosmos is cast in darkness, but that the Heavenside receives empyrean light, providing refuge from the inclement weather. He also, by this time, can position the created world within a basic schema for the universe; he can plot its relations to chaos and Heaven and this transforms it from having only a speculated existence, to becoming part of Satan's consciousness.

On another level, this episode precipitates changes in Satan's psychological, or certainly emotional, perspective. Though cast out of

Heaven, he was still surrounded by like-minded demons and, travelling across the universe, he has encountered Sin, Death, Chaos and Ancient Night who share his vengeful ambition. On the cusp of the world, Satan is both physically alone and spiritually isolated. He is near Heaven which holds a host of enemies, the light of Heaven (radiating to Earth) emphasises his profound alienation, and other vain beings have yet to converge on this plane. Milton accentuates this solitude, and signposts Satan's imminent psychological fall by repetition of "alone" in lines III.441-4 ("the Fiend / Walked up and down alone bent on his prey, / Alone, for other creature . . ."). It is emphasised again when Satan reaches the staircase to Heaven: the retractable steps are down on this occasion--either, in Satan's interpretation, to tempt him, "or aggravate / His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss" (III.524-5). (In *Paradise Regained* [1671], Milton alludes to Satan's permitted visits to Heaven, following chapter I of Job where Satan is amongst the sons of God who present themselves before the Lord.)

From the first step Satan sees the universe as if he has climbed a hill and looks upon a wide prospect. Demaray argues that this is analogous to drawings of the Holy Land in atlases by Ortelius and Jansson, with Satan then focusing upon sacred sites individually (Paneas, Jordan, Beërsaba, Egypt and Arabia [III.535-7]) as they were identified in the Bible and Renaissance cartography⁴⁶. As Satan's geographic view expands, his personal vision also enlarges so that not only does *Paradise Lost* (1667) play with the differences between ascent and descent, light and darkness, and physical perspective; but it plays with inward and outward vision. Here, Satan is awed by the new panoramic vision of God's created universe but, as he surveys the constellations and Paradise, he withdraws into envy--thus expanding his self-awareness. I argue that this oscillation, between communal vision and individual passion, characterises Milton's description of Satan throughout and both mirrors the changing view of the

environment, between vista and detail, and contrasts with the Messiah's self-sacrificial vision.

Satan flies what seems, in Milton's inability to describe it, to be a convoluted course through stars which mazily dance (resonating, in later retrospect, with the angelic dancing). His journey towards the sun repeats the earlier episode when Satan had to adapt to different modes of travel across chaos, before he received guidance from Chaos and Night. This time, he maintains his flight but experiences navigational problems as the stars turn. He needs to adapt both his mode of travel, and his outward appearance lest he is recognised as the fiend. This characterises much of the final stages of his journey. He metamorphoses into a Cherub to appear before Uriel (III.636), flies to the top of the Tree of Life in the guise of a cormorant (IV.194-6), changes from species to species, ending with a lion and a tiger as he creeps up on Adam and Eve (IV.397-9), becomes a toad to approach Eve in her sleep (IV.800), re-enters Paradise as a mist (IX.75), enters a snake to tempt Eve (IX.187-8) and finally, after returning to Hell, is transformed by God into a serpent (X.51-46). Through these successive modes, Satan achieves physically heroic attributes. He can be graceful, agile, stealthy, dextrous and strong but his metamorphoses also contribute to his image as a cunning and dangerous sociopath. He relies upon dishonesty for his safe transit through the cosmos which confirms him as a trespasser--the loyal angels and Messiah deceive Adam and Eve only so that their approach is not too terrifying (even then, their disguises are unsuccessful).

The final point I wish to raise with respect to Satan concerns the concept of boundaries. Throughout the narrative, Satan has been aware, but not respectful, of various boundaries. They have acted as a series of stations on his route but have not been perceived as great barriers. The crossing of each boundary has occasioned some sort of epiphany for Satan: talking his

way through Hell's gates forced him to confront the consequences of his sin (the birth and transformation of Sin and Death), and to contemplate the epic scale of his pioneering journey; arriving at the border between Heaven and chaos refreshes his envy; and now, having passed the obstacle posed by Uriel, he crosses a psychological threshold.

The exchange with Uriel, and the prospect of Eden, ignite horror and doubt in Satan:

and from the bottom stir
The hell within him, for within him hell
He brings, and round about him, nor from hell
One step no more than from himself can fly
By change of place: now conscience wakes despair
That slumbered,

(IV.19-24).

His psychological journey threatens to become self-destructive when his thoughts turn inward to the Hell he has created in his conscience. When he first surveyed Hell, he despaired because it was geographically and spiritually bleak. He looked upon Heaven as his rightful home in terms of being attached to a specific place, rather than its proximity to God. He also thought that the geographical Hell represented the lowest he could fall because of its location at the bottom of the universe. Now, having seen the empyrean light fall on Earth, and having glimpsed again Heaven's opal towers, he comes to realise that he has lost more in incurring God's wrath than in losing his place of residence. In recognising the importance of spiritual relationships over spiritual place, Satan acknowledges the full extent of his fall and finally accepts that his punishment is not imprisonment in Hell, but banishment from God.

The "bitter memory / Of what he was, what is, and what must be" grieves him and he looks sadly on Paradise, and remorsefully to Heaven

(IV.24-9). Wandering down an intellectual path of regret, he realises the injustice of his vain pride and ambition, conceding that God did not deserve the rebels' revolt. Meditating upon God's greatness, his own dislike of being a subject within God's monarchy, and his autonomous evil, he groans in torment. At the same time, he rationalises his inability to repent that "never can true reconciliation grow / Where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep" and that, if he were accepted back into Heaven, forgetting all experience of Hell he would soon recant all vows of righteousness (IV.96-9). This cogitation only reminds him of the reason for his rebellion as he recalls his inability to express eternal gratitude under God's protection. Overcoming this memory dispels his torment and reconfirms him in evil, and in turn, this epiphany allows him to leap over the bounds of Paradise. This act represents the fulfilment of his desire to violate boundaries in all their forms, and signifies that he has overcome that final moral boundary within himself.

Release from psychological anguish emboldens Satan as he subsequently pays no heed to Gabriel when ordered to return to Hell, and argues that if he had not been destined to escape, then God should have "surer [barred] / His iron gates" (IV.897-8). When he returns to Eden after his ejection, he is fearless and "now improved / In meditated fraud and malice" (IX.54-5) as if liberation from Heaven secures a strength which intensifies with time. His conscience is focused unfalteringly upon destruction. Although he vents his grief once more, this discourse (in book X) is really one of optimism and relief for retracing his memories of Heaven reminds him that there is no happiness for him there either, that his pain is only relieved by destructive revenge.

The following section discusses the repercussions of his arrival in Paradise, with a briefer examination of Adam and Eve as reflects the minor role of physical travel where they are concerned.

III.ii. Adam and Eve

The first description of Paradise comes from Satan's viewpoint as he nears his destination therefore, it is an aerial view:

So on he fares, and to the border comes
 Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
 Now nearer, crowns with her enclosure green,
 As with a rural mound the champaign head
 Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
 With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
 Access denied; and overhead up grew
 Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,
 Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
 A sylvan scene, and as the ranks ascend
 Shade above shade, a woody theater
 Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
 The verduous wall of Paradise up sprung:
 Which to our general sire gave prospect large
 Into his nether empire neighbouring round.
 And higher than that wall a circling row
 Of goodliest trees loaden with fairest fruit.

(IV.131-47).

In *Towards Paradise On Earth* (1980), Lise Bek draws attention to the circular structure of space in Dante's *Divina Commedia* (c. 1310) and Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone* (1348-53). Dante, as Bek observes, is particularly interested in moments of entering a spatial structure, and in contrasting this with a difficult approach⁴⁷. Similarly, in Milton we now find a contrast between Satan's arduous journey through chaos, and the respite from that disorder which Eden offers. Resonating with Dante's depiction of a conical, terraced Hell in the *Inferno*, and linking with the sea between

Heaven and the cosmos (which must flow in a spiral movement as it cannot exist on a horizontal plane), Paradise is described as a circular, tiered garden. The circular references reinforce the image of an enclosure: we have Eden's *border*, a green *enclosure*, a *mound* (here meaning hedge), circular ranks of trees, a high *wall*, and a *circling* row of fruit trees. (Incidentally, arches and circles commonly feature in church architecture and decoration⁴⁸.) Other sources for the description of Eden include Biblical references; enchanted gardens (compare *The Faerie Queene* [1590-96], *Orlando Furioso* [1532], *Gerusalemme Liberata* [1575] and Sidney's *Arcadia* [1590]); Classical sacred groves; Homer's garden of Alcinous; and picturesque landscape painting as typified by Claude Lorrain. G. Stanley Koehler has written a well-researched account of Milton's description of Eden based upon other literary sources, and which provides an especially useful discussion of the practicalities of, and moral and psychological responses to, seventeenth-century English countryside and landscape design⁴⁹.

Two aspects of the garden strike the reader. First, within the circular space, the garden has a mazy quality: not only do we get a sense of upwardly spiralling plantation, but Elledge provides a footnote to explain that "grotesque" used to indicate a tangled interweaving of vines and branches. The "umbrageous grots and caves" (IV.257) also lend themselves to this image of overhanging verdure inspired, perhaps, by the tradition in seventeenth-century applied arts for rambling foliage in plaster, wood, and metalwork⁵⁰. This labyrinthine image is perpetuated about thirty-five lines on when Satan finds his ascent up the hill is impossible because the "tangling bushes [have] perplexed / All path of man or beast" (IV.176-7). We find it repeated in the "mazy error" of Eden's brooks (IV.239); in Eve's hair which (foreshadowing the "tangles of [Donna Julia's] wandering hair" [*Juan*, I.170.2]) "in wanton ringlets waved / As the vine curls her tendrils"

(*Paradise*, IV.306-7); it is in the serpent's "Gordian twine" (IV.348); the "wand'ring fires that move / In mystic dance" (V.177-8); the "circling Hours" (VI.3); and "wand'ring thoughts" (VII.187).

Deviant motion is not then necessarily disobedient, but it is associated with making correct moral choices. Unicursal cathedral mazes, such as the one at Chartres, France which is a convoluted pavement maze but without posing choices, were designed as substitute pilgrimages, guiding the pilgrim towards the centre (the *ciel* or Jerusalem)⁵¹. Multicursal mazes involve wrong turns but the trial and error involved in solving them represents the journey of life and, according to Donald R. Howard in *Writers and Pilgrims* (1980), represent "a preference for works over grace"⁵². The labyrinthine design of Paradise therefore reflects the life choices which Adam and Eve must solve as their freely-given obedience before God is tested.

On the other hand, maze imagery is most strongly invoked when it is applied to Satan in the guise of a snake. In this respect, the "Gordian twine" of the serpent (IV.348); the waves of Paradise when first created which "With serpent error wand'ring, found their way" (VII.302); the "mazy folds" of the sleeping serpent (IX.161); the "labyrinth of many a round self-rolled" (IX.183); the movement of "rising folds, that tow'red / Fold above fold a surging maze" (IX.498-9); and "leading swiftly rolled / In tangles" (IX.631-2) are all images which reinforce Satan's moral deviance--the physical and spiritual straying from righteousness which is realised in his seduction of Eve.

The second point which strikes both Satan and the reader about Eden is that it represents a locus of domestic bliss and sensuality. The floral perfume, perfectly ripe fruits, and the multiplying plants and animals create a richly erotic environment to which the human couple respond. Eve derives no pleasure from "[walking] by moon, / Or glittering starlight" without

Adam by her side (IV.655-6). Moreover, when she confesses her sin to Adam, in book IX, he decides to join her in transgressing because he is more afraid of losing Eve than he is of incurring God's wrath.

Adam and Eve fall separately so I will discuss them individually, and chronologically. When Satan first sees Eve, he singles her out after observing her "yield[ing] with coy submission" to Adam (IV.310). This subservient image is reinforced by Eve's own account of how she was led from her reflection to Adam (IV.476), and how, although she initially turned from him, she "yielded" when he seized her hand (IV.488-9). She is not allowed to exercise much self-reliance; therefore, we must ask ourselves how much she can be blamed for later submitting to Satan's deceit. She follows the serpent through the wood because she is accustomed to being led, and she is persuaded by his arguments because she is seldom trusted to think for herself: Raphael only tells Adam about the War in Heaven and the Creation, and tells him that he should warn Eve of Satan's threat (VI.908-90). She is often instructed by God and Adam because she is not believed to have rational thoughts of her own.

Moreover, although Eve vainly preferred her own image to Adam's "less fair, / Less winningly soft, less amiably mild," appearance (IV.478-9), she comes to admire his "manly grace / And wisdom" (IV.490-1) and bends to his law. When Satan, in the guise of a toad, is discovered at her ear, he tries to stir her to vanity and pride. The reader is not told exactly what he whispers, but it is plausible that he exaggerates her servile weakness to inspire "discontented thoughts, / Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires" (IV.807-8): he urges her to be more independent and encourages her to have a greater belief in her own worth. It is not long before Eve suggests to Adam that they divide their labours and make their separate ways through the garden (IX.214-9).

Eve tastes the apple because she has been confused by the ingrained

inclination to be subservient which is now undermined by her new desire to be strong-willed and independent. Her justification of the act even shows that she is capable of reasoned argument: Satan's argument that the fruit will make them "as gods" (IX.708) resonates with Raphael's earlier suggestion that their "bodies may at last turn all to spirit, / Improved by tract of time, and winged ascend / Ethereal, as we, or may at choice / Here or in heav'nly paradises dwell;" (V.497-500). And, although the condition of obedience is applied, Raphael says that God himself promised human ascension to Heaven: "till by degrees of merit raised / They open to themselves at length the way / Up hither, under long obedience tried, / And earth be changed to heav'n, and heav'n to earth," (VII.157-60). Moreover, although they have been told the bounds within which to restrict their search for knowledge, and although they were created with free will, Adam says that it is a human idiosyncrasy to wonder about things until experience teaches us otherwise:

But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
 Unchecked, and of her roving is no end;
 Till warned, or by experience taught, she learn,

(VII.188-90).

The Fall teaches them that lesson and is (retrospectively) a precondition for absolute humility before God. In judging Adam and Eve, we must remember that angels are also capable of disobedience.

Adam's fall is easier to treat. He has heard Raphael's explanations and warnings, and is sovereign over Eve so he eats the apple neither from ignorance nor coercion. He sins out of a selfish fear of loneliness and a strong passion for Eve. Several examples support this interpretation, as listed below. When Adam is first led into the garden, he is not satisfied by the beasts and plants around him: "in these / I found not what methought I wanted still;" (VIII.354-5). He tells God "In solitude / What happiness, who

can enjoy alone, / Or all enjoying, what contentment find?" (VIII.364-6).

Observing that the birds and animals form pairs, he realises that he lacks a mate. God tries to counter this request by arguing that He has no equal with whom to speak but, though this is true, discourse between God and the angels, and his son, is possible while Adam correctly points out that discourse between Man and beast is impossible (VIII.390-1).

When Eve is created, she is made from one of Adam's ribs and so he feels a particular bond with her. They were originally one flesh, and become so again through their sexual unions. Not only this, but Eve "infused / Sweetness into [his] heart, unfelt before" (VIII.474-5)--she stirred emotions and sensations in him which no-one, or nothing, else had achieved and he does not want to lose the source of those feelings. Moreover, God tells Adam that love refines thoughts and therein "is the scale / By which to heav'nly love thou may'st ascend" (VIII.591-2). Adam makes sure he has understood this correctly by replying "To love thou blam'st me not, for love thou say'st / Leads up to heav'n, is both the way and guide;" (VIII.612-3). Perhaps due to insufficient knowledge and experience Adam confuses passion for love. Perhaps he knew the difference but could not resist Eve's "female charm", for it is this which finally persuades him to bite the apple (IX.997-1004). Again, Adam appears to have a stronger relationship with Eve than with God: "I feel / The link of nature draw me: flesh of flesh, / Bone of my bone thou art, and from thy state / Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe" (IX.913-6). A second woman would not satisfy him; "The bond of nature draw me to my own, / My own in thee, for what thou art is mine; / Our state cannot be severed, we are one, / One flesh; to lose thee were to lose myself" (IX.955-9).

Adam is prepared to distance himself from God, but not from Eve. While her fall began with wandering thoughts about her independence, his fall is caused by his love of companionship and lust for his wife. The combined

images of intense sensuality and mazy motions create a growing suspicion that the structure of Eden is unstable and easily threatened. Both Milton and the reader fear Satan's threat to the intactness of this fragile perfection long before the Fall occurs.

In terms of their physical movement, there is little to comment upon because Milton only describes their departure from Eden. However, their relatively short physical journey represents a substantial movement in their spiritual and psychological journeys, and has huge implications for the future of humankind. The solemnity of the expulsion is emphasised by the presences of Michael and the band of Cherubim. Adam and Eve accept the enforced exile as punishment for their transgression but find it difficult to cope with the loss of their home. Satan and his legions coped with their expulsion by building a rival throne, and by planning to undo God's creation. They adjusted to the new situation because they rejected all allegiance to God, although Satan, as I said earlier, suffered momentary doubts about his relationship with God. They initially grieved for the loss of Heaven, but Satan came to recognise that Heaven, as a place, had represented their anxieties about power and that, liberated from serving God, they could live anywhere. Adam and Eve's situation is different because they know that their race will be redeemed and that, although they are mortal, God will show forgiveness. Since they maintain a relationship with God, their grief is associated with Eden as a place. "How shall I part, and whither wander down / Into a lower world, to this obscure / And wild?" (XI.282-4) asks Eve. For her, the loss of Eden is the loss of her native home, the geographical place of happiness: "O flow'rs / That never will in other climate grow . . . Who now shall rear ye to the sun" (XI.273-8). For Adam, the loss of Eden is the loss of a sacred land which angels visited and where God spoke to him: "here I could frequent, / With worship, place by place where he vouchsafed / Presence Divine" (XI.317-9).

They leave with "wandering steps and slow, / Through Eden" (XII.648-9), leaving a place of perfection for the unknown territory of the fallen world. Through Michael's prophecies, they know the future will be characterised by sin, corruption, violence, disease, fire, flood and famine. Unlike Satan, who embarked upon his pioneering journey with arrogant courage, Adam and Eve shed "natural tears" of regret, sorrow and fear (XI.645). Christopher Fitter's article, "Native Soil" (1984), focuses on the tradition of homeland writing, and on Michael's words of consolation. His study is a good companion for the article by Jameela Lares, which I referred to in section 1.1. Fitter argues that we can sympathise with Eve's attachment to the garden while, at the same time, Michael's words teach us about God's omnipresence and the "primacy of universal goodness over geographical sentiment"⁵³. While I agree with Fitter, I argue that in teaching Adam and Eve to forget their sentiments for one specific location, and to adapt to a more global perspective of the world, Michael seems to lend support to Satan's escape. Satan persistently ignores all geographic boundaries and yet, problematically, the reader is urged to look upon his universalism as a sign of moral deviance. Adam and Eve are led from Paradise which marks the important difference between them and the unguided Satan.

Milton influenced many later writers. The following section outlines some of the philosophical beliefs and cultural perspectives which were specific to the late Eighteenth Century and Romantic Period. However, in chapter three I will draw attention to some of William Wordsworth's borrowings from Milton in *The Prelude* (1805). These include a shared interest in pastoral and lyric conventions, the interplay between qualities of light and shade, the sense of a relationship between moral and physical directions, and the representation of the material world as a succession of boundaries.

Following on from Satan's introspection, Wordsworth more fully engages with emotional and psychological responses to specific locations. And, like Milton, Wordsworth is often drawn towards a vertical plane--looking upwards at the height of mountains, or at the sky; or climbing, for birds' eggs, or an Alpine summit. Byron's debt to Milton is less obvious. Don Juan (the focus of chapter four in this study) does not feel an emotional attachment to any particular place or environment so perhaps he embodies the globalness, or rejection of "geographical sentiment" of which Fitter writes. Juan is by no means evil but his undisciplined passions, and lack of an obvious moral code, resonate, to some extent, with Satan's egotistical disregard for restraint and obedience.

Notes

¹ This thesis cannot accommodate a discussion of seventeenth-century politics, nor offer a full literature survey of those works which offer political interpretations of *Paradise Lost* (1667). Although there is arguably evidence of parallels in *Paradise Lost* with the deposition of Charles I, the English Civil War, Oliver Cromwell's commonwealth, and the deposition of his successor, Richard Cromwell, which culminated in the restoration of Charles II, such observations do not particularly relate to the experiences of travel and place which are the prime concerns of this study. Interested readers may wish to consult the following texts:

Sharon Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003).

Christopher Hill, *Milton and the English Revolution* (London: Faber, 1977).

Fredric Jameson, "Religion and Ideology: A Political Reading of *Paradise Lost*," *Literature, Politics and Theory*, eds. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen and Diana Loxley, Papers from the Essex Conf. 1976-84, New Accents, gen. ed. Terence Hawkes (London: Methuen, 1986) 35-56.

Matthew Jordan, *Milton and Modernity: Politics, Masculinity and Paradise Lost* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).

David Norbrook, "Paradise Lost and English Republicanism," *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 433-95.

(Draws out Milton's republican language and imagery through a comparison with Lucan's *Pharsalia* [62].)

Mary Ann Radzinowicz, "The Politics of *Paradise Lost*," *John Milton*, ed. and introd. Annabel Patterson, Longman Critical Readers, gen. eds. Raman Selden and Stan Smith (London: Longman, 1992) 120-41.

(Argues that Milton's engagement with heroic poetry casts him as a political educator for his culture.)

Marcia Landy, "'Bounds Prescrib'd': Milton's Satan and the Politics of Deviance," *Milton Studies* XIV (1980): 117-34.

(Explores the role of Satan as a vehicle for commenting upon social change and behaviour.)

E. M. W. Tillyard, "Milton," *The English Epic and its Background* (London: Chatto, 1968) 433.

(Interprets *Paradise Lost* as Milton's reaction to public disappointment in Cromwell's commonwealth.)

Jackie DiSalvo, *War of Titans: Blake's Critique of Milton and the Politics of Religion* (Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 1983).

² J. A. Cuddon, "Sermon," *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 3rd. ed. (London: Penguin, 1992).

³ Jameela Lares, "*Paradise Lost*, Books XI and XII, and the Homiletic Tradition," *Milton Studies* XXXIV (1996): 99-116.

⁴ Lares 103.

⁵ Samuel Johnson, "Milton," *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Robert Montagu (London: Folio, 1965) 75.

⁶ [Samuel Taylor] Coleridge, "Table Talk," *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism*, ed. Thomas Middleton Raysor (London: Constable, 1936) 429-30.

⁷ Hilaire Belloc, *Milton* (London: Cassell, 1970) 258.

⁸ Richard Tarnas, *The Passion of the Western Mind: Understanding the Ideas That Have Shaped Our World View* (London: Pimlico-Random, 1991) 225-6.

⁹ Voltaire, qtd. in *Paradise Lost: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Sources, Criticism* by John Milton, ed. Elledge, 2nd. ed. Norton Critical Ed. (New York: Norton, 1993) 481.

¹⁰ Northrop Frye, qtd. in Elledge 521.

¹¹ John Dryden, "Dedication of the *Æneis* (1697)," *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker (Oxford: Clarendon, 1900) 165.

¹² [Percy Bysshe] Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry*, in *Shelley's Poetry and Prose: Authoritative Texts, Criticism*, eds. Donald H. Reiman and Sharon B. Powers, Norton Critical Ed. (New York: Norton, 1977) 498.

¹³ Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Papermac-Macmillan, 1997) 347.

¹⁴ Jardine 368-9.

¹⁵ John Carey, *Milton*, Lit. in Perspective, gen. ed. Kenneth H. Grose (London: Evans, 1969) 98.

¹⁶ Carey 98.

¹⁷ Carey 100.

¹⁸ Roland Mushat Frye, *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts: Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978) 196.

¹⁹ Leonardo Da Vinci, *Vitruvian Man* (c.1487), *The Renaissance* by Alison Cole, Eyewitness Art (London: Dorling, 1994) 30.

²⁰ R. M. Frye 196.

²¹ Lawrence Babb, *The Moral Cosmos of Paradise Lost*, ([Michigan]: Michigan State UP, 1970) 1.

²² Mary F. Norton, "'The Rising World of Waters Dark and Deep': Chaos Theory and *Paradise Lost*," *Milton Studies* XXXII (1995): 91.

²³ Colin Burrow, *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993) 280.

²⁴ Burrow 4.

²⁵ Kristen Lippincott, "The Neo-Latin Historical Epics of the North Italian Courts: An Examination of 'Courtly Culture' in the Fifteenth Century," *Renaissance Studies* 3 (1989): 417.

26 Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans. and introd. W. F. Jackson Knight
(London: Penguin, 1956; rev. 1958) 156.

27 *Ancient Voices: Mazes and Labyrinths*, BBC 2, 19 June 1999.

28 Paul Carus, *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (New York: Land's End, 1969).

29 Walter Clyde Curry, *Milton's Ontology, Cosmology and Physics*
(Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1966) 157.

30 James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, ed. and introd. Robert Fraser. The World's Classics
(London: Oxford UP, 1994) 251.

31 Christopher Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus, The Complete Plays of Christopher Marlowe*, ed., introd. and notes Irving Ribner
(New York: Odyssey, 1963) 371.

32 *Ancient Voices*.

33 Richard L. Gregory, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Mind*
(Oxford: Oxford UP, 1987) 210-11.

34 James Harrington, *James Harrington's Oceana*, ed. S. B. Liljegren,
Publications of the new society of Letters at Lund 4
(Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1924).

35 Brian L. Silver, *The Ascent of Science*
(New York: Oxford UP, 1998; Softback Preview, 1998) 26.

36 Silver 42.

37 Silver 49.

38 John G. Demaray, *Cosmos and Epic Representation: Dante, Spenser, Milton and the Transformation of Renaissance Heroic Poetry*,
Duquesne Studies Lang. and Lit. Ser. 11 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 1991)
189.

39 Elledge, footnote 55.

40 William Empson, *Milton's God* (London: Chatto, 1961) 42.

41 C. T. Onions, ed., "chaos," *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, assisted by G. W. S. Friedrichsen and R. W. Burchfield (Oxford: Clarendon, 1966).

42 Ovid, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*, trans. and introd. Mary M. Innes (London: Penguin, 1955) 1.

43 Michael D. Coogan, "Chaos," *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*, eds. Bruce M. Metzger and Michael D. Coogan (New York: Oxford UP, 1993).

44 Norton 96.

45 Demaray 179.

46 Demaray 193.

47 Lise Bek, *Towards Paradise On Earth: Modern Space Conception in Architecture: A Creation of Renaissance Humanism*, Analecta Romana Instituti Danici IX ([Denmark]: Odense UP, 1980) 26.

48 *Ancient Voices*.

49 G. Stanley Koehler, "Milton and the Art of Landscape," *Milton Studies* VIII (1975): 3-40.

50 Geoffrey Beard, "Decorative and Applied Arts," *Seventeenth-Century Britain*, (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), vol. 4 of *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain*, gen. ed. Boris Ford, 9 vols. (1992) rpt. of *The Seventeenth Century* (1989), *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain* 176-307.

51 Donald R. Howard, *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1980) 8.

52 Howard 8.

53 Christopher Fitter, "'Native Soil': The Rhetoric of Exile Lament and Exile Consolation in *Paradise Lost*," *Milton Studies* XX (1984): 147-62.

The Romantic Period

The importance of travel and geography to the Romantic Period has prompted my inclusion of two chapters on epic of this period: William Wordsworth's *The Prelude* (1805), and Byron's *Don Juan* (1819-24). This general introduction will establish a common context for understanding both narratives. Section I outlines some Romantic approaches to experiencing landscape, and ties in with a summary, in Section II, of the philosophy of aesthetics against which Wordsworth and Byron tried to assert their alternative modes of vision. Section III locates the texts within epic tradition.

In chapters three and four, I examine the roles of movement, and the heroes, to argue that Romantic journeys represent the crossing of a geographic boundary to effect assimilation into the creative flux of environment, and so emerge with a new, unlimited vision of self. I shall demonstrate that certain popular approaches to travel (described in I.ii and iii, below) forced the traveller to contemplate physical and moral boundaries. Romantic journeys are fundamentally contests between traveller and environment: excursion evinces the traveller's submission to the power of movement, and touring champions his inner strength over Nature. The traveller, attempting actual and spiritual navigation through the perceived wilderness of the external world, explores the visible boundaries of environment, and tests invisible thresholds of self.

I. Perceiving the Environment

As in the Eighteenth Century, touring in the Romantic Period largely remained a pastime of the wealthy, although Wordsworth and Byron travelled across Europe with little financial security. Romantic tourists were more interested in analysing the landscape than their art-collecting eighteenth-century predecessors. I argue that landscape and aesthetic

theory encouraged tourists to consider human relationships with the environment which writers, such as Wordsworth, express in terms of natural boundaries and barriers. Political upheaval, especially after the Napoleonic Wars, also focused attention upon the natures and positions of geographic borders.

Concurrently, domestic changes in how, where and why people travelled directed a level of public attention towards the actual processes involved in travel. Education, commerce, art and engineering had an effect upon, and were galvanised by travel. Guide books and travel writing enjoyed immense popularity and, towards the end of this period, the modern tourist industry was established. Expansion and the impact of travel during the Romantic Age was so substantial that it prepared the way for Victorian colonialism and chartered travel.

I.i. Travel

The period 1785-1790 was characterised by expansion in terms of extricating and transforming routes¹. Wordsworth refers to "the public road" in "An Evening Walk" (1788-9), in which he associates the road with images of labour. Human destruction of natural beauty is symbolised by the spread of roads. On the other hand, "The Road Extended o'er a Heath," describes the benefits of improved roads.

Prior to the end of the Eighteenth Century, travel had been restricted, domestic travel was slow and expensive, the roads hazardous, and European travel had been limited by war. Those European impediments were dissolved by 1815, creating greater freedom and safer paths². This generated interest in rapid and world-wide exploration. In 1819, for example, Sir John Barrow became Second Secretary to the Admiralty and, when soldiers were decommissioned after the defeat of Napoleon, he paid servicemen to travel to long-haul destinations including Australia, Africa,

The Arctic and Antarctica³. And Mary Shelley was just one of many nineteenth-century women who won reputations for themselves as intrepid, dynamic wayfarers⁴. According to a study by Shirley Foster, few destinations remained by 1900 which women had yet to visit, and many boasted about being the first females to visit certain places⁵. Consequently, mass production and fast communication continued to generate a demand for travel literature, already a popular genre in the Eighteenth Century, to satisfy the appetite for foreign adventure⁶. (Stephen Gill observes that Wordsworth was aware of Thomas Gray's account of the French Alps from the 1776 edition in his library of William Mason's *The Poems of Mr Gray* [1775], and also that he was probably familiar with William Coxe's descriptions of Swiss mountains and glaciers from an English edition of *Sketches of the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Swisserland* [1779]⁷.)

Technological advances in transport multiplied travel possibilities, and amplified speed acted upon the traveller's sight and sense of stability to suggest a perpetually shifting environment. The Romantics were reluctant to succumb to the materialistic view of the world dependent upon measurement, which had been favoured during the Eighteenth Century, since mathematical laws were an inadequate explanation of natural variety. (Some eighteenth-century writers did pre-empt the Romantic predilection for natural variety. Laurence Sterne parodied scientific and mathematical approaches to Nature in *Tristram Shandy* [1760-7] and *A Sentimental Journey* [1768].) Subsequently, there emerged new theories for appreciating Nature which rejected methodical analysis of constituent parts to concentrate on the whole: minimising origins and causes to focus on emotional effects. (Incidentally, eighteenth-century scientists, such as Erasmus Darwin and Jean-Baptiste de Lamarck, had studied similarities between species⁸. And naturalists, like Carolus Linnaeus, collected specimens for biological analysis to assist a developing taxonomy of

natural species⁹. Charles Darwin shared the eighteenth-century belief in the immutability of species until his voyage to South America [1831] convinced him otherwise. The biological and geological samples he examined persuaded him towards the Romantic idea of the mutability of natural life and led to his theory of natural selection¹⁰.)

I.ii. The Transformed Environment

One approach to landscape saw the traveller return to a familiar destination, and mentally juxtapose the past impression with the present. This could be an actual journey to a real destination, in which instance the traveller would observe and communicate subtle alterations to the scene. This travelling for comparison, looking for what was new in fresh views of unstable forms (such as deciduous foliage) rather than seeking novelty, is celebrated in Wordsworth's *Tintern Abbey* (1798). In *Yarrow Revisited* (1835), the visitors are themselves changed ("Though we were changed and changing;" [36]), and they speculate whether or not Yarrow will meet them "with unaltered face" (35)¹¹.

Alternatively, the return could be enacted in the imagination. In *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), John Locke argues that we have no innate ideas; rather that knowledge is delivered by our senses¹². He identifies two causes of knowledge: sensation and reflection. Ideas from sensation may enter our minds via a single sense (such ideas could include colour, and sound), or may be conveyed by several senses (for example, ideas of space, and motion)¹³. Ideas of reflection occur when the mind receives ideas from sensation but turns upon itself to observe its actions about those ideas and subsequently forms new ideas which are suited to being objects of contemplation¹⁴. Sensory perception is therefore, according to Locke, of greatest importance to humankind: perception is "the *first* step and degree towards knowledge, and the inlet of all the materials of

it"¹⁵. Popular Romantic philosophy was exemplified by empiricists such as Francis Bacon, Voltaire and Bishop George Berkeley, whose Lockean philosophies argued that sense-impressions, gained at the initial encounter with an object, entered the body through the sensory organs¹⁶.

David Hume, in *A Treatise On Human Nature* (1739-40), agrees that impressions can be of either sensation or reflection. However, attempting to define the actual processes by which knowledge is formed, he argues that impressions strike upon the senses whereupon copies of those impressions are retained as ideas in the memory. He illustrates this premise with the example of heat: the senses perceive heat and the mind takes a copy of this perception which remains even after the impression has ceased (the source of heat is removed, or the temperature cooled)--this is an idea. The idea then returns upon the soul and produces a new impression, in this instance it is of desire, and this is called an impression of reflection. This in turn, is copied by the memory and imagination which are capable of producing yet another new idea. In Hume, sensation is still paramount; impressions of reflection are always posterior to those impressions of sensation, and always antecedent to ideas. Hume states that the memory preserves the original form in which objects are presented--the memory is truthful. Imagination, on the other hand, is led by principles of association: the imagination easily moves from one idea to another which *resembles* it; it can move between ideas which are *contiguous in time and space*; and may connect ideas according to *cause and effect*¹⁷. (Modern linguistic theory, as I observed in the Introduction [III.iii], describes the 'movements' of the imagination as metaphorical [based upon principles of similarity], and metonymical [based upon principles of contiguity].) This implies that any return to a place by recollection would necessarily find that place altered, despite the supposed truth of memory, because ideas and impressions would have combined, in the imagination,

to produce an inaccurate, or unfamiliar, impression of a once familiar place.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge believed the imagination was more than associative: it was creative. He argues for a secondary imagination which dissolves the material of experience in order to recreate. He proposes that thoughts affect the mind and not things¹⁸. Therefore, under circumstances whereby the imagination deconstructs experience in order to create a new experience, any journey made through recollection would lead to a destination reconstructed by the mind.

Retracing routes in memory became important because, simultaneous to recreational travel opportunities being augmented, domestic enclosure destroyed some existing agrarian thoroughfares and consequently, certain rural destinations were only accessible by indirect routes¹⁹. The old routes, because they were well established, represented continuity. Not only did they provide physical access to human communities, but they also represented ways of emotional access to people. The new routes represented change and, because they ran past, rather than to, small settlements, they marked a break from parochial tradition. The contrast between old and new routes therefore caused people emotionally to clutch to the memory of the original journey and its associations with community. Additionally, the subsequently protracted journey made the *activity* of travelling more prominent. The Romantic writer had to confront all aspects of travel, not just destinations, and to contemplate the significance of diversion.

As part of the physical process of travelling, the mode of movement had significance for Wordsworth. 1791 saw him devoted to divagating movement; that is, he was not steered by any purpose or intended route. He described his time in London as "sometimes whirled about by the vortex of its *strenua inertia*, and sometimes thrown by the eddy into a corner of the stream"²⁰. Swept into an unsettled period, he aimlessly strayed between

London, Cambridge, Brighton and France²¹. *The Prelude* (1805) uses the shift between structured and unstructured journeys to compare the pattern of repeated schematic and discursive movements in Wordsworth's life to one of poetic laxity and poetic 'truth'. This relationship between type of movement and type of thought may be illustrated by two contrasting periods in Wordsworth's life. In his biography, Stephen Gill refers to Wordsworth in 1793 as a "gentleman vagrant" who only fleetingly stayed in London, the Isle of Wight, and Wales--as a man who slept in many places between Salisbury and Plas-yn-Llan²². The lack of thought and planning behind Wordsworth's route corresponds to a period of little poetic productivity. "An Evening Walk" (1793) and *Descriptive Sketches* (1793) had been published in January 1793²³ but he produced no other major works until *The Borderers* in 1796-7²⁴, and *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798²⁵. Conversely, *The Excursion* was composed between 1797-1814 (published 1814)²⁶ which was predominantly a period of planned walking expeditions (with Coleridge) and local explorations (with Dorothy)²⁷.

The negotiation of physical and mental limits preoccupying the Romantic traveller connected with cultural discourses--philosophies which shaped the privileged travelling community and its practices. The following section summarises those philosophies and their influence on the travellers' perceptions of landscapes.

I .iii. Novelty (The Grand Tour)

Another course towards the appreciation of landscape was of travel through unfamiliar territory, seeking novel forms in Nature: travel for difference, usually along popular routes where certain scenes and effects were assumed to be guaranteed (the 'Grand Tour'). Such touring was a form of controlled freedom: the traveller was granted the liberty of leaving society for the unknown world, yet continued to be burdened by cultural

identity, guided by socially-inherited prescribed expectations. Destination was central to the experience, meaning that the journey itself was a necessary labour and sometimes, that the between-destination experience was ignored. For example, in 1790 Wordsworth toured Europe with Robert Jones and, walking 2 000 of the 3 000 miles, eventually travelled across France, Italy and Germany, often, as Gill reports, covering 20-30 miles daily. Despite the physical stamina and the amount of time invested in travelling, the points of interest from the tour were, for Wordsworth, destinations such as the Grande Chartreuse monastery, the Ravine of Gondo and the Rhine Falls in Schaffhausen, because their prime motivation was to see firsthand the places they had read about²⁸. Moreover, Wordsworth repeated the tour with his family in 1820, not to relive the experience of the open road, but to "test again the reality of the impressions which he had optimistically claimed in 1790 'will never be effaced' "²⁹.

In *The British Abroad* (1992), Jeremy Black concurs with the common eighteenth-century and Romantic perception of the tour as an essential part of a gentleman's education. It introduced him to a variety of scenes which would then help him to re-evaluate his own country and cultural values³⁰. Touring was a predominantly male, class-determined privilege. In her study of female travel writers and aesthetic theory, Elizabeth Bohls argues that the language of aesthetics perpetuated the elitism of touring. In setting standards by which landscape should be judged men, such as Hume and Joshua Reynolds, described ideals. Bohls argues that those standards of taste were necessarily defined by their opposites so that the sublime is defined against the ordinary, man against woman, civilisation against savagery and so forth³¹. Touring was also governed by the desire to unify: to unite experiences within a common discourse, and to standardise experiences by encouraging tourists to travel the same routes.

Laurence Sterne mocks conventional eighteenth-century travel writers

and tourists in *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), in which pursuing Nature becomes subordinate to pursuing women. I argue that Byron was influenced by writers like Sterne and Alexander Pope as much as he was inspired by comic novels when he conceived *Don Juan* (1819-24). Byron satirises touring: Juan's mobile education focuses on sexual encounters. There is no area of experience which the narrator conceals, he does not hold back on the grotesqueness of war and, like Sterne, is more interested in human passions and appetites than he is in discovering a divine truth in Nature. Byron's narrative more closely resembles women's travel writing than the conventional male travelogues of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, and I think this is his way of criticising the dominance of aesthetic theory and conventional touring. (Carolyn D. Williams' study of eighteenth-century perceptions of "manliness", focusing on the works of Pope and Homer, ties in with this observation but there is insufficient space for me to pursue this angle³².) Byron himself refused to be limited by conventional tour routes as he was one of only a few adventurous men who toured beyond Europe and into the Middle East³³.

II. Aesthetic Experience

One of the prime reasons why tourists, such as Wordsworth and Jones, failed to engage with the working landscapes and people of countries they visited was that they were guided by aesthetic theory. Aesthetic experience, a popular subject of eighteenth-century philosophy, shaped ideas into the early 1800s³⁴. It encouraged travellers to discover an artificial view of the world, and identified objects according to their effect upon the human mind and soul. Of course, alternations between the aesthetic categories of the beautiful, picturesque, and sublime would be effected by changing scenery. (The beautiful, objects pleasing in their natural state, has little relevance to these chapters, so I shall consider the picturesque first

[the second aesthetic category] and then the sublime.)

II.i. The Picturesque

William Gilpin defined the picturesque, in 1792, as an objective phenomenon; the object pleasing from a quality within itself, according to artistic principles of contrast³⁵. When Uvedale Price remarked; "the picturesque renders [beauty] more captivating", he alluded to an association between Nature and human emotion³⁶. He also pointed to a curiosity arising from rough variety, and approved primitive ruggedness over ordered beauty. To modify Gilpin then, the picturesque is separate from the beautiful. It embraces both a natural and an inhabited landscape: inanimate and animate Nature. I shall argue that the picturesque may also accommodate the sublime but, essentially, picturesque qualities may be illustrated by such examples from Romantic art as John Constable's *Flatford Mill* (1816-7), or Joseph Turner's *Buttermere Lake* (1798).

Picturesque theory provides the terminology to classify an area of finite knowledge as distinct from the beautiful. It is also a coping mechanism which reduces the infinite experience to finite qualities of variety and roughness, and limits the abstract 'eternal' within the bounds of comprehended knowledge. David Punter's position, that the picturesque "represents the movement of enclosure, control, the road which moves securely and fittingly into the countryside . . . the ego's certainty about the world it can hold and manage", is a position I share³⁷. In framing experience within picturesque theory, the Romantics were establishing a number of perceived boundaries--designating suitable structures for physical movement by directing people into the rural landscape and excluding urban areas from aesthetic experience; drawing up cognitive maps of location through describing the picturesque objects and where they were to be found; and of emotional and intellectual knowledge, by uniting

individual responses to divine creation and human experience, within an assumed universal experience.

Picturesque travel progressed from picturesque theory. Gilpin described the picturesque traveller as having an inexhaustible appetite for wandering, pursuing the picturesque among a variety of inanimate and animate forms³⁸. This was not wandering as unrestricted exploration; it was merely the activity of walking. Gilpin understood the picturesque to be a universally agreed principle; that is, the theory did not permit subjectivity, being a theory of control. John Whale interprets the realm of the picturesque traveller to have been:

in the safety of native pleasure-grounds, inside a decidedly male make-believe aesthetic which [had] tamed, or turned its back on, the terrible threat of cultural otherness³⁹.

Indeed, the picturesque appears to have been restricted to isolated areas of countryside, and the individual traveller was expected to share the ideas of an imagined homogenous community. Aesthetic boundaries restricted the territory explored--dilapidated buildings could possess picturesque charm, but "the formal separations of property" in urban environments were visually offensive⁴⁰. Aesthetic limits further reduced the travelling experience because specified objects, like specified destinations, monopolised the journey. The traveller was rendered oblivious to non-picturesque objects by preconditioning.

II.ii. The Sublime

The sublime, the third category of aesthetic experience which both existed alongside and incorporated the picturesque, was a state of mind, not a quality of any object. It was a subjective experience allowing individual interaction with external and internal limits. The principle occasions of sublimity described by Edmund Burke are obscurity, darkness, dimension,

strong light, and sombre colour⁴¹. The sublime world implied by those qualities is one of no definite thresholds, concealed frontiers, indistinctness; of objects refusing to be confined to the finite, threatening to penetrate the infinite. It is a world, typified by Caspar David Friedrich's landscapes and Turner's seascapes, where objects overwhelm limited human aesthetic comprehension, causing suspension in the prostrated mind. (Seafaring scenes often depict a fear for self-preservation, associated with the sublime, when the power of the ocean overwhelms the crew physically--the ship is wrecked or can make no headway; and psychologically--because the volatile sea cannot be tamed or predicted.) This initial stage of the sublime experience forces individual awareness of constraints, the human inability to control landscape through restrictive language and scientific law.

A second stage in the sublime experience allows the individual to then transcend his/her confinement. Having been struck by reason's inadequacy to comprehend the representation of an object and accompanying abstracts (such as magnitude), the mind, according to Immanuel Kant, takes recourse in ideas of infinity, eclipsing sense to climb to a revelation of being which emancipates man from finite forms and empirical knowledge⁴².

The concept of the sublime rests entirely in the idea of breaking bounds, of overcoming thresholds, both in terms of Nature and of the breaking of human bounds and limitations. Burke's physical explanation of sublimity suggests this: great dimensions, especially when perpendicular, can be mathematically estimated but our aesthetic comprehension is limited, so that a huge object may appear to overwhelm the very end from which its concept is derived; strong light may flood a scene, thus pressurising its retainers, whilst celerity of light is too quick to be caught and contained⁴³.

Turner wrote of Nicholas Poussin's *Deluge* (1660-64):

let us consider [a picture] where [Nature] has ceased to place a barrier to the overwhelming waters of the Deluge swamping and bearing only one tone [,] the residue of Earthly matter . . . For its colour it is admirable, impressive, awfully appropriate, just fitted to every imaginative conjecture of such an event . . . Deficient in every requisite of line⁴⁴.

He finds the painting sublime because the scene has destroyed its boundaries; it is a formless mass of melancholy colour, and because structureless, it accords with every apprehension which the astonished mind suffers. Turner is affected by the defiant power of Nature, which Punter would determine as "the frame of the picture . . . being constantly threatened precisely by the intimations of unmanageable infinity."⁴⁵

Kant describes an epiphany whereby contemplation of the infinite signifies a revelation concerning our own being--individuals escape their own boundaries. This represents a release from the confines of empirical consciousness; a liberation from finite forms. Marjorie Hope Nicolson describes "a gratification in the richness, fullness, vastness of a universe man might not intellectually comprehend, which yet satisfie[s] his unquiet soul"--man is freed from the obligation to understand; his imagination may rise with the infinite⁴⁶. Mark Akenside alludes to a similar relief gained from the sublime in *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (1757). In Akenside, the sublime in Nature guides our imagination to Heaven; the sublime experience releases us from the strictures of balancing sense perception with reason, by raising us to a higher plane of existence. As a result; "darts the mind, / With such resistless ardour to embrace / Majestic forms; impatient to be free" (169-71)⁴⁷.

Aesthetic theory challenged the Romantic traveller to exert his/her control upon the external world, and to defy attempts to control him/her. As I said above, journeying through a changing landscape would expose the

traveller to a variety of objects and scenes which would, in turn, induce picturesque and sublime experiences. Such alternations would also occur with the process of psychological flux as the anxiety of travel modifies the traveller's emotional responses. This is illustrated by Mary Shelley's description of Victor Frankenstein returning home. At Lausanne, the landscape is beautiful; placid waters and general calm reflect the serenity of Victor's thoughts. A little further down the road to Geneva, the distant view has become more distinct with "Jura and the bright summit of Mont Blanc" seeming picturesque. In the same locality, yet nearer home, the journey becomes sublime as Victor's emotions precipitate terrible changes in the represented landscape of his imagination⁴⁸. The sublime is not caused by any objective quality, it is a state of mind; a quality of our ideas; and as such, can encompass the picturesque.

Wordsworth understood that the same object may be picturesque, yet still impress us with a sense of sublimity. He argues that a mountain, for example, may move a person to sublimity through an individuality of form, which conveys such a sense of power as to prostrate the human mind; whilst nevertheless retaining those qualities of the picturesque, or whilst being considered as nothing more than picturesque by another person⁴⁹. This may be explained through the analogy of Burke's theory of pleasure and pain: that both are positive ideas with an independent existence therefore, we may experience pleasure without removing pain, or pain without losing pleasure and similarly, the picturesque with the sublime⁵⁰. (The theory is realised in gothic literature where picturesque settings achieve their potential for sublime horror.)

III. Epic Context

Pre-Romantic epic scholars were familiar with a limited sample of narratives and, as I discussed in the Introduction, judged those texts by an

accordingly narrow set of epic criteria. They, and some contemporary critics, would argue that neither *The Prelude* (1805), nor *Don Juan* (1819-24) is epic. These texts, rather than existing outside the genre, participate in the evolution of epic. In chapter three, I shall consider the influence of the lyrical tradition upon epic and, more specifically, make comparisons between the *Border Ballads* (C16th) and *The Prelude* (1805). In chapter four, I shall consider *Don Juan* (1819-24) as a direct successor to eighteenth-century narratives and perceptions of heroism.

III.i. The Epic Journey

The epic journey metamorphosed with its hero. In *Paradise Lost* (1667), the material world of known human existence was abandoned for an imagined cosmological landscape and, without predetermination, the heroes' journeys became more directly influenced by introspective self-evaluations. Peter Hägin refers to a "gradual narrowing of the epic spaces to the solitary walk" in *Paradise Lost* (1667), and views this as heralding a new epic spirit⁵¹. Satan's lonely journey is motivated by individual pride and, to some extent, a deficiently cohesive structure of the community in Hell: the fallen angels share a spiritual ambition but lack emotional unity.

In the Eighteenth Century, the image of an organic world was gradually replaced by the idea of a mechanical existence in accordance with the Newtonian universe of changeless physical laws. This suggested a lack of effort required by Nature and humankind alike. Alexander Pope satirised tendencies towards moderation in *The Dunciad* (1728) and, through his architectural cityscape, described a culture of apparently restrained movement. This idea manifested itself in two ways in eighteenth-century epic. Firstly, instead of evolving new epic models, eighteenth-century writers largely recycled Classical epic. This represented, if not a

regression, then certainly a stasis in epic tradition. Secondly, the physical journey was often contracted and confined to an urban setting (although this reflected the physical expansion and increasing importance of London and other industrial cities).

The Romantics reacted against the rules and attitudes of the Eighteenth Century, thus landscape and an ever-changing environment provide the settings and stimuli for Romantic epic journeys. Reason was replaced, as the perceived prime quality, by the abilities to know oneself and to know the significance of environment. Romantic heroes often have a sense of the topographical setting and of the wider spatial and temporal locations; an awareness of the passing of time which seems to persuade the Romantic hero that he must not remain still but keep travelling towards a perceived truth. The Romantic hero's journey is, regardless of any companions, an individual journey. The action is internalised as psychological and emotional frontiers of self, while the hero struggles to comprehend and control the external barriers of environment.

A personal epic task and a quest for common vision result from the culturally-informed predicament of the traveller trying to master an apparently incomprehensible world. The epic task became a pursuit of expanded awareness for the individual, and of cultural definition through landscape, while the traveller became its hero. Ultimately, writers like Wordsworth offered the solitary travel experience to the reader as a cultural experience, in a new response to epic's demand for a text relevant to the whole of society. *The Prelude* (1805), although autobiographical, straddles time by using the journey to represent humankind's dependence upon the environment. Wordsworth's experience of travel is expanded into a survey of humanity. *Don Juan* (1819-24) similarly negates the importance of time because it describes human history as a repetition of systems. Juan's personality is shown to depend upon his environment in as far as he

appears to adopt some of the qualities suggested in his immediate landscape. That is, he casts his skin like a snake, but this is not effected by personal growth as much as it is determined by shifting locations.

In *Paradise Lost* (1667), Eden's bounteous landscape physically and spiritually sustained Adam and Eve; once they had been expelled, the wilderness could only support them through their own efforts. Milton establishes a direct link between Nature, humankind, and proximity to God. Subsequently, Nature came to be considered as a moral source of contentment. *The Prelude* (1805) re-establishes landscape as benevolent, nourishing the imagination to bring humankind spiritually closer to God.

Following on from Milton's moral distinctions between guided and unguided movement, Wordsworth at first attaches different values to long treks and short excursions, although his ideology is influenced by cultural aesthetic and travel theories. Byron does not attach a moral value to modes of travel but argues that movement is the aim of human life.

Stemming from Milton's introspective Satan, and his decision to write about an Adam and Eve rendered humble and mortal, Romantic epic exploits personal emotions by probing travel psychology. The hero-traveller is humanised to the point of no longer representing Everyman. That is, the hero becomes less of a moral or spiritual type and more of a recognisably physical human individual. However, the impulse to relate experience to humankind survives: if the postlapsarian destiny is to travel, the hero must be able to make sense of his journey, which revelation extends to the general state of fallen humanity. Thus Wordsworth relies upon actual travel processes to effect enlightenment. The conventional travel metaphor, the voyage through life, became redundant when it was widely believed that sense-impressions, gained from a shifting environment, provided the only way to fathom existence. Movement and change permitted basic knowledge and memory, from which the Romantic traveller consciously

translated outer experience, via the imagination, into a personal vision. This journey was more epic than its precursors because it required a confrontation with the self and an acceptance that no end may ever be reached.

The exploration of life was endless, particularly for Wordsworth, whose perception rendered even the 'familiar' environment unfamiliar, in compliance with his search for transformations in the environment (I.ii). Byron focuses upon the openendedness of exploring ourselves and our environments. For him, death represented a final end, and it is this acceptance of mortality which is heroic, and which leads Byron to question the validity of societies and ideas of nationhood. *Don Juan* (1819-24) breaks down the familiar world of its immediate readers. It deconstructs common notions of culture, morality, empire, community, and most of the concepts in which humankind seeks security. Like Juan, the reader is cast adrift in an unfamiliar world and challenged to discover a new instinctive and emotional way of living.

I shall argue that *The Prelude* (1805) seeks purpose, concentrates on linear travel to prearranged destinations and on finding some benefit in the physical experience of travel. Wordsworth combines the outward perception and the inward emotions of his travelling experiences, via the imagination, and subsequently, relates it 'back out' to the predicaments of community. He needs to reconcile himself to, and analyse, fallen humanity. *The Prelude* (1805) and "Ode: Intimations of Immortality" (1807) demonstrate that Wordsworth's concept of the fallen state is the loss of childhood perception: "Heaven lies about us in our infancy" (Immortality 66)⁵². It is the withdrawal from the natural to the material world, from an unspoken communion with God through Nature to the adult need for articulated thoughts. Wordsworth tries to understand that transition and aims to rebuild the relationship his senses and imagination once had with

the external world. Aware of crossing boundaries and the otherness of foreign territories, he learns that security, pleasure, and knowledge of the self, as well as of God and humankind, do not depend upon travel. Ironically, it is through travel that he is able to realise that local and foreign environments are equally rewarding when landscape and imagination combine.

Conversely, I shall argue that *Don Juan* (1819-24) seeks action which does not depend on any specific purpose other than movement. Juan combines his perception of the natural world with his experience of people but his emotional responses to travel are not communal. He embodies a universally attainable form of heroism based on instinctive movement and on seizing every opportunity. Juan is unimpressed by international boundaries and national differences because he adapts to circumstances and locations. Periods of stasis reveal to him the importance of movement, and make him aware of boundaries.

To avoid repeating the above summaries of how I intend to argue in the following two chapters, I will begin chapter three with a brief consideration of how *The Prelude* (1805) relates to the lyric tradition, and will open chapter four with a gesture towards describing *Don Juan's* (1819-24) relationship with eighteenth-century satirists. I shall move quickly into my discussion of each text.

Notes

- ¹ Peter Howard, *Landscapes: The Artists' Vision* (London: Routledge, 1991) 33.
- ² Howard 60.
- ³ Anthony Sattin, rev. of *Barrow's Boys*, by Fergus Fleming, *Sunday Times* 1 Nov. 1998 8.8.
- ⁴ Shirley Foster, *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and their Writings* (Hertfordshire: Harvester, 1990) 4.
- ⁵ Foster 4.
- ⁶ David Punter, "Romantics to Early Victorians," *The Romantic Age in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), vol. 6 of *The Cambridge Cultural History*, gen. ed. Boris Ford, 9 vols. (1992) rpt. of *Romantics to Early Victorians* (1989), *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain* 12.
- ⁷ Stephen Gill, Footnote, *William Wordsworth: A Life*, Oxford Lives (1989; Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990) 432.
- ⁸ Brian L. Silver, *The Ascent of Science* (New York: Oxford UP, 1998; Softback Preview, 1998) 269.
- ⁹ Silver 269.
- ¹⁰ Silver 270.
- ¹¹ William Wordsworth, "Yarrow Revisited, and Other Poems," *William Wordsworth: Poems*, ed. John O. Hayden, 2 vols., vol. 2 (London: Penguin, 1977) 708-26.
- ¹² John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, collated and annotated Alexander Campbell Fraser, vol. 1 (New York: Dover, 1959) 38.
- ¹³ Locke 123-4.
- ¹⁴ Locke 159.
- ¹⁵ Locke 191.

¹⁶ Richard Tamas, *The Passion of the Western Mind: Understanding the Ideas that have Shaped Our World View* (USA: Crown, 1991; London: Pimlico-Random, 1996) 334-5.

¹⁷ David Hume, *A Treatise on Human Nature*, vol. 1, Everyman (London: Dent, 1911) 7-11.

¹⁸ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Biographia Literaria: Or Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions*, ed. and introd. George Watson (London: Dent, 1975) 14.

¹⁹ Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993) 115.

²⁰ Gill 49.

²¹ Gill 51.

²² Gill 78.

²³ John O. Hayden, Table of Dates, *William Wordsworth: Poems*, vol. 1 19-22.

²⁴ Gill 101.

²⁵ Hayden 20.

²⁶ Hayden, Notes, *William Wordsworth: Poems*, vol. 2 951.

²⁷ Gill 122-3.

²⁸ Gill 44-6.

²⁹ Gill 49.

³⁰ Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton, 1992).

³¹ Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818*, Cambridge Studies in Romanticism 13, gen. eds. Marilyn Butler and James Chandler (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995) 66-7.

32 Carolyn D. Williams, *Pope, Homer, and Manliness: Some Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Classical Learning* (London: Routledge, 1993).

33 *Art Treasures in the North*, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle Upon Tyne, 13 Nov. 1999-5 Mar. 2000.

34 Punter, *Romantic* 25.

35 William Gilpin, *Essays on Picturesque Beauty*, 2nd. ed. (1792; Westmead: Gregg, 1972) 3.

36 Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque* (London, 1794) 84.

37 David Punter, "The Picturesque and the Sublime: Two Wordscapes," *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics Since 1770*, eds. Stephen Copley and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994) 226.

38 Gilpin 48.

39 John Whale, "Romantics, Explorers and Picturesque Travellers," *Politics of the Picturesque* 176.

40 Gilpin 57.

41 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, ed. J. T. Boulton (London: Routledge, 1958) 58-81.

42 Immanuel Kant, *Kant's Critique of Aesthetic Judgement*, trans., introd. essays, notes and analytical index James Creed Meredith ([London]: Clarendon, 1911) 100.

43 Burke 80.

44 J. M. W. Turner, ms. I, f. 4 verso, qtd. in *Turner and the Sublime*, by Andrew Wilton (London: British Museum, 1980) 72.

45 Punter, *Picturesque* 224.

46 Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (New York: Cornell UP, 1959; New York: Norton, 1963) 143.

47 Mark Akenside, "The Pleasures of Imagination," *The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside*, ed. Robin Dix (London: Associated UP, 1996) 161-6.

48 Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein; or the Modern Prometheus* (London, 1818), *Three Gothic Novels*, ed. Peter Fairclough, introd. essay Mario Praz (Middlesex: Penguin, 1968) 336.

49 William Wordsworth, "Appendix 3: The Sublime and Beautiful," *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*, eds. W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser, vol. 2 (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1974) 361.

50 Burke 32.

51 Peter Hägin, *The Epic Hero and the Decline of Heroic Poetry: A Study of the Neoclassical English Epic with Special Reference to Milton's Paradise Lost*, Cooper Monographs: On English and American Lang. and Lit., ed. H. Lüdeke (Switzerland: Francke, 1964) 146.

52 William Wordsworth, "Ode: Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Childhood," *Poems*, vol. 1 523-9.

Chapter 3

Boundaries and Destinations: William Wordsworth's *The Prelude* (1805)

This chapter contains two sections. It opens with a brief consideration of how Wordsworth might have been specifically influenced by the *Border Ballads* (C16th) when he incorporated aspects of the lyrical tradition into *The Prelude* (1805). The second section contains a discussion of the text and focuses, chronologically, on a selection of episodes of varying importance to the narrative, but of prime importance to my interest in travel and geography.

I. The Lyrical Tradition in Epic

Ballads are a blend of popular poetry, folk song and narrative. They survived in their oral form as they were handed down through families, and formed part of the repertoires of minstrels. They were preserved in chapbook and broadsheet forms from the Fifteenth Century. Folk traditions link balladry with epic and, particularly during the Eighteenth Century, interest in writing epic occurred simultaneously with the prominence of hymn writing (also associated with folk)¹.

Modern epic continues to acknowledge its connections with oral folk lyrics: in *The Waste Land* (1922) T. S. Eliot refers to music-hall (which, C. Day Lewis explains, descended from folk lyric via broadsheets and then Victorian street ballads²); while William Carlos Williams wrote lyrics for *Paterson* (1946-58). And the many epic authors who wrote lyrical poetry, or exhibited a lyrical mood, or chose a lyrical subject range from the ancient writers (Homer, Virgil, Chaucer) and throughout the modern authors (Spenser and Milton; Wordsworth, Byron, Coleridge, Shelley and Keats;

Tennyson and Browning; and Ezra Pound).

I.i. The *Border Ballads* and *The Prelude*

Wordsworth was very interested the *Border Ballads* (C16th) and the associated geography of the border regions, perhaps inspired by Ann Tyson's storytelling when he lodged with her between 1779-87³. Certainly, he channelled this interest into *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) and I argue that it also informed his composition of *The Prelude* (1805), to some extent.

The Borderers, writes G. M. Trevelyan, were "poets who could express in the grand style the inexorable fate of the individual man and woman" and, to do this, many of the ballads "commemorated real incidents of this wild life, or adapted folklore stories to the places and conditions of the Border"⁴. Wordsworth attempts to achieve a level of high seriousness in *The Prelude* (1805), which aspires to be epic, but he abandons the formal hyperbolic language of Classical epic for a more accessible language. Moreover, he draws upon real incidents in charting the development of his poetic imagination against physical experiences. And he incorporates village history, such as the drowning of a schoolmaster in Esthwaite Water, the recovery of whose body is recounted in book 5 (459-73).

James Reed observes of the ballad *Hobbie Noble*, that after the banished Noble embarks on his raid, "the place-names follow, tightening the tale by contracting the terrain within clear bounds"⁵. Similarly, Wordsworth locates the "matron's tale" (8.222-311) within a detailed topography. Although the pace at which the two authors lead readers through the place-names differs due to the contrasting natures of the narrative climaxes to which they are building up, Wordsworth's catalogue of landmarks and places along the shepherds' route also exhibits the same simple geographical referencing as *Jamie Telfer*.

Thence, northward, having passed by Arthur's Seat,
 To Fairfield's highest summit. On the right
 Leaving St Sunday's Pike, to Grisedale Tarn
 They shot, and over that cloud-loving hill,
 Seat Sandal

(*Prelude* 8.233-7)

Over Hoppertope hyll they cam in,
 And so down by Radclyffe crage;
 Upon Grene Lynton they lyghted dowyn,
 Styrande many a stage.

(*Jamie Telfer*)⁶

Where balladeers adapted folk tales, Wordsworth adapts Milton and Homer thus, "As one who in his journey bates at noon, / Though bent on speed" from *Paradise Lost* (1667) (12.1-2) becomes "Even like a man who moves with stately step / Though bent on speed", to describe the young Wordsworth rowing across Ullswater by night (1.387-8)⁷. Wordsworth provides sensitive, light-drenched images of landscape, such as the sudden brightening of the ground and instant light from the moon shining above Snowdon (13.36-42) or; "The solid Mountains were as bright as clouds, / Grain-tinctured, drench'd in empyrean light;" (4.334-5) which recalls Milton's lines from *Lycidas* (1637); "and with new spangled ore, / Flames in the forehead of the morning sky" (170-1) or; "And now the sun had stretched out all the hills" (190)⁸. *The Twa Merrit Wemen and the Wedo* shows that the same sun-drenched pastoral images were evoked in some ballads:

Silver schouris doune schuke as the schene cristall,
 And berdis schoutit in schaw with thair schill notis;
 The goldin glitterand gleme so gladit ther hertis,
 Thai maid a glorius gle amang the grene bewis.⁹

Water is a recurrent image in *The Prelude* (1805), and a strong motif in the ballads. In *Kinmont Willie*, a watch party is faced with crossing the flooded River Tyne; and in *Archie O' Ca'field*, a prisoner escapes because the search party are too afraid to cross the flooded Annan Water. The "test of courage, loyalty, steadfastness of purpose" which Reed identifies with the water image could correspond to the themes of permanence, the continuance of life and integrity signified by water in Wordsworth¹⁰. Moreover, water sometimes binds together the verses of a ballad and its setting. In *The Dowie Dens of Yarrow*, for example, the river sounds throughout each verse ("On the dowie houms of Yarrow", "Frae the dowie banks of Yarrow", "Wi' my true love, on Yarrow", "He bleeding lies on Yarrow", "Than him ye lost on Yarrow" and "That now lies cropp'd on Yarrow"), and in *The Prelude* (1805), although they are not always named, repeated references to the lakes of Cumbria (Windermere, Ullswater) and Italy (Como), or to rivers (Duddon, Cam, Thames) render the poetry inseparable from the landscape¹¹.

I argue then, that *The Prelude* (1805) is rooted in a regional oral tradition which celebrated and chronicled the deeds of common men and which, in dialects, memorialised the names and monuments of the Border wars. There is a degree of overlap between the *Ballads* (C16th) and *The Prelude* (1805), regarding their material and simple treatments of those subjects, which suggests to me that Wordsworth was influenced in general and specific ways by the Border poets. (It would be interesting to explore further the precise nature of this relationship but, of course, that lies beyond the scope of this thesis.)

The following discussion of *The Prelude* (1805) is based upon a reading of the 1805 text. I have chosen this version because it is more epic in scope than the 1799 draft, and is widely considered to be of greater poetic force than the 1850 revision. Although I have not been able to incorporate as much biographical reference as I would have liked, due to lack of space in this thesis, my secondary reading has included three biographies of Wordsworth. The most useful and comprehensive has been *William Wordsworth: A Life* by Stephen Gill (1990) and I draw upon this resource throughout the chapter. I have found Hunter Davies' *William Wordsworth: A Biography* (1980) to also be well-researched and accessible, if intended to be less academic¹². Kenneth R. Johnston aims to bring forth original insights and new discoveries in *The Hidden Wordsworth: Poet, Lover, Rebel, Spy* (1998)¹³. Although not always convincing, his arguments challenge some conventional interpretations of events in Wordsworth's life, making his study an interesting and thought-provoking read.

II. *The Prelude* (1805)

Book 1 of *The Prelude* (1805) opens with the poet searching for a guide:

The earth is all before me--with a heart
 Joyous, nor scared at its own liberty,
 I look about, and should the guide I chuse
 Be nothing better than a wandering cloud
 I cannot miss my way.

(1.15-9).

The comparison with the final lines of *Paradise Lost* (1667) cannot be ignored. Wordsworth chooses Nature as his guide but bows to the same reason of judgement, or obedience, as Adam and Eve concede to after the Fall:

The world was all before them, where to choose
 Their place of rest, and Providence their guide:
 They hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow,
 Through Eden took their solitary way.

(*Paradise*, 12.646-9).

Wordsworth needs to understand his own fall (of poetic and spiritual integrity) and also to make sense of the environments through which he travels. I argue that he judges his progress in terms of overcoming boundaries and reaching destinations; that ultimately, he journeys towards a final arrival at some lost eternal truth.

Just as Milton transcended blindness to describe a vision for humankind, so Wordsworth aspires to a clear vision "Of truth that cherishes our daily life" (1.232), and to find those precise moments which will reveal a new system, he misconceives that he must travel.

Wordsworth requires specific territorial landmarks which he can imaginatively associate with turning points in poetic integrity, physically to validate or map his poetic development. As Jonathan Bate observes, in *The Song of the Earth* (2000), Wordsworth's poetry is among the first to have been "inspired by place itself" rather than being "inspired by occasion". In *The Prelude* (1805), reflections upon his poetic progress are often inseparable, in his mind, from the *places* of conception or composition¹⁴. By connecting the emotions and thoughts of events in temporal geography to places in spatial geography, he can fully preserve an experience in the memory and impart, to those "spots of time", a permanence which transient human experience would otherwise have denied them. In *Romantic Ecology* (1991), Jonathan Bate connects Wordsworth's naming of places with the epitaphic tradition through the idea that poetry sanctifies places, and preserves memories. It is, he writes, lyric poetry "which comes from strong feeling, [and] which serves to

memorialize and monumentalize people and places"¹⁵. Furthermore, Bate says of Romanticism that "It regards poetic language as a special kind of expression which may effect an imaginative reunification of mind and nature, though it also has a melancholy awareness of the illusoriness of its own utopian vision"¹⁶. Thus, through his poetry, Wordsworth aims not only to achieve a fusion of his imagination with the natural world, but to impress upon his audience the importance of the bond between humankind and Nature, which he perceived to be increasingly severed as urbanisation and industrialisation expanded.

Christopher Salvesen argues that for Wordsworth, "unity of feeling grows in memory; the unity of existence is enlarged by the workings of memory"¹⁷. Essentially, our sense of unified place comes from acquired knowledge about where named places lie within a given location (what Donald R. Griffin calls "topographical orientation" supplemented by a "*schema*" of spatial relation¹⁸), and from the knowledge that place has permanence--the knowledge that allows us to draw maps. Wordsworth uses his imagination to develop a sense of personal poetic and emotional unity but he requires the knowledge of spatial co-ordinates in order to design a temporal map of the mind.

In his essay, *The Sense of Place* (1980), Seamus Heaney writes about Irish literature in much the same way. He describes a genre called *dinnseanchas*, which connects place names to stories; in the epic *Tain bo Cuailgne*, for example, incidents in the Connaught army's journey from Cruachan to Carlingford are connected with place names. Heaney perceives the landscape as a manuscript, but our reading, or interpretation, of it depends upon individual imagination. He argues that we approach Donegal, Connemara and Kerry purely from an aesthetic point of view because we have little knowledge of those places. However, Ben Bulbin, Drumcliffe and Innisfree elicit more than a visual response--they trigger an

emotional response because W. B. Yeats has memorialised specific feelings attached to those locations¹⁹. Wordsworth then, in memorialising his experiences within their original spatial context, preserves those experiences for an eventual wider audience. His preoccupation with destinations fixes those geographic places in the imaginations of his readers as places existing in an emotional and spiritual consciousness. Therefore, he communicates his vision to his immediate and later readers.

It is only after journeys marred by failure that he achieves his vision and recognises that the poetic imagination is nourished by the spiritual soul, and does not need to exercise itself upon changing environments. Previously, his perception of soul was of an inspiring force, the human capacity for intense feeling which was to prepare him for the "glorious work" of writing an epic. This proves inadequate, and Wordsworth rediscovers the adequate, spiritual soul during the recollection of childhood local excursions. Rambling through the countryside, he is visually aware of Nature framing his activities: the physical enclosure of mountains defining his space, and Nature dictating recreation ("leaping through groves" [1.297] and plundering birds' nests [1.341-2]). At times, Nature appears unfamiliar (the sun's radiance seeming foreign [1.300-2]), preternatural even ("the sky seemed not a sky / Of earth" [1.349-50]), and this suggests an invisible process of creation, God manipulating humankind through Nature.

Illumination is described in an episode in which the poet recalls stealing a boat:

I went alone into a shepherd's boat,
A skiff that to a willow-tree was tied
Within a rocky cove, its usual home.
'Twas by the shores of Patterdale, a vale
Wherein I was a stranger, thither come
A schoolboy traveller at the holidays.

Forth rambled from the village inn alone,
No sooner had I sight of this small skiff,
Discovered thus by unexpected chance,
Than I unloosed her tether and embarked.
The moon was up, the lake was shining clear
Among the hoary mountains; from the shore
I pushed, and struck the oars, and struck again
In cadence, and my little boat moved on
Even like a man who moves with stately step
Though bent on speed. It was an act of stealth
And troubled pleasure. Nor without the voice
Of mountain-echoes did my boat move on,
Leaving behind her still on either side
Small circles glittering idly in the moon,
Until they melted all into one track
Of sparkling light. A rocky steep uprose
Above the cavern of the willow-tree,
And now, as suited one who proudly rowed
With his best skill, I fixed a steady view
Upon the top of that same craggy ridge,
The bound of the horizon--for behind
Was nothing but the stars and the grey sky.
She was an elfin pinnace; lustily
I dipped my oars into the silent lake,
And as I rose upon the stroke my boat
Went heaving through the water like a swan--
When from behind that craggy steep, till then
The bound of the horizon, a huge cliff,
As if with voluntary power instinct,

Upreared its head. I struck, and struck again,
 And, growing still in stature, the huge cliff
 Rose up between me and the stars, and still
 With measured motion, like a living thing
 Strode after me. With trembling hands I turned
 And through the silent water stole my way
 Back to the cavern of the willow-tree.

(1.373-414).

His deed is unpremeditated but, chancing upon the boat he immediately untethers the ropes and intends to row across the lake. The boy revels in his freedom, he has left the domestic security of the village and faces the outer world alone. Delighting in his discovery, his journey has become an adventure and the boy, following his own errant will, is egotistically confident that the world is his to claim.

A visual contrast reinforces not only the moral differences between the 'good' landscape and the miscreant boy, but also provides an insight into the change which the poet undergoes. Wordsworth first looks up and sees the moon presiding over the commanding view, illuminating the water which he then sees ahead, and making the dew shine on the mountains. It is significant that Wordsworth first looks out to the light--he looks towards freedom, promise and an outer vision. His desire to arrive at, or commune with, this outer vision is expressed through the physical labour involved in launching the boat. "Pushed" and "struck" are words of force; Wordsworth thrusts the shore (the familiar, safe environment) away from him and, with measured violence, sharply hits the water with his oars, trying to conquer Nature by making the water obey his desires.

He is interested only in the power of movement, and it is a very masculine power. In an article by Denis Cosgrove and Mona Domosh, in which they explore written geographies as part of a process of recording

cultural meanings ascribed to places, particular attention is given to the engendering of environment. They argue that in the tradition of geographic and spatial metaphors Nature is female²⁰. When Wordsworth stumbles upon the boat it is female ("her tether") but when he is rowing, the boat assumes his male passions and becomes "like a man who moves with stately step / Though bent on speed"--portly elegance and sincerity coupled with strength and an insensitive demand for haste.

It could be argued that the image of the boat moving like a swan, which follows shortly after, is feminine. When we look at a swan, we are preoccupied with that part of the bird which glides above the water and are struck by its grace. If we watch a swan taking off into flight, or if we look at the movements of its legs when swimming, we are struck by the swan's incredible strength and force. It is this union of power and elegance which Wordsworth relates to. As he "rose upon the stroke [his] boat / Went heaving through the water"--the oars are like the swan's legs, powerfully propelling the boat, "heaving", yet above the water, the boat appears to glide effortlessly. In *Feminism and Geography* (1993), Gillian Rose also argues that landscapes are often perceived in ways which combine ideas of the female (nude) body and the beauty of the natural world²¹. She builds upon the work of John Berger, who wrote about art, to argue that men are haunted by landscapes because they feminise them, that they wish to "look actively, possessively" and that the landscape as woman is vulnerable to men's desires. Here, delicacy contrasts with the calculated force of the boy in his boat to portray Wordsworth's rowing as an act of abuse and male dominance: the pursuit of speed becomes immoral.

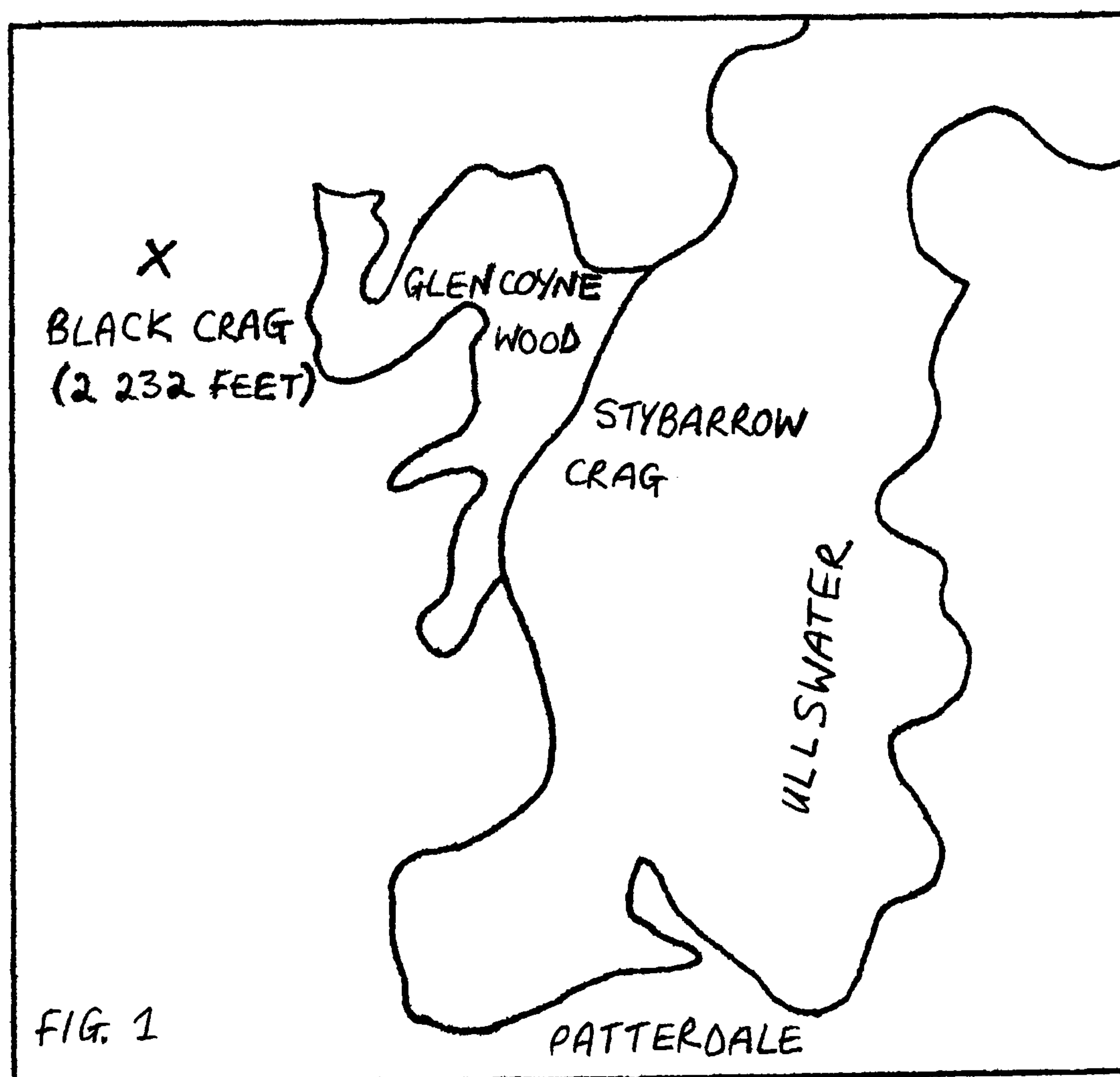
The dipping of the oars leaves circular impressions in the water which are highlighted by the moon. As Wordsworth rows out from the shore, his back is turned in the direction of travel; he faces the point from which he set out. Therefore, although the dipping of the oars where they enter the water

is at the front of the boat in terms of direction, Wordsworth cannot see the circles which this action makes until the boat has moved onwards. By then, the circles are alongside the boat and those already made from previous strokes of the oars, form parallel trails behind the boat, but ahead of the boy. Wordsworth is only concerned with what lies ahead. He wants to travel, and although the trail of old circles behind, and constant beginning of new circles ahead surround the boat as if to prevent his movement, the wayward boy keeps rowing. Rose might cite this as another example of how landscapes are viewed as nurturing and protective--qualities which are conventionally associated with women. She might even argue that Wordsworth, in viewing the landscape as feminine, can only be a spectator, that he cannot know the landscape. In fact, the circles melt into a track behind the boat--a track that therefore leads back to the shore where Wordsworth himself should be heading. Wordsworth is oblivious to the attempt to limit his movement until he sights the horizon on top of the crag.

Wordsworth fixes his gaze above the crag, fascinated by an endless expanse of stars. I do not subscribe to the arguments of feminist geography and argue that this episode provides evidence to counter the line taken by Cosgrove, Domosh and Rose. It now becomes apparent that Wordsworth viewed his immediate environment, not as a womb-like, protective or even sexual space, but as an enclosure for the horizon meets with the crag to form a visual boundary; the stars are cut out from the immediate scene. The "cavern of the willow-tree" (1.414) is one example of the claustrophobic landscape created in his mind: the external world does tease him with the promise of 'beyond' but there is perceived malice in this since each route to escape only leads to a dead end. Furthermore, Rose takes recourse in art history to argue that landscapes are passive and male spectators are active. Wordsworth's, like Milton's *Paradise*, is an animate space. Moreover, Wordsworth's depictions of the external world combine

feminine and masculine characteristics within the same landscapes.

The willow-tree probably grows at the water's edge, as part of Glencoyne Wood (see figure 1 below²²). The boat was tied to the tree but was kept "Within a rocky cove". It is probably the rock itself which forms the cavern and Wordsworth uses the tree, which grows and overhangs on top, to differentiate from other parts of the cove. The tree is perhaps a distinguishing feature which becomes fixed in Wordsworth's mind as an aid to his orientation--a landmark which permits the composition of a mental map of the area. However, the image of a dark cavern, of a fixed enclosure, performs two functions. When he untethers the boat, and when he returns, its darkness envelops him in sympathy with, and making a secret of, his dark actions, hiding the crime from any passers-by. As an expression of his being, it brings the suggestion of introspection, a hint that Wordsworth should look inside himself to discover his epic theme.



The cavernous enclosure also represents terrestrial, finite knowledge. Then the looming of a "huge cliff" halts his journey, blockading his route to the world beyond. By a trick of perspective, as the boat's position alters and the landscape correspondingly moves, it follows him: Nature seems to chastise him, and Wordsworth's later retrospect perceives Nature as God's agent. Moreover, Jonathan Wordsworth explains that "it is a fact of geography, or geometry, that larger more distant crags become visible above smaller and nearer ones" as the boy's boat moves. He observes that Black Crag has been identified as most probably being the intervening rock²³. Figure 1 shows that it lies some distance from the shore of Ullswater. The mountain is not alone, there appears to be a powerful guard of mountains ready to restrain Wordsworth, making the unexplored world beyond seem menacing and impenetrable. (The beautiful and the sublime not being mutually exclusive is another reason why I do not participate in feminist theories of subjective, power-driven representations of landscape and accusations of masculinism). Smaller crags are formed around Black Crag's base, and between it and the water are an area of mixed wood, and a rocky outcrop. For Wordsworth, this signals a terrifying experience. The violence of his rowing is repeated but this time, it is more of an act of desperation. The cliff seems to grow unendingly and, for a moment, Wordsworth does not appear to make much physical progress. It is a sublime moment of terror.

He then recovers himself and turns, returning to the willow cavern; the place of knowledge (knowledge of the self and a metaphor for cultural, finite knowledge) is also the place of sanctuary and reflection. James Heffernan describes Romantic portrayals of landscape as "the struggle to balance prospect and refuge, to reconcile a heaven of sunlit prospect with a hell of darkened self-consciousness"²⁴. In Wordsworth, there is much interplay between prospect, or the beyond; and refuge, or the immediate. Much is

also made of the difference between light and darkness but I think Heffernan is wrong to imply that self-consciousness is always a dark pit of damnation. Here, the willow-cavern represents Wordsworth's confrontation with his wrongdoing but it also represents protection. It is not so much a state of heightened inner vision which is described, as a state of blindness to the terrifying outer existence.

The true significance of Wordsworth having looked primarily skyward and only secondly to the cavern is now more obvious. Wordsworth had overlooked the inner vision to focus on the outer vision, and this he will continue to do throughout the poem. The boat episode is a lesson that Wordsworth ought to look first to himself, his thoughts and immediate environment instead of chasing after ethereal ideas in the temporal and spatial beyond. The significance of the huge cliff is that it represents an environment which Wordsworth had not experienced but which he previously had no reason to fear. Its apparent looming over the boy denotes a firm demarcation of the limits imposed upon his immediate environment and, because it frightens Wordsworth back to where he started, it represents a force within Nature which is capable of directing humankind. The external world is revealed to him as the intermediary between mortal humankind and an eternal truth. As M. H. Abrams argues, Romanticism assumes that Nature guides the creative development of humanity, but also reflects its powers²⁵.

Wordsworth shares several childhood memories with the reader and these often focus upon a mode of travel, and/or upon a perception of the external world in perpetual motion. In book 1, for example, he describes skating, during which activity he notices that as he sweeps around the frozen lake, so does the landscape revolve with him:

And oftentimes

When we had given our bodies to the wind,
 And all the shadowy banks on either side
 Came sweeping through the darkness, spinning still
 The rapid line of motion, then at once
 Have I, reclining back upon my heels,
 Stopped short--yet still the solitary cliffs
 Wheeled by me, even as if the earth had rolled
 With visible motion her diurnal round.

(1.478-86).

The children, in giving their bodies to the wind, allow themselves be moved by the force of Nature, they feel the wind moving with them. At the same time, Wordsworth is conscious that the reflected banks seem to spin around with them. It is the giddy effect of skating round and round that makes the world seem to visibly whirl with them, a mental disorientation which occurs due to the speed at which they skate and which sets everything in apparent rotation. When Wordsworth halts his movement, by placing his weight upon his heels in a breaking action, the landscape fails to stop with him. He is stationary but the earth continues to circle him. Wordsworth associates this with a type of perception and, for the first time, realises that the world is in perpetual motion. He returns to this idea in book 2, when he refers to being "An inmate of this *active* universe" (2.266). Then, in the description of kite-flying, he introduces the reader to the idea of being drawn towards the animate universe, of a yearning to become part of its eternal motion. Deep in his heart, he feels the kite "Pull at its rein like an impatient courser" (1.521) and this is analogous to his own longing. And, in riding to Furness Abbey, his desire to "feel the motion of the galloping steed" (2.103) is another expression of his wanting to participate in a perceived natural whorl.

Wordsworth becomes conscious of Nature's role in connecting humankind to God (3.553-4) and begins to seek out a place where his imagination will be sufficiently strengthened by the environment to achieve a spiritual vision. Harold Bloom argues that the quests of Romantic poetry demonstrate an internalisation of quest-romance: "The poet takes the patterns of quest-romance and transposes them into his own imaginative life, so that the entire rhythm of the quest is heard again in the movement of the poet himself from poem to poem"²⁶. The destination that Wordsworth seeks will not, therefore, be final; it can only be the final destination of *The Prelude* (1805)--Bloom's first phase of the quest: an "inward overcoming of the Selfhood's temptation"²⁷. This is a reason for Wordsworth's preoccupation, not only with destinations, but also with boundaries. For him, the point of arrival becomes a point of departure, and this allows him to feel that he has achieved some sort of continuous movement. M. H. Abrams observes that Romantic poetry commonly resurrects the "Neoplatonic figure of the soul as a fountain, or an outflowing stream"²⁸. In *The Prelude* (1805), Wordsworth's metaphysical journeys may be compared to his numerous images of streams, rivers and seas. They symbolise the progression from origin to goal, and represent what Bernard Blackstone argues is a unifying visual theme of Romantic literature, the paradox of permanence and impermanence in life²⁹.

The next important episode, for this study, is Wordsworth's crossing of the Alps, in book 6. Although he is aware that the appearance of the external world rapidly shifts as he passes through destinations (6.426-30) his only interest, as I said in the introduction to Romanticism, is in covering distance and arriving at some sublime landscape which he believes will precipitate a spiritual vision. His European tour proves disappointing because he places his conviction in the aesthetic approaches to landscape of his immediate culture. The deficiency of a culturally-prescribed,

standardised way of experiencing the environment is exemplified by the failure of the Alpine pass to deliver sublime scenery, or to provide a glimpse of the eternal creative power of either God or the poetic imagination.

Erelong we followed,
 Descending by the beaten road that led
 Right to a rivulet's edge, and there broke off;
 The only track now visible was one
 Upon the further side, right opposite,
 And up a lofty mountain. This we took,
 After a little scruple and short pause,
 And climbed with eagerness--though not, at length,
 Without surprize and some anxiety
 On finding that we did not overtake
 Our comrades gone before. By fortunate chance,
 While every moment now encreased our doubts,
 A peasant met us, and from him we learned
 that to the place which had perplexed us first
 We must descend, and there should find the road
 Which in the stony channel of the stream
 Lay a few steps, and then along its banks--
 And further, that thenceforward all our course
 Was downwards with the current of that stream.
 Hard of belief, we questioned him again,
 And all the answers which the man returned
 To our inquiries, in their sense and substance
 Translated by the feelings which we had,
 Ended in this--that we had crossed the Alps.

(6.501-24).

Separated from the group of travellers, Wordsworth and his companion

endeavour to find the route themselves and descend a "beaten road". The path stops at a rivulet, suggesting that it is worn by tourists seeking out the picturesque and sublime rather than having been worn by ordinary peasant activity. Yet, they do not linger at the edge any longer than to give quick debate over which direction to head in next. Instead, Wordsworth's attention is captured by the "lofty mountain" because he assumes that its summit will not only yield a sublime experience but also, that to cross the Alps, he must ascend. Cultural conditioning makes him anticipate sublimity and subsequent spiritual elevation near the summit.

Disbelief that the Alps have already been crossed, that it only remains to follow a humble, stony descent, is a significant anticlimax which proves his vision is incomplete: Nature has failed to reveal a spiritual truth and poetic vision and, Wordsworth's anticipated sublime experience failed to materialise. Thomas Vogler correctly interprets this anticlimax as a descent into the "fallen world of error and illusion" but he also argues that Wordsworth's errors result from his "desire to elevate man, to give him a conjugal relationship with nature and a reciprocal role in a perception that is also a creation"³⁰. I disagree with this interpretation. Wordsworth does eventually discover a form of perception which works with Nature to achieve creation in the imagination. It is Wordsworth's trust in his culture and aesthetic theory--values which he comes to re-evaluate and reform--which leads to continuous error.

In his *Guide to the Lakes* (1810), Wordsworth comments that the stranger to mountainous terrain "naturally on his first arrival looks out for sublimity in every object that admits of it; and is almost always disappointed", but adds that this is desirable³¹. Only by returning to the destination through recall, and after his vision at the top of Snowdon, can Wordsworth finally enjoy the experience. With hindsight, he can retrace the physical route and mark that destination on his map of spiritual

development. Only then can he translate the initial impressions from the journey, via the imagination, into a sublime memory of the mind struggling to comprehend; followed by a glimpse of the "invisible world", and emancipation of his soul (6.525-390).

In book 7, Wordsworth's residence in London describes his failure to connect with the "Face after face" of his fellow humankind (7.173). This episode is not as unimportant to the structure of the poem as Brian Wilkie argues³². London is depicted as a cheap spectacle, there is nothing very heroic or respectable to have grown out of the city's commercial and economic expansion--just vulgar displays of vanity from the rich and the stark contrast of the poor, begging and ignored. The episode teaches Wordsworth to distrust external grandeur in both the urban environment and the natural world. He must restrict his ego, and his travels, to lowly landscapes if he is to consciously develop his poetic integrity and attain a spiritual vision. Similarly, Wordsworth's disappointing forays into politics were essential to the development of his emotional soul. Godwinism at least helped Wordsworth towards a position of benevolence (as characterised by "Resolution and Independence"), which would be integral to his acceptance of humankind, and to his recognising the same quality in God mediated by Nature. Not until Wordsworth had learned to abandon collective theories (whether cultural philosophies or political concepts) and a reliance upon rational thought, would he be able to pursue the individual emotions which would lead him towards the vision he sought. He needed to experience the failures of the French Revolution and Godwinism in order that he might recognise that the ordinary man is more heroic when following his heart in the course of daily life, caring for the land, and caring for the community, than when he pursues national glory.

Having decided that the proper way forward is to reject communal reasoning in favour of the individual imagination and emotional soul,

Wordsworth, in book 12, rediscovers a love for humankind and finds "the horizon of [his] mind enlarged" (12.56). Because the scope of his imaginative power is increased, he has no need to enlarge his physical horizon; that is, he now realises that he has no need to travel abroad because all he requires to understand the world and humankind is to be found in local experience, "Among the natural abodes of men" (12.107). Observing figures on the landscape, toiling in the fields, can teach him more about suffering and heroism than anything he witnessed in France. Moreover, he believes walking through the countryside has the potential to increase his genuine love of humankind because travellers in rural environments are usually well disposed towards casual conversation and general amicability (12.140-2). This contrasts with his impression of London as a place where even neighbours remain silent strangers (7.117-20).

The idea that humankind and Nature are inseparable leads Wordsworth to believe that there must be in Nature both a passion and a creative power which resembles the passion and imagination in humankind (12.282-91). Moreover, he believes that observing this relationship will guide his imagination to "something unseen before" (12.305). This idea is foremost in his mind when he treks across Salisbury Plain, on his way to Wales, in 1793³³:

There on the pastoral downs without a track
 To guide me, or along the bare white roads
 Lengthening in solitude their dreary line,
 While through those vestiges of ancient times
 I ranged, and by the solitude o'ercome,
 I had a reverie and saw the past,
 Saw multitudes of men, and here and there
 A single Briton in his wolf-skin vest,
 With shield and stone-ax, stride across the wold;

The voice of spears was heard, the rattling spear
 Shaken by arms of mighty bone, in strength
 Long mouldered, of barbaric majesty.

(12.315-26).

The landscape acts upon Wordsworth to permit his imagination to transcend his present physical reality (and the later "Guilt and Sorrow; or Incidents upon Salisbury Plain" similarly jumps through time). At first, the landscape invites his imagination to regress into the past. What impresses most upon him, in his solitude, is the fact that the landscape remains in its primitive form.

Wordsworth's reverie is historical but non-specific: "multitudes of men" is intentionally ambiguous to accentuate a myth of ancient, heroic Britons. The Britons are depicted in a close relationship with Nature--they are clothed in wolf-skin and carry stone weapons, and indeed, it is the land that they appear to defend as they "stride across the wold". The images which stand out in the passage are "mighty bone" and "barbaric majesty" which carry Wordsworth's admiration of the untamed Britons. Wordsworth celebrates 'primitive' humankind because he associates the earliest peoples with authentic responses, particularly towards the environment.

Wordsworth suggests that when humankind identify themselves with the simplicity of landscape, and are free from the trappings of a cultured society, then we are at our most admirable and heroic. Conventionally, epic has presented its heroes to the reader as men of (usually military) action. Heroism has been associated with qualities of physical strength, of moral uprightness, of intellectual judgement and, in industrialised epic, the capacity to generate wealth. Without necessarily negating these ideas, *The Prelude* (1805) presents a different view of heroic qualities: the soul and mind possess heroic qualities when harmonised with the environment. The soul is capable of powerful emotions but it is not necessary that those

feelings be given physical expression through actual deeds. As for the imagination, it can approach the creativity of God when it is nurtured by Nature, it is capable of elevating humankind beyond the immediate physical environment.

A little geographically further along his walk and his imagination is influenced by current cultural ideas:

At other moments, for through that wide waste
 Three summer days I roamed, when 'twas my chance
 To have before me on the downy plain
 Lines, circles, mounts, a mystery of shapes
 Such as in many quarters yet survive,
 With intricate profusion figuring o'er
 The untilled ground (the work, as some divine,
 Of infant science, imitative forms
 By which the Druids covertly expressed
 Their knowledge of the heavens, and imaged forth
 The constellations), I was gently charmed,
 Albeit with an antiquarian's dream,

(12.337-49).

Wordsworth happens upon a mystical site of "Lines, circles, mounts" (Stonehenge). Care has been taken to form an "intricate profusion" of shapes which, no longer understood, must have had some communal meaning for its creators. Wordsworth reflects on what he admits is "an antiquarian's dream", a theory within his own time that Druids mapped out the sky upon the earth. Wordsworth is fascinated because he associates this "infant science" with an awareness of the beyond, and with earlier attempts to comprehend the eternal.

The walk also furnishes Wordsworth with ideas about the present. A reference to Coleridge demonstrates that the actual process of walking

allowed Wordsworth to compose:

--thou for my delight
 Hast said, perusing some imperfect verse
 Which in that lonesome journey was composed,
 That also I must then have exercised
 Upon the vulgar forms of present things
 And actual world of our familiar days,
 A higher power--have caught from them a tone,
 An image, and a character, by books
 Not hitherto reflected.

(12.357-65).

Coleridge's reception of the verse, supposedly written during the walk, has been complimentary. (Doubt has been cast over how much of the "Salisbury Plain" poem was actually composed during the walk of 1793. Coleridge heard a revised version, *Adventures on Salisbury Plain*, written in 1795--this reflects Wordsworth's self-fashioning as a poet³⁴.) It would seem that Coleridge has made some analysis of Wordsworth's imagination during the walk, based on the content of the poetry, and has suggested that Wordsworth has captured the idea of the eternal in landscape. Close scrutiny of the immediate landscape reveals to Wordsworth the power, the eternal truth of the external world. Coleridge's enthusiasm apparently came from the fact that Wordsworth had thought beyond the general, culturally-agreed, common approaches to landscape, and had, on his own, discovered the deep secrets of Nature.

As he continues across the plain, Wordsworth's thoughts turn to a new world:

yet the mind is to herself
 Witness and judge, and I remember well
 That in life's everyday appearances
 I seemed about this period to have sight
 Of a new world--a world, too, that was fit
 To be transmitted and made visible
 To other eyes, as having for its base
 That whence our dignity originates,
 That which both gives it being, and maintains
 A balance, an ennobling interchange
 Of action from within and from without:
 The excellence, pure spirit, and best power,
 Both of the object seen, and eye that sees.

(12.367-79).

Having discovered eternal truth in the landscape, Wordsworth recognises that he has found a way forward for his culture. In ordinary objects he has seen a creative power which he wishes to communicate to his society, to transmit and make visible "To other eyes" that which enables the imagination to make sense of the external world. His premise is that landscape and the imagination work in conjunction with one another, that there is an "ennobling interchange" of ideas and creative energy between the outer objects in the external world and the inner workings of the mind.

This episode demonstrates that walking through, or across, a landscape enables the imagination to perform the epic task of remaining decisively connected to immediate time, place and culture, yet also transcending those barriers of time and place to connect to the past and to project into the future. Walking, as Anne Wallace argues, sets the pace of changing perception at a rate which can be physically and mentally retraced:

"Walking itself provides continuously moving perception at a human pace,

so that the walker experiences change as a process which he is able to retrace, both physically and memorially"³⁵. Certainly, walking across the plain provides Wordsworth with spatial landmarks by which, in memory, he can retrace his physical journey and also the development of his poetic imagination. It also allows him to retrace time.

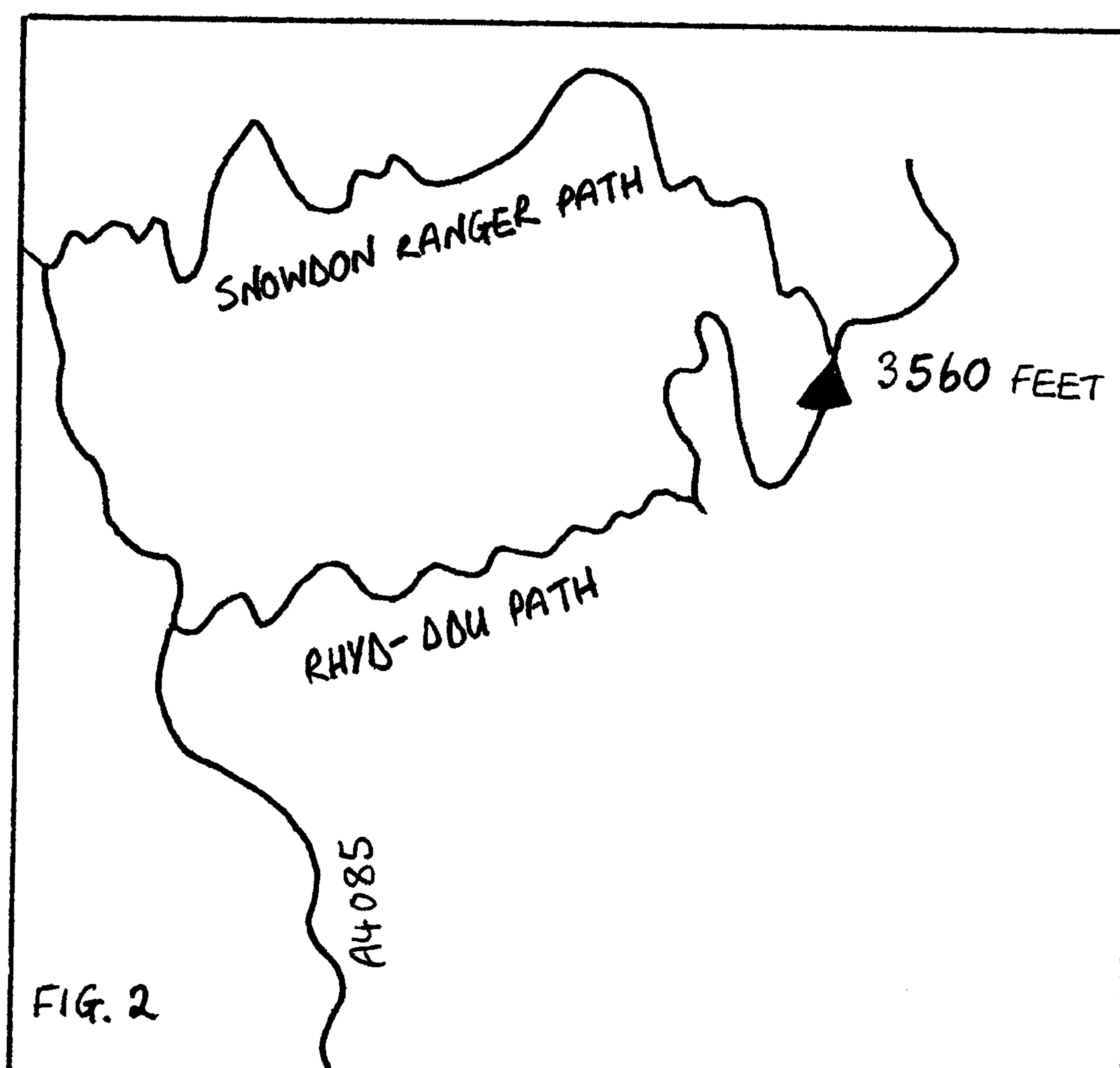
Wordsworth begins to exercise the powers of his imagination. He permits his mind to interact with the landscape and, in this way, discovers that he can transform his immediate environment because the imagination can reorder time to create a new idea of environment. What he has pursued throughout *The Prelude* (1805) however, is a glimpse of an eternal sacred power, the creative energy of God. The landscape of Salisbury Plain is not a spiritual landscape because Wordsworth's persona in the poem still, at that time, has not developed his imagination, his poetic integrity, or his soul sufficiently to be able to perceive the divine energy. He has begun to realise just how powerful the poetic imagination can be when used properly but will only recognise its full potential when he attains his spiritual vision--near the summit of Snowdon.

Wordsworth attains his vision when he completely ceases to follow cultural truth in actively pursuing the infinite, although he does have a particular purpose and destination in mind--to watch the sunrise above Mount Snowdon. Wilkie argues that the actual climb does not interest Wordsworth, rather that he is exclusively concerned with the final vision because it universalises the theme of the whole poem and explains to the reader how the poet's personal experience fits into this larger perspective³⁶. While I agree that Wordsworth's vision must be the focus of attention, I disagree that the physical process of the ascent is unimportant, both to Wordsworth and the reader. Not only does the passage illustrate a Romantic interest in modes of travel and being in motion but also, the climb is vitally described as an integral part of Wordsworth's enlightenment and

poetic scheme. Therefore, the following passage is one of the most necessary episodes, both in terms of the narrative structure of the poem, and of the focus of this thesis.

It was a summer's night, a close warm night,
Wan, dull, and glaring, with a dripping mist
Low-hung and thick that covered all the sky,
Half threatening storm and rain; but on we went
Unchecked, being full of heart and having faith
In our tried pilot. Little could we see,
Hemmed round on every side with fog and damp,
And, after ordinary travellers' chat
With our conductor, silently we sunk
Each into commerce with his private thoughts.
Thus did we breast the ascent, and by myself
Was nothing either seen or heard the while
Which took me from my musings, save that once
The shepherd's cur did to his own great joy
Unearth a hedgehog in the mountain-crags,
Round which he made a barking turbulent.
This small adventure--for even such it seemed
In that wild place and at the dead of night--
Being over and forgotten, on we wound
In silence as before. With forehead bent
Earthward, as if in opposition set
Against an enemy, I panted up
With eager pace, and no less eager thoughts,
Thus might we wear perhaps an hour away,
Ascending at loose distance from each,
And I, as chanced, the foremost of the band-- (13.10-35).

The ascent is difficult for the mountain is obscured by fog and Wordsworth pants, head bent in the posture of one mastering a steep slope, folding into himself in defence against the weather, and focusing on making it to the summit. Kenneth R. Johnston argues that the walkers' probable route led up from Rhyd-Ddu (see figure 2 below³⁷). This is a steep path to have chosen when easier routes lead up from the north and east. However, Johnston asserts that only this track approaches the summit in the right direction for the sun to rise ahead--along the other tracks, "the sun creeps up behind one by degrees"³⁸.



The image of the poet confronting an enemy describes Wordsworth's mental and physical preparation for the climb. If he is to conquer the mountain's steep incline, then he must face it as an enemy and work up some aggression in his mind which will be reproduced as physical determination.

The images applied to the climb incorporate those same ideas of limits and restricted access which occur in other episodes. Either the mist covers

the entire mountain, or Wordsworth begins his narrative mid-ascent and has already neared the top for the mist "cover[s] all the sky". It is a noticeable presence which frames the immediate view (a clear sky would stretch into the beyond, the infinite; Wordsworth's view is rendered finite). One may expect that the fog would move in drifts or patches as the party travel upwards, thus affording brief respite from the gloom whenever the fog lifted but, again, Wordsworth does not give this impression. On each side of him he is aware of an oppressive fog and dampness--oppressive because they seem to enclose him, he is "Hemmed round" and these meteorological boundaries move with him.

The silent sinking into meditation is another image of engulfment, as though Wordsworth is overwhelmed by his mortal and finite musings from which he wants to break into ideas of eternal, infinite truths. It is because Wordsworth is climbing that he is acutely aware of these limits. He makes frequent reference to his feet ("When at my feet the ground appeared to brighten," [13.37], "rested at my feet" [13.44], "the mist / Touching our very feet;" [13.54-5]) because, with his head down, his feet are all he can see, he can probably feel their labour and, in the absence of a view, his feet are all he has to connect him to the landscape. Moreover, Wordsworth is intent on challenging himself, working with his perceived boundaries and using them to both encourage the discipline of endurance and, textually, to separate him from his fellow travellers who are distanced from him spatially, and in terms of experience.

The action of climbing is also accentuated by the observance of time and distance which, were Wordsworth only interested in the resultant vision, would be ignored. Although the climb evidently becomes a personal test as well as a pleasurable experience, Wordsworth refers to "ordinary travellers' chat" (13.17). He is not so isolated by his thoughts that he cannot place those travellers at a distance behind him, and is almost proud that he

chances to take the lead. Moreover, the ascent is framed, by Wordsworth, in realistic time and place co-ordinates for the blue chasm is "not the third part of a mile" from the shore (13.56) and it is estimated that the "eager pace" will be kept up for an hour. Johnston persuasively argues that Wordsworth's description of the climb precisely matches the real topography of the mountain. The Rhyd-Ddu ascent may apparently be separated into three stages: a gentle plateau; a steep, rocky incline with little recognisable path and which takes about an hour to climb; and a final wide plateau, of approximately two miles, which leads to the summit. Johnston connects these three geographical stages to the sections in the poem as: the relatively easy start to the climb when the group engages in conversation; the long scramble when Wordsworth, panting, is set as if in opposition to some enemy; and the final prospect when, over the precipice, smaller mountains fall away from Snowdon³⁹.

The reader may also observe a progression in the poet's mood as he nears the summit. I would like to consider this as four distinct movements. The first phase occurs at the beginning of the quotation when Wordsworth is in the company of the group. His initial mood is a collective mood (note the repeated use of the plural: "on we went", "our tried pilot", "Little could we see", "silently we sunk" and "thus did we"). The band are optimistic and have faith in the venture but, after an enthusiastic start, they fall silent and perhaps a little sullen. Wordsworth very much identifies himself with the community or cultural spirit.

The second phase sees Wordsworth distance himself and his mood from the others, we note the introduction of the first person singular ("I panted up", "And I", "Nor had I time") into his narrative. This change in attitude commences when Wordsworth discovers a private energy and, head down, charges into the lead.

Coincidentally, it is not long before the ground brightens and Wordsworth

is transfixed by the transformed landscape:

When at my feet the ground appeared to brighten,
And with a step or two seemed brighter still;
Nor had I time to ask the cause of this,
For instantly a light upon the turf
Fell like a flash. I looked about, and lo,
The moon stood naked in the heavens at height
Immense above my head, and on the shore
I found myself of a huge sea of mist,
Which meek and silent rested at my feet.
A hundred hills their dusky backs upheaved
All over this still ocean, and beyond,
Far, far beyond, the vapours shot themselves
In headlands, tongues, and promontory shapes,
Into the sea, the real sea, that seemed
To dwindle and give up its majesty,
Usurped upon as far as sight could reach.
Meanwhile, the moon looked down upon this shew
In single glory, and we stood, the mist
Touching our very feet; and from the shore
At distance not the third part of a mile
Was a blue chasm, a fracture in the vapour,
A deep and gloomy breathing-place, through which
Mounted the roar of waters, torrents, streams
Innumerable, roaring with one voice.
The universal spectacle throughout
Was shaped for admiration and delight,
Grand in itself alone, but in that breach
Through which the homeless voice of waters rose,

That dark deep thoroughfare, had Nature lodged
The soul, the imagination of the whole.

(13.36-65).

The mist rests "meek and silent" at his feet and he is awed by the beauty, the immensity and the power of the scene, but is also aware of Nature's humility; he feels powerful himself that he can stand on high and watch the sea "give up its majesty". By following individual, humble hopes and using his personal internal strengths, Wordsworth has reached something unique and, for a short time, he is the only one to behold the prospect. The group catch up and share the vision and it is while they stand delighted that the fourth phase of Wordsworth's emotional progression takes hold. This, he realises, is where "Nature lodged / The soul". Wordsworth discovers a private peace; he finds what he has been looking for throughout the poem and it is marvellous. What is more, he discovers this for himself and leads the others to it. Similarly, through his poetry he can offer his internalised discovery of an infinite truth, and the experiences of his journeys, back out to society.

The mist might be taken to symbolise a non-perceptive state and Wordsworth, never knowing what he will discover at the peak, exercises his soul in determining to climb, that he may at least look upon a prospect of the valley, be it one of gloom or enlightenment. His climb, retrospectively, becomes one of atonement for his past misjudgement of seeking sublimity and, in keeping with the tradition of "spiritual mountaineering" (Simon Schama provides the example of Dante's *Purgatorio* [c.1310]⁴⁰), Wordsworth's reward is recognition that all is "gratulant if rightly understood" (13.385), that the imagination can transform existence (13.94-5), just as the mist transforms the actual landscape into a delightful spectacle (13.60-1). The ascent of Snowdon, like the ascent of Purgatory, may also be linked to Petrarch's ascent of Mount Ventoux:

the movements of the body are out in the open while those of the soul are invisible and hidden. The life we call blessed is to be sought on a high level, and straight is the way that leads to it. Many, also, are the hills that stand in the way that leads to it, and we must ascend from virtue to virtue up glorious steps. At the summit is both the end of our struggles and the goal of our journey's climb.⁴¹

Each of Wordsworth's previous journeys has precipitated some degree of movement within his soul. Petrarch's many hills correspond to the disappointments and journeys of false hope which Wordsworth need not have undertaken if his poetic imagination and emotional soul had been fully developed but which nevertheless were important steps towards the recovery of a sacred perception. At the summit, Wordsworth finally attains his vision, regaining the perceptive power he associates with childhood. The key to eternal truth is to use whatever Nature provides to strengthen the imagination, and thus develop creative rectitude. Then, the poetic mind may be sustained even by the meekest landscape, thus making travel unnecessary.

Johnston informs us that the sound of falling waters is indeed very audible at the summit of Snowdon but that, coming from unseen crevices in the rocks, their source is mysterious⁴². Wordsworth's reference to homeless waters is therefore apt as a geographical description and a spiritual description. Not only does the water illustrate that Wordsworth is finally able to perceive a spiritual, creative energy but also, that the description demonstrates his awareness of the inferiority of his own creative power before that of God and Nature. Wordsworth has finally transcended common adult perception but he cannot transcend his humanity. In "Silence and the Poet," (1967) George Steiner argues that "to speak, to assume the privileged singularity and solitude of man in the

silence of creation, is dangerous"⁴³. His idea is that the language of humankind rivals the language of God. Contrarily, my interpretation of this episode is that it demonstrates how even a visionary Romantic poet is forced into silence when he perceives a sacred energy. In contrast, the voice of divine creation (represented by the sound of waters), is perceived by the poet to speak for eternity.

Wordsworth associates periods of poetic failure with sound: mischievous boys at play, boisterous behaviour at Cambridge, the "Babel din" of London's streets, Frenchmen arguing politics--these noises interrupt whenever Wordsworth has been distracted from his desire for poetic integrity and a spiritual union with Nature. When he does achieve them, the moments of poetic integrity and perception are marked by silence (e.g. crossing Salisbury Plain). His ascent of Snowdon finally takes him to his vision and, although he is not alone, once he has pulled ahead of the group, the only sound he notices is the dog's barking when it unearths a hedgehog. This silence indicates that Wordsworth is pure enough to achieve his vision. Paradoxically, near the summit when he catches his glimpse of the eternal, from out of that silence comes "the roar of waters", the voice of creation sounding loud.

Wordsworth concludes that creative energies do possess a voice but it is not a voice that can be articulated by him. The streams and rivers represent a language of creation beyond expression in ordinary poetry; it is sound but it is not within Wordsworth's comprehension of an articulate language. Ultimately, although Wordsworth has learned how to perceive this higher level of spiritual power, he can only attempt to show that this power exists, he cannot match its conversation. He can marvel at the sights and sounds with the other hikers, he can be satisfied that he has discovered an eternal truth, and has developed his imaginative powers to transform his own environment. The journey has expanded the physical,

emotional, imaginative and spiritual limits of Wordsworth's self but, at the same time, it has reconfirmed that humankind is not limitless, that God has indeed imposed restrictions upon us and we cannot hope to exceed them.

Notes

- ¹ C. Day Lewis, *The Lyric Impulse*, Charles Eliot Norton Lectures 1964-1965 (London: Chatto, 1965) 8.
- ² Lewis 8.
- ³ Stephen Gill, *William Wordsworth: A Life*, Oxford Lives (1989; paperback Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990) 20-6.
- ⁴ G. M. Trevelyan, *The Middle Marches* (Newcastle, 1935), qtd. in *The Border Ballads*, by James Reed (London: Athlone, 1973) 12.
- ⁵ James Reed, *The Border Ballads* (London: Athlone, 1973) 71.
- ⁶ "Jamie Telfer," in Reed 131.
- ⁷ John Milton, *Paradise Lost: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Sources, Criticism*, ed. Scott Elledge, 2nd. ed., Norton Critical Ed. (New York: Norton, 1993).
- ⁸ John Milton, "Lycidas," *John Milton: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*, eds. Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg, Oxford Authors, gen. ed. Frank Kermode (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991) 39-44.
- ⁹ "The Twa Merrit Wemen and the Wedo," in Reed 11.
- ¹⁰ Reed 60.
- ¹¹ "In the Dowie Dens of Yarrow," in Reed 144-7.
- ¹² Hunter Davies, *William Wordsworth: A Biography*, rev. ed. (Weidenfeld, 1980; Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997).
- ¹³ Kenneth R. Johnston, *The Hidden Wordsworth: Poet, Lover, Rebel, Spy* (New York: Norton, 1998).
- ¹⁴ Jonathan Bate, *The Song of the Earth* (London: Picador-Macmillan, 2000) 205.
- ¹⁵ Jonathan Bate, *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition* (London: Routledge, 1991) 87.
- ¹⁶ Bate, *Song* 245.

17 Christopher Salvesen, *The Landscape of Memory: A Study of Wordsworth's Poetry* (London: Arnold, 1965) 105.

18 Donald R. Griffin, "Topographical Orientation," *Image and Environment: Cognitive Mapping and Spatial Behaviour*, eds. Roger M. Downs and David Stea, foreword Kenneth E. Boulding (Chicago: Aldine, 1973; London: Arnold, [n. d.]) 296-7.

19 Seamus Heaney, "The Sense of Place," *Preoccupations: Selected Prose 1968-1978*, 2nd. ed. (1980; London: Faber, 1984) 131-2.

20 Denis Cosgrove and Mona Domosh, "Author and Authority: Writing the New Cultural Geography," *Place / Culture / Representation*, eds. James Duncan and David Ley (London: Routledge, 1993) 27-30.

21 Gillian Rose, "Looking at Landscape: the Uneasy Pleasures of Power," *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Cambridge: Polity P, 1993) 86-112.

22 Information taken from *Penrith, Keswick and Ambleside*, map, Landranger series 1: 50 000 Map of Gt. Britain, sheet no. 90, Ordnance Survey Special Ed. (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1988).

The map in figure 1 is my drawing, using the more detailed map for reference.

23 Jonathan Wordsworth, *William Wordsworth: The Borders of Vision* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) 46-7.

24 James A. W. Heffernan, *The Re-creation of Landscape: A Study of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Constable, and Turner* (Hanover: UP of New England, 1984) 111.

25 M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (New York: Norton, 1973) 92-4.

26 Harold Bloom, "The Internalization of Quest-Romance," *Romanticism and Consciousness: Essays in Criticism*, ed. Harold Bloom (New York: Norton, 1970) 5.

27 Bloom 17.

28 M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (London: Oxford UP, 1953) 61.

29 Bernard Blackstone, *The Lost Travellers: A Romantic Theme with Variations* (London: Longman, 1962) 33.

30 Thomas Vogler, *Preludes to Vision: The Epic Venture in Blake, Wordsworth, Keats, and Hart Crane* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1971) 71.

31 William Wordsworth, *The Illustrated Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes*, ed. Peter Bicknell, foreword Alan G. Hill (Exeter: Webb, 1984) 145.

32 Brian Wilkie, *Romantic Poets and Epic Tradition* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1965) 78.

33 Jonathan Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams and Stephen Gill, eds., footnote 9 to the 1805 text, *The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850: Authoritative Texts, Context and Reception, Recent Critical Essays*, by William Wordsworth, Norton Critical Ed. (New York: Norton, 1979).

34 Jonathan Wordsworth et. al., footnote 9 to the 1805 text.

35 Anne D. Wallace, *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993) 115.

36 Wilkie 102.

37 Figure 2 is my diagram, based upon a map of Johnston's 269.

38 Johnston 268.

39 Johnston 270-1.

40 Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (London: Harper, 1995) 417.

41 Petrarch, "The Ascent of Mount Ventoux," *Selections from the Canzoniere and Other Works*, trans., introd. and notes Mark Musa, World's Classics (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985) 14.

42 Johnston 271.

⁴³ George Steiner, "Silence and the Poet," *Language and Silence: Essays 1958-1966* (Faber, 1967; London: Penguin, 1969) 60.

Chapter 4

***Carpe Diem* and Perpetual Motion: Lord Byron's *Don Juan* (1819-24)**

Two collections of Byron's correspondence have provided invaluable source material for this study: *Selected Letters and Journals* edited by Leslie A. Marchand (1993) and *Byron: Selected Letters and Journals* edited by Peter Gunn (1984). While Marchand's 1957 three-volume biography remains a seminal text, I have made reference to Phyllis Grosskurth's *Byron: The Flawed Angel* (1997) and Benita Eisler's *Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame* (1999) as two of the most recently published biographies. However, since most of the work for this study was completed, a further biography, *Byron: Life and Legend* by Fiona MacCarthy (2002) has been published. MacCarthy's is the first biography since Marchand's to have originated with Byron's publisher, John Murray and MacCarthy's vigorous research usefully interprets this and many other archive resources. The focus of this study means that material pertaining to Haidée, the Turkish harem, and to England, is largely omitted from this discussion.

***Don Juan* (1819-24)**

Juan is unexceptional, possessed of no visionary designs but has the energy, and perhaps naiveté, to make the universe his home. Moreover, in describing a hero who ignores political and spiritual restrictions on travel, Byron emancipates epic from its traditional form in which the hero is guided towards a spiritual vision. The narrative attempts, through the aimlessness of Juan's existence, to revive a *carpe diem* impulse which its author assumes to be a universal, if latent, impulse. Byron, perhaps coincidentally, reflects Epicurean philosophy which emphasised the value of human

pleasure over the Stoic value of moral virtue. Drawing upon the atomism of Democritus, Epicurus taught that the world, including the human soul, is composed of material particles, therefore, death is the cessation of consciousness¹. Material particles may be broken down and recycled but the human mind and soul cannot proceed to an afterlife. In the absence of an afterlife, the purpose of life is no longer to follow spiritual guidance.

In *Don Juan* (1819-24), if we accept the narrator's argument that every person's existence is a mere bubble in the continuum of time (xv.2.4-5), then it becomes heroic to face mortality, and to run with the present tide of life (xv.99.4-8). Wordsworth's emotional soul was guided by his perceptions of Nature and God. Byron's idea of soul, and Juan's exemplification of this, is also emotional but Byron places his faith in human feelings². The stirrings of body and soul in response to a particular experience are here immediate phenomena, undisciplined by God, reason or Nature. "The great object of life is Sensation" he wrote to Annabella Milbanke (6 Sept. 1813); "--to feel that we exist--even though in pain--it is this 'craving void' which drives us to Gaming--to Battle--to Travel--to intemperate but keenly felt pursuits of every description"³. (Byron had in mind lines 91-4 of Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard* [1717].) This suggests that a person is incomplete unless (s)he acquiesces in natural instincts.

Despite Juan's gentility, Byron's idea of heroism is classless and courage can take many forms: "the French courage proceeds from vanity--the German from phlegm--the Turkish from fanaticism & opium--the Spanish from pride--the English from coolness--the Dutch from obstinacy--the Russian from insensibility--but the *Italian* from *anger*"⁴. Even the highwayman, Tom, "had made heroic bustle" (XI.19.2).

When Donna Julia is discovered committing adultery with the young Don Juan, in Canto I, his mother sends him from Spain, hoping that a tour will refine his morals. Indeed, he does require "the veering wind" and

shifting sails to turn his heart from Julia, and his world upon its axis (II.4.1-4). Karl Kroeber, in *Romantic Narrative Art* (1960), describes Canto I as a contest between Nature and civilisation⁵. The artifice of reasoned morality and civilised conduct, which Donna Inez attempts to impress upon her son, is defeated by the strength of his instinctive desire for Julia. However, when Juan boards ship, it is clear that he is influenced by his culture. He orders the packing of his material possessions and is reluctant to leave Spain, standing on the deck "to take, and take again" his farewell (II.11.7). (In "Sickening Business," (1992) Paul Elledge argues that the extended farewell expresses Juan's anxiety upon realising that his exile could potentially be permanent⁶.) He is also reluctant to abandon his faith and virtues, resisting cannibalism and alcohol. But Juan undergoes a curious transformation which is reinforced by the narrative style. In Canto I, he is initiated into manhood but, as his copious, melodramatic shedding of tears reveals, remains in many ways a child. Despite the earlier scenes of genuine tenderness between Juan and Julia, this is, as Kroeber observes, a bawdy farce played out like an eighteenth-century picaresque novel⁷. The reader may anticipate that Juan will be another Tom Jones or Joseph Andrews but really this communicates the young Juan's undisciplined virility.

On boarding the ship, Juan is emotional and the style sentimental. Separation from Julia is concurrent with separation from childhood and from a 'cultured' environment. Wordsworth sought a regression to what he considered to be a childhood state of perception and genuine emotion. Paradoxically, Byron shows childhood to be a state in which we rely upon the teachings of our culture and imitate our peers. It is in adulthood that Juan is able to live by his own sensations and allow his identity to progress beyond the parameters of 'civilised' perceptions of decency and vulgarity.

Juan is "unmanned" by the receding sight of home and, as the voyage

begins, stands "bewildered on the deck" (II.12-13). Elledge argues that this unmanning describes the "infantilization of Juan", that is, his departure "desexualizes" him in readiness for Haidée's "maternal embrace"⁸. I prefer to interpret his emotional confusion as symptomatic of his awkward position between childhood and adulthood. Moreover, although there is insufficient space to discuss the episode in this study, both Haidée and her environment are sexually-charged, thus teaching Juan to connect with people through physical sensation.

Soon, the lurching of Juan's heart becomes the lurching of his stomach and he is no longer confused--he is seasick. The seasickness marks a pivotal moment in Juan's physical journey and maturity which, placed between the farewell to Julia and the shipwreck, is often overlooked:

'Sooner shall heaven kiss earth'--(here he fell sicker)

'Oh Julia! what is every other woe?--

(For God's sake let me have a glass of liquor,

Pedro, Battista, help me down below.)

Julia, my love!--(you rascal, Pedro, quicker)--

Oh Julia!--(this curst vessel pitches so)--

Beloved Julia, hear me still beseeching!

(Here he grew inarticulate with reaching.)

(II.20).

Juan grows seasick in the middle of a clichéd, over-sentimental affirmation of love. Every utterance is a trite declaration and each is punctuated by Juan growing sicker. Next to the cursing sailors, Juan's behaviour appears to be the oversensitive, nervous behaviour which men often, in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, expected of female travellers (an expectation which is not supported by female travel literature of the period).

When Juan becomes "inarticulate with reaching", he is purged of his empty clichés, his unnatural perceptions, and his adolescent frailties.

Rudyard Kipling describes a similar correlation between sailing and leaving childhood in *Captains Courageous* (1897). Dan has been sailing for years and is already a rather responsible child. Harvey, on the other hand, is hauled aboard the *We're Here* schooner after falling from a liner. When seasickness purges him of his initial arrogance and childishness he subsequently learns to relate to the crew and his chores with maturity⁹.

The physical and emotional upheaval which Juan experiences on a personal level is soon extended to the entire company of the ship. A "sudden shift" of the wind sends the ship "into the trough of the sea" and the storm destroys both stern and rudder, causing the vessel to take in water (II.27). Byron wrote to John Murray, in 1821; "With regard to the charges about the Shipwreck,--I think that I told both you and Mr Hobhouse, years ago, that [there] was not a *single circumstance* of it *not* taken from *fact*, not, indeed, from any *single* shipwreck, but all from *actual* facts of different wrecks"¹⁰. However, Peter Cochran has written about Byron's borrowings from John Dalryell and William Bligh¹¹; in *Byron: The Flawed Angel* (1997), Phyllis Grosskurth identifies Byron's naval grandfather, John, Admiral Byron ('Foulweather Jack') as having been an inspiration¹²; and William Falconer's narrative poem, *The Shipwreck* (1762), incorporates the same idea that physical boundaries break down as "wave uproll'd on wave assails the skies" (canto II)¹³.

In "The Literature of Voyaging" (1986), Robert Foulke draws attention to the nature of the marine environment:

[The sailor] lives on an unstable element that keeps his home in constant motion, sometimes soothing him with a false sense of security, sometimes threatening to destroy him. Although his vision is bounded by a horizon and contains a seascape of monotonous regularity, what he sees can change rapidly and unpredictably. His sense of space suggests infinity and solitude, on the one hand, and prison-like confinement in small compartments, on the other; it contains in its restless motion lurking possibilities of total disorientation"¹⁴.

Byron focuses upon the unpredictability and the potential for disorientation which Foulke outlines here.

The storm forces everyone to start living by their wits: some trying to salvage undamaged cargo, others striving to stop the leak by whatever means come to hand. Their powerlessness before the forces of Nature becomes pitiable (one man leaves behind a wife and daughters), pathetic (blasphemous sailors turn to "rum and true religion"), and horrific (Pedrillo is killed for food). Momentous changes in the sea both emphasise the human frailties of the sailors, and point towards a perceived human predictability: faced with danger, humankind is inclined towards selfishness and self-pity in the fear for self-preservation. Tellingly, no-one on the ship distinguishes themselves with courage (although Juan comes closest to the heroic ideal by at least demanding that the men resolve to die like men, rather than to "sink below / Like brutes" [II.35-6]). Ironically, the real hero of the early trauma is Mr. Mann, a manufacturer in London, without whose water pumps the ship would have sunk almost immediately.

Disorientation occurs on the ship because people are *de*-compartmentalised in the chaos of the storm. The crew no longer have specific duties or routines; Juan is no longer the lovesick youth; passengers are forced out of their non-participation. Individual roles,

virtues, physical and social spaces have been turned upside-down.

Although the narrator is precise about the temporal scale of the episode (at one o'clock the wind had changed, "twelve days had Fear / Been their familiar, and now Death was here", at half past eight the following day the booms, hencoops and spars are cut loose before the ship sinks, and seven days are counted in the longboat before the progress of the diurnal roll ceases to be noticed), the disintegration of the ship runs parallel to the disintegration of the ship's community. Conventional social values collapse as Juan, the least experienced, provides the only voice of wisdom; Pedrillo, a tutor, is the first one sacrificed for food; and the surgeon uses his medical knowledge to kill. The only ultimate survivor is Juan who swims ashore. For him, the voyage does not represent an initiation into death (one of the patterns which Foulke argues is assimilated into sea-literature¹⁵) so much as an introduction to the eternal whorl of Nature and the levelling effect its forces have upon humankind. It also marks an initiation into the constant motion, which will characterise his environment and his conduct, as he comes to follow instincts which are more whimsical than socially dictated. His former life and passions are truly lost with the sinking of the ship.

Attention to nautical details, such as taking in the sail or the decline of the water pumps, focuses the reader's attention on the resilience of humankind without suggesting divine retribution for Juan's previous sin, or those of other passengers. Refusing to either incorporate conventional characteristics of the sublime fear for self-preservation, or to describe spiritual redemption as Coleridge had in *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (1798), Byron hints only superficially at spiritual deliverance for the rainbow and the bird are dismissed as accidental omens. Rather, the lengthy descriptions of overcrowding and discomfort (II.63), of salvaging provisions (II.46.6-8; 47) and of Juan's practicality testify to an irrepressible human anima. The voyage permits a human but not a spiritual vision of the world.

That is why, when Juan subsequently meets Haidée, the "images, allusions, and comparisons" which, as Kroeber observes, remind us of Paradise and the Fall, must not be interpreted as serious but as a playful jibe at divine poetry¹⁶. (Byron's work, although fashionable again, has been derided because it has been thought to lack the gravity and philosophical arguments of other Romantic writers. In fact, Byron's satire makes valid observations upon the culture and society in which his peers seemingly acquiesced¹⁷.)

As the only eventual survivor, Juan is cast out on his own. If he had not shed all the layers of his cultural identity through seasickness and the ship's sinking, then he sheds the final layer in jumping boat and swimming ashore. The landscape he finds himself in, and where he rediscovers desire, is eroticised¹⁸. (Robinson Crusoe is also symbolically cut off from his culture and society. Unlike Juan however, Crusoe upholds the values of his homeland. At the same time that he interprets his survival as divine salvation, he does not suffer reason to become subordinate to emotion.) It is worth commenting upon the relatively small use made of the sighting of land, compared to the large emphasis upon voyaging. Centralising the labour of sailing and marginalising the sighting of land demystifies the journey and minimises the importance of destination. Byron argues that heroic progress is concerned with motion: to seize the day is to unleash the emotional soul which conversely, is suppressed when we worry about seizing tomorrow. This is substantiated by the text during a later appraisal of speed in Canto X. It is argued that a person's spirit (or soul) is regenerated by velocity, that "the great *end* of travel" is "driving" (X.72). Arrival is potentially anti-climatic because it forces closure upon the journey, whereas emotional abandonment comes from sustained movement.

The idea is perpetuated in the structure of the narrative. *Don Juan*

(1819-24) is an exuberant, rambling tale of seemingly unrelated adventures and digressions: it realises Schlegel's identification of poetry with the eternal and with life's inexhaustible variety of experiences¹⁹. The poem is compared to a departure with no anticipated end, the verse apparently running free from any formal plan. "I meant to make this poem very short" is not apologetic, it is announced with pride because the poem has discovered its own soul; it is infused with an independent life-spirit and defies restrictive orthodox literary conventions (XV.22.3), just as it challenges conventional Romantic culture. Moreover, the method of writing and narrating is equated with the idea of walking and talking (XV.19.6-8). Travel is conducive to conversational ease and the poetry follows the same casual flow. The narrator cannot predict the direction of his tale, he merely continues to narrate then reflect--a process of movement then rest (IX.41.7-8, 42.1-2).

Such a moment of rest follows the description of the power of travel during the shipwreck, in the form of the Haidée episode. Juan's journey halts when he reaches shore and the text transforms into a description of the pleasure of destination. Syed Manzurul Islam observes that travel accounts try to capture places in representation and therefore repress the speed of travel and "turn sedentary to represent the spectacle of the world"²⁰. However, unlike Wordsworth who demonstrated a concern for destination, Byron is more keen to comment upon the processes of movement. Juan's sojourns are never intended to be permanent; rather they yield opportunities for superficial integration into new cultures, and invariably provide Juan with the excuses he needs to move on. Destinations also provide a mechanism for narrative control. The narrator's tale may appear to run away from him, but he can momentarily slow the pace before launching into the next exuberant description of travel.

Studies such as M. Green's *Dreams of Adventure* (1980)²¹, and

Richard Phillips' *Mapping Men and Empire* (1997)²², have described the continued tradition of adventure novels from the Eighteenth Century onwards as charting and celebrating colonialism. A common observation is that such narratives project imperial fantasies onto real geographies and, although novels like *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) and *Treasure Island* (1883) achieve a degree of realism, it is recognised that the heroes of adventure narratives (certainly those belonging to the Eighteenth Century) nevertheless fail to engage with their new physical and social environments with any intimacy. (Aphra Behn's hero, Oroonoko, appears to adapt to plantation life and to know his colonial 'masters' intimately. However, this intimacy proves false when the white Europeans betray him, demonstrating that Oroonoko had been somewhere between assimilation into the landscape and remaining alienated from it²³.)

Byron takes the opposite approach to the geography of empire. Rather than use Juan's adventures to approve imperialism, he sends him on a sketchy tour of imperialist Europe and its environs, but ensures that Juan experiences the consequences of empire from the inside in order to take an anti-imperialist stance. In the Haidée episode, Byron addresses the fact of the Ottoman Empire which maps, for the Romantic reader, an image of political space. Unlike the eighteenth-century writers, Byron describes the effect of empire upon culture, and upon individuals. Juan is intimately involved with Haidée, and with the physical landscape and consequently, Byron challenges imperialist perceptions of subject peoples and cultures. He gives foreign lands and people an identity and a humanity which earlier narratives of empire had largely denied. This is one way in which Byron achieves the purpose of epic, to address both the particular and the universal audience. The general historical reference speaks to the Romantic reader. Through Juan's personal experiences of empire, Byron is able to make an individual comment upon the European cultures of his

time, and his observations may then be extended to the timeless issues of individual and national liberty.

Haidée's father, Lambro, despatches Juan as a slave and he ends up in a Turkish harem, trying to discourage the affections of Gulbeyaz, the sultana. There is little which concerns this study in the harem episode but there are two short passages which are important because they introduce the concept that Juan, and every single man and woman, are swept through life on the tide of time. The first section comes at the beginning of Canto VI:

'THERE is a tide in the affairs of men
Which taken at the flood'--you know the rest,
And most of us have found it, now and then;
At least we think so, though but few have guess'd
The moment, till too late to come again.

(VI.1.1-5).

Byron is referring to *Julius Caesar* (IV.iii.216-9) and Shakespeare completes the lines as ". . . leads on to fortune; / Omitted, all the voyage of their life / Is bound in shallows and in miseries". Essentially, the course of a man's life depends upon chance opportunities. Those who correctly judge when fortunes are high may find success. Most men fail to read the signs and this may cause misery. Fortunately, if like Juan, a man allows himself to be swept through life on the current of fortune, then he will probably find that his fortunes strike an even balance. The average man (whom Juan with his mundane heroism symbolises) is therefore a passive figure who takes opportunities when they arise but generally does not contrive to control his own destiny. The concept of a tide of fortune and opportunity is later represented in the image of a bubble carried on an ocean, as I shall discuss later.

My second quotation from the Turkish episode provides a summary of

skeptical thought and Byron's intention to link it to an exploration of what might be called the human condition. In *Byron's Dialectic* (1993), Terence Allan Hoagwood describes two strands of skepticism, placing Schlegel in the first, conservative strand which he perceives to be determined by "the personal mind"--"an individualistic mode of thought, as opposed to [a] cultural dialectic"²⁴. He questions the significance of Romantic irony, as promoted by Anne K. Mellor (in *English Romantic Irony* [1980]), and by David Simpson and Lilian Furst, in view of the second strand exemplified by Byron. This strand is radical, it is employed in criticising society and culture and, in Byron, it is also used to undermine the self²⁵.

What are we? and whence came we? what shall be
Our *ultimate* existence? what's our present?
Are questions answerless, and yet incessant.

(VI.63.6-8).

We pose questions which can never be answered because for every theoretical position, there exists a counter-position. Moreover, individual histories are so unstable that we cannot explain life with any certainty. A recurrent image in *Don Juan* (1819-24) is that of life as constant motion. Fortunes are determined by the tide of opportunity; human life is but a bubble on the surface of time and, as one bubble bursts, another forms.

Tom Paulin connects this bubble image with Burke's idea of liberty as an unconfined gas, and with Joseph Priestley's concept of materialism²⁶: that matter, once set in motion, continues in this state until it is stopped by some obstacle²⁷. Byron certainly presents Juan as someone who, once he has left Spain, becomes nomadic, something of a perpetual traveller, at least until he arrives at Norman Abbey. And he describes an heroic ideal of travelling until the final obstacle, death, is met. However, Francis Bacon wrote "The world's a bubble; and the life of man / Less than a span", to describe the transience of existence²⁸; and Samuel Johnson referred to

humankind being placed here by fortune and having to "chase the new-blown Bubbles of the Day" in pursuit of fortune and good taste (*Prologue Spoken by Mr. Garrick* [1747], 50)²⁹. Byron's bubble image incorporates the ideas of both constant motion and ephemerality. Byron had also connected human life with thalassic bubbles in *Childe Harold* (1812-8):

And I have loved thee, Ocean! and my joy
Of youthful sports was on thy breast to be
Borne, like thy bubbles, onward: from a boy
I wantoned with thy breakers--they to me
Were a delight; and if the freshening sea
Made them a terror--'twas a pleasing fear,
For I was as it were a child of thee,
And trusted to thy billows far and near,

(Canto III.st.184.1-8)³⁰.

The context and meaning are slightly different from *Don Juan* (1819-24) but an important similarity is the image of human experience being borne like an oceanic bubble. In *Childe Harold* (1812-8), fortunes and emotions are both controlled by unpredictable tides.

A quotation from Pope's *An Essay on Man* (1733-4) completes the link between bubbles and individual heroism in *Don Juan* (1819-24):

Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish, or a sparrow fall,
Atoms or systems into ruin hurled,
And now a bubble burst, and now a world.

(I.87-90)³¹.

Pope recognised that it is not just individuals who are effected by fortune and the capriciousness of time. Conventional heroes must eventually die, but all the systems of the world, whether natural or artificial, must also see

their power and vigour usurped by new systems. Byron also believes that societies are subject to the same forces as individual lives (the Russia of *Don Juan* [1819-24] is an empire of ascending fortune and, although the Haidée episode shows that the Ottoman Empire had succeeded the Greeks, the Siege of Ismail then shows the Turks in decline before the Russians). Given this, we cannot rely upon social structures to support us because they are equally fragile and unstable as individual fortunes. Heroism therefore develops from confronting individual mortality, and from rejecting cultural systems. Thus, in the Siege of Ismail episode, Byron attempts to explain life through the concept of heroism, and explores humanity in terms of individual strengths and reactions operating contrary to national constructs.

While Juan's fate is left undetermined, the narrator turns his attention to the Russo-Turkish war and, in particular, to Aleksandr Vasilievich Suvorov's attack on Ismail in 1790. At the beginning of Canto VII, the narrator becomes something of a military geographer. Anne Godlewska has observed in her survey of Napoleon's geographers that the Napoleonic period saw the discipline of cartography reconciled with "political aggression". She argues that geographers were prime participants in French imperialism, using mapping techniques to design "national space". She cites Napoleon's move towards marching smaller military units as a contributing factor to traditional cartographers becoming more like modern social and scientific geographers. Not only did they have to provide information about the natural terrain, but they also studied the human landscape in a survey of national and human values. They helped to map an image of conquest in its physical, economic, agricultural and political contexts but, acting as pro-French imperialism propaganda, those maps contributed to the glorification of Napoleon³². (Jeremy Black writes about Napoleonic mapping as serving "political, financial and military purposes",

as well as contributing to geographic knowledge in *Maps and History* (1997)³³. And in *Maps and Politics* (1997), he explores the relationship between cartography and perceptions of both political power and cultural identity³⁴.)

Byron, fascinated by Napoleon's career, could possibly have drawn upon a knowledge of French geographers. The narrator demonstrates a geography-driven approach to describing the military scene which, at the same time, reaches beyond the conventional scope of pre-Napoleonic geographers. Previously, the narrator has avoided naming places because Juan has never truly been attached to any location since leaving Spain, and has not demonstrated the strong sense of place which was essential to Wordsworth. Although Juan does not re-enter the narrative immediately, the narrator now attaches names to locations (Ismail, the Danube) as if concerned with territorial possession for the first time. This anchors the poem within historical time and place co-ordinates but, more importantly, the narrative ceases to work towards Juan's ends and appears instead to serve the narrative ends of a shadowy higher authority. Just as Lambro represents the force of Turkish influence in Greece, the illusion is now created of empire builders surveying land they will invade. Like a military geographer, the narrator observes the structure of the fortress, its dimensions, the thickness of walls, its strategic position above the sea, its defence against fire, number of cannon, and the fact that "from the river the town's open quite" (VII.13.1). Like Napoleon's geographers, he comments on the direction of the city; on its "buildings in the Oriental taste" (VII.9.3), denoting wealth and fashion; on the weakness of Turkish operations, because they did not think Russian ships would appear; and describes not just a physical defeat, but the crushing of the Muslim religion.

Moreover, the narrator places himself in the scene (and Aidan Andrew Dun's narrator places himself on the streets of eighteenth-century London

in *Vale Royal* [1995]), he is there, actively collating information and emerges as a hero himself: when listing the slaughtered Cossacks he writes "And more might be found out, if I could poke enough / Into gazettes;" (vII.15.6-7), and he describes sights, smells, conversations and sensations more vividly than in other cantos. Despite his detailed description there are however, some gaps in his knowledge--how Ribas' courier pleaded to the Prince (vII.38); or later, how Juan came to stand alone (vIII.28). The narrator cannot be omnipresent.

In their introduction to *Geography and Imperialism, 1820-1940* (1995), Morag Bell, Robin A. Butlin and Michael Heffernan describe a nineteenth-century public preoccupation with mapping foreign territory. "To many," they argue, "the geographer was the ideal macho hero (the notion of a female geographer was almost a contradiction in terms) pitting himself against the elements and hostile indigenous peoples in remote and threatening environments"³⁵. The narrator does not ask to be perceived as a hero but, in describing the military environment with what appears to be authoritative, firsthand knowledge, he is describing the environmental limits of empire at the same time as pushing the limits of his own achievements. Not only may the reader interpret him as a hero because of his pursuit of information, but also because he chases the truths of war which previous epic authors have glorified--thereby challenging the limits of epic. Hazard Adams argues that the narrator of *Childe Harold* (1812-8) also emerges as a hero. "That narrator's initial position," he writes in "Byron, Yeats, and Joyce: Heroism and Technic," (1985) "is one of barely suppressed reluctance to allow his hero full sway"³⁶. As the cantos progress, the narrator struggles to triumph over Harold; positioning himself as the presiding power in the narrative. Adams concludes that "the story is not only the story of a pilgrimage but also of a curious contest, won ultimately by the narrator over his hero"³⁷. Adams argues that *Don Juan's* (1819-24)

narrator similarly asserts his dominance by informing the reader of his control over the narrative, and by publicising Juan's recklessness. I disagree with this position. Just as Juan lives by opportunities, so the narrative must at least be seen to develop organically. The narrator never achieves supremacy over Juan but, if we accept that he possesses heroic qualities then it lends credence to the notion that ordinary men, including Juan, may rise to become heroes.

Byron cannot allow the concept of empire, or any singular power to be glorified and, in *Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame* (1999), Benita Eisler argues that "Byron intended the Siege of Ismail, with its massacre of innocent civilians, a pendant to the Peninsular slaughter in *Childe Harold* (1812-8), as a harsher political indictment of the greed and opportunism of war"³⁸. The catalogue of Russian soldiers and "foreigners of much renown, / Of various nations, and all volunteers;" (V.18.1-2) emulates the lists of conventional epic but, on the other hand, demonstrates an unwillingness to elevate individuals to hero status. Achilles may be Homer's hero in *The Iliad* (c.1000 BC) but Byron emphasises that no man can win a war alone, that "Achilles' self was not more grim and gory / Than *thousands* of this new and polished nation," (V.14.6-7, my italics). Byron gives the reader names which fall unrecognised, bodies reduced to blood and gore, and individuals lost to nationhood. These individuals have performed heroic deeds but ultimately, their bravery has been eclipsed by the constructed glory of military leaders and an image of state. In other words, a secondary battle has been fought between soldiers seeking personal glory and the military unit as an arm of state. Byron attempts to memorialise individuals because he supports an understanding of heroism by which a person distinguishes themselves through seizing a moment--making the most of opportunities before that bubble of individual life bursts. Unfortunately, the slaughter has been so brutal that it is impossible to describe the battle as a

social history, that is, until we meet Juan again.

The Siege of Ismail describes the human potential for self-destruction and obliteration but suggests that this possibility of sublime horror is created by a military environment. It is into the thick of this environment that Juan and his comrade, Johnson, are brought by Cossacks. As a new recruit, Juan is not a natural martial figure. He has received no military training and has joined the ranks of the Russian army purely by chance, as so often determines his fate. As usual, he adjusts to his new situation admirably; never questioning where it is he is marching towards, he does all that is expected of a soldier. "Firing, and thrusting, slashing, sweating, glowing," (VIII.19.6) he handles his weapon instinctively, is aggressive, daring, brutal and throws his whole physical being into the fight, distinguishing himself and appearing in the bulletins. Nonetheless, until he went into battle, Juan seemed an unlikely military hero and, sure enough, the narrator points out that he is "A thing of impulse" whose emotional self has not been engaged in the fight. When all around him shots are fired and men are slaughtered, Juan is influenced by this male aggression, by the dangerous environment, and his fight is probably as much related to his survival as it is motivated by imperialism or personal fame. He emulates what he sees without thinking about his motivation, without moralising, and without investing any of his emotional self.

Juan provides a model of heroism which anyone could aspire to; that is, he lives one moment to the next and so rises above the chaos of a perpetually moving world, of perpetually changing fortunes, and of commercial, material and emotional fluxes. Rejecting the possibilities of spiritual afterlife, and immortal fame, he confronts human fears about mortality and ambition. As soon as Juan becomes part of the military unit he stops living for himself. His identity will become assimilated into a desensitised, depersonalised military unit.

The image of desensitisation is perpetuated through the mode of Juan's transit across the battlefield. The soldiers travel on foot but, whereas Wordsworth felt a stronger connection with Nature as his feet fell upon the ground, Juan's march cannot facilitate this. Marching involves formality, it is the body of troops taking regulated, synchronised paces which therefore prevents soldiers from developing their own rhythms. This mechanical action is broken occasionally when Juan stumbles through corpses. This also suggests unthinking movement because it describes a blind lurching as his feet catch on bodies and rough ground. As he nears the enemy, Juan appears numb to the death around him, and it is a horrifying thought that war might have stripped him of his sensitivity. 'March' also has geographic implications in its archaic meanings of a territorial boundary, or tract of land between borders. The soldiers, in marching to defeat the enemy and seize land, assert their authority by leaving their footprints across the contested area. It is another act of possession, walking in force to move geographic boundaries forwards and, as they walk, the ground is stamped with their identity.

The reader might be shocked by how naturally Juan adapts to war, and by how desensitised he seems to have become. Describing Juan's pursuit of glory, Byron mimics the triumphant news reports which often sanitised and glorified war for the domestic audience. Emphasising the violence however, he attempts to reveal the little publicised reality of war and to persuade the reader that the contradiction in Juan, between the efficient killer and sentimental lover (as in elevated feelings arising from feeling and intellect, and which revolve around a perception of ideal passion and affection), is really the contradiction between state and individual. As Joanne Wilkes observes, in *Lord Byron and Madame de Staël* (1999), "to ignore such needs and impulses, [as demonstrated by the materialism of the siege] and their consequences, is to delude oneself about human

experience and to refuse to acknowledge the more disturbing dimension of human potentiality"³⁹. The determining factor, in the example of Juan, appears to be the way in which social issues have affected his physical environment.

Just as, at the beginning of his military career, Juan found himself opposing authority when the Turkish women were removed so, eventually, does another human life interrupt to pull him away from the military system. In Canto 91, Juan discovers a child being pursued by Cossacks and the sight of her amongst the slaughtered men and women restores his emotional soul. When Juan resumes his journeying, he travels to St. Petersburg with the rescued girl. Having "shone in the late slaughter," (IX.29.1), his transit emphasises the return to a more human and realistic existence. His experience of the material world does not correlate with his musings on glory and power; that is, his imagination takes him on flights of fancy while the jolts he suffers in the "*kibitka*", or Russian carriage, bring him uncomfortably back to Earth. First Byron de-glamorised war, and now he de-glamorises travel. The road surface is uneven, with "ruts and flints" which catch in the carriage wheels, and the vehicle, having no springs, has no suspension mechanism to counteract the violent motion. When we presently read how Juan becomes involved with the Empress Catherine it appears that his natural instincts (which were largely suppressed during the siege), have been reinstated. From this later point in the narrative it seems, in hindsight, that in Canto IX the stones which cause his rough ride are a physical reminder that he must not ignore Nature, that he must not allow thoughts to override his senses and emotions. It is as though each pebble which is felt by the body also acts upon his subconscious.

The rough journey restores Juan's sense of emotional self, and guides him back towards a love of humankind. As I said in the introduction to the Romantic Period, some eighteenth and nineteenth-century travel accounts

neglect to describe the travelling experience itself. Early episodes in *The Prelude* (1805) demonstrate how travel writers praised the sublime and picturesque scenery instead. The account of Juan's journey does not mention the landscape he passes through but it describes how, with every jolt, "He turned his eyes upon his little charge, / As if he wished that she should fare less ill / Than he," (IX.31.2-4). Moreover, as I explained earlier, the language and theory behind landscape appreciation were borrowed from the principles of art. Tourists were encouraged to bring the natural world into a perception of artificial life. Not only is the immediate environment ignored in this episode, but the narrator scorns the "monuments, defiled / With gore" which victorious leaders commission to publicise their power and successes (IX.33.3-4). Juan has no interest in monuments as Leila, the rescued girl, represents a greater trophy. She is living and therefore will change as she grows older, offering solace and companionship. No monument can rehabilitate a soldier but becoming responsible for another life forces Juan to follow his heart and to seek society again. (Joyce includes monuments in his depiction of Dublin but similarly attaches little significance to them, emphasising instead the vibrancy of the ordinary, living, moving people and their engagement with one another against the static architecture in *Ulysses* [1922].)

Juan rests the horses and the narrator uses the pattern of Juan's journey as a metaphor for his narrative: "So on I ramble, now and then narrating, / Now pondering" (IX.42.1-2). This alludes to the freedom offered both by the open road, and by an unplanned narrative. Just as Juan sets the pace of his journey, so too is the narrator answerable only to his own whims. They both choose to cover the remaining ground at speed, leading the reader quickly to St. Petersburg.

The Russian court stifles Juan. The images of his quiver "Shrunk to a scabbard", and his arrows like a small sword, work with the image of "His

wings subdued to epaulettes" (IX.45.2) to create a sense of compression. Juan's natural persona is shrunken, the court society boxes him in. This contrasts sharply with the previous indication of freedom while travelling and, just as no other destination has been able to detain him for long, the reader can predict that his sojourn in Russia will be temporary. His arrival in previous destinations has not been accompanied by such a strong feeling of being trapped and enclosed, although, as we shall soon see, Juan's entrance into English society will cause him to feel an even greater sense of entrapment. Sure enough, life in court soon has a detrimental effect upon his health and it is prescribed "that he must travel" (X.43.8).

Juan and Leila travel through Eastern Europe towards England. Since he rescued her in battle, and now travels with her towards a theoretically free nation, Juan is taking on the roles of knight and saint--the images which later terrify him when he sees moonlit portraits in his gothic chamber at Norman Abbey (XVI.18). Through his brave conduct, he has recently fulfilled the role of martial hero; now his conduct approaches that of the spiritual hero. However, even in selecting Juan as his hero, the narrator has conscientiously rejected all conventional forms of heroism. While it is true that some aspects of quest, pilgrimage, Classical and non-secular narrative traditions do underline *Don Juan* (1819-24), they nevertheless receive a Byronic twist. Byron plays with these formats and patterns of epic and romance but, as one who struggles to accept the reality and validity of anything, and one who likes to innovate and provoke, Byron (or his narrator) will not allow these traditional roles finally to triumph.

The description of Juan's journey to England signposts a transition in the narrative, which will presently become more overtly political as Byron uses his narrator as a mouthpiece for criticising English society. The interest of this study lies in aspects of geography and movement, not in politics thus, much of the latter tale will be omitted from my argument. In Canto X, Juan

and the narrator ignore the prescribed sights of the Grand Tour. Instead, apparently innocent remarks about the character or industry of a place are loaded with suggestions of political bondage under autocratic systems, and of a sense of imprisonment. "They journeyed on through Poland and through Warsaw, / Famous for mines of salt and *yokes of iron*", "the *castellated Rhine*", "A grey *wall*", "the *equinoctial line*", "through Manheim, Bonn, / Which Drachenfels *frowns over* like a spectre", and "to Holland's Hague and Helvoetsluys, / That water land of Dutchmen and of *ditches*": the descriptions are innocuous enough until we read, in Canto 64, that England is "the island of the *free*" (my italics are intended to emphasise the European climate of perceived political enslavement and partitioning or barricades).

When Juan arrives in England, he is preoccupied with his misconception of liberty, and of Britain as a nation of freedom, and therefore fails to see beyond the open prospect. Moreover, although we know that Juan is heading for London, the reader is not informed of the precise route--we follow Juan to Canterbury but his journey cannot be mapped in the same way that the reader might be able to retrace the steps of Wordsworth. The refusal to name specific locations throughout the journey is linked to the romantic image of straying across the universe. Previously, Juan has drifted but his journeys have ultimately been determined by other forces: he sailed with the ship, Lambro then had him transported to Turkey after which, the two Turkish women guided him into the battle. Following the siege, he was summoned to the Russian court, and despatched to England. Only in England does it appear that he is entirely at liberty to travel where he will, and make whatever diversions take his fancy.

Now, the driving force compelling Juan onwards, and his speed, take precedence over destination. The narrator sends Juan charging along realistic roads replete with pebbles and puddles: the soul is aroused by

overtaking Nature, exceeding the Earth's whirl. To be guided by destination would be submission to Nature's control, to arrest the pace of travel and to suppress the soul's emotions. Juan is scarcely aware of the route he travels but, since "All things pursue exactly the same route," it is not crucial that he arrive at any particular physical or spiritual destination (XIV.84.3). It is only imperative that he keep moving:

On with the horses! Off to Canterbury!

Tramp, tramp, o'er pebble, and splash, splash, thro'
puddle;

Hurrah! how swiftly speeds the post so merry!

Not like slow Germany,

Now there is nothing gives a man such spirits,

Leavening his blood as Cayenne doth a curry,

As going at full speed--no matter where its

Direction be, so 'tis but in a hurry,

And merely for the sake of its own merits:

For the less cause there is for all this flurry,

The greater is the pleasure in arriving

At the great *end* of travel--which is driving.

(x.71-2).

In contrast to the journey to St. Petersburg, the pebbles in England appear to go unnoticed. Instead of painful jolts, the pebbles and puddles deliver a rhythmical sound which spurs the horses and passengers on at regular speed. There is immense enjoyment derived from traversing this free and happy land which contrasts with the slow and miserable pace through Germany. The impression here is one of reckless speed, skilfully driving the horses yet, in such a hurry, perhaps risking overturning the post. This resonates with the passage in *The Prelude* (1805) when Wordsworth arrives in London and derides the rash speed of the rich whirling around in

their carriages (7.163). Wordsworth despises both the show of wealth and the spectacle of speed. Antithetically, in *Don Juan* (1819-24), speed is equated with life and vigour and is independent of financial status. While Wordsworth relied upon precise directions, Byron argues that direction is unimportant. Wordsworth enjoyed the challenge of strenuous walks to connect him with Nature, and thus to reveal God's power; but Byron enjoys humankind's ability to move faster than the natural world. It is as if, while he can admire the landscape, he thinks of changes in Nature (and perhaps in nations) as slow processes. Individuals do not have time to waste as death comes relatively quickly and so one is obliged to move swiftly, to pack as much experience as one can into a short time-span.

The narrator soon provides a good description of Juan's route but uses this to mock conventional guide books saying that this route is the one taken by all travellers. Juan passes familiar city landmarks: Westminster Abbey (which reminds him of other places, not directly on his route, but which are observed in an excursion of his imagination), Charing Cross, Pall Mall, and St. James' Palace. Although he is a foreign visitor, Juan seems to be at ease here and experiences none of the dizzying confusion which Wordsworth suffered during his residence in London. This is because Juan does not see the reality of London. Wordsworth begins by being misguided by preconceptions but eventually discovers his unique perception of the world when he abandons cultural theory. Juan, on the other hand, begins by being attuned to his own emotional soul and now finds himself misguided by political theory. When he is introduced to society, he will be guided by other people and their cultural expectations and therefore, in the future, will find it difficult to negotiate his own way through life.

Juan squanders his time in England, effectively taking root because he no longer seems to be passionate about travel or seizing opportunities. He abandons his vagrant lifestyle and becomes attached to a destination.

Indeed, destination becomes Juan's downfall. In this state of stasis, he is no longer his own person; instead, as I said earlier, he becomes manipulated by Adeline and the other women vying for his attention. He ceases to be heroic on two counts. Firstly, he is "restless, and perplexed, and compromised" by his new environment (XVI.12.2) because this time, it appears that there is no chance of escape. Moreover, society is exposed as immoral and superficial, there is little of true emotion in the characters so it is difficult for Juan to give himself completely to any of them. His restlessness is an early sign that he is beginning to become aware of restrictions and boundaries in his physical, emotional and cultural environments. Aurora, the girl he does desire, is strictly off-limits, he is no longer free to express his true nature, and is a captive of the cultural expectation that he will marry (XV.40.1). Instead of being an heroic innovator, he is imposed upon and dictated to.

Secondly, in ceasing to travel, he no longer lives for the day. He has submitted to mortality and social conditioning. Juan is forced from his nomadic lifestyle into a life of stasis. His confinement is best described when he is at Norman Abbey:

Juan felt somewhat pensive, and disposed

For contemplation rather than his pillow:

The Gothic chamber, where he was enclosed,

Let in the rippling sound of the lake's billow,

With all the mystery by midnight caused;

Below his window waved (of course) a willow;

And he stood gazing out on the cascade

That flashed and after darkened in the shade.

(XVI.15).

At first, Juan is only aware of being trapped by his disturbed mental state and circumstances. His thoughts trouble him and he cannot find release

through sleep. Looking around him, he then becomes aware of his physical prison. The thick walls of the chamber immure him and the Gothic architecture provides a material reminder of his ruin. While, on his approach to London, Juan had taken pleasure from travelling faster than Nature, now, mockingly, he hears the "rippling" of the lake. He is immobile while the external world remains fluid. This is further emphasised when he looks out of the window: the willow waves before him and the waterfall appears even more changeable and mobile in the moonlight. The impression is that the Natural, external world continues to alter, to move, to live; while Juan has become a fixed identity who is no longer free to cast his skin like a snake (v.21.8) and metamorphose with his changing environments.

Juan tries to leave this prison by exiting his room but, in stepping from a physical jail, he becomes trapped by cultural and historical pressures to conform to ideals:

Then, as the night was clear though cold, he threw
 His chamber door wide open--and went forth
 Into a gallery, of a sombre hue,
 Long, furnished with old pictures of great worth,
 Of knights and dames heroic and chaste too,
 As doubtless should be people of high birth.
 But by dim lights the portraits of the dead
 Have something ghastly, desolate, and dread.

(xvi.17).

Although he gives himself more physical space by venturing into the gallery, Juan is then confronted by the images of conventional heroes--the chivalrous knights and virtuous ladies. The pictures are "of great worth" not just because of their antiquity, but because the people who sat for the portraits represent ideal men and women according to cultural perceptions. They are the same ideas of heroism which have determined the subjects

for earlier, conventional epics and which Byron has successfully avoided in his representation of Juan's mundane heroism. The darkness makes these pictures appear terrible but this is not the only reason for the dread and desolation. Juan, as a gentleman, belongs to the same social class as the society he now mixes with, and that of the knights and saints in the gallery. By reason of his high birth, society expects the same conduct from Juan but he has not achieved this conventional form of heroic life, nor does it appeal to him. Just as the monuments of war were derided, so it can be surmised that achieving a portrait is little indication of success as a person. Juan's heroism has been more meaningful; he has justified his life by his perpetual movements and *carpe diem* instinct but the painted figures, though worthy, have justified a piece of art. However, now that he has ceased to travel, Juan is throwing his life away.

In a letter to Murray (1821), Byron outlined an ambitious plan to have Juan made the cause for divorce in England, and to travel to Italy and Germany "so as to show the different ridicules of the society in each of those countries"⁴⁰. *Don Juan* (1819-24) is incomplete but, in the same letter, Byron reveals that he did not know how he intended to end his narrative: "But I had not quite fixed whether to make him end in Hell--or in an unhappy marriage,--not knowing which would be the severest." For my part, although the narrative ends with the ghost sequence, I think Juan's sudden realisation (in the Gothic chamber) that he is stagnating makes a fitting end. He has journeyed from a point where he was at liberty to travel and to change but tried to enclose himself within the bounds of a relationship or society, to a point where he really is enclosed now that he has been completely assimilated into English society. The 'cultured' English society contrasts sharply with the naturalness of Haidée, and its superficial mores contrast with the brave determination of the soldiers in the Russian army. As the narrator says, "The world's a game" (XIII.89.2) and as soon

as Juan realises that he is trapped in Norman Abbey, he realises he has ceased to play. In Canto xv, the narrator speaks of "Making the countenance a masque of rest, / And turning human nature to an art" (xv.3.3-4). While Juan was travelling, he expressed his emotions freely and, because of this, was natural. In England, having ceased to travel, he suppresses his emotions, he becomes a soulless imitation of himself--a natural being tortured into art by the same society which likes to torture Nature into artificial forms.

Jane Stabler's introduction in *Byron* (1998) provides an overview of literary movements and how these influenced readers' responses⁴¹. Previously, critics tried to identify a unifying Romantic spirit and, because he did not conform with perceived Romantic characteristics (Ernest J. Lovell measured Byron against modern poets such as T. S. Eliot, Louis MacNiece and W. H. Auden⁴²), Byron's poetry was judged to be indecorous. Both T. S. Eliot and Mario Praz, for example, express hostility towards Byron, undervaluing his contribution to literature⁴³. M. H. Abrams, Harold Bloom, Northrop Frye and George Ridenour assert that Byron's work is not typically Romantic, while not necessarily using this argument to portray him as a lesser poet⁴⁴ while William H. Galperin credits Byron's work with post-modernist, or post-structuralist, qualities⁴⁵.

Post-modernism is an ambiguous concept but it can be said to include experimentation in literary form and content--an argument against classifying *Don Juan* (1819-24) as epic has been that it appears independent of conventional epic patterns. Similarly, post-modern texts are often fragmented pieces of writing which resist interpretation and literary authority. Jean-François Lyotard argues that postmodern writing focuses on the difficulties of representation, making indistinct what is real from what is unreal or a copy⁴⁶. A large part of this is due to the role of the narrator:

Byron's narrators self-consciously impose their narration upon the events and places they describe so the reader is subjected, not to realism, but to a depiction of events as the narrator wishes them to be interpreted. The reader is aware of the narrator as mediator and, in *Don Juan*, cannot be certain as to what extent the poem is a "true" account of Juan's journeys and how much of it has been "construced" by the narrator. Arran E. Gare describes postmodernism as "the fragmentation of experience, disorientation and loss of overarching perspectives and grand narratives" in *Postmodernism and the Environmental Crisis* (1995)⁴⁷. Postmodern texts, he argues, are "self-referential", they are not to be seen in relation to a single set of assumptions but lend themselves to several discourses because they work on the principle of "decentring" culture--no one cultural perspective is more important than the others, and a lack of transparent language heightens the sense of instability⁴⁸.

One of the most useful contributors to post-structural theory, in terms of studying Byron, is Julia Kristeva. In *Revolution in Poetic Language* (1984), she distinguishes between a symbolic element (linked to reason and coherence) and a semiotic element (linked to irrationality and impulse)⁴⁹. *Don Juan* (1819-24) is a good example of "semiotic" writing, as Kristeva explains it, because it is deliberately incoherent. Semiotic writing undermines the symbolic element because it confuses the reader's sense of order and reality. Moreover, as the blurring of Juan's gender identity demonstrates, the semiotic element opposes static ideas of opposition, such as male/female. While Wordsworth sought to use precise language and accurate descriptions to recreate experiences, Byron deliberately chooses imprecise language and destabilises conventional ideas. This textual instability appears to have more in common with post-modernism than it does with Romanticism; we recognise similar instability in writers like James Joyce. And Bernard J. Gallagher finds strong parallels between

Byron's narrative and Samuel Beckett's *Molloy* (1951)⁵⁰.

Byron's poetry encompasses landscapes, seascapes, and cityscapes. In the following chapter, a discussion of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) will show that, like Pope's *Dunciad* (1728), epic can successfully confine its action to a purely urban space (this reflects increasingly industrialised societies and the cultural concerns arising from modernisation). Following on from the Romantic emphasis upon a more recognisably human form of heroism, and particularly Byron's easily achieved, mundane heroism, Joyce's heroes are ordinary people. Through Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom (and also, to some extent, through Molly Bloom) Joyce explores ways in which the modern city causes isolation and loneliness. His heroes fail to become fully integrated into Dublin's culture, and this is partly indicative of the way in which people were increasingly perceived as becoming disconnected from one another, and from their environments, as cities modernised. Wordsworth's sense of alienation in London provides an earlier example of this. As in Wordsworth, Joyce's heroes retreat into their own minds--their thoughts being captured by the stream of consciousness technique. However, Joyce emphasises the relationship between random movements and random thoughts, whereas Wordsworth (and Milton, to a lesser degree) focused upon the relationship between the environment and the emotional soul.

It is not possible to address the whole of modern epic history in this study, therefore, I do not include a discussion of Victorian epic. However, while eighteenth-century epic imitated Classical models, for the most part, Victorian epic did move the genre forward in a way that provides a relevant link between the Romantics and Joyce. In *Ideologies of Epic* (1998), Colin Graham argues that "The partial 'novelization' (to use a Bakhtinian term) of epic in [Elizabeth] Barrett Browning and [George] Eliot feminises and privatises the once-public, turning narratives of action into narratives of the

drama of selfhood"⁵¹. Thus we not only see epic and the novel beginning to converge, but also, the Victorians provide a bridge between Wordsworth's autobiographical epic and the private, individual qualities of *Ulysses* (1922).

The dramatic monologue, as typified by Robert Browning, also contributed to the trend towards representing the self in epic. The monologue relied upon psychological insight and surprising revelations and in *Ulysses* (1922), the internal monologue is an important tool for conveying a sense of character to the readers, and for guiding the heroes towards epiphanies, or self-revelations concerning their particular predicaments. Moreover, as Donald H. Reiman observes in "*Don Juan* in Epic Context," (1977) Byron's works contributed "to a renewed awareness of the irrational powers haunting the human psyche that would eventually find their expositors in Darwin, Marx, and Freud"⁵². Through Victorian dramatic monologues and epics, particularly those of Browning, Byron's sceptical thought and unstable narrative evolve into narratives which allow, in Reiman's words, for the "multiplicity of possible viewpoints", and emerge, in Joyce, as self-doubt, displacement, the rejection of conventional behaviour, and as a distrust of the signals which other people give out⁵³.

One book which I have been unable to include in this discussion, because a loan copy could not be traced, is Adam Roberts' *Romantic and Victorian Long Poems* (1999). Including detailed accounts of the varieties of long poetry, including epic, and providing biographies, contextual information and summaries of both well-known and lesser-known works, I would have consulted a copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford or the British Library Reading Rooms, London had I incorporated a more full discussion of Victorian epic into this thesis⁵⁴.

Notes

¹ R. W. Sharples, *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics: An Introduction to Hellenistic Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 1996) 59-60.

² Byron, in his appreciation of architectural landscapes, as well as of natural landscapes, allied himself more to those eighteenth-century texts which focused on urban experiences. Alexander Pope's poetry celebrated life on the Thames, although Twickenham offered him a retreat from the city; *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) describes commercial ventures despite being set on an island; *Joseph Andrews* (1742) describes a quest for social respectability while acknowledging London's lack of community. Although Byron's poetry demonstrates his familiarity with aesthetic approaches to landscape, and with popular travel writing, he questions the common Romantic idea that the pleasures of Nature far exceed anything which humankind creates. Instead of reducing Juan's travelling experiences to a series of artistic encounters with Nature, Byron allows his hero to gravitate towards people. And, although the narrator does not necessarily share Juan's enthusiasm for urban environments, he nevertheless provokes the reader's interest in human achievements such as the turnpike road, a sultan's palace, fine clothes, and St. Paul's Cathedral.

³ Byron, "To Annabella Milbanke," 6 Sept. 1813, *Selected Letters and Journals*, ed. Leslie A. Marchand (London: Pimlico-Random, 1993) 66.

⁴ Byron, "To Murray," 31 Aug. 1820, *Letters*, ed. Marchand 327.

⁵ Karl Kroeber, *Romantic Narrative Art* (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1960) 158.

⁶ Paul Elledge, "Sickening Business: Byron's Juan at Sea," *Criticism* 34 (1992): 390.

⁷ Kroeber 149.

⁸ Elledge 391.

⁹ Rudyard Kipling, *Captains Courageous* (New York: Bantam, 1982).

¹⁰ Byron, "To John Murray," 23 Aug. 1821, *Byron: Selected Letters and Journals*, ed. Peter Gunn (Middlesex: Penguin, 1984), rpt. of *Lord Byron: Selected Prose*, (1972) 348.

¹¹ Peter Cochran, "Don Juan, Canto II: A Reconsideration of some of Byron's Borrowing from his Shipwreck Sources," *Byron Journal* 19 (1991): 141-5.

¹² Phyllis Grosskurth, *Byron: The Flawed Angel* (London: Sceptre-Hodder, 1997) 7.

¹³ William Falconer, *The Shipwreck* (London: Sharpe, 1822).

¹⁴ Robert Foulke, "The Literature of Voyaging," *Literature and Lore of the Sea*, ed. Patricia Ann Carlson, Costerus, new ser. vol. 52 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1986) 4.

¹⁵ Foulke 7.

¹⁶ Kroeber 152.

¹⁷ In *The Anatomy of Satire* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962, p. 18), Gilbert Highet describes the trademark devices of satire as parody, grotesque characterisation, exaggeration and cynicism, which are used to provoke the audience into both amusement and contempt. Summarised from Highet's study, some of the principal satirists with whom Byron would have been familiar include Varro, writer of adventures rendered in witty but vulgar narrative; Juvenal, who expanded the scope of satire to rival epic; Ariosto, who combined parody with romance; Swift, who possessed a savage wit; and Pope, who ridiculed human folly. *Don Juan* (1819-24) combines these elements in a narrative which is epic even while it is impulsive, impertinent and unites elements of different genres. During the Romantic Period, Byron's sharp attacks on his society alienated part of his contemporary audience. Today, readers are sufficiently distanced from Byron's targets not to feel scandalised, and perhaps we are more easily persuaded to laugh at our follies.

¹⁸ Gillian Rose, as mentioned in the previous Wordsworth chapter, argues in "Looking at Landscape: The Uneasy Pleasures of Power," *Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge* (Cambridge: Polity P, 1993, pp.86-112) that landscapes are feminised and that the male spectator is voyeuristic, full of desire and the need to exert dominance and power. Here, Juan is inexperienced and, although as a youthful and lusty male he is susceptible to licentiousness, the landscape is eroticised such that it, and not Juan, holds the power. Furthermore, Haidée (identified to some extent with the landscape) takes the active role in desiring Juan, initiating their contact, manipulating sexual liaison and in determining (as far as she is able) the course of their relationship.

¹⁹ Frederick von Schlegel, "Lecture IV," *The Philosophy of Life and Philosophy of Language in a Course of Lectures*, trans. A. J. W. Morrison (London: Bell, 1901) 425-6.

²⁰ Syed Manzurul Islam, *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996) 11.

²¹ Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire* (London: Routledge, 1980).

²² Richard Phillips, *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure* (London: Routledge, 1997).

²³ Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko or The Royal Slave A True History in Oroonoko, The Rover and Other Works*, ed. Janet Todd (London: Penguin, 1992) 75-141.

²⁴ Terence Allan Hoagwood, *Byron's Dialectic: Skepticism and the Critique of Culture* (London: Associated UP, 1993) 25.

²⁵ Hoagwood 25-7.

²⁶ Tom Paulin, "Byron, Chaos and Rhyme," Byron Foundation Lecture, U of Nottingham, 17 May 2000.

- 27 Joseph Priestley, "Materialism: I Of the Properties of Matter," *Priestley's Writings on Philosophy, Science, and Politics*, ed. and introd. John A. Passmore (New York: Collier, 1965) 104-5.
- 28 Francis Bacon, *The World*, qtd. in *Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*, 3rd. ed. 1979.
- 29 Samuel Johnson, "Prologue Spoken by Mr. Garrick," *Samuel Johnson: The Complete English Poems*, ed. J. D. Fleeman (Middlesex: Penguin, 1971) 81-2.
- 30 Lord Byron, *The Complete Poetical Works*, ed. Jerome J. McGann, Vol. II *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980).
- 31 Alexander Pope, *An Essay on Man* in *Alexander Pope*, ed. Pat Rogers, Oxford Authors (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993) 270-309.
- 32 Anne Godlewska, "Napoleon's Geographers (1797-1815): Imperialists and Soldiers of Modernity," *Geography and Empire*, eds. Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith, Institute of British Geographers Special Publications Ser.: 30, gen. eds. Felix Driver and Neil Roberts (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994) 32-48.
- 33 Jeremy Black, *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997) 25.
- 34 Jeremy Black, *Maps and Politics*, Picturing History Ser., series eds. Peter Burke, Sander L. Gilman, Roy Porter and Bob Scribner (London: Reaktion, 1997).
- 35 Morag Bell, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan, eds., *Geography and Imperialism 1820-1940*, Studies in Imperialism, gen. ed. John M. Mackenzie (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995) 4-5.
- 36 Hazard Adams, "Byron, Yeats, and Joyce: Heroism and Technic," *Studies in Romanticism* 24 (1985): 400.
- 37 Adams 400.

- 38 Benita Eisler, *Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame* (London: Hamilton, 1999) 711.
- 39 Joanne Wilkes, *Lord Byron and Madame de Staël: Born for Opposition* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999) 168.
- 40 Byron, "To John Murray," 16 Feb. 1821, *Letters*, ed. Marchand 328.
- 41 Jane Stabler, ed., Introduction, *Byron*, Longman Critical Readers, gen. ed. Stan Smith (London: Longman, 1998) 1-26.
- 42 Stabler 9.
- 43 Stabler 5-6.
- 44 Stabler 8.
- 45 William H. Galperin, "The Postmodernism of *Childe Harold*," in Stabler 138-51.
- 46 Galperin 138.
- 47 Arran E. Gare, *Postmodernism and the Environmental Crisis* (London: Routledge, 1995) 2-3.
- 48 Gare 26-31.
- 49 Julia Kristeva, *Revolution in Poetic Language*, trans. Margaret Waller, introd. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia UP, 1984) 19-106.
- 50 Bernard J. Gallagher, "Hitting the Road: Byron, Beckett, and the 'Aimless Journey'," *Rereading Byron: Essays Selected from Hofstra University's Byron Bicentennial Conference*, eds. Alice Levine and Robert N. Keane (New York: Garland, 1993) 87-100.
- 51 Colin Graham, *Ideologies of Epic: Nation, Empire and Victorian Epic Poetry* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998) 4.
- 52 Donald H. Reiman, "Don Juan in Epic Context," *Studies in Romanticism* 16 (1977): 588.
- 53 Reiman 593.

⁵⁴ Adam Roberts, *Romantic and Victorian Long Poems: A Guide* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999). Citation and indicative abstract found in Ashgate catalogue, Aug. 1999. Holding libraries identified through COPAC, online at <http://copac.ac.uk> and opac 97, online at <http://opac97.bl.uk>, 17 Dec. 1999.

Chapter 5

"A very short space of time through very short times of space": James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922)

In *Postmodern Cartographies* (1998), Brian Jarvis discusses, with reference to the science fiction and action films made in 1980s America, what he calls "testosterone topographies"¹. By this he means the depiction of shared paternalistic spaces and the establishment of masculine authority via materialism, aggression, acts of physical violence and displays of competition, and also through the disempowering and sometimes even daemonisation of women. In *Ulysses* (1922) Stephen Dedalus is terrified by the spectre of his mother, and Leopold Bloom has been cuckolded by Molly. Furthermore, the events of the day include the politically charged and jealousy-fuelled, the characters populate masculine spaces (pub, brothel, newspaper office), and Dublin is depicted as a commercially-driven, commercial city. And yet, I would not go so far as to call the geography of *Ulysses* (1922) a "testosterone topography". Whilst women are objectified (Bloom masturbating to his fantasy of Gertie MacDowell, the porcine behaviour of Stephen and his friends in Bella Cohen's brothel), there is still a male fascination with women which goes beyond impure thoughts, voyeurism and illicit sex: admiration for midwives, genuine sympathy for women in difficult and protracted labour, and Bloom's rather pathetic need to be reconciled with his wife even knowing that just that afternoon she has cheated on him (in their bed) with Blazes Boylan.

This study can be criticised for its lack of attention to feminist debates, to ideas of engendered spaces, and especially, its failure to take much cognisance of female characters. However, although this study examines

environments, it is also primarily concerned with travelling. In this respect feminine geographies are of little relevance because, with the exception of Milton's Eve, the female characters do not really move. Even in *Paradise Lost* (1667), we know that Eve walks freely through Eden and that she and Adam are led into the wilderness but the main focus of the text is upon Satan's journey. This is characteristic of much of epic literature. Dido (*The Aeneid* [c.30-19 BC]), Penelope (*The Odyssey* [c.1000 BC]), Eve (*Paradise Lost* [1667]), Haidée, Gulbeyaz (*Don Juan* [1819-24]), Helen (*Omeros* [1990]) and Molly (*Ulysses* [1922]) are all strong, complex women but they remain largely static while the male characters are mobile. Although Molly Bloom is often in Leopold's thoughts, and even monopolises the end of the narrative with her famous soliloquy, she is only presented in the domestic environment of her home at 7 Eccles Street. Therefore, despite being an important figure, her stasis renders her extrinsic to this study.

This chapter contrasts the unstructured movements of Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom with the structured, concrete urban environment of Dublin. In section I, I will briefly describe some of the relations between *Ulysses* (1922) and the other narratives discussed in this study. While drawing out the Homeric parallels undoubtedly leads to a deeper penetration of the text, other studies have addressed these in attentive detail. The scope of this thesis does not permit me to be as thorough in my discussion; therefore, I will not attempt to treat Joyce's adaptations of Homer². Section I will also highlight the significance of *Ulysses* (1922) being a novel rather than an epic in verse.

Dublin is almost a character itself and section II treats Joyce's evocation of the city. Dublin, accurately and realistically portrayed in *Ulysses*, is presented as a concrete, architectural environment which is animated and made fluid by the movements and relationships of its human inhabitants, and the modes of transport made available to them.

Section III opens with a discussion of some of the key episodes in the journey of Stephen Dedalus. Since Leopold Bloom is the more important, and more heroic character, his movements receive a more lengthy treatment.

I. Epic Context

Rural customs and traditional ways of perceiving the world had gradually been phased out as industrialisation increasingly affected ways of living, and urbanisation gave rise to a new social order and cultural values. World War I (1914-18) decisively brought to an end the sense of continuity with the past. The unprecedented destruction called cultural and political values into question. Moreover, history came to be perceived as horrific, and the war came to symbolise the disintegration of civilisation³. *Ulysses* (1922) is set in 1904 but the post-war perspective of the 1920s is brought retrospectively to bear upon the Edwardian period. Joyce's literary concerns are modernist rather than Victorian or Edwardian.

The continental movement, modernism, sought to distance itself from established traditions and to promote a new vision of humankind's role and status in the universe. Writers, like Joyce, Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, were particularly concerned with innovating through language⁴. Certainly, Joyce is unconcerned with naming and imitating precursor epic authors, although both Homer and Dante have provided basic models for Bloom's journey.

I.i. Epic Time

In *Ulysses* (1922), the action famously takes place on one day, 16 June 1904. Previous epic had often embraced a wide span of time: the action of Homer takes a decade to complete (ten years of fighting in *The Iliad* [c.1000 BC]; ten years of wandering in *The Odyssey* [c.1000 BC]); *Paradise*

Lost (1667) looks back to the creation of the universe and forward through many generations, while the angelic and human falls must take weeks to complete; Don Juan's travels carry the reader across a number of months, if not years; Wordsworth describes his life from childhood to the age of twenty-one (when he climbed Snowdon); Walcott's narrative covers several days in the present tense, and reaches into the past; and Chatterton's walks take place over several months in *Vale Royal* (1995), with a span of seven years between the two narrative cycles. Joyce's contraction of epic time to twenty-four hours consciously inverts the conventional epic inclination towards expansiveness.

If Byron urged his readers to live for each moment, then Joyce takes that vision further by relishing every mundane occurrence of the day. The date, celebrated by Joyce as the anniversary of his first assignation with Nora Barnacle, is made special because it is described in minute detail. Twenty-four hours become epic because Joyce packs so much of life into them. Furthermore, Joyce was writing about a complex subject: human consciousness. Time and space are the most obvious structural devices in the novel and these are kept simple. The unit of a day, though short, provides enough time for events and thoughts to occur. Stephen, listening to his pace of walking along Sandymount strand, thinks of the line "A very short space of time through very short times of space" to describe his rhythm (ch. 3, p. 39). *Ulysses* (1922) presents human experience as so complicated, and becoming tangled as our paths coincide with other people, that we can only measure our lives in days.

At the same time, as Anthony Burgess observes, a temporal epic width is nevertheless achieved as Joyce "uses imaginative flights and spells of delirium to accommodate a great deal of human history and even the End of the World"⁵. In this way, Joyce asserts the importance of daily individual experience over that of collective history or ongoing political and religious

ideas. If one impact of the war was to focus attention upon the human condition, then Joyce depicts individuals struggling to rationalise their actions and their pain. His characters fail to give a public voice to their feelings but internalise their thoughts. Contrasting individual consciousness with public consciousness in this way demonstrates both how national institutions are inadequate for dealing with human experience, and how time operates, or takes on significance, in different ways.

I.ii. Epic Space

Epic conventionally looks outwards in time and space. Often dealing with themes of migration, exile, or pilgrimage, the hero's journey will involve a broad geography, although physical environments are subject to varying levels of observance. I have been arguing that the epic hero attempts to participate in what is described as a perpetually changing external world. Epic aims to describe the relationships between environment and humankind, to communicate a perception of the human position in the universe, and to propose some alternative form of integration and interaction. Joyce's aim is no different. He too wants to explore levels of human engagement with the environment but, because he treats society as individuals, he does not need to extrapolate his ideas to a cosmic, world, or national view. Moreover, focusing upon Dublin allows Joyce to provide a much fuller portrait of the environment than other epic writers. His close observations of this comparatively small geographic area give him greater authority--the reader is persuaded that the representation of Dublin is well-informed and is more inclined to trust the author's perception.

I .iii. Heroism

In conversation with Frank Budgen, Joyce argued that as a son, father, husband, lover "companion in arms" and king, Ulysses represents a complete character. "I see him from all sides," he said "and therefore he is all-round in the sense of [a] sculptor's figure. But he is a complete man as well--a good man"⁶. Joyce wanted his hero to be a complete man (but not a man of complete virtue which would be a Renaissance ideal). More specifically, Joyce said "In my book the body lives in and moves through space and is the home of a full human personality"⁷. His hero, Leopold Bloom, is heroic because he is the character who is most fully integrated into his environment. He suffers, is mocked and cuckolded, but he also displays some wisdom and courage (defending himself and his Jewishness against the rant of the Citizen [ch. 12] and intervening in the brawl between Stephen and the soldiers in the brothel [ch. 15]). Furthermore, he understands the urban environment better than any of the other characters including the intellectual Stephen, and the journalists. In the course of the day, he travels a greater distance around the city, he uses public transport, and spends a lot of time in the commercial areas of Dublin. He embraces the modernity of the city at the same time as he exhibits timeless human idiosyncrasies and concerns: most noticeably thinking about the loss of his child and poor marital relations.

This follows on from the Romantic inclination towards more mundane forms of heroism, and towards more recognisably human, fallible heroes. Although Wordsworth focuses upon the development of his poetic imagination, and does not comment upon his relationships, he nevertheless presents himself as someone who can be mischievous, arrogant, and too easily influenced by cultural beliefs. And Don Juan effectively grows up in front of the reader: he makes mistakes but sometimes learns from them; he is a son, a lover, a soldier, a guardian, a gentleman. In other words, the

reader sees him from different perspectives, in different roles. The reader can identify with aspects of Wordsworth's and Juan's characters even though the accounts of their lives are edited, and they do not represent average men. Joyce makes his hero even more recognisably human: Bloom eats, cooks, masturbates and farts. The feelings and thoughts contained in the stream of consciousness monologues distinguish Bloom and the other characters as individuals, but the vulgar ordinariness of them appeals to a sense of common humanity.

I.iv. The Novel

The novel had, of course, become the most prominent genre in the Nineteenth Century and its eminence continued well into the Twentieth Century. The novel is long enough and sufficiently without rules to permit experimentation and this is important in relation to the stream of consciousness technique which Joyce perfected. Another outcome of the war was that people became more interested in human psychology. By 1910, Sigmund Freud's theories of psychoanalysis had gained acceptance⁸. Freud's investigation of "free association" seems to resonate with Joyce's development of the stream of consciousness: both involve a spontaneous, undisciplined outpouring of thoughts and emotions which reveal relevant ideas and information which were not necessarily belonging to consciousness. Freud particularly believed that a person's emotional life was directly linked to events and latent motives belonging to the unconscious (as emerging in dreams)⁹. At the same time, Friedrich Nietzsche's philosophies concerning thought and emotion were well-known¹⁰. One of his beliefs was that the unconscious will was a dynamic power which exploited the material environment. Nature was therefore a subordinate force before humankind¹¹. These philosophies both

challenged old ideas about consciousness and knowledge, and directed attention towards the internal aspects of human experience. Joyce incorporates these theories into his monologues by demonstrating how sense impressions do not always relate directly to thought, and by showing how ideas are unstructured, random and often unconnected to a person's immediate physical environment. The monologues sometimes reflect the rhythm of physical movement but they are too uncontrolled to fit poetic forms.

The novel also allowed Joyce to be more encyclopaedic in his evocation of Dublin. Just as epic involved elaborating upon sagas and lays, the novel accommodated even more episodes. Importantly for this study, it supports my earlier argument that epic may take many forms. *Ulysses* (1922), although I include it here as an epic, represents a crossover of epic and novel characteristics. As an epic, it possesses a great range and scope, with the internal monologues providing a form of imaginative depth. Like *Orlando Furioso* (1532) and *Don Juan* (1819-24), it also combines romance and comedy. And in the Homeric and Dantean parallels, conventional epic characteristics and themes of sexual temptation, battles, exile and journeying to the Underworld are parodied. On the other hand, *Ulysses* (1922) takes from the novel the idea that the narrative realistically describes everyday life, its experimentalism, and its emphasis upon character-led plot.

While conventional epic draws upon real events but translates them into a superhuman, highly idealised and stylised vision of reality, the novel is more concerned with representing things as they really are. *Ulysses* (1922) engages with realism on three distinct levels. The first corresponds to the stream of consciousness: describing the operations of the human mind as they actually are, that is unstructured, often vulgar, and particular to a character's specific personality. Thus Stephen Dedalus' thoughts often

revolve around the literary, philosophical, historical and theological aspects of culture; Bloom thinks often about food, sex, and work. The second level of realism will be discussed in greater detail in section II. It concerns the topographically accurate representation of Dublin: documenting the city, as it existed in 1904, by identifying buildings and streets. Thirdly, in the range of personalities, from doctors, soldiers, Nationalists, journalists, priests, teachers, an undertaker, etc. Joyce constructs a realistic impression of Dublin life. Providing insights into the social structure and concerns of the city, Joyce counteracts his more objective vision of the material city with a subjective, and often emotional view of Dublin.

Finally, although the narrator of *Don Juan* (1819-24) adopts different tones (flippant, nostalgic, heroic, and so on), the novel permits Joyce to employ a far greater range of tones and languages. Not only does he employ political and theological rhetoric, but he mimics romance novels for the chapter about the sentimental Gerty MacDowell (ch. 13), adapts the format of newspapers for the news room conversation (ch. 7), and enters a musical mode in chapter eight ("Tipping her tepping her tapping her topping her. Tup. Pores to dilate dilating. Tup. The joy the feel the warm the. Tup. To pour o'er sluices pouring gushes. Flood, gush, flow, joygush, tupthorp. Now! Language of love").

II. Dublin

According to Peter I. Barta, in *Bely, Joyce, and Döblin* (1996), the two prominent trends in urban literature are to either establish the urban environment as a background to the narrative, or to promote the city as being more important than plot or characterisation¹². However, it seems to me that, in *Ulysses* (1922), the city is almost a character itself, of no lesser or greater importance than the human protagonists. The montage of impressions which the various views of the characters create, and the

overlapping of sensory experiences of the city animate it. Furthermore, while the wandering inhabitants discover their individual beats, modes of transport lend the city its own intrinsic rhythm. At the same time, it is the human encounters, and ways in which the unconscious thought absorbs and arranges events and landmarks which are foregrounded in the narrative.

Joyce's use of geography is very precise. For example, in chapter four where we are introduced to the Blooms, Leopold walks from his home at 7 Eccles Street, past Larry O' Rourke's and down Dorset Street, past St. Joseph's National School and into Dlugacz's butcher shop before walking back down Dorset Street and returning home. This journey is a short walk, and only occupies a few pages and yet, Joyce is specific in describing his route. When Leopold leaves the house again, at the opening of chapter five, he walks along Sir John Rogerson's Quay, past Windmill Lane, past Leake's, the postal telegraph office, and a sailor's home before turning into Lime Street, crossing Townsend Street, past an undertaker's and stops in Westland Row outside the Belfast and Oriental Tea Company office. All in the space of a paragraph. What is more, the geography of Dublin is described in minutiae throughout the narrative. Every episode is located within precise physical co-ordinates: from Stephen, and later Gerty MacDowell, on Sandymount beach; Molly in Eccles Street; Dignam's funeral at Glasnevin Cemetery; lunch in the college district, and, shortly afterwards, Stephen at Trinity College; to the brothel in the slum area behind the Customs House. As Richard Lehan observes, in *The City in Literature* (198), "Most of the action is inseparable from the street and from the commercial processes that transform street activity"¹³.

Jennifer Levine suggests that a map of Dublin, in 1904, would provide as useful a guide to *Ulysses* (1922) as a knowledge of *The Odyssey* (c.1000 BC)¹⁴. Geographic accuracy and place-naming gives the narrator authority,

just as Milton tries to persuade readers of his credibility through claims that he was inspired by God. It also memorialises events, as it does in *The Prelude* (1805)--*Ulysses* (1922), like *Dubliners* (1914), records local episodes, often making no attempt to disguise the real names and identities of the people involved. For example, in *Ulysses* (1922) Bloom, having forgotten his key, climbs over the railings and enters through the scullery door, then appears in the hallway to admit Stephen, by candlelight (ch. 17). The precise model for this took place during a visit Joyce made to Ireland in 1909 when his friend, J. F. Byrne, took Joyce to his home at 7 Eccles Street and realised that he had forgotten his key¹⁵.

The topographical accuracy is also part of the celebration of mundane life, showing how human natures and responses are unconsciously shaped by the environment. For example, when a flock of pigeons fly by the parliament building it reminds Bloom of when he played in trees near Goose Green then, when a squadron of policemen march by, he thinks of them as geese turned out to graze, walking a goose step (ch. 8). Or, hearing pebbles, he looks into a stone crypt, sees a rat and thinks of it eating whatever corpse is buried there, and this leads him to consider death and the best methods for disposing of bodies (ch. 6).

Four main types of buildings feature in *Ulysses* (1922): domestic, commercial, religious and political/national. In chapter six, as the carriage takes Martin Cunningham, Mr. Power, Simon Dedalus, and Leopold Bloom to Dignam's funeral they travel through the city centre, from south-east to north-west, and pass a number of monuments. Monuments conventionally represent ideas of national heroism; they are intended to unite a nation under a deliberately constructed collective identity. Although the narrator of *Don Juan* (1819-24) draws attention to monuments in London, Juan has no regard for what he perceives to be meaningless, static relics. As I said, he finds greater reward for his own heroism in Leila, the girl he rescues,

because people are organic and he views the human contacts he makes as more character-forming. Similarly, the narrator of *Ulysses* (1922) observes the passing of monuments but it is the individuals who are spotted near them which hold the attention of the passengers. So, Farrell's statue occasions the uniting of their knees as the cab sways, but fails to bring about any political debate. Instead, it is the dismissed solicitor selling boot laces who prompts a consideration, by Bloom, of the "Relics of old decency". They pass "under the huge cloaked Liberator's form" but Catholicism and the Irish House of Commons could not be further from their thoughts as they focus instead on the "stumping figure" of Reuben J. Dodd. The passengers are so involved in the joke about Reuben that they laugh on passing Nelson's pillar, and had not seen Gray's statue--Mr. Power even shaded his face as the carriage pulled alongside it.

Other national icons fair little better: when, in chapter eight, Bloom "crosse[s] under Tommy Moore's roguish finger" he thinks it appropriate that the Irish poet's statue was erected over a urinal ("if only", writes Harry Blamires in *The Bloomsday Book* [1966], "because of Moore's famous song, 'The Meeting of the Waters'"¹⁶). In chapter ten, "the stern stone hand of Grattan" and his "solid trouser-leg" are brought into unfavourable contrast with both the "bare-kneed" Highland soldiers who step off a tram, and with the "Human eyes" and general warmth which Stephen perceives in Almidano Artifoni, the music teacher (p. 240).

Of course, as Tom Paulin writes in *Ireland and the English Crisis* (1984), Joyce's imagination is "so complete that history and the personal life, art and politics [and theology], are continually identified"¹⁷. Although Joyce engages with ideas of national heroism and politics (the headmaster, Mr. Deasy is an anti-Semitic Unionist and the Citizen is an anti-Semitic Nationalist), his protagonists all but ignore the corresponding architectural symbols. But they do not ignore all buildings: they peer into shop windows,

offices and bars; they enter churches and look at graves; and they think about the residences, past and present, of their acquaintances. It is not the national landmarks but the mundane structures which the protagonists use to map their local culture.

The material city represents structure: Dublin's areas are categorised into commercial, industrial, slum and collegiate districts; and its streets necessarily provide a topographical form of organisation and regularity in contrast with what was increasingly being interpreted as the frightening chaos of crowds. Indeed, Wendy B. Faris, in *City Images* (1991), argues that the streets of *Ulysses* (1922) form a physical labyrinth which is echoed in the narrative structure¹⁸, and Richard Lehan refers to "the city as maze"¹⁹. The design imposed upon the characters by city planning only goes so far as to limit their physical freedom to a small degree: they must follow the bends of roads and stop at dead ends. They can, however, elect to take circuitous or short routes, to walk or to use transport. The metaphor of the city as a maze is therefore slightly misleading. Although the city can be interpreted as a puzzle, Joyce's characters do not arrive at any obvious solutions or destinations. Neither do their wanderings particularly depend upon spiritual or moral choices. Molly Bloom can be said to emerge at the end of the narrative as a more worthy and knowing person in her recognition of Leopold's superiority over her lovers and yet, Joyce never places her in the city as such. Leopold does come to a greater understanding of his situation, and to accept Molly's infidelity; and, in taking Stephen home, it is almost like being reunited with his dead son. However, these changes result from human encounters and a web of thoughts rather than from a sense of needing to understand the material environment.

Against the structured environment, human movements are portrayed as unstructured. For example, at the end of chapter eight, Bloom's walk down Kildare Street is interrupted when he sees the unnamed but

unmistakable Blazes Boylan: "Straw hat in sunlight. Tan shoes. Turned up trousers. It is. It is." (p. 192). Agitated and anxious not to be seen himself, Bloom suddenly veers towards the museum "with long windy strides" (p. 193). His interest in the entrance gates and statues is impromptu.

Movements around Dublin are made spontaneous as hasty exits are made (Bloom retreating from the Citizen), as impulses to visit people arise (Bloom thinking he might "drop in on Keyes" [ch. 8, p. 192]), chance meetings incur detours (Bloom crosses Dawson Street because he helps a blind man who he then proceeds to follow [ch. 8]), or, quite simply, when a person has a compulsion to go somewhere specific as the result of an external stimulus acting upon their thoughts (an advertising poster featuring a mermaid reminds Bloom of the love triangle in *Sweets of Sin*. Just then, he glimpses Boylan's jauntingcar and feels an urge to dash out of the stationer's shop in pursuit [ch. 11]).

The final observation I wish to make about Joyce's depiction of Dublin concerns public transport. Lorries drive along Sir John Rogerson's Quay, trams criss-cross the city centre, Bloom reflects upon "the life of drifting cabbies", trains clank, carriages creak, a horse is tethered by the canal towpath, mailcars are parked in North Prince's Street, barrels are loaded onto a brewery float, there are hackney cars and private broughams, a brewery barge, ocean steamers, a rowboat, a skiff, and a cycle shop. Almost every conceivable mode of transport of the time is represented and this emphasises the modernity and industrialised/commercialised nature of the city as well as contributing to the verisimilitude of Joyce's evocation of Dublin. Furthermore, it creates an impression of a city in constant motion, to some degree. I argue that the earlier texts which have featured in this study represent the natural world as that which is constantly changing, which is fluid. In *Ulysses* (1922), the absence of natural forms does not render Joyce's world static because modes of transport fill that particular

void. Vehicles and pedestrians form their own cycles as they move in circuits, or travel back and forth. What is more, transport permits different perspectives: when Bloom walks, he is more concerned with thoughts which originate in his unconscious; being transported, he sees the city in passenger vision and is influenced by what he sees on a more superficial level. And, as the episode with Father Conmee in chapter ten demonstrates, public transport also contributes to the sense of isolation which pervades *Ulysses* (1922):

On Newcomen bridge the very reverend John Conmee S. J. of saint Francis Xavier's church, upper Gardiner street, stepped on to an outward bound tram.

Off an inward bound tram stepped the reverend Nicholas Dudley C. C. of saint Agatha's church, north William street, on to Newcomen bridge.

(p. 233).

Dublin is full of random, disconnected motions; thus, the connections which people do manage to make, like Leopold Bloom reaching out to Stephen Dedalus, are given even greater emphasis and take on greater significance.

III. *Ulysses* (1922)

This section will briefly treat the movements of Stephen Dedalus, beginning with his departure from the Martello tower in Sandycove, and ending with his departure from the Bloom house. A more lengthy treatment of Leopold Bloom will focus on selected episodes, ending with his and Stephen's arrival at 7 Eccles Street.

III.i. Stephen Dedalus

Stephen Dedalus, the intellectual, idealistic hero of *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916) is, in *Ulysses* (1922), both younger and less successfully integrated into his environment than Bloom. His interest in literature and philosophy means that he bridges the ancient and modern worlds, whereas Bloom is more rooted in the immediate world through his grasp of commercial values, and is more greatly influenced by immediate sense impressions. In *The Book as World* (1976), Marilyn French argues that Stephen's intellectual thoughts describe the cultural context of *Ulysses* (1922), but that his awareness of traditions means that he is burdened, like the young Wordsworth, with conventional ideas and expectations; "Stephen moves out into the world as we all do, already subject to a set of ideas, a world we never made"²⁰.

Ulysses (1922) opens by describing some of the ways in which Stephen is stifled. Buck Mulligan reminds him of his orthodox Catholic upbringing and ridicules the lengths to which he has gone in distancing himself from the Church: chastising him for not having even pretended to pray for the sake of his mother on her deathbed, re-enacting Mass with a shaving bowl, and branding him "The unclean bard" (p. 17) because of his refusal to wash (a reference to the religious significance of both cleanliness and baptism). Haines is an admirer and, in Mulligan's view, a potential patron of Stephen's but he represents England and Stephen resists 'touching' him for money to avoid becoming another Irishman enslaved to the English. Moreover, when Stephen suggests drinking tea black, with lemon, it is thought too European and Mulligan tries to keep Stephen rooted in Ireland by calling for Sandycove milk. Furthermore, rent is paid to "the secretary of state for war", for a tower which was built on the orders of William Pitt--Stephen's consciousness, as Tom Paulin argues in greater detail, is unavoidably bounded by politics and history²¹. As Stephen says, he is "the servant of

two masters, . . . an English and an Italian" (p. 22).

Stephen is also caught between clashing personalities. Mulligan disapproves of Stephen and also wants Haines to be evicted from the tower. Stephen appears to dislike them both but says that Haines should stay. Intellectually superior, Stephen is nevertheless ridiculed and exploited by Mulligan and suspects that his friends are false. Just as Homer's Telemachus feels pushed out of his home by Penelope's suitors, so does Stephen feel he is being usurped when Mulligan takes the key and two pence from him. The intimations of conspiracy and betrayal have been signposted by earlier references to *Hamlet* (c.1600-01) and, at the end of the first chapter, culminate in Stephen deciding "I will not sleep here tonight. Home also I cannot go" (p. 25). Feeling unwelcome and dispossessed, Stephen casts himself adrift.

Franco Moretti argues, in *Modern Epic* (1996), that "Stephen Dedalus, is not really in tune with the big city: he prefers peripheral or enclosed places"²². This is an interesting and accurate observation which is worthy of further investigation. Although Stephen must expose himself to the city centre as he journeys between places and buildings, the reader is given few opportunities to observe him on the streets. Furthermore, the locations which he does inhabit are significant. The narrative opens with Stephen both on the periphery of the city (Sandycove is approximately three miles south-east of Dublin), and in the closed space of the tower. Here, he either stands on the parapet gazing across the sea towards the headland or he walks along the shore. This outward vision becomes internalised in chapter two, when Mr. Deasy's rant against the Jews puts Stephen in mind of the merchants he saw outside the Paris Stock Exchange. Then, on Sandymount strand, he wonders whether he is walking into eternity, is reminded again of Paris and of Elsinore, and even reflects on the cosmos ("His shadow lay over the rocks as he bent, ending. Why not endless till the

farthest star? Darkly they are there behind this light, darkness shining in the brightness, delta of Cassiopeia, worlds" [ch. 3, p. 51]). When he is on the periphery of Dublin, his thoughts reach beyond Ireland: imaginative escapism reflects his desire to find freedom from Ireland's oppressive reality. His sense of isolation, or exile, is emphasised by his recollection, in chapter three, of the time he saw Kevin Egan (an Irish conspirator) in a Paris cafe.

When he is placed within closed spaces, Stephen is invariably seen in the types of establishments which characterise Dublin, to a large extent. He teaches (ch. 2), takes a letter from Mr. Deasy to the newspaper office--the place where local gossip converges (ch. 7), visits the National Library--representing Ireland's strong literary tradition (ch. 9), is found drinking in a maternity home--significant because, as Stephen himself ironically reminds the reader, Catholicism preaches against both contraception and abortion (ch. 14). The drinking continues in Burke's before Stephen visits the brothel--showing the consequences of the Catholic suppression of sexual urges through its strict moral code and warnings of eternal damnation (ch. 15), the shelter is a retreat from the city (ch. 16), and Bloom's house becomes a rejected sanctuary (ch. 17).

These places illustrate how a sense of national institutions acts negatively upon a perceived national culture: lack of freedom has driven people to illicit sex, gossiping, and heavy drinking. And old political and cultural traditions maintain a hold over Stephen's interests. Although Stephen wants to achieve freedom, he is still represented as a typical Irishman. Bloom, as a Jew, offers a form of escape to Stephen, who decides, nevertheless, to step back out onto the streets. He begins and ends the narrative as a wanderer.

In chapter three, Stephen's walking is connected to his creativity. Walking along Sandymount strand, he decides to close his eyes and his

mind to the limitations of the visible world and instead, concentrates upon the audible world. This new way of experiencing his environment causes him to focus on the tapping of his cane, "his boots crush[ing] crackling wrack and shells", and the "solid" noise of his footsteps on the sand (p. 39). From this, Stephen creates a rhythm, "A catalectic tetrameter of iambs marching": the audible environment becomes linked to poetry and experimentation with language (p. 39). Later in the chapter, he thinks that "These heavy sands are language tide and wind have silted here" (p. 47). And, near the end of the chapter, thoughts of the tides and moon result in Stephen composing lines which he thinks good enough to write down on a scrap torn from Deasy's letter: "Tides, myriadislanded, within her, blood not mine, *oinopa ponton*, a winedark sea" (p. 50).

When he has moved closer to the sea, and has looked upon the Martello tower, and the bloated corpse of a dog, his imagination reacts to the environment in historical terms. Like Wordsworth on Salisbury Plain, Stephen has visions of the beach which carry him through different periods of time. He imagines Viking invaders, stranded whales, "Famine, plague and slaughters" (p. 47). He told Mr. Deasy that "History . . . is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake" (p. 36) but here, it seems that his consciousness, and perhaps the Irish consciousness, cannot be separated from events in the past. Just as the cathedral takes on significance through Swift's madness, reminding Stephen of his own disillusionment, so do places and buildings take on additional meaning through their pasts.

Chapter ten is a montage of characters moving around Dublin. Stephen is looking at a shop window but is compelled to move on by the "whirr of flapping leathern bands and hum of dynamos from the powerhouse" (p. 254). Stephen sees himself as being caught between two worlds: the inner and outer. However, as his retreat from the industrial city suggests, he is more caught up in a world of ideas and literature. Stephen alienates

himself from the physical environment by frequently taking recourse in abstract thoughts, while Bloom, though introspective, takes greater notice of the outer world.

Interestingly, Stephen's movements to this point have been rather leisurely as he has sauntered through the city, or strolled along the beach. When he and his friends are turned out of a bar at closing time, the movement speeds up: "Run, skelter, race". Stephen increases his speed even more when he and Lynch take public transport (p. 453) in the next chapter we learn, from Bloom who has been chasing after Stephen, that they took a train) to reach the more seedy part of the city: "Change here for Bawdyhouse" (p. 453). Although he is more detached from the physical city than before, by taking transport he embraces modernity to a greater extent. If, as I argued in section II, transport represents Dublin's own urban rhythms, then Stephen is transcending geography and is learning that human desires and artificial forces are what drive the city. At the same time, he needed to paralyse his aesthetic, intellectual consciousness with alcohol in order to open himself up to his contemporary, mechanical age, and to experience the present without feeling the weight of history.

Joyce seldom opens a chapter with a description of the scene, so it is of importance that this is how he begins chapter fifteen:

The Mabbot street entrance of nighttown, before which stretches an uncobbled transiding set with skeleton tracks, red and green will-o'-the-wisps and danger signals. Rows of flimsy houses with gaping doors. Rare lamps with faint rainbow fans. Round Rabaiotti's halted ice gondola stunted men and women squabble. They grab wafers between which are wedged lumps of coal and copper snow. Sucking, they scatter slowly. Children. The swancomb of the gondola, highreared, forges on through the murk, white and blue under a lighthouse. Whistles call and answer.

(p. 454).

This depiction of Dublin borders on the Dickensian in its evocation of the poverty and dinginess of the slum area of the city. In Aiden Andrew Dun's *Vale Royal* (1995), the grey reality of London is transformed into marvellous colours and the gloom turned into brightness. Here, ice-cream takes on the appearance of coal. The murkiness envelops dilapidated houses and helps to conceal the prostitutes and other characters who whistle and call in the dark. Several of the people are deformed: "stunted men and women", a "pigmy woman", a "deafmute idiot with goggle eyes", "a gnome", and a "bandy child" (p. 454). There is cursing and intimations of domestic violence (a crashing plate), as well as someone sleeping against a dustbin, and others scavenging. "Figures wander, lurk, peer from warrens": it is a material environment of dirt and disease, and a social environment which displays the grotesque side of the human condition. Everything is hidden by fog, or shadows. This establishes the stage for illicit sex, and signposts Stephen's proposal that gesture become a universal language. The emphasis has moved away from the audible world, and the written word, to fall upon the body and physical forms of communication.

The brothel episode shows that, just as he never becomes fully

integrated into his physical environment, neither does Stephen adapt to his social environment as his intellectualism alienates him from his company. Although he seeks to fulfil sexual urges, he still feels the need to publicise his intellect as though he needs to assert himself as superior. This relates back to his feeling of being trapped between inner and outer compulsions--body and mind seem at odds with one another. His thoughts belong to high culture but his instincts are base.

In the following chapter, Bloom and Stephen walk together, having met after Stephen flees the brothel and is rescued from a brawl when Bloom catches up with him. What is striking about this is that the way in which they walk and talk reflects their physical states and their daily preoccupations. Stephen is drunk, looking pale and keeps yawning, so the reader can imagine that he is wavering. At the same time "His (Stephen's) mind was not exactly what you would call wandering but a bit unsteady" (p. 591). Their route to the shelter is described in detail: along Beaver Street, turning left at the farrier's on the corner of Montgomery Street, onto Amiens Street, past the Great Northern rail station, turning into Store Street, along the back of the Custom House, under a bridge, and so on. Stephen is never conscious of his route as he is happily led by Bloom, and his thoughts are with Ibsen. Bloom, on the other hand, takes cognisance of his surroundings: a Tramways sandstrewer reminds him of an earlier episode, he smells a nearby bakery, and notices someone calling out to Stephen.

During the course of their conversation in the cabman's shelter, Bloom first suggests that Sandycove is no place for Stephen. Then, when Stephen expresses admiration for a picture of Molly, and as Bloom develops a paternal fondness and a commercial interest in Stephen, it is decided that the pair should retire to Eccles Street. They arrive at Bloom's house in chapter seventeen (Ithaca) and there discover several superficial similarities and bonds. Bloom takes a great interest in Stephen which is not

particularly reciprocated, although Stephen appreciates Leopold's experience as an older man. Despite his yearning to escape, he rejects Bloom's offer of a new environment, the invitation to stay, and leaves the house not knowing where he will spend the night. The two shake hands in the garden and go their separate ways. They were two diverging personalities who happened to briefly coincide. Stephen's 'journey' is left open-ended: we neither know where he will go, nor has he really learned anything about his human condition or his place in the world. He remains dislocated.

III.ii. Leopold Bloom

Leopold Bloom is a man who understands the values of a commercial city, but who nevertheless struggles to find acceptance in this environment. He is isolated because of his Jewishness and yet, he fails to respond to the Jewish butcher, Dlugacz, with any sense of fellowship (ch. 4). He is cuckolded by his wife, Molly, and seems to yearn for greater intimacy with her but does not appear to do anything to reconcile their relationship. And, when he tries to form some sort of paternal-filial bond with Stephen (a substitute for his dead son, Rudy), it is not reciprocated. Moreover, he is often referred to simply as Bloom, or some derogatory play on his name, but is rarely referred to, and never addressed as Leopold.

At the same time, as Richard M. Kain observes in *Fabulous Voyager* (1947), there is a sense that the modern city has rendered each character lonely²³. Kain cites Gerty MacDowell and Molly Bloom as examples of characters that feel a certain emptiness, and who crave companionship. *Ulysses* (1922) is a narrative of chance encounters and crossed paths and, although there are visions of camaraderie in the band of students drinking in the maternity home, and in the party who travel together to Dignam's funeral, or even amongst the men who drink with the Citizen; there is little

sense of a true community. Bloom's isolation represents the disintegration of community as Dublin parts company from the rest of what was, at this time, mainly agrarian Ireland. Just as I argued earlier that the national monuments signify an attempt to unite a nation under heterogeneous values and ideals which have no, or little, bearing upon the real individuals; likewise, there is little sense of social unity. Stephen has a family but refuses to return home, Blazes Boylan has come between man and wife and, as I discussed in section III.i, Stephen has been pushed out of his tower, and is teased for his intellectual theorising. Bloom stands out as the person with the greatest cause to feel alienated. Not only is the reader made privy to his innermost thoughts, but we observe how other characters mock him--he appears to be without a genuine friend. Furthermore, we learn not only that his wife must find fulfilment through infidelity, but that his father committed suicide, the family dog died soon after, his son died in infancy, and he feels there is a distance between himself and Milly, his daughter. Failing to make intimate bonds with people, he pursues commercial relationships instead.

When Bloom leaves his house after breakfast, in chapter five, he is attracted towards the visual world of advertisements. He reads "the legends of lead-papered packets" in the window of the Belfast and Oriental Tea Company (p. 74); gazes at an army recruiting poster in the post office; while M'Coy talks to him, he unrolls his copy of the *Freeman* newspaper and reads a promotion for Plumtree's potted meat; at the corner of Brunswick Street he casts his eye over the hoardings which advertise Cantrell and Cochrane's ginger ale, a sale at Clery's, and a play starring Mrs Bandman Palmer; and later, when he comes out of the chapel and walks towards the baths, he criticises a poster publicising college sports. Bold advertisements caught the eye of Wordsworth when he was resident in London, but he was aware of their superficiality, and that the showiness

of the images belied the baseness of the products they were selling. It is the superficial nature of adverts which Bloom relates to. Although sight impressions lead him to think certain thoughts, Bloom seems to see things without processing information very thoroughly. At the same time, there is little need for him to engage very fully with the things he sees and experiences because the nature of the city, as he well understands, is shallow. Selling is important and Bloom prides himself on his skills as a canvasser, and tries to design the ultimate advert.

It is from the carriage on the way to Dignam's funeral, in chapter six, that Bloom first sees Stephen Dedalus. When he points Stephen out to Simon Dedalus (the father), Simon asks whether he is with "that Mulligan cad" (p. 92). Thus Bloom learns that Stephen is "in with a lowdown crowd" (p. 92). In Classical epic, a journey to the Underworld conventionally brings about some sort of spiritual movement in the hero. The meeting of dead relatives, friends, and lovers usually forces the hero to confront his past life, and to take greater cognisance of the code by which he is living. The hero invariably emerges back in the 'real' world with a heightened sense of spirituality and morality which will help him to perform his task. In *Ulysses* (1922), "the open drains and mounds of rippedup roadway before the tenement houses" imply a sense of the ground opening up but this does not expose the spirit world (p. 92). The real parallel is in the funeral itself, in the passing in and out of the cemetery gates, and in the memories which the graveyard invokes: Bloom's loss of his father and son; Simon Dedalus' loss of his wife. These memories of Rudy combine with Leopold's sighting of Stephen and, although he is unconscious of the fact at this early stage, he begins to take an interest in Stephen's welfare. Therefore, the encounter with death does not lead Bloom on a spiritual journey but it does initiate a quest to forge a father-son bond with Stephen and therefore, to discover a meaningful human relationship, to break the cycle of superficial

acquaintances and interests. He will be disappointed.

In chapter seven, we discover just how displaced Bloom is. The first thing to strike the reader is the tremendous sense of the city on an audible level; Bloom, of course, places a greater emphasis on the visual city and, as a quiet individual, finds his voice is drowned out by the collective noises.

BEFORE NELSON'S PILLAR TRAMS SLOWED, SHUNTED, CHANGED TROLLEY, started for Blackrock, Kingstown and Dalkey, Clonskea, Rathgar and Terenure, Palmerston park and upper Rathmines, Sandymount Green, Rathmines, Ringsend and Sandymount Tower, Harold's Cross. The hoarse Dublin United Tramway Company's timekeeper bawled them off:

- Rathgar and Terenure!
- Come on, Sandymount Green!

Right and left parallel clanging ringing a doubledecker and a singledeck moved from their railheads, swerved to the down line, glided parallel.

- Start, Palmerston park!

(p. 122).

The shouting and clanging and thundering of the trams (not to mention the nearby "dullthudding" of the barrels being rolled onto the brewery float), emphasise public life. The trams come and go in quick relay, conveying, as Blamires observes, a sense of restlessness²⁴. It also creates a sense that street life is more important than private life. The atmosphere is urgent as there is a constant need to keep moving--the city must not come to a halt. This is duplicated in the "reverberating boards", "Thumping, thumping", and the "clanking drums" of the newspaper printing room (p. 124). Through this noisy movement Bloom must make his way to Nannetti's office with an old clipping of the advert he is to place for Alexander Keyes. He must side-step

the packing paper which is strewn across the floor, navigate side doors and dark passages, and negotiate his way past Hynes: Bloom must accommodate the mechanical, corporate world and is pushed aside in the process. If Bloom is a man trying to understand his human position in the universe, trying to make sense of human frailties, then this chapter suggests that he has no real place in the world--he is insignificant.

Bloom also struggles to find acceptance in Nannetti's office. When he shows Nannetti the cutting for Keyes' advert, it is some time before he gets a response: "He doesn't hear it" thinks Bloom (p. 126). When Bloom describes the proposed changes to the design (adding two crossed keys in a circle, and the lettering), his question, "Do you think that's a good idea?", elicits a silent scratching of the ribs rather than a verbal acknowledgement. Bloom seems to be floundering because he cannot work out where he stands with Nannetti, or if the deal to print the advert will be accepted. Bloom is good at his job but this exchange makes him insecure and provides further evidence that he is perceived as something of an outsider. When Nannetti does accept the design, it is on the provision that Bloom secure a three-month renewal from Keyes, thus Bloom is swept off target: he must chase up Keyes and pin him down to another commitment. It is almost as if Bloom is being undermined; he lacks authority. When a typesetter enters the office, Nannetti's full attention is given to checking the spelling so that Bloom is ignored again when he promises to get the design, and leaves the office unnoticed.

Passing the *Evening Telegraph* office on his way out, Bloom recognises laughter and enters the office. MacHugh's comment, "The ghost walks", aptly describes how Bloom is often perceived (p. 130). Even when he is present in someone's company, Bloom is often overlooked; he is insubstantial. When J. J. O'Molloy enters the room, Bloom is pushed aside by the door: the office is crammed full, but it is Bloom that has to make

way. Furthermore, when Simon Dedalus and Ned Lambert leave to get a drink, Ned's exclusion of Bloom is painfully obvious:

Ned Lambert sidled down from the table. The editor's blue eyes roved towards Mr. Bloom's face, shadowed by a smile.

- Will you join us, Myles? Ned Lambert asked.

(p. 134).

And, when Bloom makes his way to the inner door, his announcement that he wants to telephone about an advert falls, yet again, on deaf ears. Bloom, the ghost, walks unnoticed among the living. Dispossessed, he drifts around the city almost invisibly.

Bloom leaves the premises shortly before Stephen arrives with Mr. Deasy's letter but catches up with the group when they are walking to a pub. The more polite Bloom does not fit in with the somewhat coarse, self-centred company but he singles Stephen out, observing that he wears good boots. He has noticed Stephen before--on the way to Dignam's funeral, but also in Irishtown on some other occasion. He is becoming increasingly drawn towards Stephen, although he still does not seem to be conscious of the reasons for this. At this moment however, Stephen is probably thought of as something of a kindred spirit, someone who also outclasses the men he is with. Bloom wonders whether Stephen is "the moving spirit" which could be interpreted as an inspirer, or ringleader (p. 154). However, it also resonates with MacHugh's description of Bloom as a walking ghost. Perhaps Bloom imagines there is something of himself in Stephen, a similar alienation and sense of not belonging.

This chapter has, for the most part, shown Bloom to be held in suspension as his work is hindered by people ignoring him. And, at the end of the chapter, all trams are arrested mid-journey:

At various points along the eight lines tramcars with motionless trolleys stood in their tracks, bound for or from Rathmines, Rathfarnham, Blackrock, Kingstown and Dalkey, Sandymount Green, Ringsend and Sandymount Tower, Donnybrook, Palmerston Park and Upper Rathmines, all still, becalmed in short circuit.

(p. 156-7).

Chapter eight contains images which describe life as purposeless drifting. Bloom is walking around Dublin and has come near the river. It is lunch time and he is merely filling time. The "puffball of smoke" at O'Connell Bridge, the discarded ball of paper which "bobbed unheeded on the wake of the swells", and the flowing water seem to run a parallel course to Bloom's wanderings (p. 159). Indeed, he twice concludes that "life is a stream" (p. 161). The idea is not dissimilar to Byron's image of life as a bubble. In both *Ulysses* (1922) and *Don Juan* (1819-24), the heroes are compelled to travel by chance encounters, and their routes are dictated by opportunities rather than by any purpose or design. Byron concludes that human life is short and we must make the most of what we have before we expire. Bloom has, in the course of the morning, reflected quite often on issues concerning human mortality and the cycles of life and death (and these thoughts will recur in his mind for the remainder of the day, most noticeably when he is in the maternity home). A stronger connection with Byron's bubble image is discovered in the spinning gasballs image, a little further into chapter eight: "Gasballs spinning about, crossing each other, passing. Same old dingdong always. Gas, then solid, then world, then cold, then dead shell drifting around, frozen rock like that pineapple rock" (p. 175). Bloom is thinking of space and the moon but his description applies equally to the manner in which the Dubliners go about their lives.

Bloom's movements, if they can be said to be structured at all, are

influenced by his interest in work, food, and sex. If he satisfies these basic human needs then he can get by in life and yet, at the same time, he is unfulfilled by the tide of people he meets. He will pursue Stephen because he requires greater, more meaningful contact with someone; drifting is both a consequence and a cause of his lonely alienation.

Since the other episodes contained in chapter eight to have significance for this study have been discussed in relation to Dublin, in section II, I will not return to them here. Bloom features only fleetingly at the end of chapter nine. Stephen and Buck Mulligan are walking from the library and are about to pass through a doorway when, sensing someone behind, Stephen steps aside to allow the person to pass ahead. The man is Leopold Bloom. Mulligan bids him good day but Stephen appears not to have taken any notice of Bloom--he is preoccupied with the thought that it might be time for him to leave Mulligan because they are so very different: "My will: his will that fronts me. Seas between". It is Mulligan who points Bloom out to Stephen, referring to him as "The wandering Jew". The reader is not made aware of Bloom's thoughts on this encounter but Mulligan observes that Bloom looked upon Stephen: "He looked upon you to lust after you" (p. 229). Mulligan's cruel mocking implies homosexual interest on the part of Bloom but the reader knows that if Bloom looked at Stephen with any kindness, then it was because of an increasing affection for someone who he will come to see as a replacement son. His and Stephen's paths seem destined to cross. This begins as coincidence but, when they leave the maternity home (the place where they finally meet properly), Bloom will consciously follow Stephen.

In chapter ten, various people seem to pass Bloom without engaging him in discourse. Bloom is a shadowy figure, the "darkbacked figure under Merchants' arch" who is browsing through books on a cart while Blazes Boylan is buying gifts for Molly (p. 239), and the same "dark-backed figure"

that Lenehan and M'Coy walk by (p. 245). It is possible that Bloom has narrowly missed Stephen again for Stephen is presently seen looking at the books on a cart, thinking "I might find here one of my pawned schoolprizes". Chapter fourteen is altogether more significant because this is when Bloom becomes fully conscious of his quest to 'rescue' Stephen. Bloom had learned from Mrs Breen, in chapter eight, that a mutual acquaintance called Mina Purefoy is enduring a difficult birth and has been in labour for three days. It is to visit her that Bloom goes to the Holles Street maternity home. There, he discovers Stephen and other students talking bawdily and raucously (in fact, their noise competes with the cry from the labour ward above). Bloom clearly is a misfit here. He is genuinely concerned for the suffering of the birthing women, and hesitates before joining the party. He reluctantly takes a drink himself and only stays out of friendship for Simon and Stephen Dedalus. That he is prepared to stay for Stephen's sake is important because Stephen has so far had no contact with Bloom and is unaware of any friendship between them. Bloom, largely prompted by the thought of Mrs Purefoy giving birth, reflects on the birth of his own son and this, together with the paternal feelings which have been mounting towards Stephen, makes him realise that he feels a fatherly love for Stephen and that he does not like to see him in bad company:

and now sir Leopold that had of his body no manchild for an heir looked upon him his friend's son and was shut up in sorrow for his forepassed happiness and as sad as he was that him failed a son of such gentle courage (for all accounted him of real parts) so grieved he also in no less measure for young Stephen for that he lived riotously with those wastrels and murdered his goods with whores.

(p. 413).

When the revellers depart for Burke's, where they continue their drinking,

Bloom stays behind to ask a nurse to pass his regards onto Mrs Purefoy. He does however join the others shortly afterwards. He is the responsible, older figure--emerging now as the father. He drinks wine while everyone else orders absinthe, he does not become as drunk as the others (although they have quite a head-start on him), he does not appear to lend his voice to the noise in the street after closing time and, when the band disperse, Bloom wanders on his own. He has been included and excluded at the same time.

Bloom next emerges near the brothel that Stephen and Lynch have come to, in chapter fifteen. Although Bloom has also used prostitutes, there is a sense that he does not belong here, in the back alleys. First, he is grazed as two cyclists ride past him then, he is almost knocked down by the sandstrewer, and he "*swerves, sidles, steps aside, slips past and on*" when his way is blocked by a ragman (p. 460). It is as though he cannot navigate his way through this part of the city. He knows the geography of the commercial districts but acts as though he is a stranger to this underworld. He is unsure of himself once again. He is unknown and in the way, as has happened so often.

The dark and seedy atmosphere of the material environment causes Bloom to confront his feelings of guilt and isolation in the form of a lengthy vision. Bloom is first confronted by his father, Rudolph, for spending too much money: "Second halfcrown waste money today. I told you not go with drunken goy ever. So. You catch no money" (p. 460). His mother, Ellen, then appears as a pantomime dame to melodramatically express her shock at what Bloom has become: "O blessed Redeemer, what have they done to him! My smelling salts!" (p. 461). The encounter with his parents causes Leopold to feel inadequate and sheepish, and his agitation is heightened when an apparition of Molly scolds him and even tries to strike him. He next comes face to face with women he has known, like Bridie

Kelly, Gerty MacDowell and Mrs Breen--women who know his dirty secrets. He is subjected to a mock trial which accuses him of being a "low cad", and a "Street angel and house devil" and, in the references he gives to his character, and in the job description he invents for himself, Bloom implies that he is ashamed of his life and his status--he wishes he were more respectable and more greatly respected (p. 477).

Bloom's vision evolves into a utopian dream which places him at the centre of Bloomusalem--a "golden city" of which Bloom is annointed "emperor president and king chairman, the most serene and potent and very puissant ruler of this realm" (p. 494). He proposes to reform "municipal morals", to unite religions, to end war and disease, and to establish "Free money, free love and a free lay church in a free lay state" (p. 500). Although his thinking is superficial, he envisages a society which exalts him rather than one which shuns him. His feelings of inadequacy are transformed into an inflated sense of his own worth but, whereas Bloom is isolated in the real world, his new regime is based upon perceived principles of inclusivity and upon Leopold's idea of natural justice. This reinforces the contrast between Stephen and Leopold: Stephen feels locked in to, or trapped by his social environment; Bloom feels locked out of, or excluded by it. And yet, in their 'reading' of the physical environment, it is Stephen who has the more abstracted relationship with his material surroundings.

It is Bloom's religious egalitarianism which threatens to cast him as the exile again. Father Farley accuses him of trying to overthrow Catholicism and so Mrs Riordan and Mother Grogan rise against Bloom. Of course, Stephen has also battled with Ireland's Orthodox Catholicism. Bloomusalem operates according to Leopold's conscience, which is influenced by his need to discover intimacy and genuine love for humankind. The consciences of his "subjects" remain staunchly and conventionally Catholic. Furthermore, Bloomusalem adopts new muses

representing "*Commerce, Operatic Music, Amor, Publicity, Manufacture, Liberty of Speech, Plural Voting, Gastronomy, Private Hygiene, Seaside Concert Entertainments, Painless Obstetrics and Astronomy for the People*" (p. 500). Regeneration is very much on Bloom's terms, it is driven by his personal interests (food, love, music, advertising), and by the treatment he has suffered in the past (not having a proper voice in the newsroom). This personal vision cannot be all-encompassing; it necessarily incorporates the alienation of other individuals. However, his vision does suggest that he is less self-absorbed than Stephen. In his vision, and in his later plans for Stephen's career, he plans everything to his own advantage and gain. However, the reference to "painless obstetrics" is one example of how Bloom's emotional conscience can extend to other people (he has been effected by Mrs Purefoy's difficult labour). Stephen, on the other hand, appears to want to escape from the people around him as much as from the doctrine he feels so stifled by. He rejects his family, his friends at the tower and, ultimately, he rejects Bloom. His own vision sends him into a rage, and causes him to shout "No! No No! Break my spirit all of you if you can! I'll bring you all to heel!" (p. 568).

Bloom is saddened by the fact that an educated man like Stephen can get himself into trouble and bad company. Looking at Stephen's face, Bloom is reminded first of Mrs Dedalus, and then of Rudy. The paternal longing grows stronger within him. Bloom subconsciously believes that by befriending and saving Stephen, he will be able to fill the emotional void which the death of his son caused eleven years ago. This emptiness accounts for the loss of intimacy with his wife, and perhaps, for his apparent inability to grow close to other people. He has cut himself off from his own pain and this has meant that he has been unable to stay close to his wife and daughter. Meeting Stephen has allowed him to confront all of these latent issues so, in this respect, Bloom has come to realise some

things about himself. His wanderings have been a journey of self-discovery.

In chapter sixteen Bloom assumes the role of protective father. He warns Stephen of the dangers of prostitution, drink, and cautions him against spending time in the poorer, less respectable (and less well policed) areas of the city. And, like a father, he advises against spending time in the company of Buck Mulligan. When he discovers that Stephen has nowhere to sleep that night, he informs Stephen of his earlier meeting with Simon Dedalus, and talks of how he takes legitimate pride in his son. Stephen shows no interest in his father, and does not even know where he has moved to, and only admits to having heard of Simon Dedalus when approached by a sailor in the cabman's shelter. Home, for both Bloom and Stephen, is somewhere they belong but do not feel comfortable in. However, Bloom wants to be reconciled with Molly, whereas Stephen pictures his last visit home dismally. He cannot conceive of his return.

There is a fundamental difference between Bloom and Stephen which Bloom cannot understand: Bloom yearns to find acceptance in the culture and society of Dublin, while Stephen wants to escape from the constraints of a Catholic, provincial island. He dreams of being free, of escaping and has no desire to find acceptance by subscribing to conventional Irish religion and politics. Thus, failing to establish a common bond in discourse, Bloom shows Stephen a picture of Molly. Stephen's appreciation of the photograph persuades Bloom to invite Stephen to his home for the night since it is too late for him to return to the Martello tower.

When Bloom's attempts to form a relationship with Stephen through human, emotional similarities look set to fail, he begins to consider a commercial involvement in Stephen's future. The ferment of his thinking here represents a milder form of fantasy life which resonates with the Bloomusalem passage, with the thoughts towards civic improvement which

are forever running through his mind. Bloom is full of ambition on Stephen's behalf: he envisages a musical and a literary career for him. Bloom realises that, at this stage, the paternal-filial relationship he has hoped to form with Stephen is not going to materialise. He also realises that his own talent lies in seeing business opportunities, and particularly in promoting products. Stephen could become one of his clients. At the same time, profit is not Bloom's ultimate goal. He describes these plans as a "red herring": he still hopes that, by helping Stephen break away from Mulligan, and discover a successful artistic career, he will naturally form an emotional bond with the young man. Bloom is genuinely excited by his proposal and is heading for disappointment.

In chapter seventeen, it is apparent that Bloom and Stephen have very different opinions and interests, and that they think on different intellectual levels. Although they share some similarities (a disbelief in orthodox religions, a preference for the continental way of life, a musical sensitivity, etc.), they disagree on many other issues. Their route to 7 Eccles Street is described very precisely but their conversation is conveyed in an impersonal question and answer style. This contributes to the sense of distance between the two men. The exchange, as it is documented here, lacks emotion. There is little of human interaction in the narrator's account of their discoveries about one another. Rather, the findings are set out quite scientifically. Even when it is established that the two had met previously, at Matthew Dillon's house when Stephen was five, and at Breslin's hotel five years later; and when it is revealed that they share a mutual acquaintance in Mrs Riordan, this is insufficient to bridge the gap between them.

When they part company Stephen has learned very little, although he has gained some respect for Bloom. Bloom has arrived at the end of a day's journey knowing a little more about himself, and realising that the

world is made up of individuals. The reader comes to believe that people "move through everchanging tracks of neverchanging space" (p. 726). That is, individuals move across shared space without necessarily adopting the same routes. In *Ulysses* (1922), characters travel across the same geographic spaces but they each read their environment differently, they seek different goals although their paths may coincide from time to time. Bloom, at the end of the day, returns home to Molly. He has not found public acceptance but, in the final chapter, his wife will acknowledge the superiority of Leopold over her many lovers. And, as Craig Raine observes, Bloom, as an ordinary man who lives according to his senses and human desires, "takes the limelight from the intellectual Stephen Dedalus"²⁵.

The final chapter in this study follows on from Joyce's themes of exile and isolation. In *Omeros* (1990), Derek Walcott explores the uneasy relationships between cultural belonging and geographic origins as his protagonists struggle to come to terms with their identities in the context of history. Just as Bloom's ancestry contributes to his sense of unease and unbelonging, so do the ethnic origins of Walcott's heroes come to destabilise their perceptions of community and of their individual positions in this world.

The chapter will also discuss *Vale Royal* (1995), in which Aiden Andrew Dun constructs a vision of universality. He makes imaginative links through space and time to argue that no place (he draws upon the topography of London for his poem) exists in isolation. Where people coincide in *Ulysses* (1922), relics from different periods of history coincide in Dun's depiction of eighteenth-century London.

Notes

¹ Brian Jarvis, *Postmodern Cartographies: The Geographical Imagination in Contemporary American Culture* (London: Pluto P, 1998) 163-4.

² Stuart Gilbert's *James Joyce's Ulysses: A Study* (London: Faber, 1930) contains a chapter by chapter comparison of Joyce with Homer, in addition to highlighting similarities in the uses of dialects and vocabulary, and how the two authors depict both humanity and a realistic environment. Richard Ellmann's *The Consciousness of Joyce* (London: Faber, 1977) is also useful for its discussion of how Homer becomes internalised in *Ulysses* (1922), and how the two writers attempt to describe an entire people, and share the techniques of using contemporary familiar sayings and phrases, and how they first withhold, then disclose names. S. L. Goldberg's chapter, "Homer and the Nightmare of History, " in *The Classical Temper: A Study of James Joyce's Ulysses* (London: Chatto, 1961) usefully demonstrates how those parallels are used to different effects. And, in *Epic Geography: James Joyce's Ulysses* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976), Michael Seidel argues that Joyce not only borrows "the general pattern of exile and homecoming" from *The Odyssey* (c.1000 BC), but also consistently reconstructs the Mediterranean "placing, direction, timing, orientation, disorientation, and repetition of movement" within a framework of Irish geography.

³ Wilfrid Mellers and Rupert Hildyard, "The Edwardian Age and the Inter-War Years," *Early Twentieth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992), vol. 8 of *The Cambridge Cultural History*, gen. ed. Boris Ford, 9 vols. (1992) rpt. of *The Edwardian Age and the Inter-War Years* (1989), *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain* 3-44.

⁴ J. A. Cuddon, "Modernism," *Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 3rd. ed. (London: Penguin, 1992).

⁵ Anthony Burgess, introduction, *Ulysses*, by James Joyce, Minerva ed. (London: Mandarin-Reed, 1992) vi.

⁶ Frank Budgen, "Recollections of James Joyce," *James Joyce: Interviews and Recollections*, ed. E. H. Mikhail, foreword Frank Delaney (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990) 75.

⁷ Budgen 77.

⁸ "Freud," *Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary* (London: Reader's, 1987).

⁹ James Hopkins, "The Interpretation of Dreams," *The Cambridge Companion to Freud* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991) 86-7.

¹⁰ "Nietzsche," *Universal Dictionary*.

¹¹ Brian L. Silver, *The Ascent of Science* (New York: Oxford UP, 1998; Softback Preview, 1998) 277.

¹² Peter I. Barta, *Bely, Joyce, and Döblin: Peripatetics in the City Novel*, Florida James Joyce Ser., (Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1996) 4-5.

¹³ Richard Lehan, *The City in Literature: An Intellectual and Cultural History* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1998) 115.

¹⁴ Jennifer Levine, "Ulysses," *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*, ed. Derek Attridge (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990) 136.

¹⁵ David Norris and Carl Flint, *Joyce for Beginners* (Cambridge: Icon, 1994) 121-3.

¹⁶ Harry Blamires, *The Bloomsday Book: A Guide through Joyce's Ulysses* (London: Methuen, 1966) 66.

¹⁷ Tom Paulin, *Ireland and the English Crisis* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Bloodaxe, 1984) 146.

¹⁸ Wendy B. Faris, "Cognitive Mapping: Labyrinths, Libraries and Crossroads," *City Images: Perspectives from Literature, Philosophy, and Film*, ed. Mary Ann Caws (New York: Gordon, 1991) 33-41.

¹⁹ Lehan 107.

²⁰ Marilyn French, *The Book as World: James Joyce's Ulysses* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1976) 8.

²¹ Paulin 92-100.

²² Franco Moretti, *Modern Epic: The World-System from Goethe to García Márquez*, trans. Quintin Hoare (London: Verso, 1996) 132.

²³ Richard M. Kain, *Fabulous Voyager: James Joyce's Ulysses* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1947) 73.

²⁴ Blamires 43.

²⁵ Craig Raine, "Millennium Masterworks: *Ulysses*," *Sunday Times*, 12 Sept. 1999 11: 17.

Chapter 6

"Time is the metre, memory the only plot": Derek Walcott's *Omeros* (1990) and Aidan Andrew Dun's *Vale Royal* (1995)

This chapter draws upon Derek Walcott's *Omeros* (1990) and Aidan Andrew Dun's *Vale Royal* (1995) to discuss a phenomenon, in some late twentieth-century epics, whereby the heroic journey becomes a vehicle for exploring the environment, rather than the environment helping to define a physical, and often spiritual, quest.

Section I introduces the idea of a cultural landscape which depends upon the hero's movements to expose the topography as that which is continuously influenced by historical events. The heroes' journeys involve travelling across a topographical plane and crossing the dimensions of time. I combine the different meanings of landscape, as defined by Peter Atkins, Ian Simmons and Brian Roberts in *People, Land and Time* (1998), with my ideas about the changing nature of the epic journey to describe the epic context for these narratives¹.

In a discussion of *Omeros* (1990), section II considers the idea that events in cultural history are erased by successive colonial powers through their prejudiced cartographic representations of landscape as territory. Cultural guilt is written into the landscape, and the memories associated with the geography of the island (St. Lucia) mean that specific landmarks and places precipitate horrific visions of the past.

A reading of *Vale Royal* (1995), in section III, concentrates upon Dun's vision of place as that which cannot exist in an isolated present reality but must be understood in terms of a union between interdependent time and space realities. The hero's movements reveal layers of physical history

whilst linking the geography to eternal energies and mythologies. In turn, this allows him to access history via a journey made in the imagination. The Blakean vision, with which the narrative opens, is achieved by Chatterton, and is taken even further by Dun himself.

I. Epic Context

I.i. Ideas of Landscape

Ideas of mapping and memorialising have often contributed to epic representations of landscape. In Homer and Virgil, landscapes are dominated by human and divine agents but, in representing landscapes as contested territories, the poets use place names to record historic processes and to enter important events into cultural memory. These texts exemplify the use of "landscape as place, location or territory"--a use which Atkins et al. define as "the humanistic interpretation of place as an existential concept which emphasises the relationships between people and the physical landscape, and the meaning derived from these settings"². In *The Dunciad* (1728) and *Ulysses* (1922), monuments recall historical icons and actions. This use of landscape comes under the concept of "landscape as artefact" whereby "landscapes may themselves be symbols and become a focus of group identity"³. *The Prelude* (1805) links landscape with memory even further through "spots of time". Aesthetic approaches to the environment, as represented by Wordsworth and other Romantic writers, demonstrate the perception of "landscape as scenery". That is, "the visual, tangible aspect of the world" whereby the natural vista directs human thoughts and emotional responses⁴.

I.ii. Journeys

The increasing influence of memory and time upon epic landscapes has

affected both the role of the environment, and the type of journey which the hero undertakes. In the earliest epics, as I said above, the environment plays only a minor role either as a space in which human dramas unfold or, sometimes, providing a symbolic external structure for spiritual enlightenment. Epic journeys, in these narratives, rely upon physical and spiritual strength.

In *Paradise Lost* (1667), the divinely-created environment of Paradise operates according to predetermined laws. Despite the human labour which is required to maintain the garden's perfection, the idyllic landscape essentially exists beyond Adam and Eve: it is "landscape as nature" whereby the stress lies upon "physical structures and processes, with human impact seen as an interfering force which disrupts and often damages natural systems"⁵. Thus, when they eat the forbidden fruit, their actions have a catastrophic impact upon the environment, and disrupt the behaviours of the animal and astral bodies. The subsequent exile from Eden embodies their sin. And, just as Satan remembers a lost Heaven, the memory of Paradise becomes both a symbol of their self-pitying remorse, and crucial for shaping the future.

In the Romantic Period, landscape plays a larger role. In *Don Juan* (1819-24), changing environments effect metamorphoses in the hero's emotional identity. The emphasis upon a sense of perpetual fluidity allows the journey to cover a wide and diverse geography, while the emphasis upon open-endedness allows the hero to keep moving. The landscape is energised by the hero but is itself an essential agent. Similarly, in *The Prelude* (1805), the aesthetic type of landscape is important and Wordsworth searches for ways of connecting himself to the material environment. This allows him to describe both long tours and short rambles as epic journeys.

In *Ulysses* (1922) the cityscape, although well mapped, symbolises that

which lies on the surface of reality. What interests Joyce are the individuals who live there and that gives him an excuse for sending his characters wandering back and forth. Landmarks have only a minimal and functional significance; therefore it is possible for a character to pass, and re-pass, the same location without it resulting in an 'epiphany'. Human encounters are more important and so the epic journey disintegrates into aimless rambling against the ordered background of streets.

In *Omeros* (1990) and *Vale Royal* (1995), there is an acute awareness that geographies have been shaped by history. The landscapes function as topographies, and as maps of time. They are "cultural landscapes" which integrate all of the meanings of landscape described above, and which are perceived to be evolving. To describe the condition of a "cultural landscape", the geographer must explain "the slices in time" which have combined to create the image of landscape at the moment of viewing it⁶. The journeys of Achille, Major Plunkett and the narrator (*Omeros*), and of Chatterton (*Vale Royal*) become movements through time, although the authors achieve this in very different ways. In an interview with David Dabydeen, Walcott says that for anyone growing up in the Caribbean; "your sense of history was not narrowed down purely to your immediate environment"⁷. *Omeros* (1990) takes in a temporally "epic horizon" (I.ii.60), covers a wide geographical area and draws upon colonial powers to contextualise island topography and culture as its characters search for roots and origins. *Vale Royal* (1995) focuses upon a specific and small area of North London, and uses the urban landscape to uncover forces which are more powerful and more enduring than people. Short walks through King's Cross allow the visionary Chatterton to transcend the present.

II. *Omeros*

Although a discussion of Homeric analogies in *Omeros* (1990) is appropriate for a study of epic, limited space means that I can only direct attention to some of the most pertinent observations. John Thieme, basing his work upon *Omeros* (1990) and Walcott's play, *The Odyssey* (1993), argues that Odysseus personifies the Caribbean identity crisis "-- as a migrant predicament perennially poised between restless journeying and a longing for home"⁸. And, in his interpretation, Walcott "displaces Homer and reinvents him as an extraterritorial traveller, who is the common property of different periods and cultures, as well as a protagonist who can particularly embody the cross-cultural genealogies that have gone into the making of the Caribbean melting-pot"⁹. Conversely, I argue that in *Omeros* (1990), Homer symbolises the archetypal epic poet. Just as the contemporary women in John Barton's *Tantalus* (2000) progress from listening to the storyteller, to exchanging stories, to enacting the tales and, finally, don masks to become characters; so does Homer progress from being a creative stimulus, to being recast as Seven Seas the St. Lucian blind poet, to being a marble bust and, finally (echoing Dante's being guided by Virgil in the *Divina Commedia* [c.1310], becoming a guide with whom Walcott's narrator walks and converses¹⁰.

As Walcott told J. P. White in 1990; "the cycles of history are repetitive, they do not resolve anything"¹¹. The Homeric echoes in *Omeros* (1990) help to validate claims that ancient epic models may be reinvigorated by modern writers. Walcott says "I'm taking these people [the Homeric characters] as if they were fragments or shards washed up on this shore and looking at them for the first time"¹². At the same time, the narrator asks, "Why not see Helen / as the sun saw her, with no Homeric shadow, . . .?" (LIV.ii). Walcott gives the Caribbean people an heroic resonance, without betraying their cultural identity, by rejecting Homer as a direct

model and using his influence as it has been diffused through Joyce.

In *Epic of the Dispossessed* (1997), Robert Hamner refers to "Leaving School", an autobiographical essay in which Walcott deems Stephen Dedalus an "idealistic hero" and Leopold Bloom an "earthy hero"¹³. Walcott praises *Ulysses* (1922) because it focuses upon the reflective torment of Bloom. Similarly, Walcott's protagonists suffer internal afflictions which can be connected to the curse of being "without roots in this [new] world" (IV.39).

Hamner also argues that Hart Crane has influenced *Omeros* (1990) through shared technique and drawing upon images of the Caribbean Sea¹⁴. Water images in *The Bridge* (1930) and *Omeros* (1990) do indeed provide the most significant similarity. In *Omeros* (1990), the sea is ever present in the consciousness of the characters; it is either visible or audible or odorous. Furthermore, it penetrates Walcott's metaphors, coming to symbolise life itself, to unite birth and death: "The sail of [Helen's] bellying stomach seemed to [Achille] / to bear not only the curved child sailing in her / but Hector's mound, and her hoarse, labouring rhythm / was a delivering wave" (LV.ii).

The following reading of the text will focus upon Achille's visionary journey to his ancestral Africa, Major Plunkett's quest through time past, and the narrator's travels in Europe and America. José Maria Pérez Fernández argues, in "*Terza Rima, the Sea and History in Omeros*" (2001) that the narrator's search for his identity is also "a spiritual and aesthetic quest" and that he "acquires a richer dimension by means of his partial replication in other characters that undergo similar healing processes"¹⁵. The common aim of these three characters is to be able to transcend history in order to facilitate a revelation of self which is independent of their respective geographic and historical positions. The journeys of the other characters build up to the narrator's description of his development and, in

Walcott's "labyrinthine frame of parallelisms, symbols and relations among different cultural and literary models", he is perhaps able to resolve some issues concerning his ideas of history, place and personal space¹⁶.

However, as the following analyses will prove, where Achille and the narrator successfully complete their "journeys" to achieve an understanding of self which is free from historical association, Plunkett fails in his quest as his ideas of place and people come to be increasingly dependent on interpretations of the historical situations.

II.i. Achille

In chapter XXIV, we find Achille and his shipmate preparing for a day's work. Achille is transfixed by a swift which skims the waves and bobs over the wake, always maintaining the same distance ahead of the boat. Achille thinks the bird is "the bait of the gods"; that, like Wordsworth's cloud, it is a spiritual guide (38). When the bird disappears, he watches the sun and, at this moment, time seems to stop: "No action but stasis" (79). The oars rest in their locks, the sail hangs motionless, and Achille experiences the inertia of sunstroke. The ghost of his father appears at the end of the rope and then Achille questions his identity. This sequence describes a moment of standstill but there is nevertheless a fluidity in the progression. Walcott creates a sense of movement within Achille by having him led from bird, to sun, to his father, and to himself. It is said that Achille was mesmerised by the bird in the same way that fishermen become entranced by "trolling water" (or Byron's Juan by the fire of battle). It also appears that while the physical co-ordinates remain unchanged, time keeps running, though not linearly. The same idea, that multiple layers of time may be captured in a single geographical place is found in Wordsworth's walk across Salisbury Plain; and in *Vale Royal* (1995) where ley lines connect geographical and temporal 'places'.

Achille's sudden need to locate his roots is a pivotal moment. In that minute the swift is able to bridge the tangible, real world of Achille's present and the shadowy world of memory. His journey into this forgotten cultural past provides the poem's main focus upon Achille, just as Plunkett's trawl through naval history, and the narrator's recollections of his own experiences provide the most interesting insights into their characters. As the quotation which I have chosen for the title of this chapter suggests, time pulsates with the eternal tide throughout the poem but the action of this epic is concerned with memory and the hold which the past retains over the present. The swift leads Achille down a muddy river, homeward to Africa:

It was like the African movies
he had yelped at in childhood. The endless river unreeled

those images that flickered into real mirages:
naked mangroves walking beside him, knotted logs
wriggling into the water, the wet, yawning boulders

of oven-mouthed hippopotami. A skeletal warrior
stood up straight in the stern and guided his shoulders,
clamped his neck in cold iron, and altered the oar.

Achille wanted to scream, he wanted the brown water
to harden into a road, but the river widened ahead
and closed behind him.

(XXV.8-18).

Hamner has picked up on the word "unreeled" as appropriate to the association, in Achille's mind, with childhood films of Africa¹⁷. There is more meaning in this word than he gives credit. Not only does it aptly describe the way in which each different view comes in scene-by-scene

succession as the boat sails down river, but it also encapsulates the idea of forgotten images. Film images are only visible when the tape is rolling; as the reel coils upon itself the images cease to exist and are stored away, often forgotten or even destroyed. Here, the very water is a reel of film, and the African spectacles are made visible only as the river unwinds. These early sights only come alive for Achille when he interprets what he sees through knowledge of movies because he has no firsthand experience of Africa. The implication of this is that his only comprehension of Africa is mediated by white Americans. Achille's subconscious is unprepared for the vision which lies ahead; and he is frightened by this alien world, his ancestral home. In the closing of the water behind him there is a sense of no return, but the widening river beyond offers to embrace him although he does not appear to realise this.

Achille becomes at once his beginning and his end as his spiritual quest runs circular to bring him face to face with his origins, his culture, his family:

He saw the first signs of men, tall sapling fishing-stakes;
he came into his own beginning and his end,
for the swiftness of a second is all that memory takes.

Now the strange, inimical river surrenders its stealth
to the sunlight. And a light inside him wakes,
skipping centuries, ocean and river, and Time itself.

And God said to Achille, "Look, I giving you permission
to come home. Is I send the sea-swift as a pilot,
the swift whose wings is the sign of my crucifixion.

(XXV.25-33).

As the river bends into sunlight, Achille achieves illumination. He is able to disregard time and place and physical structure, and at once finds God.

However, he is troubled because he cannot remember the native language, and can recognise his father only by seeing aspects of himself in the old man's gait. As I shall argue later, Plunkett feels cultural guilt because of the way in which the British expanded their empire but his guilt is precipitated by St. Lucia's landscape. Achille feels shame, a mutation of European cultural guilt, because he has allowed himself to participate in the white man's erasing of his ancestral history.

In the same way in which I argued that Homer gradually becomes more integrated into the poem, his role changing to become progressively more participative, so does Achille become increasingly drawn into this African tale. He progresses from spectator, to being introduced to individuals, to standing in the midst of the village but unable to interact, to wanting to be part of the tribe's future. He knows he cannot change what happened when the tribe were kidnapped, slaughtered, and 'erased' by the whites, and other African tribes, but his vision has brought him into contact with his culture. But his heart belongs in St. Lucia. Finally he is able to feel compassion for Hector and will be able to 'return' home. It is not a sense of belonging which has eluded Achille; his problems were more to do with suppression of the past and, once his tale is told, he is able to move on with his life.

Near the end of his vision, Achille hears "the griot muttering his prophetic song" (XXVIII.i.1) which tells of serpentine river-gods changing into currents and of torrential rain during the raid on his tribe. The narrative cuts to Helen and Philoctete before Achille bursts back into the narrative foreground: "Now, running home, Achille sprung up from the seabed" (XXIX.iii.19). It is not clear to me how he came to be on the seabed although there is perhaps a natural progression from the earlier pluvial images. There is a strong suggestion that he is overwhelmed by his vision in the image of being under the ocean--as if he has drowned under the metaphorical weight of all that he has learned about his ancestral past. At the same time, as Philoctete tells

Helen, "His name / is what [Achille] out looking for, his name and his soul," (XXIX.ii.12). Having found these, Achille's being in the ocean, and subsequently springing out of the water, is a form of rebirth: he is brought into complete existence by knowing his tribal name, culture and history.

The importance of water is emphasised in this dual ascent from sea to air, and from his subconscious to consciousness. Having obtained the answers he sought, his imagination is appeased and he becomes weightless. The rise is symbolic as well as realistic. Walcott told White that, "in St. Lucia the presence of the sea is bigger than the land in your own sight. . . . Nothing can be put down in the sea. You can't plant on it, you can't live on it, you can't walk on it. Therefore, the strength of the sea gives you an idea of time that makes history absurd. Because history is an intrusion on that immensity"¹⁸. It could be argued that Achille is first oppressed by his vision but, once he is enveloped by the sea, he comes to accept that he cannot alter history. Indeed, perhaps he realises that his responsibility is to himself, in the present, because there is more to life than what has gone before. This change of emotional position could allow him to propel himself back to physical reality.

The quotation below summarises three of the most important ideas running through *Omeros* (1990). Firstly, "submerged archipelago" describes topography but it is also a reference to the various histories which are "submerged" in people's subconscious. It is the repeated attempts by European colonialists, and now, American tourists, to bury the horrific past. Secondly, the sea is the most crucial image in the poem. It helps to create and to obliterate history. Only the sea goes on when people expire, or 'leave the beach' as the poem's final line concludes. Finally, Achille physically returns to the island, his true home. Hamner writes; "no matter how far the leading characters may wander literally or imaginatively, . . . they inevitably return to their point of origin".¹⁹ Achille has completed a

circuitous journey which has both started and finished with his inner self. In *Omeros* (1990), answers often lead back to the start of the enquiry, and, in the question of Helen, history repeats itself.

Now, running home, Achille sprung up from the seabed
like a weightless astronaut, not flexing his knees
through phosphorescent sleep; the parchment overhead

of crinkling water recorded three centuries
of the submerged archipelago, in its swell
the world above him passed through important epochs

(XXIX.iii.19-24).

II.ii. Major Plunkett

The Plunketts have completed their journeys from England and Ireland to settle in the Caribbean. Dennis, like Achille, is aware of not belonging to the community although he is familiar with his ancestral origins and history. It is cultural guilt, arising from British colonialism, which torments him.

Achille feels a profound need to return to Africa, albeit in his imagination, because he is in St. Lucia only because his ancestors were forcibly removed from their homeland. In this sense, Achille is dispossessed. Plunkett, on the other hand, is displaced in the same way that Walcott sees Joyce as having been an exile "in a mental sense", that is, *rejecting* his cultural homeland²⁰. England is "merely the place of his birth" (x.iii.13). Fixating upon Helen, he does however feel that he must atone for the sins of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Europeans. His journey through the island's past begins as an attempt to give Helen her history, and to appease his discomfort regarding his nation's atrocities. Walcott returns several times throughout his poetry to the idea that part of the Caribbean history has never been addressed: in "Midsummer" (1979), he expresses

anger that the Caribbean is thought of, by outsiders, as a place with neither a history nor a culture; in "The Schooner Flight" (1979) Shabine says "I met History once, but he ain't recognize me," (10)²¹ and in *Another Life* (1973), the speaker says "For no one had yet written of this landscape" (8.iii.1)²².

Plunkett's regression through time begins with a physical exploration of the island's contemporary topography:

Once the rains passed they took the olive Land Rover
round the shining island, up morne with red smudges
of fresh immortelles with old things to discover;

the deep-green crescents held African villages
that, over centuries, had roofed their shacks with tins,
erected a square stone church, until by stages,

the shacks would creep down the ridges to become towns.

That was how History saw them. He studied the course
that it offered: the broken roads, the clear rivers

that congealed to sepia lagoons, from which some case
of bilharzia would erupt in kids whose livers
caught the hookworm's sickle. Pretty, dangerous streams.

Their past was flat as a postcard, and their future,
a brighter and flatter postcard, printed the schemes
of charters with their poverty-guaranteed tour.

(x.ii.1-15).

The material landscape is described vibrantly. It shines because the earth is freshened by the rain but it is also, to Plunkett, an exotic location.

"Immortelles" are flowers which retain their colour after they have been

dried so this image conveys the typically epic idea that Nature is eternal. Significantly, the flowers are red, and Walcott has elected to describe not a blush or a rash of colour, but a smudge. In *Omeros* (1990), history has been erased from records and memories but is preserved in the environment. Relics are unearthed from the seabed, and from the ground; and here, the flowers symbolise the blood which has been spilled over the centuries. Perhaps I am misrepresenting the significance of this image but I think it is pertinent that Walcott has selected just this one colour, a potent red, for the flowers.

In the hilly crescents, Plunkett is able to 'read' the island's superficial history: how human habitation and uses of the land grew and reshaped the landscape. Often, figures in the landscape depict heroism--humankind becoming champion over the harsh environment. However, stanzas 20-4 invert this conventional model by depicting the land as heroic: the island has survived volcanic activity as well as human occupation. The false portrayal of the past illustrates how the Africans' cultural history has become "flat as a postcard". All the viewer can surmise about the development of the island is what can be seen in the actual topography, or in various cartographic interpretations.

Plunkett looks beyond this first impression and sees the poverty and marginalisation of the Africans--the broken roads and putrid, diseased water. Walcott says to Dabydeen; "You look at a cane field, in the morning, and you cannot get anything more beautiful than a cane field, from a height, in the morning. Think of what went into the cane, the history of cane, what *pain* there is in that. Where is it? You'll see it. It's not visible, there's no monument to all these people that cut cane"²³. Plunkett looks for that invisible history in the landscape. Unfortunately, history is repeating itself in the current suppression of the past by tourism. Congealed lagoons do not appeal to the "plague" of American tourists. Plunkett is different but,

although he appreciates the landscape as a setting (expansive plunges and indigo peaks [X.ii.29-31]), and considers human activity on the land ("irrigation ditches" [X.ii.34] and the sugar factory [X.ii.41]), he is nevertheless a spectator at this point and does not properly feel part of his environment.

Plunkett is reminded of imperialism when he recalls Helen's theft of Maud's yellow dress: the dress "had an empire's tag on it, mistress to slave" (XI.i.25). Motivated by this thought, his journey into the island's past takes him from the visual landscape to maps. "One finger traced the line / of some map, and the nose, with its man-o-war's beak / skimmed the white page." (XI.ii.14-6). The map referred to here is non-specific but the "white page" both describes the physical appearance of the paper, and intimates the ethnic origin of Plunkett's collection of charts and books. Cartographers design maps according to different agendas and, when studying the Battle of the Saints, Plunkett finds it difficult to establish the exact line of engagement because "whimsical cartographers aligned the islands / as differently as dead leaves in a subtle wind" (XVI.ii.49-50). Plunkett's recourse to old maps, though interesting, does not necessarily provide a history for Helen. It provides Plunkett with a greater understanding of his ancestors' involvement in the Caribbean. However, the earlier excursion across part of the island did not achieve much in the way of emotional movement. Looking at old maps, on the other hand, leads Plunkett away from emotional involvement with his wife (as she becomes neglected), into a deeper emotional involvement with St. Lucia.

Researching the Battle of the Saints opens a portal into history for Plunkett. The initial description of the battle provides an alternative idea of heroism from that of heroic Nature: the rogue hero who follows his instincts rather than rules, but not in the mundane fashion of Don Juan.

in a mild sunrise the ninth ship of the French line
 flashed fire at *The Marlborough*, but swift pennants

from Rodney's flagship signalled his set design
 to break from the classic pattern. *The Marlborough*
 declined engagement and veered from the cannonade;

reading the pennants, she crossed the enemy's trough,
 her sister frigates joining the furrow she made.

(xv.i.2-8).

The language conveys speed, ingenuity, strong leadership, danger and independent thinking. Reading this brief account, we assume that the English fleet was organised, and that Rodney was indeed a brilliant strategist and innovator. It reflects Plunkett's practical and emotional deficiencies that in fact, three concurrent Continental wars were fought by the British between 1739 and 1748, with the navy performing badly except against France²⁴. Naval documents from the 1780s reveal a navy characterised by divided command²⁵. Rodney appears to have been a General Custer type of hero, that is, lacking moral and spiritual qualities and tending instead towards arrogance and opportunism.

According to Geoffrey Callender and F. H. Hinsley in *The Naval Side of British History* (1952), Rodney had proposed to descend upon Castries in St. Lucia. He had earned his reputation by destroying the Spanish fleet off St. Vincent in 1780, and had persuaded the Government to provide a naval base in the West Indies. When the French departed to conquer Jamaica, Rodney gave chase. The French and British fleets sailed north on parallel courses until De Grasse (the French commander) suddenly manoeuvred to the other side and sailed towards the British. Only a change in wind direction allowed Rodney to steer east-north-east as the French passed,

thereby intersecting the line of French ships. The rear of the British fleet were then able to follow suit thus fragmenting the French advance before opening fire²⁶. The quotation given above summarises this as briefly as possible and inaccurately glorifies Rodney for his deeds alone. In precursor epics, we often find that heroic deeds must be matched by conventionally heroic virtues whether complete (the Renaissance ideal) or incomplete.

Plunkett then becomes lost in his quest to discover the true history of St. Lucia. He obsesses over measurements, wind directions and tides because he makes an imaginative leap from the Battle of the Saints to his own military career. In Chapter XVI, the narrator informs readers that Plunkett had once planned to "embark on / a masochistic odyssey through the Empire, / . . . from Singapore / to the Seychelles in his old Eighth Army outfit" (XVI.iii.1-5). In *Vale Royal* (1995), place becomes superimposed upon place as different planes of time converge. In *Omeros* (1990), rather than allowing Plunkett to access Helen's history, his research accommodates the imaginative merge of person with person. In Achille's vision, the person he first meets is both his father and his son. Similarly, Plunkett projects his own dreams of reliving his battles onto his pilgrimage through naval history. Later, when he climbs to the fort, he forgets his initial motivation because he has identified with Rodney to the extent that he now believes "History [is] fact" (XVII.ii.32). When a person says that a certain good or bad event occurred in a certain place, Walcott argues that this is "how another culture or maybe an entire past, cultural past, would measure its own definition of a history"²⁷. For the Caribbean native, surrounded by "something you can't make a mark on, which is the ocean", and with "no memorials on land"; then, as Achille learns, only what happens in the present is important²⁸. Plunkett takes the conventionally European approach to perceiving a country according to its history, thus alienating himself from St. Lucian culture. It is vain, says Walcott, "to remember past,

and vain to prophesy a future"²⁹.

Plunkett's research has replaced the conventional episode of enchantment (common to epic and romance) whereby the hero is deflected from his quest. He no longer believes in revising history for the Caribbeans because "it will be rewritten / by black pamphleteers, History will be revised, / and we'll be its villains (sic), fading from the map" (XVII.i.41-3)--just as the various nations which were brought to the Caribbean have been erased from the cultural map.

Achille's visionary journey was circular, beginning and ending with his need to feel cultural and geographic roots. Plunkett's journey also ends with a revelation about himself but his discovery comes at the end of a route which began with Helen. His research reveals a midshipman, also called Plunkett and this causes his blood to run cold--not because an ancestor has participated in the colonial sins which had previously caused him to feel cultural guilt, but because of the possible family connection: "This was his search's end. He had come far enough / to find a namesake and a son" (XVII.iii.3-4). He reconciles his deviance from the initial task of giving Helen a history by personifying the island as Helen. That way, he can persuade himself that Helen has given him a son (XIX.iii.26) and thus, the history of the battle becomes her history too.

II.iii. Narrator

It is largely through the imaginative and recollected journeys of the narrator that the large geographic scope of *Omeros* (1990) is achieved, whereas the journeys of Achille and Major Plunkett serve to expand the temporal range of experiences. The autobiographical passages reflect the universality of historical experience (how fundamental human experiences fail to respect geographic and temporal borders). They particularly draw upon ideas of dispossession and displacement to create the idea of a

common restlessness. Be it colonialism in the Caribbean, Ancient Greek wars, or driving the Native Americans onto reservations; the universal impetus behind these campaigns has been one cultural group seeking expansion across the world and simultaneously trying to restrict the movements of other peoples. This section will briefly consider the narrator's childhood impressions of St. Lucia. It will also discuss the references to North America and Europe.

In his biography, *Derek Walcott: A Caribbean Life* (2000), Bruce King writes of the young Walcott visiting his paternal grandmother, Christiana, who lived near the wharves. Here, he saw women carrying baskets of coal (on their heads) on and off the ships, singing as they climbed the ramps³⁰. The memory finds its way into Chapter XIII where the narrator recalls his home as a place where "alleys ended in a harbour" (XIII.i.1). He remembers standing at the corner of Bridge Street watching the liners, and staring after women "ascending / the narrow wooden ramp built steeply to the hull / of a liner tall as a cloud" (XIII.ii.45-7). The women walk with a natural rhythm, as I shall quote below.

Already, we sense the boy's curiosity about the rest of the world and, coincidentally, Walcott's aunt, Anna, (living in Harlem) was at this time trying to persuade the family to emigrate to North America³¹. Just as the young Wordsworth gazed at the sky beyond the Cumbrian mountains, the young Walcott looked out across the ocean. While this does not imply dissatisfaction with his native environment, it does suggest a keenness to explore other geographies, to push the boundaries of experience beyond the physical horizon. At the same time, it might be argued that in persistently looking outwards from the island Walcott, or the narrator, is searching for his European origins. (His father, Warwick, was half white and Derek fancied that his grandfather named his eldest child after his native Warwickshire, thus he has English ancestry and an imagined

spiritual link with Shakespeare through the paternal lineage. His mother, Alix, was half Dutch³².)

Travel is also connected, in Walcott, to the act of writing as we find in the description of women carrying coal onto the liners:

climbing in their footsteps, that slow, ancestral beat
of those used to climbing roads; your own work owes them

because the couplet of those multiplying feet
made your first rhymes.

(XIII.iii.29-32).

Walcott is influenced by the tribal rhythms of his ancestors, and by literary precursors such as Shakespeare, to whom he has made an earlier reference (XII.i.33-9). The women walking the ramp find their way into Walcott's creativity--their steps provide him with poetic impulses and rhythms. On the other hand, the successful writers of literary tradition have already provided tracks for him to follow. In *Omeros* (1990), the narrator encapsulates a certain impatience, or restlessness. The digressive narrative oscillates between characters, the narrator's autobiography transports the reader across the globe, and images of the sea, sailing, walking and driving are repeated frequently. When characters are physically motionless, they undertake imaginative journeys. The idea of language, or narrative, being a journey is found again in Chapter XLV: "Didn't I prefer a road / from which tracks climbed into the thickening syntax / of colonial travellers, the measured prose I read / as a schoolboy?" (ii.35-8).

When the narrator thinks back on his divorce (from his third wife, c.1986/7³³), he remembers living in Boston and then, in Chapters XXXIV and XXXV, imagines the American Midwest.

I saw the white waggon move

across [the page], with printed ruts, then the railroad track
and the arrowing interstate, as a lost love
narrowed from epic to epigram.

(XXXIV.i.9-12).

The quotation describes an emotional connection growing weaker and more terse as he became estranged from his wife. The wagons become a metaphor for ways of life being extinguished: the Indians' close relationship with the environment, severed when the whites prohibited their wandering across the plains; and, in a parallel progression, man and wife find what was once a relationship --marital love-- eroded to mere acquaintance. Here, ruts are erased from the earth/page as railroads and then asphalt roads replace the dirt tracks. Images of travel can indicate emotional involvement: as modes of transport have evolved, people have become increasingly removed from any sense of travelling experience, or reading of the landscape. Similarly, man and wife forget how to read one another.

In Chapter XXXV, the narrator forces himself to "hear the water's / language" (i.3-4) when he visits the Trail of Tears. The creek, like the St. Lucian environment, tells of history: of Indians, but also Greeks and Caribbeans. While the past has been forgotten or erased, the river, like the ocean, contains secrets and reminders. The creek also, like the river which delivers Achille to Africa, transports the narrator across cultural boundaries. Listening to the water he passes into different cultural and historical realms as his imagination permits borders of time and place to recede. If Achille was searching for his roots, and Plunkett for a sign of continuation, then the narrator seems to throw his cultural identity wide open. Home is in St. Lucia, but he is a global product, the creation of history and not of place. At the same time, living in New England, he finds that his colour is registered

by people; he is not perceived as belonging there (XXXV I.ii.1-6).

In the European chapters, Walcott writes, "my throat was scarred / from a horizon that linked me to others" (XXXV II.ii.18-9). In Portugal, he is on the other side of his meridian--crossed over to the colonisers. He makes comparisons between Portugal and St. Lucia: one has castles, plazas, and statues; the other has no symbol of Caribbean power, only the landscape. The Portuguese stanzas are perhaps superfluous but they are an attempt to show the narrator confronting, penetrating even, the part of him which belongs to empire building. He will visit those countries which have played roles in shaping him because they have influenced the development of his homeland. The Portuguese section also reminds us of *Os Lusíadas* (1572)--a nationalistic epic which describes how the country established an empire through Vasco da Gama's navigation of the sea route to India, its rule of Brazil, and explorations of Africa. The countries which the narrator revisits, in memory, have been associated with conquests which have come to define whole periods of time. These range from Portuguese power in South America, British colonialism in India and the Caribbean, the spread of the Ottoman empire, to Roman conquests.

The English section is cursory but offers a survey of London's major monuments: Westminster, Trafalgar, St. Paul's Cathedral are just a few which are identified--emblems of power and military triumphs. Not only have the British exercised dominance over the Caribbeans, but now the landmarks dominate the cityscape. This provides an interesting contrast to St. Lucia. In *Omeros* (1990), history has been buried--in the earth, under the sea, and in the writing of official documents. In London, history is visible; it is commemorated and the country's past has physically shaped the growth and appearance of the metropolis.

The narrator's reflections also take him to Ireland, across the Aegean, to Istanbul and Venice. He writes that "Men take their colours / as the trees do

from the native soil of their birth," (XL I .ii.21-2) but, at the same time, "The widening mind can acquire / the hues of a foliage different from where it begins" (XL I .ii.10-11). Travel has allowed the narrator to transcend his Caribbean origins. Unlike Achille, he is not preoccupied with the question of who he is because his identity is not a fixed concept; it is enriched by each place he visits. These passages demonstrate that the layers of history which burden a person may be overcome, to some extent, by travel. Likewise, Achille's visionary journey to Africa permitted him to accept that his identity comes from within, and not from history. In the following discussion of *Vale Royal* (1995), I shall argue that history is the prime factor in determining the character, not of a person, but of place.

III. *Vale Royal* (1995)

In *Vale Royal* (1995), Aidan Andrew Dun takes the epic back to a more spiritual type of narrative. The text is not allegorical. It draws upon biographical details from the life of Thomas Chatterton, and sets these against the context of eighteenth-century Masonic culture to portray the hero's journey as a personal quest across a sanctified cityscape. Although the cityscape is not spiritual in the manner of the *Divina Commedia* (c.1310), Dun uses the image of ley lines to connect churches and hills etc. which have been traditionally associated with spiritual and mystical power by the culturally and ethnically diverse groups to have occupied London.

The poem takes its name from the valley of the Fleet River--one of many ancient watercourses which are now 'lost', often continuing to flow beneath the surface of the modern city. In *London: The Biography* (2000), Peter Ackroyd describes the Fleet's course across London and through history³⁴. He draws upon several documented incidents and primary source materials to demonstrate that, unlike Dun's sacred geography, the Fleet was filthy and diseased and its immediate environs were populated by

rogues. It is because attempts to clean the water and purge the district of felons failed that, from 1732 to the early Nineteenth Century, sections of the river were bricked over. As Ackroyd acknowledges, the Fleet and other waters still follow old channels although we are usually unaware of them. Dun's Fleet is as powerful as the ley lines; it is a sacred river towards which certain people gravitate. It becomes a symbol, not of the city's rankness, but of its visionaries: those, like Blake and Chatterton, who possess a higher perception.

Vale Royal (1995) begins in the present tense with the poet's prologue:

In wide arcs of wandering through the city
I saw to either side of what is seen,
and noticed treasures where it was thought there were none.

I passed through a more fluid city.
I broke up the imprint of all familiar places,
shutting my eyes to the boredom of modern contours.

(13-8).

The narrator describes his elliptical strolls across London as that which prompted his own enlightenment, or vision, of the unseen past and future of the city. He looked beyond what was merely visible and, in the ordinary streets, discovered a wealth of forgotten knowledge. Once his perception of the city had surpassed seeing only what lies at street level, the city took on a quality of fluidity. That is, he no longer saw a static metropolis, but perceived it in a timeless state; the layers of time emerging from the modern detritus. In other words the narrator, like Chatterton, Blake and Dun himself, underwent a form of apocalyptic transformation: conventional understanding of geography became redundant because familiar places seemed changed by his new perception, the revelation of temporal geography. The narrator's London is a city encompassing all time, rather

than a city *in* time and this new vision causes the past to be revealed in new and symbolic ways. Furthermore, dispensing with conventional ways of seeing allowed the narrator's imagination to construct a vision of the city which took cognisance of its mystical geography.

In essence, Dun's method of mapping London is a participation in what is known as "psychogeography"--something which also characterises the writing of Stewart Home and, more prominently, Iain Sinclair whose work is similarly inspired by random walks around London³⁵. Psychogeography is of interest to geographers, artists and writers who want to investigate the effects of physical geography upon human behaviour and emotional responses. Chatterton, for example, feels the suffering of orphan children that died of typhus in Thomas Coram's Foundling Hospital: "He feels the shockwave of ten thousand children's voices; / and their typhus-fevered tossing in rag-beds moves him / with an abstract maternal drive to shudder Grand lodge." (II.377-9). The field of psychogeography was developed in the late 1950s as a critique of urbanism, and describes inexact research methods such as "aimless drifting through the city, trying to record the emotions given by a particular place", and the creation of mood-driven cartography³⁶. Another interpretation, which applies well to *Vale Royal* (1995), sees psychogeography as "the hidden landscape of atmospheres, histories, actions and characters which charge environments . . . posit[ing] myriad imaginative links between types of places, bringing out the unexpected parallels . . . lost social ley-lines which make up the unconscious cultural contours of places"³⁷. Chatterton, in his visions of certain areas of London, reacts imaginatively and emotionally to historical situations--both topographically present and mythologised traces of the past (and in *Lud Heat* [1975], Sinclair explores the impact of London's mythology upon the contemporary inhabitants³⁸).

The readers are invited to participate in this vision so, although the poem

does not comment directly upon Dun's late twentieth-century position, he engages with the readers by taking them on a journey. Just as Milton engages with the reader by making us feel that we are involved in the journeys of Satan and Adam and Eve, and as Joyce draws readers onto the streets of Dublin, so Dun tries to make his readers feel that they walk with the poet as he follows Blake and Chatterton around King's Cross:

Come. A direction into zones of darkness,
a passage to the spaces of discovery begins.
We shall make a voyage to the deep place called Vale Royal.

The mirror and crescent of a jet-black night
now crosses the unclouded zenith of understanding.
We shall study maps of parallel worlds.

(55-60).

The celestial sphere is an unreal orb of infinite measure, at the centre of which lies Earth. The celestial bodies are situated on its surface. The zenith is the site on the sphere which is rectilinearly above the beholder, hence its other association with culmination. The "mirror" produces an image as it crosses the zenith, which is then reflected to Earth. Since the zenith is so distant, and is imaginary, it embraces eternal knowledge and, because it is "unclouded", the observer can attain a full and clear view of its images. It superimposes maps of past and future geographies upon the physical topography of the present world. However, I think that the reader should interpret Dun's zenith, and indeed the celestial sphere, as that which exists in the mind. Therefore, it is no external agent (whether real or imaginary) which guides the reader towards this vision; the movement comes from within the human imagination.

Readers are invited to think and see as Blake (and, to some extent, Achille) did--not through the eye but through the mind. Blake believed that "if

the doors of perception were cleansed everything would appear as it is, infinite" (*A Vision of the Last Judgement, Descriptive Catalogue*, pl. 14) and therefore, it would be possible to see all of time in one place³⁹. The reader is then prepared for entering Vale Royal in Blake's time: "It is London in the olden days" (74). For the purpose of establishing Vale Royal as a sacred place, it is necessary for the narrator to step back to the Eighteenth Century and introduce Blake's childhood vision. It is the physical streets of eighteenth-century London which the narrator and reader will tread in the poem. Dun only takes cognisance of twentieth-century Kings Cross through his appended notes which explain some of his research, and which locate past landmarks within a contemporary knowledge of London.

Camoëns addresses the whole history of Portugal in *Os Lusíadas* (1572); Walcott embraces a wide span of St. Lucian history; Ezra Pound's *Cantos* (1925-69) engage with ancient, Renaissance and modern history; in William Carlos Williams' *Paterson* (1946-58), the poet's personal life merges with a social history of the Passaic River region, and it has been said of Aidan Andrew Dun's most recent epic poem, *Universal* (2002), that: "this narrative rollercoaster of a poem whirlwinds through holy and pilgrimage places . . . Pursuing dangerous autobiographical detours, Dun sweeps the reader on a remarkable journey through transculture: London, the West Indies, North Africa, India"⁴⁰. In *Vale Royal* (1995), Dun attempts to describe a panorama of British history by depicting a small area of North London as differentiated into historical layers. These strata converge in the present as the cityscape yields relics to the person whose imagination is able to read the topography as temporal geography (like Sinclair, "tracing history, following poetic footsteps, noting curious resonances"⁴¹).

The hero, in *Vale Royal* (1995), becomes a vehicle for exploring the city as the geography becomes more prominent and more important than the character's development. Movement through time is not achieved via

conventional flashbacks and prophecies but, as in Wordsworth's trek cross Salisbury Plain, or Walcott's Philoctete hearing warriors and herdsmen as he listens to the wind among the yams (IV.ii.5-16), the signs in the material landscape act upon the imagination to produce an image of the past: real geography combining with imagined geography in a new vision. Just as Walcott believes history repeats itself, so is Dun driven by a recognition that what has gone before will come again. While Walcott has little faith in time resolving anything, Dun attempts to take experiences from the past one step further. Blake's vision in the first cycle of *Vale Royal* (set in 1763) becomes the basis for Chatterton's craft in the second cycle (beginning in 1770), and Dun himself completes the vision with this poem.

My treatment of *Vale Royal* (1995) will firstly involve a brief discussion of William Blake's relevance as the figure whose spiritual visions have exercised the greatest influence over Dun's belief in King's Cross as a sacred place. I will then treat some of Chatterton's wanderings through North London, after he has moved from Bristol. The emphasis is upon Chatterton as a vehicle for revealing the important history of the area, rather than his mode of travel.

III.i. Blake

Cycle One begins with a vivid description of the city. Colour is emphasised first in the "red and blue twilight", "red and green debris", "orange-peel and blackened stumps of dead matter" and silver moonlight (triads 1-6). As in Milton, attention is also paid to the contrasts of light and shade: the "sinking" sun, Whitechapel thrown into shade, "a dark trench of stone", the pale rising moon, and "overshadowed road". In triads 7-15, other senses are satisfied: touch is addressed by the drifting summer wind; there are sounds of drunken shouting, "a splash", coughing up "lung-blood", and

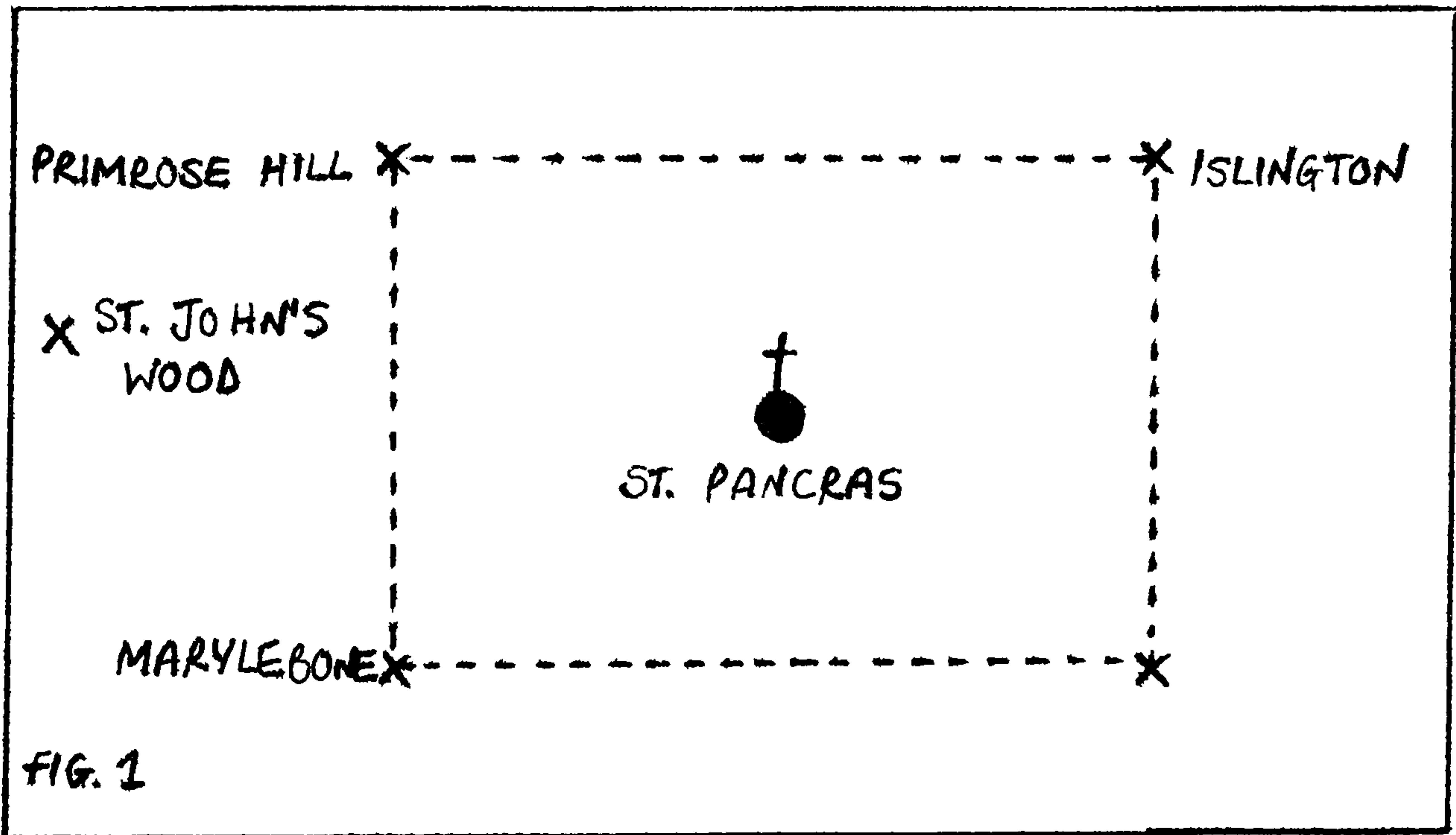
from the noise of the docks, we come to the theatre audience in the West End; and there are the smells of smoke, aromatic spices, "a bale of cinnamon", and the rare odour of "Virginia cigars". These references create a sensory experience of the city by way of setting the scene; and they represent conventional perception, the ways in which we become aware of our environments through physical experiences. Dun proposes, via Blake and Chatterton, that we adopt a new perception which is purely imaginative and spiritual.

Blake's *Jerusalem* (1804) proposes Kings Cross as a crucial area to the New Jerusalem, with the Church of St. Pancras at its spiritual centre:

The fields from Islington to Marybone,
To Primrose Hill and Saint John's Wood,
Were builded over with pillars of gold,
And there Jerusalem's pillars stood.

(*Jerusalem*, ch.2, pl.27.19-22)⁴².

Figure 1, below, roughly maps Blake's proposed sacred area.



In the notes to *Vale Royal* (1995), Dun explains that the lines connecting these places form a "geographical rectangle, with the Euston road to the south forming its base". The places which Dun names: Saint John's Wood,

Pentonville, Whitechapel, Mayfair, Bloomsbury, and Camden Town; all fall approximately within this "rectangle of darkness" (I.32.1). By naming these districts, Dun circles in upon St. Pancras. He visits districts at the outer limits of the Kings Cross region, but guides the reader, gradually closing in upon the church. By offering glimpses of these outer districts, Dun also contrasts the realities of working life and an industrialised city with an area which, he argues, is characterised by legend and the supernatural.

It is worth observing that this vision of sacred geography, initiated by Blake, and followed through by Chatterton and Dun, finds a parallel in John Constable's *The Southwark Mysteries* (1999). Constable sets up a similar premise: "At the heart of the Mysteries is a matrix of living energies and intelligences, interacting across Space and Time to heal the primordial rift between the Flesh and the Spirit. To reunite the Tantric Tribe. To reassemble the Body of Christ in the Temple of Isis. And to transform Samsara, the illusory world of names and forms that commonly passes for reality"⁴³. Constable's cycle of plays is based upon the Creations and Fall, the Second Coming, the Houses of Healing, the Crucifixions and the Apocalypse so it has a more recognisable structure than the two cycles of *Vale Royal* (1995). However, the ideas of the matrix of energies, and of the attempt to establish a new locus of spirituality in London, resonate with Dun's earlier poem. Constable celebrates more bawdy characters (the Goose, or prostitute) while Dun concentrates upon visionary poets, and the two writers draw upon different mythologies. Nevertheless, I argue that the two proposals, to resurrect Kings Cross and Southwark as areas of spiritual power, are closely related. Where Dun follows the lost Fleet River, Constable explores the South bank of the Thames but essentially, the inspiration underpinning both narratives is Blake's *Jerusalem* (1804). As Iain Sinclair observes, Charles Williams captures a similar spirit in *The Region of the Summer Stars* (1944)⁴⁴. Williams does not describe a

spiritual geography but the Kingdom of Logres (Britain) is to be established for the anticipated return of "Our Lord", by means of the Grail and Merlin's sorcery.

In Cycle One of Dun's poem, the reader is introduced to the seven year old Blake running amongst headstones in an old graveyard (St. Pancras). His movements would have been necessarily irregular and undirected, not only because the child is something of a free spirit, but also because the headstones, as physical obstacles, would have formed a sort of maze for Blake to explore. His game almost coincides with the path of the Reverend Doctor William Stukeley: Chief Druid, churchman, Freemason. Stukeley is drawn towards this area in search of occult magic.

A storm causes them both to shelter under the church tower and it appears that Blake is in a trance. He is a visionary, having seen "a tree full of angels" and is receptive to the magnetic fields of energy which elude most adults. Cycle One closes on this image of crossed paths and tangled routes and, in the ritual which Stukeley tries to perform, suggests that the ley lines which intersect Kings Cross may be used for good or evil. Now, his earlier physical movement is echoed as Blake must cling to his visionary perception in order to navigate his way through the mystical maze.

Cycle Two begins after "Seven long years [have spiralled] into the stellar void" (II.i.1). This suggests that not only is the external world permanent, but that it operates outside some of those scientific laws by which humankind is bound. Blake has visions and now lives "with inner voices" (II.7.1). The reader is to presume that he sees "the past, present & future, existing all at once / Before [him]" (*Jerusalem*, ch.1, pl.15.8-9).

III.ii. Chatterton

The Chatterton whom we encounter in *Vale Royal* (1995) has been

fictionalised by Dun to some extent, and incorporates much of the later, mythical and idealised perception of him as a persecuted genius--a view held by Wordsworth, Keats, Coleridge, Blake, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti⁴⁵. However, key events such as his falling into an open grave three days before his suicide, the rejection of work which he offered to Horace Walpole in 1769, his death in a Holborn attic, the references to his work and the mapping of his movements from Bristol and then residence in different parts of North London follow the actual events of Chatterton's life. (Incidentally, the open grave was in the churchyard at St. Pancras thus making a connection with the young Blake.)

Although the reader first learns of Chatterton's suicide, the images which follow are of him as a child in Bristol: "by the high dragon-spire of Saint Mary / he climbs a winding stairway under a cloud" (II.35.1-2). According to Dun, the Benedictines built most of their churches at high points where ley lines intersect, and it was under the shadow of St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol that Chatterton lived. Here, he rejects conventional schooling to study hermetics and illuminated manuscripts. This apparently broadened his perception and he became a type of visionary, not hallucinating like Blake, but inventing Thomas Rowley, a medieval monk whom Chatterton would pass off as the author of his poetry at a time when both antiquity and authenticity were valued. Later, in triad 169, Chatterton calls upon the energy of Bristol, and his visionary childhood, from his new home in London. He tries to recharge the power of Kings Cross but it is also a way of connecting places in the imagination.

In Bristol, Chatterton "cross[es] to phantom landscapes of earlier days. / He remembers another life in Gothic England" (II.42.2-3). This is significant because it is an attempt to see an isolated past which is different to Dun's representation of London as fragments of cultures which converge in the physical cityscape to provide a topographical, historical collage.

Chatterton's vision of England is based upon documents in the attic, and romanticised ideas of Saxon life (II.46.1-3). The epic poetry which he will write, such as *The Battle of Hastings* (1770), will be archaic, Spenserian verse and not representative of his own culture, for the most part. Dun's poem is close in spirit to David Jones' *Anathemata* (1952) which describes a Roman Catholic vision of Britain by tracing the origins of British identity from prehistory. A perception of historical geography is central to Jones but, instead of connecting his fragments of history by ley lines, he achieves a degree of coherence by linking everything together in an image of the sea. Like Dun's, Jones' poetry is, in the words of David Blamires; "an attempt at a vision of Britain, not just as these islands appear[ed] in the mid twentieth century, but as they appear through the deposits of many cultures over aeons of time"⁴⁶. Chatterton has shunned the "dignified limping of Dryden", "the flat indoor world of Pope" and the "mercantile atmosphere of Bristol", therefore he, like Dun, has closed his mind to modern contours but, before his move to London, fails to see places in all their histories (II.69-70).

Chatterton then moves to London, in triad 119, where he begins to walk in wide circles. Coming near the Fleet River, where it can still be seen in Kenwood, his creative abilities are rejuvenated and he begins to write *African Eclogues* (1770), having vivid images of the past and of other geographies. His days become peripatetic as he "marches from Shoreditch to Mayfair through Soho" (II.56.3). As he walks through the city, he encounters not only the Fleet, but several of the once sacred hills and spas. Although he is not fully aware of the mystical implications of this forgotten geography, these landmarks help him to channel his imaginative powers.

The evening extended with cooler airs
calls him out into the Fleet valley, lost world
up along the River of Wells, beneath high places . . .

He bathes his burning eyes at Black Mary's Pool
 and takes the Pantheon Turnpike north,
 turning a myth of prior cities in his mind.

(II.199-200).

The visible cityscape and invisible geographies work upon Chatterton to enlarge his perception. He has not been able to achieve this higher vision through sedentary study (as he tried in Bristol); he has needed to walk across the material land in order to connect with a sense of the place, and with the matrix of ley lines. From this point of awakening, Chatterton will see London in its differentiated layers of history.

Although the various Masonic rituals, and biographical details relating to Chatterton provide further important links between Dun's eighteenth-century present and the past, I do not want to obscure the focus of this thesis (movement and geography) by pursuing these angles. Instead, I shall bring this chapter to a close by surveying some of the fragments of history which are revealed by Chatterton's daily walks. I could have discussed these chronologically, as they are presented in the poem, or I could have organised the episodes into categories according to historic themes. However, I have found that these approaches do not achieve a clear understanding of the layers of history in relation to specific places; they provide a description of historical layers scattered across Kings Cross but do not represent a core sample, as it were, of historical strata. A more successful approach to the text has been to arrange Chatterton's historical visions geographically and thus, to develop an idea of places through time.

WEST (Marylebone, St. John's Wood, Primrose Hill)

He takes a night-walk over the ridgeway, starting
 at the whirling cross of flowers in the gardens of Marylebone,
 and climbing to Barrow Hill over Saint John's Wood.

The royal dynastic lines of Troynovant,
fifteen generations of island-kings,
lie buried here beneath the ecliptic of Aries.

A draconian atmosphere clings to the royal mound.
Slaves work in chains, and the great Wicker Man
stands over, arms folded, on the spiral of Primrose Hill.

(II.214-6).

Chatterton walks from an eighteenth-century flower bed to Barrow Hill, which is presumed to be a Roman burial chamber. Here, it is imagined, the ancient Kings of Britain are buried but the mound's continued existence means it has held significance for other cultures. Primrose Hill lies nearby and it is here that Chatterton 'sees' the Druids' Wicker Man, full of child sacrifices, towering over Barrow Hill. His vision reveals the changing use of the land but it also points to a place of spiritual significance (although this has been interpreted very differently by successive cultures).

And now it is the metropolis of the Plantagenets.
To the north, beneath blonde cornfields and dark woods,
a tunnel goes snaking through the London clay,

A corridor under wind-shifted trees.
From the great hunting-palace at Tottenham Court,
it leads away -- here beneath a line of poplars,

(II.343).

The vision of Plantagenet London is pastoral. King John's palace is said to have been built here but this vision is not just concerned with what lies on the surface; the tunnel demonstrates that much of history is invisible, that there is much to be discovered beneath the layers of material earth, and

beneath the layers of time. The image of the tunnel "snaking" across London provides a parallel to the ley lines which criss-cross the country. There are many ways in which people and places may be connected across time and space and often, physical routes correspond to mystical tracks. Ackroyd writes of efforts to map the city by ley lines, and to align certain landmarks within a spiritual topography, both as a revival of Celtic "earth magic" and an appropriate recognition of "the power of place"⁴⁷. In *Dun*, the tunnel then "bridg[es] the Fleet as a mirror-image," (II.344.1) so what we see is not a revival of ancient magic so much as a continued impulse to construct some sort of meaningful alignment across a geographic area which retains significance for successive generations, although it may be a 'powerful place' for different reasons.

NORTH (Hampstead, Camden)

The summit of Hampstead creates a similar atmosphere:
 the criminal impaled on the obelisk outside the Courthouse.
 Circling the Fleet Valley through the north gate of Troynovant,

 The lights of Camden Town burn far away.
 The riddle of the city is sensed in the northern heights:
 the tower that stands in the hollow of these hills . . .

(II.218-9)

Another image of the city's actual past is realised by the impaled criminal. This could be a vision of London's past, or it could have been Chatterton's actual view from Hampstead. *Dun* does not provide a note on this, and Ackroyd only refers to incarceration, hanging and public flogging during the Eighteenth Century⁴⁸. At the same time, from the hills around Hampstead, Chatterton sees the lights of Camden. They exist in his present but the sacred mounts give Chatterton the impression that he stands outside time,

in the middle of "the riddle of the city". Ascending leads him further from the material city, and further from temporal reality. Just as climbing permits a broader view of the cityscape, so does it suggest, to Chatterton, an historical panorama.

EAST (Islington, Shoreditch)

The subterranean aspects of Pentonville involve
the alchemical hill-chamber and underground watchtower
of Merlin, a deep laboratory of Grail-science,

A furnace fired with the daylight tracking of stars --
a megalithic rectilinear construct of great stones
laid down underneath Islington before the Flood.

(II.267-8).

It is said that Merlin's Cave (from which he engineered the sword in the stone episode in St. Pancras' churchyard) is buried beneath Pentonville. According to Dun, a subterranean passage allowed access to the cave in the Eighteenth Century and this entrance was only blocked by the Victorians, when it became hazardous. Chatterton is therefore able to physically see the cave. An imaginative leap is also made through reference to tracking stars by daylight. Apparently, telescopic wells reached from the cave to the surface, and these corresponded with shafts in Egyptian pyramids. From the small geographic area of North London, magical lines have opened up Chatterton's perception, not only of time, but of global geography. He has been reminded of Bristol, Africa, and now his imagination reaches out to embrace Egypt. Walcott addressed an "epic horizon" by making references to the dispersed places from which the current West Indian population originated, and by remembering his (or the narrator's) past journeys across Europe and North America. Dun presents

a type of epic width by delving through history, and by connecting far-flung places through mystical associations. From Kings Cross, his narrative expands horizontally and vertically (in a review of *London in Literature: Visionary Mappings of the Metropolis*, Catherine Spooner writes that, in "Walking and Writing the City: Visions of London in the Works of Peter Ackroyd and Iain Sinclair" [2002], Heike Hartung "convincingly argues that while Ackroyd approaches the city on the vertical, historical plane, Sinclair does so on a horizontal, geographical one"⁴⁹).

Chatterton "navigates the legends of London Stone," (II.366) made, says Ackroyd, from perishable oolite and yet it has survived since prehistory⁵⁰. It has symbolised London's power for many centuries: a proverb told that as long as the stone was safe, London would flourish but the twenty-first-century reader may like to know that the stone now lies blackened in Cannon Street⁵¹. Dun refers specifically to an old belief that it was brought by the Trojan Brutus. The stone has associations with several other aspects of London's history and legends: it is recorded in a Saxon Gospel book, Jack Cade touched it with his sword when he stormed London in 1450, and it survived the bombing of St. Swithen's Church in 1941 (it had been moved here from the middle of Cannon Street in 1742). It has been imagined as having links with Druidic sacrifices (as Dun implies), and Ackroyd makes a connection with the myth of Dick Wittington⁵². Wat Tyler is another person who struck the monument with his sword, when he led the Peasant's Revolt in the Fourteenth Century. This represents a seminal moment in British history and might resonate with recent anti-capitalist demonstrations and violence against asylum-seekers (under the guise of the Peasant's Revolt, apprentices killed many Flemings⁵³).

SOUTH AND CENTRAL (Clerkenwell, Soho, St. Pancras)

He shadows an old tramp
 moving up the Gray's Inn Road, a stumbling derelict,
 bloody from the gin-dives, inching along in sunshine,

A friendly soul on the road to taste the good waters
 from the brass cups on chains at the Well of Saint Chad.

(II.333).

When reading about the southern and central areas of the Kings Cross region, we read about the eighteenth-century layer after we read about some of the ancient past. However, it is useful to begin with the surface topography before exploring the historical layers. Chatterton walks northwards up Gray's Inn Road, towards St. Pancras. The man he follows is a tramp--someone who walks the streets by necessity but who is, like many of London's twenty-first-century residents and visitors, oblivious to most of the history he passes, or walks on top of. He will drink from old cups by the roadside at St. Chad's well, but lacks the vision of Blake or Chatterton. At the time of the poem's action the cups are still in visible use. They are part of the tramp's present reality without their history being known, indicating that relics from the past are still visible in London: if a person knows where to look, or how to read the geography, they may find the ancient past coexisting with the present. This is a form of temporal vision which is easily attained. Chatterton's research will uncover more of the past and his visionary imagination will reveal hidden myths and legends in London's geography.

In a dream-sequence he brings to life
 the dead amazon of the ancient British rising --
 great Britannia who sleeps in the valley of the Fleet . . .

Troynovant burns. Londinium reels in black smoke.
 And Boadicea riding with her torques of Cornish silver
 and pendants of the sun's golden blood upon her neck,

 Riding naked to show her whip-scars,
 tracks of the Roman flail on her white back,
 straight lines of the hard invader's hand,

(II.96-8).

Britannia is conventionally a general personification of England ('Great Britain' came into use in 1707⁵⁴). Chatterton makes the specific connection with Boadicea (or Boudicca⁵⁵), conjuring up a vision of Celtic/Roman England. The last stand of the Celts is alleged to have occurred in the Fleet Valley, and Dun's note locates Boadicea's/Boudicca's suicide behind St. Pancras Station. The poem continues with an account of the battle: chariots, "volcanic roaring", the Roman Suetonius' elephants--a bloody fight, ending in death by deadly nightshade. This spectacle is however, the product of Chatterton's imagination. Although Kings Cross was once called Boudicea's Cross, his vision has not originated in any specific visible landmark. It is precipitated by the combination of dreams and historical legend.

It is because this vision has been created in his imagination, and not in the geography of the southern/central Kings Cross region that Chatterton is able to make an immediate leap to Arthurian England without any visual stimulus.

Child Arthur disembarks from a crystal ship,
 a glass craft docking in the old Port Royal of London,
 the willow-basins and pools of the upper Fleet reaches.

Here is the Temple Wood and the Tower of Constantine.

Not far away in the meadows, the knights are tilting;

the hounds run to and fro with sticks in their mouths.

(II.323-4).

The sequence, from battle to leisure pursuits, is an imaginative and temporal leap but is linked by the images of British monarchs (Boudicea/Boudicca and Arthur), and by the portrayals of heroism. We progress from the martial heroism of the Celts to the chivalry of Medieval courts.

Chatterton returns to a vision of Arthurian Britain on several occasions, finding associations between the legends and different areas of North London. I argue that he is particularly drawn to this image because he lives in a period in which the Freemasons are powerful. They attempt to exercise control through rituals and Druidic mysticism and Chatterton is reacting against their archaic vision with one of his own. Magic is therefore part of his consciousness and this is linked, in his imagination, to the magic and rituals of the ancient past. Moreover, his writing has centred upon the Medieval period so he is already preoccupied with images of scholarly monks and virtuous knights. The Arthurian period was a time of alchemy and transformation and Chatterton performs his own form of alchemy upon the various areas of Kings Cross. Although certain parts of London, such as Merlin's cave, are associated with the legends, it is invariably a general vision which Chatterton sees, hence it is appropriate to many areas of London.

And further on, in the Saxon dusk, he sees

the magical assassination of Ironside.

(II.337).

Chatterton then has a vision of Saxon England, with the reference to

Ironside. Dun explains that Ironside was a Saxon military hero who was murdered by agents of Canute. His ambush is rumoured to have occurred in Kings Cross, and the well of St. Chad to have sprung where his body fell. We see, therefore, how a single place may have many different associations throughout time.

On a different occasion, Chatterton briefly contemplates the Tudor Prince Arthur before progressing to a vision of Elizabethan London. Here, the vision focuses on espionage and Elizabethan spy-culture. There is a parallel between Chatterton's persecution by the Freemasons and Dun's fictionalised image of Christopher Marlowe's murder:

Face-down young Faustus, Elizabethan heretic,
floats in the Royal Dock waters with a twelve-inch jack-knife
erect from his back like a mast from a galleon's keel . . .

(II.356).

Chatterton's visions of London do not only lead the reader on an odyssey through time, and across North London, but take us through different social worlds. We are also guided through a survey of different cultures, from feuding Saxon kingdoms, to agricultural pleasure-grounds, and now to the naval culture of Elizabethan England, with its emphasis upon ship-construction and military intelligence. London has become a secretive place, but of course, Dun could argue that London conceals an entire history of secret lives and forgotten pasts.

Chatterton's visions are not attempts to memorialise people from history, but attempts to bring out the diversity of London's history, to illustrate that the city's identity is not fixed but is ever-changing, and all-encompassing. This supports my argument that epic describes the external world as being in a state of perpetual flux (in which the hero

attempts to participate). Dun's poem, like *Ulysses* (1922), and other metropolitan works, posits the urban environment as a place of more dynamic vicissitude than the natural environment.

Dun does not present London as a place which exists only in Chatterton's (or his own) present reality, but argues that its various pasts continue to live on in some way. Thus, despite the poem being set in the Eighteenth Century, it indirectly says something about Dun's contemporary culture as that which has inherited layers of history and is itself part of the layering process. Although Chatterton's physical movements are somewhat marginalised in Dun's poem, in comparison to the other narratives which I have discussed, his walks are nevertheless essential to this way of perceiving place. However, important though his movements are to the recovery of London's various pasts, he is only ever a means of revealing past topographies and events. He is a mediator of the vision. The cityscape does not reveal its secrets to him in order that he may learn something about his own identity; it is he who reveals the layers of history to the reader, and Dun who offers them as a new way of perceiving our environments.

Dun speaks directly to the reader; not only is the reader invited to join him in a journey around London, but Dun keeps us company along the way: "See! / He waits with a flintlock" . . . "Listen. Bad John cracks a joke" (l.21-25). He guides us towards familiar landmarks and transforms them from grey buildings into magical portals into past worlds. He tries to coerce the readers into abandoning their customary perception so that they can think of London as an exciting and important city; he aims to surprise us.

Notes

¹ Peter Atkins, Ian Simmons and Brian Roberts, *People, Land and Time: An Historical Introduction to the Relations Between Landscape, Culture and Environment* (London: Arnold, 1998).

² Atkins xvii.

³ Atkins xvii.

⁴ Atkins xvi.

⁵ Atkins xvi.

⁶ Atkins xvi.

⁷ Derek Walcott, interview with David Dabydeen, *Viewing the Century*, Radio 3, 2000.

⁸ John Thieme, *Derek Walcott*, Contemporary World Writers, ser. ed. John Thieme (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999) 151.

⁹ Thieme 156.

¹⁰ John Barton, *Tantalus: An Ancient Myth for a New Millenium* (London: Oberon, 2000).

¹¹ Derek Walcott, "An Interview with Derek Walcott," by J. P. White, *Conversations with Derek Walcott*, ed. William Baer (Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 1996) 155.

¹² Walcott, talking to White 174.

¹³ Robert Hamner, *Epic of the Dispossessed: Derek Walcott's Omeros* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1997) 11.

¹⁴ Hamner 12.

¹⁵ José María Pérez Fernández, "Terza Rima, the Sea and History in *Omeros*," *Approaches to the Poetics of Derek Walcott*, eds. José Luis Martínez-Dueñas Espejo and José María Pérez Fernández, Caribbean Studies vol. 9 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon P, 2001) 54, 74.

¹⁶ Fernández 53.

¹⁷ Hamner 75.

18 Walcott, talking to White 158.

19 Hamner 35.

20 Derek Walcott, "An Interview with Nancy Schoenberger,"
Conversations 87.

21 Derek Walcott "The Schooner Flight," *Collected Poems 1948-1984*
(London: Faber, 1986) 345-61.

22 Derek Walcott, "Another Life," *Collected Poems* 143-294.

23 Walcott, *Viewing the Century*.

24 John B. Hattendorf, R. J. B. Knight, A. W. H. Pearsall, N. A. M.
Rodger and Geoffrey Till, eds., *British Naval Documents 1204-1960*,
Publications of the Navy Records Soc. 131
(Aldershot, Hants.: Scolar, 1993) 315.

25 Kenneth Breen, "Divided Command: The West Indies and North
America, 1780-1781," *The British Navy and the Use of Naval Power in the
Eighteenth Century*, eds. Jeremy Black and Philip Woodfine
([Leicester?]: Leicester UP, 1988) 192-6.

26 Geoffrey Callender and F. H. Hinsley, *The Naval Side of British
History, 1485-1945* (London: Christophers, 1952) 180-1.

27 Walcott, *Viewing the Century*.

28 Walcott, *Viewing the Century*.

29 Walcott, *Viewing the Century*.

30 Bruce King, *Derek Walcott: A Caribbean Life*
(Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 16.

31 King 16.

32 King 10-11.

33 King 468.

34 Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Chatto, 2000)
555-8.

³⁵ *Classic Cafes/Psychogeography*, online, Internet, available:
<http://freespace.virgin.net/a.maddox/Psy.html> (13 May 2003).

³⁶ *What is psychogeography?* online, Internet, available:
<http://art.ntu.ac.uk/mental/whatisps.htm> (13 May 2003).

³⁷ *Classic Cafes/Psychogeography*.

³⁸ Andrew, Hedgecock, "Iain Sinclair - Renaissance man of the dying days of the 20th century," online, Internet, available:
<http://www.theedge.abelgratis.co.uk/sinclairiview.htm> (10 May 2003).

³⁹ William Blake, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* in *Blake's Poetry and Designs: Authoritative Texts, Illuminations in Color and Monochrome, Related Prose, Criticism*, eds. Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant, Norton Critical Ed. (New York: Norton, 1979) 81-102.

⁴⁰ Aidan Andrew Dun, online, Internet, available:
<http://www.allpossibilities.org/aad.html> (8 May 2003).

⁴¹ *Walking in circles*, online, Internet, available:
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/arts/main.jhtml?xml=/arts/2002/09/29/bosin29.xml> (9 May 2003).

⁴² William Blake, *Jerusalem, the Emanation of the Giant Albion* in *Blake: The Complete Poems*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, 2nd. ed., Longman Annotated English Poets, gen. eds. F. W. Bateson and John Barnard (London: Longman, 1989) 623-849.

⁴³ John Constable, *The Southwark Mysteries* (London: Oberon, 1999) 245.

⁴⁴ Iain Sinclair, "X Marks the Spot," *Lights Out for the Territory: 9 Excursions in the Secret History of London*, illustrated Marc Atkins (London: Granta, 1997) 143.

⁴⁵ Donald S. Taylor, *Thomas Chatterton's Art: Experiments in Imagined History* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978) 4-5.

- 46 David Blamires, *David Jones: Artist and Writer* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1978) 115.
- 47 Ackroyd 216.
- 48 Ackroyd 247-302.
- 49 Spooner, Catherine, rev. of *London in Literature: Visionary Mappings of the Metropolis*, ed. Susana Onega and John A. Stotesbury, online, Internet, available: <http://homepages.gold.ac.uk/london-journal/spooner.html> (10 May 2003).
- 50 Ackroyd 18.
- 51 Ackroyd 18-9.
- 52 Ackroyd 19.
- 53 Ackroyd 477.
- 54 "Great Britain," *Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary* (London: Reader's, 1987).
- 55 Dun uses the spelling Boadicea but Boudicca is also in common usage.

Conclusion

I. Summary of Arguments

Commentators on epic essentially take one of three main positions. The first view is that voiced by Bakhtin; that epic is a genre which is entirely located in the ancient past; thus, there can be no such thing as a twenty-first-century epic. Mike Shields shares this belief, although his view is not so radical. Writing in *Orbis Magazine* (1996), he emphasises oral poetry as the true epic form:

Long poems are out of fashion nowadays, and as a poetry editor I can see why . . . the days of the true epic are over forever: its *raison d'être* was associated with the need to memorise long stories for recitation, and that has now been completely obviated by the twin inventions of print and video recording¹.

The second attitude is to accept that the epic tradition continues today, but to deny that it has evolved. Although he would probably argue with me, this is really the category to which Tillyard belongs, as well as Kamboureli. Like them, Patricia Oxley believes that epic is synonymous with certain "rules which must be followed" in order to distinguish the long poem from epic².

The third category is made up of people like Mori who are absolutely convinced, not only that epic exists today, but that the genre has evolved to meet the new requirements of successive ages. This is, as I have argued, my conviction. Scholars of this persuasion do not detract from epic's status as representing encyclopaedic and monumental writing. They are however, more flexible in their attempts to define epic and are not afraid to reject conventional patterns of characteristics (often based upon a limited sample of ancient narratives) in favour of a new perspective. As Franco Moretti

observes in *Modern Epic* (1996), there are several monumental texts which are treated as "isolated phenomena". It is plausible that one or two of these texts are indeed anomalies, but unlikely that they all are. As I demonstrated in sections I, III.i and III.iv of the Introduction, "so many and such prominent anomalies", in Moretti's words, point to there being "something wrong with the initial taxonomy"³. I have argued that changing our perceptions of genre and tradition allows us to recognise epic, probably more than any other genre, as a genre of transition. It breaches generic boundaries to absorb characteristics from other literary traditions, and it is transformed to represent changing historic, geographic, cultural and personal interests as reflected in my chosen texts.

My approach to epic is by no means the definitive one. However, I do think that thematic approaches to epic are more valid than looking for structural similarities now that the novel, magic realism and many more literary genres have emerged. I also argue that epic can exist in other forms, for example, Barton's *Tantalus* (2000) or (Wilhelm) Richard Wagner's operatic cycle, *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (*Rheingold*, *Die Walküre*, *Siegfried*, *Götterdämmerung* [1869-76]). Seeking an "epic spirit" (Tillyard) is also problematic because this depends largely upon individual preferences and cannot be easily articulated.

I have argued, in the Introduction, that epic intends to say something about its immediate culture, and simultaneously, to address a perceived universal human condition. The epic journey (which may be that of the hero or of the author/narrator) becomes a precondition for spiritual, moral, emotional, or psychological enlightenment. Travel brings the hero into confrontation with external boundaries, and often in modern epic, with internal limitations of self. In describing a hero's environment, and his interactions with, or reactions to, particular land- and cityscapes, the author is able to communicate his/her proposed alternative vision to the reader.

The journey is itself an epic test of the hero's endurance and adaptability, and an ideal vehicle for taking cognisance of the human condition as one of repeated displacement (exile, war, pilgrimage, restlessness, emigration etc.). And it operates as both a physical and a metaphysical journey as outward motion precipitates inward movements.

Unfashionable though it may be to argue, I think that epic should be read as a humanist genre. In each of the texts that I have discussed, connections have been established between environments and the heroes' experiences. The reader is invited to apply the proposed way of thinking to his/her culture and environment as the narrator, either through force of language, emotional involvement, appeal to the audience, or through the imaginative strength of the vision, interprets the hero's experiences so that they make sense for a universal readership. The hero's responses to environments are often shaped by the prevailing ideas of the immediate culture but, at the same time, the environment will determine the physical course of the hero's journey, and will steer him/her towards greater perception and self-awareness. Landscape, in epic, rarely functions as a visual setting--simply an environment through which the hero passes. It is perceived, particularly in Romantic epic, as something which is in perpetual flux. It is, most noticeably in Milton's universe, animate. By travelling, the hero draws conclusions from the environment, and leaves behind a static existence to participate in the eternal motion of the external world.

From the perspective of this thesis therefore, there emerge two key themes in epic: the importance of place, and the importance of travelling. It would be wrong to argue that epic is an ecological genre because its prime concern is not the external world, but the hero's experiences. At the same time, epic attempts to say something about the experience of being human which depends upon an understanding of the human position in the universe. It explores the significance of geographic roots to attaining some

understanding of cultural identity and selfhood, and it describes human life as responses to both social and physical environments. Moreover, epic describes a vision of the external world as places and structures which are not static, but which have been, and continue to be, shaped by human experiences: Walcott's *St. Lucia*, for example, bears the evidence of French and British colonial conflict, and of slave shanty towns as well as being biologically beautiful. Its land- and seascapes are interpreted via the characters' experiences of belonging, and through the narrator's experiences of world history and European literature.

The importance of place, in epic, must also be considered by those who approach epics as narratives of war, or claim them as nationalistic texts, because these interpretations depend upon changing perceptions of borders and possession; of how certain places sustain us and how we force Nature into our own designs. Where short poems, novels, tragedy etc. may focus upon relations with other people, epic must take cognisance of responses to the external world because it informs every aspect of our consciousness. It gives material form to internal processes, it acts upon the imagination to prompt specific emotional and spiritual responses, and it provides a framework and explanation for human actions.

Travel is important in epic because it represents real experience: the hero, in travelling, participates in life rather than becoming isolated within the confines of his/her imagination. The course of the journey may confirm ideas which the hero already believed, but at least it provides a means of testing theories. Even Wordsworth, whose *Prelude* (1805) is an epic of the mind, is able to learn from the people he meets, and places he visits on his walks.

The journey may be on foot or by transport; it may be circuitous or one-way; it may be long or short; and it may follow a convoluted or direct route (even *The Dunciad* [1728] relies upon a short journey to effect a huge

social and intellectual change). Motion, of whatever form, teaches the hero (and consequently, the narrator and reader) something which could not have been learned by standing still. Even Leopold Bloom's revelations about his relationship with Molly are made possible by his wandering and responses to the urban environment and its people. Physical movement (of varying qualities) reveals new connections with God, with Nature and with other people. It permits new experiences which test the ideas of the hero's immediate culture; and often forces the hero to adapt to changing environments and to renegotiate perceived moral, emotional and spiritual limits. Above all, being in motion communicates the senses of bridging time and space, of an evolving world and of human progression.

I.i. Milton

Milton's universe, though animate, exists according to controlled movements. Although Satan provided the focus for this chapter, the most profound effect of a character(s) upon the environment, in all of epic, is found in Adam and Eve's transgression. When they fall, the created world feels a physical wound and its ordered cycles become disrupted when the earth is tipped on its axis. Before the Fall, Adam and Eve are permitted to wander through the garden: there are no constraints upon their physical movements but they must demonstrate spiritual obedience. They are created with free will, thus their responses to the environment, to God, and to each other are largely undirected. After the transgression, they are not only advised about the future (for themselves and their descendants), but their physical movements are also guided. They are evicted from Eden, and must make their way across the wilderness. This walk is also "wandering" but, unlike Satan, they do not reject the ordered world. Rather, they recognise, through their error, the need for internal and external limits.

Satan's movements, on the other hand, are deviant. His mazy route is an example of his proclivity towards chaos: he knows there are boundaries which he should not cross but he has no respect for them. Thus we find him not only crossing physical boundaries out of Hell and into Eden, but also challenging moral order and defying commands. He rejects God's love, and he rebels against all spiritual and physical attempts to control his behaviour and movements.

Milton explores the idea of emotional attachment to place. Adam and Eve, because they learn to embrace all that God provides, are not completely rooted in Eden. They grieve because they have offended God, shed tears because they are ashamed; but they find comfort in one another rather than in a specific location. Although Satan comes to recognise that he would never be happy in Heaven, I think that he does maintain an emotional attachment to the physical place. Initially, he and his followers mourn the loss of Heaven and this is brought home to them by the desolate landscape of Hell. They talk of the desire to reascend, not to rejoin God, but to live again in Heaven. Despite his realisation that he would transgress again were he to regain Heaven, Satan is nevertheless moved by the sight of Heaven on his journey to Earth, and jealous when he spies Adam and Eve in their bower.

Milton persuades the reader to engage with his universe by drawing upon images from his culture's advances in transport and navigation, by exploiting the vertical dimension of the universe to underline the physical and moral depth of Satan's fall, and by detailing the various qualities of Satan's movements. As Satan becomes increasingly confirmed in evil, his emotional and psychological identity is opened up and so the reader comes to realise the full impact of Satan's disobedience as his enforced displacement causes him, first to inflate his ego, and then to have his ego collapse.

I .ii. Wordsworth

The influence of Milton upon Wordsworth may be seen, not only in his pastoral and lyrical attention to qualities of light and borrowed images, or in his mock-heroic allusions to *Paradise Lost* (1667) through shared language and parodied scenes, but also in his representation of the external world as a series of boundaries. Confronting these physical limits initially causes him to place too much faith in the perception of his culture, and in his imaginative/poetic ability. Gradually, his ego becomes less important and Wordsworth eventually allows Nature to guide him towards a spiritual vision. By engaging with his emotional and imaginative self, Wordsworth develops Milton's interest in the psychological responses to travel and specific places. Wordsworth's attachments to locations which particularly resonate with events allows him to chart his poetic development via naming and precise geography. He capitalises upon different environments to engage with the reader by describing a journey in such physical and metaphysical detail that it can literally be retraced.

Perceived limitations, in *The Prelude* (1805), represent challenges: with each boundary which Wordsworth crosses, he discovers a physical panorama and his emotional soul opens up. Although, like Milton, he makes moral distinctions between guided and unguided travel, Wordsworth's European treks are really no more transgressive than his short local walks. One prime reason for this is his insistence upon forging a connection with the natural world: walking brings him into physical contact with the earth, and brings him closer towards a union with God.

Wordsworth grows closer to a perceived spiritual bond when he learns to abandon the popular eighteenth-century and Romantic approach to classifying landscapes as sublime, picturesque or beautiful. However, Satan rejects God's love by estranging himself from the angelic community and contrariwise, Wordsworth must learn to love humankind, to interact

with environments and people. Although he is disorientated by the flagrant immorality of London, his relationship with Annette Vallon in Paris could be used to argue that the urban environment is as integral to achieving love of humankind and love of Nature as the rural environment. The balance of *The Prelude* (1805) suggests otherwise and, although it is misguided to label Wordsworth "a poet of Nature", his most potent responses are to aspects of the natural landscape and the impact of perpetual changes in Nature upon his understanding of place.

I .iii. Byron

In the Romantic texts, we find a contraction of epic space from Milton's cosmos to the European states. *Don Juan* (1819-24) is a truly cosmopolitan narrative as the hero is ignorant of all forms of border or boundary and functions equally in rural and urban environments, as well as at sea. Travel does affect Juan but he is unconscious of the changes he undergoes until he becomes almost incarcerated in Norman Abbey, England. This episode is used to justify Juan's previous travels, arguing that it is heroic to confront mortality by attempting to replicate the perpetual motion of the natural world. When Juan ceases to travel, he ceases to be heroic.

Speed is important to Byron. If Wordsworth wanted to feel a connection with the earth, then Juan tries to outrun Nature. Byron is uninterested in setting a moral or spiritual example but he does propose an alternative belief system. He describes a world whereby successive political systems overturn one another, people die and are replaced by the new-born, and bubbles bursting in the ocean are followed by new bubbles. Nothing is permanent--not Nature, not people, not beliefs, not even an individual's sense of self. Given this, Byron argues that his readers may become heroic by learning to live for the moment and by trying to fill their lives with

optimum experiences.

Byron is capable of representing rural life but focuses upon urban environments. While changing outward environments are instrumental to Juan's various inner metamorphoses, he is drawn towards relations with people rather than places. This is partly because Byron is more greatly influenced by eighteenth-century satirists than he is by his Romantic peers or seventeenth-century and earlier precursors. Nevertheless, *Don Juan* (1819-24) is an epic because it is not only with the central journey, but also demonstrates a humanist approach to the relationship between environment and humankind.

I.iv. Joyce

Ulysses represents the contraction, not just of epic space to a city, but of epic time to a day. As a novel, it is also an epic in prose, the significance of which has been stated in reference to its literary context. Joyce follows on from Byron by describing the urban environment and by rejecting conventional forms of heroism. Bloom is heroic only because he has a better understanding of the city than the other characters; he is more successfully integrated into his environment than Stephen, or even the journalists who are paid to interpret and record social history. Joyce's stream of consciousness technique also follows from Wordsworth's retreat into his poetic imagination. Bloom's only quests are to be reconciled with his wife, and to create the ultimate advert. Yet, these ambitions are heroic when we consider that Joyce's urban vision is one of disintegrated relationships; of a city which lacks any traditional sense of community, existing instead on commerce. Bloom seeks a domestic union and, taking a cue from industrialised narratives, to excel in the competitive, commercial environment.

Joyce's precise geography takes after Wordsworth's use of specific

locations but he is much more intimate in rendering the minutiae of city life, whilst Wordsworth excels in communicating emotional responses to places. Joyce describes an environment which is structured by public monuments, commercial buildings, religious icons and the road and rail systems. Against this ordered environment, he sets Bloom's and Stephen's unstructured movements.

Joyce does not only describe the topographical city, but engages with the reader by recreating the full experience of city life, invoking all forms of sensory response. In this way, he embraces an environment as a multidimensional place rather than something that exists only in visual terms. Like Milton's universe, Joyce's Dublin is animate but it is animated by the people who live there. In terms of qualities of movement, Bloom walks around the city but the reader is made aware of the various modes of transport available to modern society. Travel is an event in earlier epics because it takes so long to reach all but local destinations, and is often fraught with danger. For Joyce, travelling is comparatively inconsequential but public transport offers another perspective on the environment in terms of passenger vision and the traveller being somewhat disconnected from the places (s)he passes through. This sense of disconnection feeds into other forms of alienation: Joyce's self-imposed exile from Ireland, and Bloom's Jewishness in Catholic Dublin.

I.v. Walcott

Omeros (1990) does not focus much upon physical journeys in the present, but travel is used to answer questions about the characters' origins. Journeys and places are also used to broaden the focus of the narrative: providing a geographic, and to a lesser extent, temporal epic scale. Achille's journey to Africa, in a vision, provides the knowledge he needs to be able to accept that he is part of the small Caribbean

community, rather than being dispossessed. Although his ancestors were stolen from their homeland and sold into slavery, his vision reveals Africans betraying Africans and thus it becomes known that the white men are not wholly responsible for his tribe's fate. His journey also proves that Achille, having "forgotten" the language and culture of his tribe, does not take his identity, or sense of self, from his ancestors but from the St. Lucians.

Plunkett's excursions across the island demonstrate the importance of topography. The landscape reveals an impartial "truth" about Caribbean history by showing him lost relics and traces of previous land use. In contrast, the colonialists have, like the sea, erased various histories and have used their surveys and maps to assert a political bias. His interest in the island does however, lead him into obsession with old charts and material relating to the Battle of the Saints. He discovers much about this aspect of history but fails to take cognisance of Helen's past (Helen is taken to be both the coloured servant, and a personification of the island). Instead, his journey through history brings him into closer contact with his British cultural identity: he sought greater integration into the community but instead distances himself by making imaginative links with white imperialists.

The narrator's journey is based on real experiences of travelling in Europe and North America but these are recollected journeys and places. He describes a series of places as they are mapped in his mind--by historical parallels and contiguous ideas. These places in his memory inform his cultural identity so he becomes not a Caribbean so much as a global figure: he represents the meeting of relations between geographic and temporal spaces, different literary traditions and other histories. Like Juan, he transcends culture. His idea of self is not static but is fluid as he assimilates, and responds to, experiences in other countries.

In *Omeros* (1990), memory and history are intrinsically linked to the

material world. In Europe, the past is visibly memorialised in buildings and public monuments (and the events from ancient cultures are preserved in their epic narratives). The Caribbean is different because histories have been erased. Signs of the past exist in the landscape but they are invisible to the untrained eye, or submerged beneath soil and sea. The ocean becomes a potent symbol of erased pasts and, at the same time, of perpetual motion. It reminds readers that human life is mortal.

I.vi. Dun

Vale Royal (1995) draws upon the layers of history which belong to a comparatively small topography to describe a vast temporal geography. Dun primarily engages with readers by proposing that we perceive places in terms of their pasts. Thus, a specific location exists in the present, but can also resonate with events and myths from throughout time. This enables the perceiver to understand the urban, as well as the natural, environment in terms of continual change and rejuvenation. Familiar cityscapes are enlivened by taking cognisance of their past significance.

The environment therefore becomes Dun's focal point, and his heroes (Blake and Chatterton) are both interpreters of the cityscape, and vehicles for revealing these layers of history. Short walks are sufficient to open up arcs of time but travelling is still important in *Vale Royal* (1995). As the visionary poets walk through North London, they are energised by the Druid power of place, and contribute to the recharging of spiritual energy represented by the network of ley lines. In this way, the narrative is, like the other texts, humanist in its approach to the environment. Humankind maintains a symbiotic relationship with the external world; each informing the other.

Just as Milton drew upon images of the maze, Dun creates a sense of a three-dimensional labyrinth. The visionary poets make imaginative links

through time, and across the world--Chatterton's mind connects Bristol and Africa with his experiences in London, and these links are reinforced by ley lines and stellar tracks. This helps the poem to appeal to a universal audience: no place may be understood in spatial or temporal isolation; therefore, no culture is alienated by the proposed vision.

The journeys and spaces of all the epics I have discussed contribute to the narratives' timelessness. As the heroes' individual journeys are narrated, the metaphor of travelling bridges individual and universal experience, and specific place and a general consciousness of the external world.

Notes

¹ Mike Shields, qtd. in *Long Poem Group Newsletter* 3 (Nov. 1996), eds. Sebastian Barker and William Oxley: 5.

² Patricia Oxley, qtd. in "Report of First Full Meeting of The Long Poem Group," *Newsletter* 3: 2.

³ Franco Moretti, *Modern Epic: The World-System from Goethe to García Márquez*, trans. Quintin Hoare (London: Verso, 1996) 1-2.

Afterthought: Trends in Contemporary Epic

In this section I will present evidence in support of my argument that epic still has relevance for the twenty-first-century audience. I shall then provide a brief survey of some of the most recent epics to have emerged. Finally, I will connect *Vale Royal* (1995) with what I see as a resurgence in performance epic.

I.i. Epic in the Twenty-First Century

Inspired by the Royal Shakespeare Company's staging of John Barton's *Tantalus* (2000), and Shakespeare's history cycle (representing, says Mark Lawson, "a genuine test of physical and mental endurance" for the audience¹), *The Guardian* newspaper recently sent four of its writers on their own "cultural marathons"². The objective was to test whether it is possible to concentrate on an art form for twelve hours. The article seemed to be asking whether people today are capable of responding to the challenge which epic represents. I attended *Tantalus* (2000) across three consecutive nights and, judging by the appreciative and highly absorbed audience around me, I conclude that yes, people are still moved by epic and are willing to be challenged by its length if it engages with their twenty-first-century sensibilities.

As I said in the Introduction, some contemporary poets have given ancient epics new resonance for the modern reader. Ted Hughes gave a new vigour to Ovid, *Omeros* (1990) won a WHSmith book award in 1990³, and Seamus Heaney's 1999 translation of *Beowulf* met with critical and popular acclaim, not to forget Barton's *Tantalus* (2000) which is subtitled "An Ancient Myth for a New Millenium"⁴. From March to June 2001, the Royal Academy, London, exhibited Botticelli's ninety-two surviving illustrations of the *Divina Commedia* (c.1310)⁵. Produced between 1480 and 1495, the collection of drawings and paintings themselves represented

a new, more dynamic interpretation of Dante's poem, written two centuries earlier⁶. Furthermore, Ciaran Carson brings his Northern Irish background to bear upon the *Divina Commedia* (c.1310) in *The "Inferno" of Dante Alighieri: A New Translation* (2002)⁷. And sections of J. R. R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* (1954-5) are currently being adapted for the cinema: *Lord of the Rings* was released in December 2001, followed by *The Two Towers* in 2002, and ending in 2003 with *The Return of the King*⁸. One of the reasons why older models continue to hold interest for the modern reader might be that they appeal, as Matthew Arnold argued, to fundamental shared human characteristics. In an edited version of his Hay-on-Wye lecture (2001) which was published in *The Guardian*, Ian McEwan comes to agree with Charles Darwin that the human race (including primates) shares an innate "commonly held stock of emotion"⁹. This, he admits, incorporates the widely denounced idea of "a universal human nature". He argues:

If there are human universals that transcend culture, then it follows that they do not change, or they do not change easily. And if something does change in us historically, then by definition it is not human nature that has changed, but some characteristic special to a certain time and circumstance.¹⁰

That is why the twenty-first-century reader, despite a possible lack of involvement in certain culturally-specific aspects of earlier epics, nevertheless engages with the more universal situations.

Another reason why epic continues to appeal to modern readers might be because, as I have argued, epic is a humanist genre concerned with humankind's interaction with the environment. In *Song of the Earth* (2000), Jonathan Bate focuses upon authors who are associated with a literary environmental tradition, such as Thomas Hardy and William Wordsworth. He argues that "The poet's way of articulating the relationship between humankind and environment, person and place, is peculiar because it is

experiential, not descriptive"¹¹. I have argued that epic is specifically concerned with connecting the hero's experience of travel to the various environments which he encounters. Especially in later narratives, the author and reader are also often involved in the hero's journey. The later reader can, moreover, transpose the experiences described in the narrative onto a more contemporary perception of the external world. That is, the twenty-first-century reader can combine the hero's experiences and author's perception with his/her understanding of the current human situation to arrive at a fresh interpretation of the epic. Earlier and later perceptions of how people relate to places, and how travel effects our ability to respond to particular environments, overlap to some extent.

Moreover, Bate argues that as the landscape becomes increasingly industrialised and urban, and as we retreat into cyberspace, there will be "an ever greater need to retain a place in culture, in the work of human imagining, for the song that names the earth"¹². Perhaps, as a society, we do harbour nostalgia for a lost rural tradition. Epic however, has evolved to encompass the cityscape and urban preoccupations. Epic persuades the reader to take cognisance of his/her environment as something which is in a perpetual state of flux. It attempts to guide the reader towards an understanding of where his/her culture is situated in terms of social evolution. As I shall demonstrate below, the beginning of a new millennium has, for some writers, made the needs to feel rooted in the environment and to discover a new way forward for the community, even greater.

I.ii. Recent Epic

In 1997, Sally Evans published *Millennial* in which "everyday life in Britain today, and the media interpretation of that life, are interwoven"¹³. Despite aiming the narrative poem towards a contemporary audience, she nevertheless takes recourse in ancient models by dividing the poem into

three elements: the Muse (referring to literary tradition and pursuit), the Hero (representing action), and the Poet (who "gains confidence at the end of the journey")¹⁴. It seems to me that she thinks it necessary for the audience to have a sense of a definite structure, that she (in correspondence with Aristotle) believes a narrative should seek to achieve unity.

Ben Okri also embraces convention in his 1999 epic, *Mental Fight*, written to mark the millennium. His title comes from William Blake's *Jerusalem* (1804) and he consciously tried to adopt a lyric mode of address¹⁵. Central to Okri's poem is his belief that, in the Twentieth Century, humankind came to "worship and enshrine the wrong things"¹⁶. He engages with the late twentieth/early twenty-first-century reader by articulating what he perceives to be the fears of a generation--the fear that we will not achieve our highest potential as a race, and the fear that we cannot find emotional, spiritual, or psychological fulfilment in our current value-system.

What will we choose?

Will we allow ourselves [to] descend

Into universal chaos and darkness

A world without hope, without fastness

Without moorings, without light

Without possibility for mental fight,

A world breeding mass murderers

Energy vultures, serial killers

With minds spinning in anomie and amorality

With murder, rape and genocide as normality?

Or will we allow ourselves merely to drift

Into an era of more of the same

An era drained of significance, without shame,

Without wonder of excitement,
Just the same low-grade entertainment,
An era boring and predictable
Flat, stale and unprofitable
In which we drift
In which we drift along
Too bored and too passive to care
About what strange realities rear
Their heads in our days and nights,
Till we awake too late to the death of our rights
Too late to do anything
Too late for thinking
About what we have allowed
To take over our lives
While we cruised along in casual flight
Mildly indifferent to storm or sunlight?

("Signs from the old times," 2).

At the same time that humankind was positioned at an historical juncture (the turn of the millennium), he describes humankind as standing at a metaphorical turnpike. The hope which he expresses is that the new millennium will guide us into a new phase whereby we make greater use of our intellect and imagination, that we will care less about the artificially created material environment, and more about the natural world and our human relationships. His fear is that we have become too apathetic to allow ourselves to ascend from the downward spiral we are set upon.

The images which he applies to this apathy are of being "without moorings", drifting and cruising. Evidently, he perceives humankind to be in constant movement, but it is directionless, aimless and passive motion. In travelling, we are not in any way connected to the physical world, other

people, or to any spiritual being. He proposes that we take control of our movement, that is, we learn to think about which direction we want to travel in. We must participate in shaping our world before we disappear into a metaphorical chasm, into Miltonic disorder.

It seems to me that Okri rejects Byron's example of Juan being swept across Europe, in favour of a more Wordsworthian interest in activating some higher imaginative power. He also appears to have been influenced by Milton's distinction between guided and unguided movement. Although Satan can hardly be said to be passive, Okri argues that we are on the verge of losing all sense of where and who we are as darkness is about to swallow us up.

His philosophy is made more accessible for the contemporary reader through his language. Rather than taking after the older, more formal precursors, Okri's rhythms seem to me to have derived from the Beat movement typified by Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, William Burroughs and Lawrence Ferlinghetti and, perhaps, by rap artists. 'Beat' wrote John Clellon Holmes in the *New York Times Magazine* (November 1952), "involves a sort of nakedness of mind, and, ultimately, of soul,"¹⁷. As supported by two examples of Allen Ginsberg's poetry, quoted here in a footnote, 'Beat poetry' is often free-jazz inspired, conversational, peripatetic attempts to render the writer's vision, or consciousness, of the world¹⁸. Rap, on the other hand, is rooted in African oral tradition and Afro-American "jail house", rope jumping and playground rhymes. It is driven by the needs for self-expression, personal rhyming styles, word-play and ultimately, the need to be heard, to give voice to a sub-culture which is perceived to reflect contemporary social, economic and political conditions. Rap, particularly in its earliest forms, has improvisational qualities: chanting, talking, calling out and rhyming over instrumental music. In the words of Davey D; "in the early days rappers flowed on the mic continuously for hours at a time..non

stop. Most of the rhymes were pre-written but it was a cardinal sin to recite off a piece of paper at a jam"¹⁹. Okri's verse is direct and, although the language is precise and carefully chosen, it possesses spontaneity, is frenetic almost. Despite the poem being issued in print, and not, to my knowledge, at any time performed, *Mental Fight* (1999) encourages recitation and might even become more powerful for being spoken.

Derek Walcott's most recent work, *Tiepolo's Hound* (2000), is a long poem about the artist Camille Pissaro. Although he writes about art history, Walcott is particularly interested in exploring reasons why Pissaro left St. Thomas, in the Caribbean, for France:

I felt I would belong
to the dirt road forever, my palette's province,

an irrepressible April with its orange,
yellow, tan, rust, red, and vermillion note

on the bars of dry branches in a language
cooing one vowel from the shell of the dove's throat.

(II.4.47-52)²⁰.

And the importance of place and of qualities of movement are still significant in contemporary epic. In his poem *The Donkey's Ears* (2000), Douglas Dunn presents E. S. Politovsky's letters written on board the Russian flagship *Kniaz Suvorov* which was part of a fleet destroyed at the battle of Tsushima in 1905²¹. Since he believes his hero died early in the battle, Dunn does not describe the fight. Instead, he focuses on the difficult conditions at sea, life as a sailor ("The sea / Inhabited me, and I inhabited it"), and on places along their route. Moreover, the experience of walking in a city found its way into a collaboration between Colin Pearce and Ralph Hoyte, called *Walkie-Talkie* (2001). The poem is essentially 2000 feet of

poetry, songs, quotations and gossip which was positioned across Bristol. A map and full text were available to permit the audience to literally travel the route, or it could be approached more casually--the spectator/reader happening upon sections during the course of wandering through the city. One of its creators, Colin Pearce, described it as "a pedestrian project"²².

Although it is a complete poem, reaching across the city, *Walkie-Talkie* (2001) creates something in common between the streets of Bristol, England and the streets of Florence, Italy. In Florence, excerpts from the *Divina Commedia* (c.1310) crop up in unexpected locations: in churches, on doorways and walls, etc. So, in a similar fashion, the material environment forces pedestrians to absorb poetry. And, in this way, Dante is given a new and intriguing context. The city guides the pedestrian towards a new engagement with Dante, and his verse guides them towards a new perception of their environment. In Bristol, *Walkie-Talkie* (2001) aimed to lead readers towards a new level of involvement with the city, to teach them how to interact with, and respond to, city planning.

By combining anecdotes, reflections, historical references, intersecting voices, etc. the poem aimed to describe the urban experience. It became both a means of finding one's way across the city, and a means of interacting directly with the physical environment. It had no hero, unless you argue that each reader, each participator, became heroic in taking part in the project.

I .iii. Performance Epic

Aiden Andrew Dun is known as a performance poet, and has performed *Vale Royal* (1995) at St. Pancras Old Church, the Royal Albert Hall and the Edinburgh Fringe²³. So important is performance to Dun's poetic vision that the published text is accompanied by a complete reading on compact disc. Although the range of audio books continues to expand, it is difficult to think

of many high-profile poets who do not write specifically for printed mediums (Internet publishing has become a viable alternative to paper: Nail Chiodo's *Loud in War* [1997] was extracted in the *Times Literary Supplement*, and in two reviews but the full text was only available online²⁴).

Basil Bunting stands out as a champion of oral poetry. He argued that "Poetry, like music, is to be heard" and Bloodaxe Books celebrated his centenary in 2000 by simultaneously releasing a printed edition of *Complete Poems*, and an audio selection read by the poet, including his 1966 epic, *Briggflatts*²⁵. The musical quality of the verse is emphasised by the reading, and Bunting's regional accent complements his Northumbrian vernacular. Although Bunting was appreciated in his own time, most noticeably by Ezra Pound and Allen Ginsberg, he seems to have pre-empted the current interest in regionalism (apparent in literature, television and cinema), and a trend towards a revival of oral poetry which seems to be only now occurring (although it has continued in places such as the Balkans and Greece²⁶). For example, Frank Reeve writes about *The Urban Stampede* (2000) (a poem which relocates the Orpheus and Eurydice story to a London pub, and which is performed by two solo singers, a narrator, a chorus, and instrumentalists) which was staged at The Barbican, London in April 2000. He observes, in *The Long Poem Group Newsletter* (July 2000), that "The long poem [and epic] is finding a new way forward through reviving its roots in music and rhythm and reaching directly into public space"²⁷.

Performance was at the forefront of Bob Cobbing's and Lawrence Upton's minds when they collaborated on *Domestic Ambient Noise* (1994-2000), a sequence of three hundred pamphlets incorporating "words, non-words, letters, graphic marks, recognisable images, distorted images, cartoons, computer art, as well as occasional semantic texts, with their own variations, obliteration and over-printings"²⁸. Cobbing argues that

Lewis Carroll's emphasis on invention and word-play and Kerouac's verbalisation of jazz have contributed to poets becoming concerned with performance art once again. He and Upton have performed *Domestic Ambient Noise* (1994-2000) using voices and percussion, and are often joined by a dancer. They are planning a twenty-seven hour full performance across seven sessions.

I.iv. Current and Future Trends²⁹

It seems to me that current and forthcoming epic falls into two categories. The first is illustrated by Tom Paulin's decision to write an epic poem (funded by lottery money) about the Second World War, *The Invasion Handbook*³⁰, and Brendan Kennelly's *Cromwell* (1983).

Contemporary society perhaps lacks a prime event, or iconoclast, around which to base an epic. At the same time, the two World Wars continue to hold significance for our culture, and many writers treat these events because the world is still trying to come to terms with the profound effect they had upon human perceptions of the environment, and of other people. Likewise, the atrocities committed by Oliver Cromwell continue to dominate Irish consciousness. Thus, some writers turn their attention to historic events which have not yet been laid to rest; those milestones in cultural history against which we still measure experience and which have yet to be superseded by some later occurrence.

The second trend, performance, perhaps pertains more to poetry than prose. Some poets are putting a contemporary spin on the long-ignored tradition of oral poetry. In some examples, the poets try to free themselves from the tyranny of the word which has resulted from centuries of printed works. Thus, they incorporate images and music into their verse. Others, like Dun, choose performance to reinforce the vivacity of their language, and to reach a wider audience. When Dun performed extracts from *Vale*

Royal (1995) for conference delegates, it is inconceivable that anyone grasped the full substance of the poem. Yet, the audience were seduced by the aural force of his verse, and stimulated by an experience which was novel to them; that is, they were previously unexposed to readings of long narrative poetry³¹.

Of course, there are still authors who prefer to imitate earlier models, and who support the more conservative perception of epic as something which follows unchanging conventions. Those writers often fail to compose a memorable narrative. Taking recourse in the past is justified only when some relevance to the author's contemporary culture is maintained, or when an old story is given new resonance. Those narratives which I have discussed in this thesis are superlative because they have expressed profound ideas, or have made a formidable contribution to literary tradition. They have captured a sense of individual movement in particular, and of human movement in general. And they acknowledge that the external world has an important role to play in human development.

Notes

¹ Mark Lawson, "No pain no gain," *Guardian*, 3 May 2001 2: 2.

² Lawson 2: 2-5.

³ Nicholas Wroe, "The Laureate of St. Lucia," *Guardian*, 2 Sept. 2000
Review: 7.

⁴ John Barton, *Tantalus: An Ancient Myth for a New Millenium*
(London: Oberon, 2000).

⁵ Sandro Botticelli, *Botticelli's Dante: The Drawings for The Divine Comedy*, Royal Academy, London, 17 Mar.-10 Jun. 2001.

⁶ "Botticelli: Visions of Violence and Beauty," *Omnibus*, narr. Kirsty Wark, dir. Ben McPherson, BBC 2, 17 Mar. 2001.

⁷ Mathew Reynolds, "Jamming up the Flax Machine," Rev. of *The "Inferno" of Dante Alighieri: A New Translation*, by Ciaran Carson, *London Review of Books*, 8 May 2003: 31-2:

"The contrasting idioms uttered by [Carson's] damned recall the plurality of tongues which Carson has heard in Ulster and explored acutely in his other poetry. In Hell, as in the place 'caught between / Belfast and Belfast', different styles of speech bring with them different imaginings of history, . . . In his introduction, Carson explores a comparison between his own circumstances and the civil conflict through which Dante lived: in Belfast, 'we see again the vendetta-stricken courtyards and surveillance towers of Dante's birthplace, where everyone is watching everyone, and there is little room for manouvre.' In the translation itself, loaded words continue the analogy. Hell has 'borders' and 'precincts', and at one point Dante is made to ask of his 'divided city': 'Is there one just man / in it? Or are they all sectarians?'. "

⁸ *Sunday Times*, 1 Jul. 2001 1: 24.

⁹ Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (London: Murray, 1922) 103-4:

"... we may easily underrate the mental powers of the higher animals, and especially of man, when we compare their actions founded on the memory of past events, on foresight, reason, and imagination, with exactly similar actions instinctively performed by the lower animals the lower animals, like man, manifestly feel pleasure and pain, happiness and misery The fact that the lower animals are excited by the same emotions as ourselves is so well established, that it will not be necessary to weary the reader by many details."

¹⁰ Ian McEwan, "The Great Odyssey," *Guardian*, 9 Jun. 2001 1-3.

¹¹ Jonathan Bate, *The Song of the Earth* (London: Picador-Macmillan, 2000) 266.

¹² Bate 282.

¹³ Sebastian Barker and William Oxley, eds., "In Epic Vein," *Newsletter* 4 (Sept. 1997): 1-3.

¹⁴ Sally Evans, "In Epic Vein" 2.

¹⁵ Alan Franks, "Wake up World," *Times*, 2 Jan. 1999 Magazine: 12.

¹⁶ Franks 12.

¹⁷ John Clellon Holmes, qtd. in Kenneth Rumsey, *The Beat Page*, online, Internet, 2 May 2003, available:

http://www.rooknet.com/beatpage/info/info_originbeat.html.

¹⁸ Allen Ginsberg, *Mind Breaths: Poems 1972-1977* (San Francisco: City Lights, 1978).

Extracted from "Flying Elegy":

Bless the dead last Philosophers, thought of the thought of
Philosophers

Perfected Wisdom's teachers escaped from Blessing and the
Bliss of grasping prayer

'scaped from the curse of meditation on a cushion on yr ass
Dead that've left breath, renounced sex body, suffered stroke
& begone

alone, the drinker, thinker, divorcé, grandfather weary wise
dying in bed night's stillness silent and wake.

(18-23).

Extracted from "Mugging":

Tonite I walked out of my red apartment door on East tenth
street's dusk --

Walked out of my home ten years, walked out in my honking
neighborhood

Tonite at seven walked out past garbage cans chained to con-
crete anchors

Walked under black painted fire escapes, giant castiron plate
covering a hole in ground

-- Crossed the street, traffic lite red, thirteen bus roaring by
liquor store,

past corner pharmacy iron grated, past Coca Cola & My-Lai
posters fading scraped on brick

Past Chinese Laundry wood door'd, & broken cement stoop
steps For Rent hall painted green & purple Puerto Rican
style

Along E. 10th's glass splattered pavement, kid blacks & Span-

ish oiled hair adolescents' crowded house fronts --
Ah, tonite I walked out on my block NY City under humid
summer sky Halloween,
thinking what happened Timothy Leary joining brain police
for a season?
thinking what's all this Weathermen, secrecy & selfrighteous-
ness beyond reason -- F.B.I. plots?
Walked past a taxicab controlling the bottle strewn curb --
(1-12).

¹⁹ Davey D, *Liveinthemix.com*, online, Internet, available:
http://liveinthemix.com/history_of_hip_hop1.htm (7 May 2003).

²⁰ Wroe 6.

²¹ Douglas Dunn, *The Donkey's Ears* (London: Faber, 2000).

²² Colin Pearce, "Draft: Artist Newsletter article re. *Walkietalkie*," E-mail
from Hester Cockcroft to Robert Cockcroft, 6 Apr. 2001.

²³ Carole Hudson, address, conf. on Cityscapes, UCE, Birmingham,
13 Apr. 2000.

²⁴ Nail Chiodo, *Loud in War*, extracted as a 3-page advertisement, *TLS*,
18 Sept. 1998. Full text available online at www.pugzine.com.

²⁵ Basil Bunting, *Briggflatts and Other Poems*, read by Basil Bunting,
audiocassette (Bloodaxe, 2000).

²⁶ J. A. Cuddon, "Oral tradition," *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary
Terms and Literary Theory*, 3rd. ed. (London: Penguin, 1992).

²⁷ Frank Reeve, "Performing the Long Poem at London's Barbican, April
2000," *Newsletter* 9 (Jul. 2000): 2.

²⁸ Bob Cobbing, "A Perspective," *Newsletter* 10 (Feb. 2001): 2.

²⁹ An indirect attempt to contact Aiden Andrew Dun regarding any
work-in-progress was unsuccessful. Tom Paulin was directly contacted
and, at his request, a letter was sent asking for a short description of his

forthcoming poem, and to discover, among other things, whether he ascribes to a conventional idea of epic, or takes a more flexible approach. No reply was recieved. Since this thesis was first submitted, Tom Paulin has published *The Invasion Handbook*, (London: Faber, 2001). Aidan Andrew Dun has released another epic poem, *Universal* (2002), as described online at: <http://www.allpossibilities.org/aad.html>.

³⁰ Sebastian Barker and William Oxley, eds., editorial, *Newsletter* 9: 1.

³¹ Aidan Andrew Dun, performance, conf. on Cityscapes, UCE, Birmingham, 13 Apr. 2000.

Bibliography

Primary Texts

Byron, [George Gordon]. *Don Juan*. Eds. T. G. Steffan and W. W. Pratt.

Penguin English Poets. Gen. ed. Christopher Ricks.

London: Penguin, 1973.

Dun, Aidan Andrew. *Vale Royal*. Uppingham: Goldmark, 1995.

Joyce, James. *Ulysses*. Introd. Anthony Burgess. Minerva Ed.

London: Mandarin-Reed, 1992.

Milton, John. *Paradise Lost: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and*

Sources, Criticism. Ed. Scott Elledge. 2nd. ed. Norton Critical Ed.

New York: Norton, 1993.

Walcott, Derek. *Omeros*. London: Faber, 1990.

Wordsworth, William. *The Prelude 1799, 1805, 1850: Authoritative Texts,*

Context and Reception, Recent Critical Essays. Eds. Jonathan

Wordsworth, M. H. Abrams and Stephen Gill. Norton Critical Ed.

New York: Norton, 1979.

Secondary Texts

Abrams, M. H. *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in*

Romantic Literature. New York: Norton, 1973.

---. *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*.

London: Oxford UP, 1953.

Achinstein, Sharon. *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England*.

Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003.

Ackroyd, Peter. *London: The Biography*. London: Chatto, 2000.

Adams, Hazard. "Byron, Yeats, and Joyce: Heroism and Technic." *Studies*

in Romanticism 24 (1985): 399-412.

Addison, Joseph. Essay: 327 (15 Mar. 1712). Addison, Steele and Others. *Spectator*. 4 vols. Vol. 3. Ed. Gregory Smith. Introd. Peter Smithens. Rev. ed. London: Dent, 1945. 20-7.

Aiden Andrew Dun. Online. Internet. Available:

<http://www.allpossibilities.org/aad.html> (8 May 2003).

Akenside, Mark. "The Pleasures of Imagination." *The Poetical Works of Mark Akenside*. Ed. Robin Dix. London: Associated UP, 1996. 161-6.

Ancient Voices: Mazes and Labyrinths. BBC 2. 19 June 1999.

Aristotle. *Poetics*. Trans., introd. and notes Malcolm Heath. London: Penguin, 1996.

Arnold, Matthew. *On the Classical Tradition*. Ed. R. H. Super. *The Complete Prose Works of Matthew Arnold*. Vol. 1. USA: U of Michigan P; Toronto: Ambassador, 1960.

Art Treasures in the North. Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle Upon Tyne. 13 Nov. 1999-5 Mar. 2000.

Atkins, Peter, Ian Simmons and Brian Roberts. *People, Land and Time: An Historical Introduction to the Relations Between Landscape, Culture and Environment*. London: Arnold, 1998.

Babb, Lawrence. *The Moral Cosmos of Paradise Lost*. [Michigan]: Michigan State UP, 1970.

Baer, William, ed. *Conversations with Derek Walcott*. Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 1996.

Bakhtin, M. M. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*. Ed. Michael Holquist. Trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. U of Texas P Slavic Series. No. 1. Gen. ed. Michael Holquist. Austin: U of Texas P, 1981. Trans. of *Voprosy literatury i estetiki*.

Barker, Sebastian and William Oxley, eds. *Long Poem Group Newsletter*. Online. Internet.

- Barta, Peter I. *Bely, Joyce, and Döblin: Peripatetics in the City Novel*. Florida James Joyce Ser. Gainesville: UP of Florida, 1996.
- Barton, John. *Tantalus: An Ancient Myth for a New Millenium*. London: Oberon, 2000.
- Bate, Jonathan. *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- . *The Song of the Earth*. London: Picador-Macmillan, 2000.
- Behn, Aphra. *Oroonoko or The Royal Slave A True History. Oroonoko, The Rover and Other Works*. Ed. Janet Todd. London: Penguin, 1992. 75-141.
- Bek, Lise. *Towards Paradise On Earth: Modern Space Conception in Architecture: A Creation of Renaissance Humanism*. Analecta Romana Instituti Danici I X. [Denmark]: Odense UP, 1980.
- Bell, Morag, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan, eds. *Geography and Imperialism 1820-1940*. Studies in Imperialism. Gen. ed. John M. Mackenzie. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1995.
- Belloc, Hilaire. *Milton*. London: Cassell, 1970.
- Black, Jeremy. *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century*. Stroud: Sutton, 1992.
- . *Maps and History: Constructing Images of the Past*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1997.
- . *Maps and Politics*. Picturing History Ser. Series eds. Peter Burke, Sander L. Gilman, Roy Porter and Bob Scribner. London: Reaktion, 1997.
- Blackstone, Bernard. *The Lost Travellers: A Romantic Theme with Variations*. London: Longman, 1962.

- Blake, William. *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell. Blake's Poetry and Designs: Authoritative Texts, Illuminations in Color and Monochrome, Related Prose, Criticism*. Eds. Mary Lynn Johnson and John E. Grant. Norton Crit. Ed. New York: Norton, 1979. 181-102.
- . *Jerusalem, the Emanation of the Giant Albion. Blake: The Complete Poems*. Ed. W. H. Stevenson. 2nd. ed. Longman Annotated English Poets. Gen. eds. F. W. Bateson and John Barnard. London: Longman, 1989. 623-849.
- Blamires, David. *David Jones: Artist and Writer*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1978.
- Blamires, Harry. *The Bloomsday Book: A Guide through Joyce's Ulysses*. London: Methuen, 1966.
- Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. London: Oxford UP, 1973.
- . *A Map of Misreading*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1975.
- . "The Internalization of Quest-Romance." *Romanticism and Consciousness: Essays in Criticism*. Ed. Harold Bloom. New York: Norton, 1970. 3-24.
- Bohls, Elizabeth A. *Women Travel Writers and the Language of Aesthetics, 1716-1818*. Cambridge Studies in Romanticism 13. Gen. eds. Marilyn Butler and James Chandler. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1995.
- "Botticelli: Visions of Violence and Beauty." *Omnibus*. Narr. Kirsty Wark. Dir. Ben McPherson. BBC 2. 17 Mar. 2001.
- Botticelli, Sandro. *Boticelli's Dante: The Drawings for The Divine Comedy*. Royal Academy. London, 17 Mar.-10 Jun. 2001.
- Bowra, C. M. *Heroic Poetry*. London: Macmillan, 1952.
- Branch, Michael P., Rochelle Johnson, Daniel Patterson and Scott Slovic, eds. *Reading the Earth: New Directions in the Study of Literature and Environment*. Moscow: U of Idaho P, 1998.

Breen, Kenneth. "Divided Command: The West Indies and North America, 1780-1781." *The British Navy and the Use of Naval Power in the Eighteenth Century*. Eds. Jeremy Black and Philip Woodfine.

[Leicester?]: Leicester UP, 1988. 191-206.

Bronowski, J. *The Ascent of Man*. London: Book Club Associates, 1976.

Bunting, Basil. *Briggflatts and Other Poems*. Read by Basil Bunting. Audiocassette. Bloodaxe, 2000.

Burgess, Anthony. Introduction. *Ulysses* by James Joyce. Minerva ed. London: Mandarin-Reed, 1992. v-xii.

Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Ed. J. T. Boulton. London: Routledge, 1958.

Burrow, Colin. *Epic Romance: Homer to Milton*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.

Byron, Lord. *Selected Letters and Journals*. Ed. Leslie A. Marchand. London: Pimlico-Random, 1993.

---. *Byron: Selected Letters and Journals*. Ed. Peter Gunn.

Middlesex: Penguin, 1984. Rpt. of *Lord Byron: Selected Prose*. 1972.

---. *The Complete Poetical Works*. Ed. Jerome J. McGann. Vol. II *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1980.

Callender, Geoffrey and F. H. Hinsley. *The Naval Side of British History, 1485-1945*. London: Christophers, 1952.

Calvino, Italo. *Why Read the Classics?* Trans. Martin McLaughlin. London: Vintage, 2000.

Carey, John. "John Carey's Books of the Century: *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*." *Sunday Times* 21 Mar. 1999: 8.9.

---. *Milton*. Lit. in Perspective. Gen. ed. Kenneth H. Grose. London: Evans, 1969.

Carus, Paul. *The History of the Devil and the Idea of Evil: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*. New York: Land's End, 1969.

- Chaucer, [Geoffrey]. *Complete Works*. Ed. Walter W. Skeat. Oxford Standard Authors. London: Oxford UP, 1912.
- Chiodo, Nail. *Loud in War*. Extracted in *TLS*. 18 Sept. 1998.
- Classic Cafes/Psychogeography*. Online. Internet. Available: <http://freespace.virgin.net/a.maddox/Psy.html> (13 May 2003).
- Cochran, Peter. "Don Juan, Canto II: A Reconsideration of some of Byron's Borrowing from his Shipwreck Sources." *Byron Journal* 19 (1991): 141-5.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *Biographia Literaria: Or Biographical Sketches of my Literary Life and Opinions*. Ed. and introd. George Watson. London: Dent, 1975.
- . "Table Talk." *Coleridge's Miscellaneous Criticism*. Ed. Thomas Middleton Raysor. London: Constable, 1936. 401-39.
- Conrad, Peter. *Imagining America*. London: Routledge, 1980.
- Constable, John. *The Southwark Mysteries*. London: Oberon, 1999.
- Copley, Stephen and Peter Garside, eds. *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape and Aesthetics Since 1770*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.
- Cosgrove, Denis and Mona Domosh. "Author and Authority: Writing the New Cultural Geography." *Place / Culture / Representation*. Eds. James Duncan and David Ley. London: Routledge, 1993. 27-30.
- Cuddon, J. A. *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*. 3rd. ed. London: Penguin, 1992.
- Curry, Walter Clyde. *Milton's Ontology, Cosmology and Physics*. Lexington: U of Kentucky P, 1966.
- Curtis, B. and C. Pajaczkowska. "'Getting There': Travel, Time and Narrative." *Travellers' Tales: Narratives of Home and Displacement*. Eds. G. Robertson et al. London: Routledge, 1994.

- Darwin, Charles. *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*.
London: Murray, 1922.
- Davey D. *Liveinthemix.com*. Online. Internet. Available:
http://liveinthemix.com/history_of_hip_hop1.htm (7 May 2003).
- Davies, Hunter. *William Wordsworth: A Biography*. Rev. ed.
Weidenfeld, 1980; Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1997.
- Demaray, John G. *Cosmos and Epic Representation: Dante, Spenser, Milton and the Transformation of Renaissance Heroic Poetry*.
Duquesne Studies Lang. and Lit. Ser. 11.
Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 1991.
- DiSalvo, Jackie. *War of Titans: Blake's Critique of Milton and the Politics of Religion*. Pittsburgh: U of Pittsburgh P, 1983.
- Dryden, John. *Essays of John Dryden*. Ed. W. P. Ker. 2 vols. Vol. 1.
New York: Russell, 1961.
- . *Essays of John Dryden*.
Ed. W. P. Ker. Oxford: Clarendon, 1900.
- Dun, Aiden Andrew. Performance. Conf. on Cityscapes. UCE,
Birmingham. 13 Apr. 2000.
- Dunn, Douglas. *The Donkey's Ears*. London: Faber, 2000.
- Eisler, Benita. *Byron: Child of Passion, Fool of Fame*.
London: Hamilton, 1999.
- Elledge, Paul. "Sickening Business: Byron's Juan at Sea." *Criticism* 34
(1992): 379-409.
- Ellmann, Richard. *The Consciousness of Joyce*. London: Faber, 1977.
- Empson, William. *Milton's God*. London: Chatto, 1961.
- Espejo, José Luis Martínez-Dueñas and José María Pérez Fernández,
eds. *Approaches to the Poetics of Derek Walcott*. Caribbean Studies
vol. 9. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen P, 2001.
- Falconer, William. *The Shipwreck*. London: Sharpe, 1822.

- Faris, Wendy B. "Cognitive Mapping: Labyrinths, Libraries and Crossroads." *City Images: Perspectives from Literature, Philosophy, and Film*. Ed. Mary Ann Caws. New York: Gordon, 1991. 33-41.
- Fielding, Henry. *Joseph Andrews and Shamela*. Ed., introd. and notes Martin C. Battestin. London: Methuen, 1961.
- Fitter, Christopher. "'Native Soil': The Rhetoric of Exile Lament and Exile Consolation in *Paradise Lost*." *Milton Studies* xx (1984). 147-62.
- Ford, Boris, gen. ed. *The Cambridge Cultural History*. 9 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992. Rpt. of *The Cambridge Guide to the Arts in Britain*. 1988-91.
- Foster, Shirley. *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and their Writings*. Hertfordshire: Harvester, 1990.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. Trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith. World of Man: A Lib. of Theory and Research in the Human Sciences. Ed. R. D. Lang. New York: Pantheon, 1972. Trans. of *L'Archéologie du Savoir*. France: Éditions Gallimard, 1969.
- Foulke, Robert. "The Literature of Voyaging." *Literature and Lore of the Sea*. Ed. Patricia Ann Carlson. Costerus. New Ser. Vol. 52. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1986. 1-13.
- Franks, Alan. "Wake up World." *Times*. 2 Jan. 1999. Magazine: 12.
- Frazer, James George. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*. Ed. and introd. Robert Fraser. The World's Classics. London: Oxford UP, 1994.
- French, Marilyn. *The Book as World: James Joyce's Ulysses*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1976.
- Frye, Northrop. *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1957.
- Frye, Roland Mushat. *Milton's Imagery and the Visual Arts: Iconographic Tradition in the Epic Poems*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978.

Gallagher, Bernard J. "Hitting the Road: Byron, Beckett, and the 'Aimless Journey'." *Rereading Byron: Essays Selected from Hofstra University's Byron Bicentennial Conference*. Eds. Alice Levine and Robert N. Keane. New York: Garland, 1993. 87-100.

Gare, Arran E. *Postmodernism and the Environmental Crisis*. London: Routledge, 1995.

Gilbert, Stuart. *James Joyce's Ulysses: A Study*. London: Faber, 1930.

Gill, Stephen. *William Wordsworth: A Life*. Oxford Lives. 1989; Paperback Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990.

Gilmour, Ian. *The Making of the Poets: Byron and Shelley in Their Time*. London: Pimlico, 2003.

Gilpin, William. *Essays on Picturesque Beauty*. 2nd. ed. 1792; Westmead: Gregg, 1972.

Ginsberg, Allen. *Mind Breaths: Poems 1972-1977*. San Francisco: City Lights, 1978.

Godlewska, Anne. "Napoleon's Geographers (1797-1815): Imperialists and Soldiers of Modernity." *Geography and Empire*. Eds. Anne Godlewska and Neil Smith. Institute of British Geographers Special Publications Ser. 30. Gen. eds. Felix Driver and Neil Roberts. Oxford: Blackwell, 1994. 32-48.

Goldberg, S. L. *The Classical Temper: A Study of James Joyce's Ulysses*. London: Chatto, 1961.

Graham, Colin. *Ideologies of Epic: Nation, Empire and Victorian Epic Poetry*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1998.

Green, Martin. *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*. London: Routledge, 1980.

Greene, Thomas. *The Descent From Heaven: A Study in Epic Continuity*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1963.

Gregory, Richard L., ed. *The Oxford Companion to the Mind*.

Oxford: Oxford UP, 1994.

Griffin, Donald R. "Topographical Orientation." *Image and Environment: Cognitive Mapping and Spatial Behaviour*. Eds. Roger M. Downs and David Stea. Foreword Kenneth E. Boulding.

Chicago: Aldine, 1973; London: Arnold, n. d. 296-99.

Grosskurth, Phyllis. *Byron: The Flawed Angel*.

London: Sceptre-Hodder, 1997.

Hägin, Peter. *The Epic Hero and the Decline of Heroic Poetry: A Study of the Neoclassical English Epic with Special Reference to Milton's Paradise Lost*. Cooper Monographs: On English and American Lang. and Lit. Ed. H. Lüdeke. Switzerland: Franke, 1964.

Hair, Chris. "Re: New Critical Mythologies." 6 Apr. 2001. Online posting.

Milton-L. 19 Apr. 2001.

Hamner, Robert. *Epic of the Dispossessed: Derek Walcott's Omeros*.

Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1997.

Harrington, James. *James Harrington's Oceana*. Ed. S. B. Liljegren.

Publications of the new society of Letters at Lund 4.

Heidelberg: Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1924.

Hattendorf, John B, R. J. B. Knight, A. W. H. Pearsall, N. A. M. Rodger and Geoffrey Till, eds. *British Naval Documents 1204-1960*. Publications of the Navy Records Soc. 131. Aldershot, Hants.: Scolar, 1993.

Hatto, A. T. "What is an Heroic Lay? Some Reflections on the Germanic, Serbo-Croat and Fula." *The Uses of Tradition: A Comparative Enquiry into the Nature, Uses and Functions of Oral Poetry in The Balkans, The Baltic, and Africa*. Eds. Michael Branch and Celia Hawkesworth. London: School of Slavonic and East European Studies, U of London, Finnish Lit. Soc., Helsinki, 1994. 123-34.

- . "Towards an Anatomy of Heroic and Epic Poetry." *Traditions of Heroic and Epic Poetry*. Vol. 2. Ed. J. B. Hainsworth. Presented by J. B. Hainsworth, A. T. Hatto, J. Opland, K. Reichl and J. D. Smith. 2 vols. Gen. ed. A. T. Hatto. Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Assoc. Vol. 13. Gen. ed. A. T. Hatto. Founded upon the transactions of the London Seminar on Epic 1964-1972. London: Modern Humanities Research Assoc., 1989. 145-294.
- Heaney, Seamus. "The Sense of Place." *Preoccupations: Selected Prose 1968-1978*. 2nd. ed. 1980; London: Faber, 1984. 131-49.
- Hedgecock, Andrew. "Iain Sinclair - Renaissance man of the dying days of the 20th century." Online. Internet. Available: <http://www.theedge.abelgratis.co.uk/sinclairiview.htm> (10 May 2003).
- Heffernan, James A. W. *The Re-creation of Landscape: A Study of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Constable and Turner*. Hanover: UP of New England, 1984.
- Highet, Gilbert. *The Anatomy of Satire*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1962.
- Hill, Christopher. *Milton and the English Revolution*. London: Faber, 1977.
- Hoagwood, Terence Allan. *Byron's Dialectic: Skepticism and the Critique of Culture*. London: Associated UP, 1993.
- Homer. *The Iliad*. Trans. and introd. Martin Hammond. Penguin Classics. London: Penguin, 1987.
- Hopkins, James. "The Interpretation of Dreams." *The Cambridge Companion to Freud*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991. 86-135.
- Howard, Donald R. *Writers and Pilgrims: Medieval Pilgrimage Narratives and Their Posterity*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1980.
- Howard, Peter. *Landscapes: The Artists' Vision*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Hudson, Carole. Address. Conf. on Cityscapes. UCE, Birmingham. 13 Apr. 2000.

- Hume, David. *A Treatise on Human Nature*. Vol. 1. Everyman.
London: Dent, 1911.
- Islam, Syed Manzurul. *The Ethics of Travel: From Marco Polo to Kafka*.
Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996.
- Jameson, Fredric. "Religion and Ideology: A Political Reading of *Paradise Lost*." *Literature, Politics and Theory*. Eds. Francis Barker, Peter Hulme, Margaret Iversen and Diana Loxley. Papers from the Essex Conf. 1976-84. New Accents. Gen. ed. Terence Hawkes.
London: Methuen, 1986. 35-65.
- Jardine, Lisa. *Worldly Goods: A New History of the Renaissance*.
London: Papermac-Macmillan, 1997.
- Jarvis, Brian. *Postmodern Cartographies: The Geographical Imagination in Contemporary American Culture*. London: Pluto P, 1998.
- Johnson, Samuel. "Milton." *Lives of the English Poets*. Ed. Robert Montagu. London: Folio, 1965. 15-82.
- . "Prologue Spoken by Mr. Garrick." *Samuel Johnson: The Complete English Poems*. Ed. J. D. Fleeman. Middlesex: Penguin, 1971. 81-2.
- Johnston, Kenneth R. *The Hidden Wordsworth: Poet, Lover, Rebel, Spy*.
New York: Norton, 1998.
- Jones, David. *The Anathemata*. London: Faber, 1952.
- Jonson, Ben. *Discoveries 1641, Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden 1619*. Elizabethan and Jacobean Quartos. Ed. G. B. Harrison. Reproduced from the series Bodley Head Quartos. London: 1922-26. USA: Barnes, 1966. Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, n.d.
- Jordan, Matthew. *Milton and Modernity: Politics, Masculinity and Paradise Lost*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.
- Kain, Richard M. *Fabulous Voyager: James Joyce's Ulysses*.
Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1947.

- Kambourelli, Smaro. *On the Edge of Genre: The Contemporary Canadian Long Poem*. Theory / Culture. Gen. eds. Linda Hutcheon and Paul Perron. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1991.
- Kant, Immanuel. *Kant's Critique of Aesthetic Judgement*. Trans., introd. essays, notes and analytical index James Creed Meredith. [London]: Clarendon, 1911.
- Keats, John. "Letter to Benjamin Bailey." 8 Oct. 1817. *Letters of John Keats*. Ed. Robert Gittings. Oxford Letters and Memoirs. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1970. 27.
- Kennelly, Brendan. *The Book of Judas*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Bloodaxe, 1991.
- King, Bruce. *Derek Walcott: A Caribbean Life*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000.
- Kipling, Rudyard. *Captains Courageous*. New York: Bantam, 1982.
- Kitchell, Kenneth F. "The Shrinking of the Epic Hero: From Homer to Richard Adams' *Watership Down*." *Classical and Modern Literature: A Quarterly* 7 (1986): 13-30.
- Kobayashi, Audrey and Suzanne Mackenzie, eds. *Remaking Human Geography*. Boston: Unwin, 1989.
- Koehler, G. Stanley. "Milton and the Art of Landscape." *Milton Studies* V^{III} (1975). 3-40.
- Kristeva, Julia. *Revolution in Poetic Language*. Trans. Margaret Waller. Introd. Leon S. Roudiez. New York: Columbia UP, 1984.
- Kroeber, Karl. *Romantic Narrative Art*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1960.
- Landy, Marcia. "'Bounds Prescrib'd': Milton's Satan and the Politics of Deviance." *Milton Studies*. XIV (1980): 117-34.
- Lares, Jameela. "*Paradise Lost*, Books XI and XII, and the Homiletic Tradition." *Milton Studies* XXXIV (1996): 99-116.
- Lawson, Mark. "No pain no gain." *Guardian*. 3 May 2001 2: 2.

- Lehan, Richard. *The City in Literature: An Intellectual and Cultural History*. Berkeley: U of California P, 1998.
- Levine, Jennifer. "Ulysses." *The Cambridge Companion to James Joyce*. Ed. Derek Attridge. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1990. 131-59.
- Lewis, C. Day. *The Lyric Impulse*. Charles Eliot Norton Lectures 1964-1965. London: Chatto, 1965.
- Ley, David and Marwyn S. Samuels, eds. *Humanistic Geography: Prospects and Problems*. London: Croom, 1978.
- Lippincott, Kristen. "The Neo-Latin Historical Epics of the North Italian Courts: An Examination of 'Courtly Culture' in the Fifteenth Century." *Renaissance Studies* 3 (1989). 415-28.
- Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Collated and annotated Alexander Campbell Fraser. Vol. 1. New York: Dover, 1959.
- Lodge, David. *The Modes of Modern Writing: Metaphor, Metonymy, and the Typology of Modern Language*. London: Arnold-Hodder, 1977.
- Lukács, Georg. *The Historical Novel*. Trans. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell. London: Merlin P, 1962.
- MacCarthy, Fiona. *Byron: Life and Legend*. London: Murray, 2002.
- Marlowe, Christopher, *Doctor Faustus*. *The Complete Plays of Christopher Marlowe*. Ed., introd. and notes Irving Ribner. New York: Odyssey, 1963.
- Martin, Peter. "Riddle of the Sands." *Sunday Times*. 31 Jan. 1999. Magazine 28-33.
- McEwan, Ian. "The Great Odyssey." *Guardian*. 9 Jun. 2001: Saturday Review 1-3.
- Merchant, Paul. *The Epic*. *The Critical Idiom* (17). Ed. John D. Jump. London: Methuen, 1970.
- Metzger, Bruce M. and Michael D. Coogan, eds. *The Oxford Companion to the Bible*. New York: Oxford UP, 1993.

- Mikhail, E. H., ed. *James Joyce: Interviews and Recollections*. Foreword Frank Delaney. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990.
- Milton, John. "Lycidas." *John Milton: A Critical Edition of the Major Works*. Eds. Stephen Orgel and Jonathan Goldberg. Oxford Authors. Gen. ed. Frank Kermode. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991. 39-44.
- Moretti, Franco. *Atlas of the European Novel 1800-1900*. London: Verso, 1998.
- . *Modern Epic: The World-System from Goethe to García Márquez*. Trans. Quintin Hoare. London: Verso, 1996.
- Mori, Masaki. *Epic Grandeur: Toward a Comparative Poetics of the Epic*. Suny Series. The Margins of Lit. Ed. Mihai I. Spariosu. Albany, NY: State U of New York P, 1997.
- Myers, William. *Dryden*. English Literature. Ed. John Lawlor. London: Hutchinson U Library, 1973.
- Nicolson, Marjorie Hope. *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite*. New York: Cornell UP, 1959; New York: Norton, 1963.
- Norbrook, David. "Paradise Lost and English Republicanism." *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627-1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. 433-95.
- Norris, David and Carl Flint. *Joyce for Beginners*. Cambridge: Icon, 1994.
- Norton, Mary F. "'The Rising World of Waters Dark and Deep': Chaos Theory and *Paradise Lost*." *Milton Studies*. XXXII (1995). 91-110.
- Old New World*. BBC 2. 29 Apr. 2001.
- Onions, C. T., ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*. Assisted by G. W. S. Friedrichsen and R. W. Burchfield. Oxford: Clarendon, 1966.
- Ovid. *The Metamorphoses of Ovid*. Trans. and introd. Mary M. Innes. London: Penguin, 1955.
- Oxford Dictionary of Quotations*. 3rd. ed. 1979.

- Palmer, Kenneth. "A Few General Notes on the Heroic Poem." *English Renaissance Literature: Introductory Lectures*. By Frank Kermode, Stephen Fender and Kenneth Palmer. London: Gray-Mills, 1974. 113-7.
- Paulin, Tom. "Byron, Chaos and Rhyme." Byron Foundation Lecture. U of Nottingham, 17 May 2000.
- . *Ireland and the English Crisis*. Newcastle Upon Tyne: Bloodaxe, 1984.
- Pearce, Colin. "Draft: Artist Newsletter article re. *Walkietalkie*." E-mail from Hester Cockcroft to Robert Cockcroft. 6 Apr. 2001.
- Penrith, Keswick and Ambleside*. Map. Landranger Ser. 1: 50 000 Map of Gt. Britain. Sheet no. 90. Ordnance Survey Special Ed. Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 1988.
- Petrarch. "The Ascent of Mount Ventoux." *Selections from the Canzoniere and Other Works*. Trans., introd. and notes Mark Musa. World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985. 11-19.
- Phillips, Richard. *Mapping Men and Empire: A Geography of Adventure*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Pocock, Douglas C. D., ed. *Humanistic Geography and literature: Essays on the Experience of Place*. London: Croom Helm; Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1981.
- Pope, Alexander. *An Essay on Man. Alexander Pope*. Ed. Pat Rogers. Oxford Authors. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993. 270-309.
- Price, Uvedale. *Essays on the Picturesque*. London, 1794.
- Priestley, Joseph. "Materialism: I Of the Properties of Matter." *Priestley's Writings on Philosophy, Science, and Politics*. Ed. and introd. John A. Passmore. New York: Collier, 1965. 103-32.
- Proulx, E. Annie. *Accordion Crimes*. London: Fourth Estate, 1997.
- Radzinowicz, Mary Anne. "The Politics of *Paradise Lost*." *John Milton*. Ed. and introd. Annabel Patterson. Longman Critical Readers. Gen. eds. Raman Selden and Stan Smith. London: Longman, 1992. 120-41.

- Raine, Craig. "Millennium Masterworks: *Ulysses*." *Sunday Times*. 12 Sept. 1999. 11: 17.
- Reader's Digest Universal Dictionary*. London: Reader's, 1987.
- Reiman, Donald H. "*Don Juan* in Epic Context." *Studies in Romanticism* 16 (1977): 587-94.
- Reed, James. *The Border Ballads*. London: Athlone, 1973.
- Reynolds, Matthew. "Jamming up the Flax Machine." Rev. of *The "Inferno" of Dante Alighieri: A New Translation*, by Ciaran Carson. *London Review of Books*. 8 May 2003: 31-2.
- Richardson, Jonathan. "Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1734)." *Milton Criticism: Selections from Four Centuries*. Ed. James Thorpe. London: Routledge, 1951. 54-64.
- Rieu, E. V. Introduction. *The Odyssey* by Homer. Trans. by Rieu. Penguin Classics. Advisory ed. Betty Radice. London: Penguin, 1946. 9-21.
- Roberts, Adam. *Romantic and Victorian Long Poems: A Guide*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999. Abstracted in Ashgate catalogue. Aug. 1999.
- Rolleston, T. W. *Myths and Legends: Celtic*. London: Senate, 1994.
- Rose, Gillian. *Feminism and Geography: the Limits of Geographical Knowledge*. Cambridge: Polity P, 1993.
- Rumsey, Kenneth. *The Beat Page*. Online. Internet. Available: http://www.rooknet.com/beatpage/info/info_originbeat.html (2 May 2003).
- Salvesen, Christopher. *The Landscape of Memory: A Study of Wordsworth's Poetry*. London: Arnold, 1965.
- Sandars, N. K. Introduction. *The Epic of Gilgamesh*. English Version. Penguin Classics. Founder ed. E. V. Rieu. Ed. Betty Radice. Middlesex: Penguin, 1972. 7-58.
- Sattin, Anthony. Rev. of *Barrow's Boys*, by Fergus Flemming. *Sunday Times*. 1 Nov. 1998: 8.8.

- Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory*. London: Harper, 1995.
- Schlegel, Frederick von. "Lecture IV." *The Philosophy of Life and Philosophy of Language in a Course of Lectures*. Trans. A. J. W. Morrison. London: Bell, 1901. 413-34.
- Seidel, Michael. *Epic Geography: James Joyce's Ulysses*. Maps Thomas Crawford. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1976.
- Semino, Elena. *Language and World Creation in Poems and Other Texts*. Textual Explorations. Gen. eds. Mick Short and Elena Semino. London: Longman, 1997.
- Sharples, R. W. *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics: An Introduction to Hellenistic Philosophy*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Shelley, Mary. *Frankenstein; or the Modern Prometheus*. London, 1818. *Three Gothic Novels*. Ed. Peter Fairclough. Introd. essay Mario Praz. Middlesex: Penguin, 1968.
- Shelley, [Percy Bysshe]. *A Defence of Poetry. Shelley's Poetry and Prose: Authoritative Texts, Criticism*. Eds. Donald H. Reiman and Sharon B. Powers. Norton Critical Ed. New York: Norton, 1977. 478-508.
- Sidney, Philip. *An Apology for Poetry or The Defence of Poesy*. Ed. Geoffrey Shepherd. Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library. Gen. ed. Geoffrey Shepherd. London: Nelson, 1965.
- Silver, Brian L. *The Ascent of Science*. New York: Oxford UP, 1998; Softback Preview, 1998.
- Sinclair, Iain. "X Marks the Spot." *Lights Out for the Territory: 9 Excursions in the Secret History of London*. Illustrated Marc Atkins. London: Granta, 1997. 133-63.
- Spence, L. *Myths and Legends: North American Indians*. London: Senate, 1994.
- Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queene*. 2 vols. Introd. J. W. Hales. Everyman Library. London: Dent, 1916.

- Spooner, Catherine. Rev. of *London in literature: Visionary Mappings of the Metropolis*. Ed. Susana Onega and John A. Stotesbury. Online. Internet. Available: <http://homepages.gold.ac.uk/london-journal/spooner.html> (10 May 2003).
- Stabler, Jane, ed. Introduction. *Byron*. Longman Crit. Readers. Gen. ed. Stan Smith. London: Longman, 1998. 1-26.
- Stagl, Justin. *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800*. Studies in Anthropology and History. Ed. Nicholas Thomas. [Switzerland]: Harwood, 1995.
- Steadman, John M. *Milton and the Renaissance Hero*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1967.
- Steiner, George. *Language and Silence: Essays 1958-1966*. Faber, 1967; London: Penguin, 1969.
- Stevens, David Harrison. *Reference Guide to Milton from 1800 to the Present Day*. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1930.
- Sunday Times*. 1 Jul. 2001 1: 24.
- Swedenberg, H. T. *The Theory of the Epic in England 1650-1800*. University of California Publications in English. Vol. xv. eds. E. N. Hooker, S. B. Hustvedt and Dixon Wecter. Berkeley: U of California P, 1944.
- Tarnas, Richard. *The Passion of the Western Mind: Understanding the Ideas that have Shaped Our World View*. USA: Crown, 1991; London: Pimlico-Random, 1991.
- Tasso, Torquato. *Discourses on the Heroic Poem*. Trans. Mariella Cavalchini and Irene Samuel. London: Oxford UP, 1973.
- Taylor, Donald S. *Thomas Chatterton's Art: Experiments in Imagined History*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978.
- Thieme, John. *Derek Walcott*. Contemporary World Writers. Ser. ed. John Thieme. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1999.

Tillyard, E. M. W. *The English Epic and its Background*.

London: Chatto, 1968.

---. *The Epic Strain in the English Novel*. London: Chatto, 1958.

Tonkinson, R. *The Mardudjara Aborigines: Living the Dream in Australia's Desert*. New York: Holt, 1978.

Tuan, Yi-Fu. *Passing Strange and Wonderful: Aesthetics, Nature, and Culture*. Washington: Island P; Shearwater Books, 1993.

--. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*.

Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1977.

--. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*.
[n.p.]: Prentice Hall, [197-?].

Viewing the Century. Radio 3. 2000.

Vinci, Leonardo Da. *Vitruvian Man*. (c.1487). *The Renaissance* by Alison Cole. Eyewitness Art. London: Dorling, 1994.

Virgil. *The Aeneid*. Trans. and introd. W. F. Jackson Knight.
London: Penguin, 1956; rev. 1958.

Vogler, Thomas. *Preludes to Vision: The Epic Venture in Blake, Wordsworth, Keats and Hart Crane*.
Berkeley, CA: U of California P, 1971.

Walcott, Derek. *Collected Poems 1948-1984*. London: Faber, 1986.

Walking in circles. Online. Internet. Available:

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/arts/main.jhtml?xml=/arts/2002/09/29.bosin29.xml> (9 May 2003).

Wallace, Anne D. *Walking, Literature, and English Culture: The Origins and Uses of Peripatetic in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1993.

Watt, Ian. *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding*. London: Chatto, 1957.

West, Paul. "Ethos and Epic: Aspects of Contemporary Canadian Poetry (1960)." *Contexts of Canadian Criticism*. Ed. Eli Mandel. Patterns of Lit. Criticism. Gen. eds. Marshall McLuhan, R. J. Schoeck and Ernest Sirluck. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1971.

What is Psychogeography? Online. Internet. Available:
<http://art.ntu.ac.uk/mental/whatisps.htm> (13 May 2003).

Wilkes, Joanne. *Lord Byron and Madame de Staël: Born for Opposition*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999.

Wilkie, Brian. *Romantic Poets and Epic Tradition*. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1965.

Williams, Carolyn D. *Pope, Homer, and Manliness: Some Aspects of Eighteenth-Century Classical Learning*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Wilton, Andrew. *Turner and the Sublime*. London: British Museum, 1980.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*. Introd. Bertrand Russell. Intl. Lib. of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method. Gen. ed. C. K. Ogden. London: Kegan; New York: Harcourt, 1933.

Wordsworth, Jonathan. *William Wordsworth: The Borders of Vision*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.

Wordsworth, William. "Preface to *Lyrical Ballads* and Appendix (1850)." *Selected Prose of William Wordsworth*. Ed., introd. and notes John O. Hayden. Middlesex: Penguin, 1988. 292.

---. *William Wordsworth: Poems*. Ed. John O. Hayden. 2 vols. London: Penguin, 1977.

---. "Appendix 3: The Sublime and Beautiful." *The Prose Works of William Wordsworth*. Eds. W. J. B. Owen and J. W. Smyser. Vol. 2. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1974. 349-61.

---. *The Illustrated Wordsworth's Guide to the Lakes*. Ed. Peter Bicknell. Foreword Alan G. Hill. Exeter: Webb, 1984.

Wroe, Nicholas. "The Laureate of St. Lucia." *Guardian*. 2 Sept. 2000

Review: 7.

