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“Old versus New: Cartographic Discourse and Mapping  
the Protestant Identity in Paradise Lost”

A Thesis Presented

by

**Bethany Nagel**

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Abstract of the Thesis

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This thesis examines the development of the Protestant identity through cartographic discourses found in John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. The rise in the new cartography based on Ptolemy’s *Geography* during the early modern period necessitated a new geographic consciousness for the individual. These new geometric maps stood in stark contrast to the older and highly symbolic cosmographies, the medieval *mappaemundi*. Milton is clearly marking the tension between the two ways of conceptualizing the world and the position of the individual within each one. Because every map assumes a viewer, these discourses are highly concerned with the individual and their relationship to place. And place, for Milton, is not only geographic but also inherently temporal and symbolic as well. He creates cartographic sketches of hell, the garden, and earth in order to illustrate the dangers to the individual of mappings that ignore place. Using the figures of Satan, Adam, and the narrator, Milton illustrates that the self and place are involved in a reciprocal relationship in which they both create and are created by each other. Through his discussion of the relationship between place, the body, and the self, Milton literally maps for the reader a cosmography which defines the Protestant self within the postlapsarian world and maps out the journey toward the promised eternal paradise.

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# Introduction

## 1.1 Milton and Mapping

Milton's *Paradise Lost* ends with a beginning. Adam and Eve set out on a journey across the frighteningly unknown Earth:

The world was all before them, where to choose  
Their place of rest, and providence their guide:  
They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow,  
Through Eden took their solitary way (XII. 646-650)

Their expulsion from the garden is a terrifying scene. The entire “world was all before them” but completely unfamiliar. How would they know “where to choose / Their place of rest”? Adam and Eve, after all, did not have a map by which they might know which way to go or what place to prefer over another.

A trek through the wilderness is common in Protestant ideology. A journey through unknown territory, like the expulsion from the Garden or the Exodus from Egypt to the Promised Land, is typologically related to the journey of the Protestant self. As Catherine Delano-Smith sees it, this type of journey became “a powerful trope for the journey of life and struggle toward salvation” (23) for Protestants beginning in the medieval and continuing through the early modern period. Maps, therefore, would be useful not only for positioning the individual within a physical journey but also in the spiritual journey of the Protestant self in the postlapsarian world.

And the relationship between biblical wandering and the Protestant journey toward eternal paradise is quite clear in *Paradise Lost*, particularly through Milton's own



use of cartographic discourse. He is highly concerned with geography and mapping at every point in his epic. He creates an entire cosmos in extreme detail, and, as a result, much attention has been given to the spaces and places of *Paradise Lost*. Critics like John Gillies and Maura Brady have examined the issues of place and space within the epic. Bruce Mcleod and Balachandra Rajan have discussed the specific geographies of *Paradise Lost* as it relates to issues of imperialism. But no work has yet been done on the highly cartographic nature of this epic.

Milton utilizes two very different modes of mapping: the older allegorical cosmography and the new geometric cartography. He marks the tension between the two modes of conceptualizing the world and what happens to the individual in each case. Because every map assumes a viewer, these discourses are highly concerned with positioning the individual and their relationship to place. And place, for Milton, is not only geographic but also conflated with history, religion, and various other human imprints. His mappings portray a very specific relationship between the individual and place in which they both create and are created by each other. The body is naturally implicated in this relationship between the self and place. Milton's mappings of hell, the garden, and Adam's Vision examine the role of the body as a mediator between place and the self and what happens to the body if this fragile relationship is corrupted. His cartographic discourse literally creates a cosmographic mapping of the Protestant individual through which Milton illustrates not only the spiritual journey towards the promised eternal paradise but also the position of the internal self within that map.

## 1.2 Early Modern Cartography

A casual look at almost any seventeenth or eighteenth century map of America reveals the absolute faith Europeans of all religious persuasions had in the authority of the cartographic grid. Monarchs laid claims to lands solely on the basis of abstract latitudes and longitudes. Troops were sent to fight and die for boundaries that had no visible landmarks, only abstract mathematical existence (Woodward 46).

This “absolute faith ... in the authority of the cartographic grid” that Woodward describes stands in stark contrast to the older symbolically and religiously charged cosmographical system of mapping that was the standard in Europe until the rediscovery of Ptolemy’s *Geography* in the Renaissance. With the advent of the Ptolemaic system, intangible geometry replaced religious and historical symbols, “in effect extirpating its chorography in the interest of geography” (Chambers 30). This geography was not “charged with religious significance but was instead a continuous, open terrestrial space” (Brotton 32). This “abstract geometric grid” held considerable implications for concept of the individual’s place within world.

Any map assumes a viewer and thus positions the individual and his or her physical body in very specific ways. As Gordon and Klein state, ‘A spatial model that required a geographic centre, an *omphalos*, in order to describe, in degrees of civilization, its difference from a diffuse periphery, was slowly replaced by a framed geometric image fully available for European inscription (3). This rapidly evolving European spatial consciousness carried with it inherent dangers for the individual. The new maps were

“depopulated, often void of human traces” (Gordon and Klein 2) as opposed to the older more symbolic modes of mapping:

Such *mappaemundi* that were universal or encyclopedic in content displayed a plethora of information that signed the unfolding of the divine plan from the beginning to the end of time. In other words, their content (and that of their Renaissance successors) consisted mainly of historiated or descriptive narratives—that is, chorography, events and figures from widely varying historical periods (and from the ahistorical world of myth) are juxtaposed on a map in such a way that time can no longer be distinguished from space but is contained within it (Harley 382).

As Harley points out, this type of cosmographical *mappaemundi* conflates geography with history, religion, and other human imprints to position the individual within space and time. The new cartography, while still symbolic in a sense, was far more concerned with scientific accuracy and positioned the viewer geometrically rather than symbolically.

Woodward uses the terms “positional enhancing” and “positional attenuating” to describe the difference in the way the two modes of mapping interact with the viewer. Cosmographical maps are positional enhancing in that they “concentrate the viewer’s attention to the center” and therefore “imply exclusive, inward-directed worldviews” (Woodward 27). The Ptolemaic positional attenuating maps, on the other hand, “deemphasize the center and stress instead the spreading of the grid in all directions from the perimeter (36). A centrality or diffusion depending on the map creates very different

experiences for the viewer who was forced to reposition him or herself with the shift from the medieval to geometric modes of mapping.

Because of this repositioning of the self within cartography, advances in mapping during this period necessitated a new understanding of the place and space for the individual. As Harley states, “the change in the abstract conception of space—from the center-enhancing *mappaemundi* to the Ptolemaic isotropic structure of mapmaking—has often been called the quintessential modernity of the Renaissance cartography (12). The new cartography “severs the ties between people and land” and is “visually empty (Gordon and Klein 2), whereas cosmography is highly concerned with people and their relationship to geography. Essentially, the new cartography emphasizes space while the old cosmography emphasizes place. To explicate this point, Gillies’ definition of place is useful:

Place is real because it is built into the living body, which is therefore placially shaped. Thus, the placial operators of orientation and direction derive from the strategically uneven bifurcatedness of the body, its handedness and bipedal mobility. The body is literally designed to make room, to find direction and declare horizon. Place is thus no longer (as in Aristotle) a matter of passive containment but a mode of the body’s active prehension within (and purchase upon) the world. Accordingly, place is necessarily (rather than fallaciously) inflected with pathos, quality, energy, and affect. Place arises out of the body because the body itself arises out of place (32).

If place is inextricably linked to the body then it cannot be separated from human history. Place cannot exist without an individual to perceive it as such, and therefore it inherently carries with it all the connotations of humanity: history, religion, politics, and every other human imprint. But if individual identity arises out of place in this symbiotic relationship Gillies implies, what happens to the individual within this new mode of conceiving the world that essentially empties space of place?

If we accept what Gillies states about place and its relationship to the body as true, the inherent dangers of the new system of mapping the individual become quite clear. And it is this relationship between place, the body, and the self (and what happens to the self if this relationship is corrupted) that Milton examines through his cartographic scenes in *Paradise Lost*. By doing so, he illustrates an appropriate relationship with place and creates a cosmography of how this ideal relationship informs the Protestant self in the postlapsarian world.

## Section 2

### Hell: Satan's Rebellion of Place

The epic essentially opens with a revolt of place. Satan and his fellow demons have been tossed into hell and wake up unable to move or think. They awake in a place which has no meaning to them other than to remind them continually "both of lost happiness and lasting pain" (1.55). This place has been imputed to them by God, "such a place eternal justice had prepared/ For those rebellious, here their prison ordained" (1.70-

71), and they have lost their sense of thought to consuming torture. And this is, in fact, the goal. This is not place as Milton interacts with it in the opening lines; rather it has been created by God for one purpose. Satan “and his horrid crew / Lay vanquished, rolling in the fiery gulf / Confounded though immortal” for nine days (1.51-53). Importantly, he comes to himself only when he locates his body within the tortures, “round he throws his baleful eyes” and remembers his own history. Immediately, Satan attempts to situate himself within the place of hell beginning with his own body.

The demons now have two choices: they must either submit to this place or rebel against it. Gillies sees Hell as a place that the Demons seek to escape: “they seek to mediate the effects of place, to disempower, relativize, nullify, and escape it” (47)). However, rather than attempting to escape the effects of place, I see the demons as attempting to change the nature of their relationship to the place of hell. Their rebellion is essentially to pervert the relationship of place that has been imputed to them and appropriate power over it. They have been forced into hell, separated from their former positions and history, and abandoned for eternity. As Mcleod states, “The enemy’s lair ... is essentially empty of history, meaning, or (re) productivity” (160). This place’s sole purpose is to remind the demons of what they have lost. And rather than submit to this fate, they stage a rebellion of place. In fact, hell in the demons’ minds seems ripe for their own version of place to be imprinted upon it:

... This desert soil

Wants not her hidden luster, gems and gold;

Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise

Magnificence; and what can heaven show more? (II.270-73)

They begin by attempting to reproduce the place of heaven in hell. The architect, Mammon, whose “hand was known / In Heaven” (I.732-733) reproduces his art in hell. In so doing, he establishes mining and effectively rapes hell of its resources just as men later “rifl’d the bowels of their mother Earth” (I.687) by his teaching. He and his crew “dig’d out ribs of Gold” (I.690) and “founded the massie Ore” (I.703) while they build. Thus hell is not only given a “Pandaemonium, the high Capital” (I.756) but also the beginnings of a trading economy with the discovery of precious material and the foundation of how to extract it.

In terms of creating place, this seems like a good beginning. Place, after all, inherently carries with it connotations of society and infrastructure. However, Milton clearly warns against creating place in this way:

“Learn how thir greatest Monuments of Fame,  
And Strength and Art are easily out-done  
By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour  
What in an age they with incessant toyle  
And hands innumerable scarce perform (I.695-699)

Creating place in such an artificial way is not a positive idea for Milton. If “Spirits reprobate” can create place in an hour, what meaning can place possibly have? As already stated, place is necessarily imbued with history, but hell has no history. Place inherently needs time, and there can be no relationship between place and identity because neither was allowed the time to inform the other as they were created. Satan and the demons effectively transform hell into what Gillies calls a “Las Vegas theme-park version of heaven” (49) in which the ornamentation and trappings of heaven are present,

but the place is artificial. Hell is still essentially “empty of history, meaning, or (re) productivity” (160). The enforcement of place in such a perverted way necessarily will have negative effects on the relationship between place and the body.

This occurs most distinctly after the construction of Pandaemonium. The demons have built their capitol, and a “solemn Council” is to be held within. However, in order to fit the “throng numberless” the demons “reduc’d thir shapes immense” to “less than the smallest Dwarfs” (I.33). This is odd considering that the demons have just built in an hour “What in an age they with incessant toyle/ And hands innumerable scarce perform” (I.698-699). With such considerable power, why should Pandaemonium not be built to hold all of them? Something is clearly not right with relationship of place to the body, and it is not hard to see why. As already discussed, the demons effectively enforce place upon hell instead of allowing place to develop naturally by both informing and being informed by it. Pandaemonium is “built like a Temple” (I.713) but without the religious connotations and sanctity that accompany such a place. The landscape of hell is “ransacked” (I.686) and given a “spacious wound” (I.689) as its “ribs of Gold” (I.690) are forcefully extracted. As the demons effectively rape the geography of hell and enforce an artificial place, their own bodies are warped and the relation of the body to geography is skewed.

Milton clarifies and expands the relationship between the body and place through the figure of Satan himself. His initial awareness of himself in his fallen state is coupled with an awareness of his own body. The emphasis on physical pain, “torture without end ... fed / With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed” (I.68-69) as well as idea an existence “unconsumed” by fire shows he is conscious of his own physicality. Satan quickly



recognizes his “other Parts besides / Prone on the Flood, extended long and large” (I.195-196). His ability to comprehend himself mentally is coupled with his ability to understand himself physically. Once he comprehends himself in this way, he is able to lift himself off the lake and fly to land.

So stretched out huge in length the arch-fiend lay  
Chained on the burning lake, nor ever thence  
Had risen or heaved his head, but that the will  
And high permission of all-ruling heaven  
Left him at large to his own dark designs,  
That with reiterated crimes he might  
Heap on himself damnation (I.209-15)

God gives him the ability to have a relationship with place just as he gives to Adam and Eve in their fallen state knowing that he will “heap on himself damnation” by perverting the relationship between place and the self in “his own dark designs.”

As we will see, an appropriate relationship with place inherently means a submission to the will of God, and that is something Satan will never agree to. God has imputed the place of Hell to the demons for the sole purpose of punishment, but Satan immediately asks, “Peace is despaired, / For who can think Submission?” (II.660-661) making it clear that accepting the place of hell is impossible. Thus Satan’s mode of rebellion after being forced into hell is to defy the place he is subjected to:

... Hail horrors, hail  
infernal world, and though profoundest hell  
Receive thy new possessor: one who brings

a mind not to be changed by place or time.

The mind is its own place, and in itself

Can make a heaven of a hell, a hell of heaven. (1.255)

By positioning himself as the “possessor” of place he appropriates the right to enforce his own relationship to place over the one God thrust upon him. He can make the claim that his “mind is not to be changed by place or time” because he effectively denies the ability of place to work on him. As the “possessor” he believes in his power not only to possess place completely but to enforce his own will upon it with no repercussions. In so doing he also denies the relationship between the body, the self, and place suggesting that the mind is its own self sufficient entity. He does not “repent or change / Though changed in outward luster, that fixed mind / And high disdain...” (I.96-98). Satan sees his “fixed mind” as set apart from external influences and as having no relationship to either his changing physicality or the place that caused the change.

It is not until he exits hell that he begins to recognize his error. Upon looking at Adam and Eve in paradise he admits:

Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell;

And in the lowest deep a lower deep

Still threatening to devour me opens wide,

To which the hell I suffer seems a heaven.

Oh then at last relent: is there no place

Left for repentance, none for pardon left? (IV. 75-82)

The relationship between place and the self here is quite clear, and Satan’s defying of this relationship not only perverts his body but his mind. He cannot escape place, “Which

way I fly is hell,” indeed place enforces itself on him, “myself am hell.” He no longer denies the power of place to work on him and recognizes the power place has to inform not only his physical surroundings but also to invade his interiority and define his identity.

Realizing that his attempted rebellion of place will not work, he seeks relief by asking for a potential escape to yet another place. However, the only way for Satan to escape hell both internally and externally is to submit to God and an appropriate relationship to place. He knows this and therefore can answer his own query: “None left but by submission” (IV. 81). The place for “repentance” and “pardon” he seeks is the Hell he was cast into. By submitting to their punishment rather than revolting against the place imputed to them perhaps God would “much remit / His anger”(I.210-211) and “these raging fires / Will slack’n” (I.213-214). Accepting hell as a justified punishment would have a far different effect on his interiority than the torture Satan is undergoing. But of course, accepting his punishment is something Satan will never do: “Peace is despaired, / For who can think Submission?”(II.660-661). Finally recognizing the relationship between place and his internal suffering, he realizes he is trapped in a Hell far greater than the physical hell he was cast into with no way out.

Trapped as he is, his solution is to retaliate in a way to “surpass / Common revenge” (II.371). He enacts a plan to:

To waste his whole Creation, or possess  
All as our own, and rive as we were driven,  
The punie habitants, or if not drive,  
Seduce them to our Party, that thir God

May prove thir foe, and with repenting hand  
abolish his own works (II.365-370)

His plan on Earth to “possess / All as our own” is strikingly similar to his statement, “profoundest hell / Receive thy new possessor” (I. 255). Although he has recognized that he cannot appropriate and control place without place enforcing itself back on him, he also cannot submit to an appropriate relationship to place. His plan is to bring his corrupt relationship with place to Earth. If his corrupt relationship with place brings such internal suffering, “Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell,” then the best way for him to exact revenge and “rive as we were driven” is to corrupt humanity’s understanding of place. His revenge is essentially to “Seduce them” into a distorted relationship with place. In this way he can both exert control over Earth and inflict the same kind of torture upon humanity that he himself is undergoing.

He moves his “dark designs” to Earth, bringing with him his perverted relationship with place. This is most clearly illustrated in the Catalogue of Demons. Satan has effectively enforced place upon hell and then moved into an appropriation of place on Earth. The demons have neatly carved the Earth into various territories, and Milton is very conscious to specify the physical space of each realm: Moloch’s territory extends “to the stream / Of utmost Arnon” (I. 399), Chemos’ territory runs “from Aroar to Nebo, / And the wild of southernmost Abarim” (I.407-408), Dagaon reigns “through the Coast / Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon / And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds” (I.464-466). Milton’s careful use of prepositions, “from Aroar to Nebo,” coupled with words of both physical and manmade boundaries, “to the stream”, “Gaza’s frontier bounds,” quite neatly and decisively divide up the geography being described. There is

no ambiguity or contest of territory, so much so that even if the reader is unfamiliar with the geography the language effectively demarcates the respective territories. Satan, as their designated leader, holds power unconditionally and the demons' control, and therefore Satan's control, over the earth is uniform. His appropriation of place does not follow the symbolic relationship that Milton lays out for good Protestant. Rather this scene aligns more closely with the new geometric mapping that stands in stark contrast to the religiously focused medieval maps. The catalogue of demons is not a mapping of the self but a covert appropriation of physical geography.

It is important to note that this appropriation of territory is not carried out through war or physical strength. Rather the aforementioned division of territory is inextricably linked with a description of the rituals of idol worship in each place. The demons "durst fix / Thir Seats long after next the Seat of God, / Thir Altars by his Altar" (I. 382-4). The appropriation of place on earth is carried out through an appropriation of legitimate religious place. The demons:

... often plac'd

Within his Sanctuary it self thir Shrines,

Abominations; and with cursed things

His holy Rites, and solemn Feasts profan'd,

And with thir darkness durst affront his light (I.387-91)

Place is inextricably linked to religion in the fallen world and the perversion of religious place will necessarily corrupt the Protestant self that Milton so clearly illustrates later in the epic. In the same way that a new geometric map "cover(s) over its purpose and intent" (Sills 323), the demons take over place in a way that disguises their agency and

control. The appropriation of religious place and the substitution of idol worship for true devotion is carried out in such a way that Protestants engaged with those places still believe they are involved in an appropriate relationship with place. The internal self can no longer be a temple with “upright heart and pure” when Satan effectively tricks mankind into a corrupt relationship with place and therefore a corrupt internal self. This covert corruption of religious place is exactly the way for Satan to carry out his revenge and inflict upon mankind the same suffering he feels.

## Section 3.1

### Satan’s Cartographic Survey

Milton addresses Satan’s corruption of place in what is commonly called Adam’s Vision. The vision has two parts, and both parts are carried out after Adam and Michael ascend the hill “of speculation” (XII. 589). The first part reiterates the dangers of Satan’s corruption of place on Earth and brings these dangers into a stark reality for Milton’s contemporary readers through a geographic survey in the new geometric cartography. By contrast, the second part is highly cosmographic. It maps an appropriate relationship with place for the Protestant self in the postlapsarian world through Adam’s own development into a postlapsarian individual.

Through Adam’s vision, it quickly becomes clear that Satan’s plans on Earth have unfolded just as he said they would:

Evil be thou my Good; by thee at least

Divided Empire with Heav’ns King I hold

By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign;

As Man ere long, and this new World shall know (IV. 109-112)

Milton illustrates exactly how successfully Satan has been as establishing his portion of the “Divided Empire” on earth through a vision of Christ’s temptation by Satan that sweeps the entire globe. The place names are exotic and the movement across geography is exhilarating. However, we must not forget that it is Satan directing this survey, and by the time he tempts Christ his potential “Divided Empire with Heav’ns King” is a reality. Because of this he can effectively appropriate place and in so doing can undermine the reader’s relationship to place. As Hoxsby points out “Milton’s catalogue has the appeal of a chart rather than a painting” (162). I would take this idea further to say that Milton’s catalogue has the appeal of the maps engaged with the new cartography of Milton’s time. Satan’s geographical survey is not one of humanity but of numbers. At first glance, the reader is caught up in the exotic place names and carried along by the quick movement of the lines. Upon closer investigation, it becomes clear that this map is emptied of place, and Milton creates a very specific critique of this practice and the dangers associated with it.

Prepositions of motion, “Down to the golden Chersonese,” “Or thence from Niger Flood to Atlas Mount,” “On Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway,” create movement along the lines that mimics the movement in space (XI.390-405). It is important to note that the movement comes from the fact that this is a vision where “His Eye might there command wherever stood.” This geographic catalogue is literally a visual survey from on an elevated perspective. The eye can sweep across the globe creating a sense of unity of geography in which movement through space is easy and

boundaries are less defined. There is no sense of the physicality of these places or a relationship of the physical body to the geography.

Instead all of these geographic locales are engaged with commerce and trade. Samarchand lies on the northern route of the Silk Road, east of the Caspian Sea (Bernstein 3). Ophir is most famously mentioned in the passage from 1 Kings chronicling Solomon's wealth and his exchange of commodities with the Queen of Sheba: "and they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon" (1 Kings 9:26-28). Quiloa is a port on the coast of Tanzania which Vasco da Gama encountered on his voyage. The names are all port cities or centers of trade, famous for their economic role in history. As the survey moves towards the west, the nature of this vision hits a personal note: "on Europe thence, and where Rome, was to sway / The world" (XI.405-406). Both the ancient Roman Empire and the Catholic Church into which it devolved are implicated in this statement. As Hoxby points out, "This may be ancient Rome, but it may also be the Catholic Church and the Hapsburg Empire, or even England, with its Catholic queen and its penchant for styling itself Rome to Holland's Carthage" (165).

But unlike the movement from east to west, time cannot be so clearly defined in the survey. There is a general temporal movement from a European frame of reference, in which the place names gradually move through time towards contemporary Europe. The passage begins in the east with ancient trade entrepôts like Samarchand and Paquin, modern day Beijing. As it moves east it also moves through time to the classical Roman Empire and contemporary Europe. The vision then makes a leap, both geographically and mentally, across the sea to lands "yet unspoil'd" (XI.409). "This 'yet' has a double



temporal sense, for in the time of Adam or Jesus it would not yet have been spied by Europeans, but even in 1677 it remained relatively intact” (165). It was no secret in Milton’s time that there was gold in Latin America. “Rich Mexico the seat of Motezume” (XI. 407) and more obviously “El Dorado” (XI.411) connote commodities and the implication is that while these places in Latin America are not yet an economic centers, they soon will be. Each place, well past its economic power or recently discovered and full of economic potential, is effectively pulled under the viewer’s gaze without regard to history, time, or humanity.

This economic relationship to place and the idea that the “Eye might there command wherever stood” interacts closely with the rapid advances in mapping at the time:

“As it became ‘the process (or art) of surveying a tract of ground’ (New OED 5a), then, the word ‘survey’ shifted from being an ‘act of viewing, examining, or inspecting in detail’ (New OED 1) or the ‘act of looking at something as a whole’ (New OED 3) to meaning ‘oversight, supervision, superintendence’ (New OED 2). In the process, a discursive sense of land possession was surrendered to a mathematical one. What had been known in local oral history as a parcel of land became a matter of protractor and stakes” (Chambers 30).

This geometrical and economic sense of place offers identity to no one. Rather, the means of identity in regards to place are appropriated by the one directing the viewing. The readers who join Christ in the vision have no sense of the physicality or history of the places. Indeed, each location is not put into any spatial or temporal relationship with the next other than to say “on Europe thence” or “thence from Niger flood.” And

because there is no sense of the physical body in relationship to these places nor any sense of temporality by which one might locate oneself, identity is effectively appropriated by the one who controls the viewing.

This, of course, was Satan: “The devil took him to a very high mountain and showed him all the kingdoms of the world and their splendor. ‘All this I will give you,’ he said, ‘if you will bow down and worship me’” (Matthew 4:9). The power Satan offers here is economic, and the vision is quite attractive for the reader. This, of course, is not real power at all, and therein lies the danger. The ability of the geometric practice of cartography to hide or “cover over its purpose and intent” (Sills 323) is a very real concern for Milton. Like the demons who appropriate power by covertly usurping legitimate religious places, Satan’s map conceals its agency. It is not just that power is effectively appropriated by the one who controls the map but that the inherent features of the map hide this fact. What seems like an exotic and attractive survey of economic power on the surface effectively covers the fact that the real power is held by Satan. As Hoxby states, “Milton’s language here generates a similarly desperate tone that the entire world globe really is at stake” (166).

The individual in this situation is lost. Satan’s geometric map is empty of humanity, but it does offer an attractive façade of power and a seemingly comprehensive understanding of the globe. And as we have already seen in the Catalogue of Demons, Satan and his minions have covertly appropriated religious places and geography on earth in order to corrupt the vital relationship between the Protestant self and place. Milton directly responds to this threat in the following sequence by mapping, through Adam’s

own education, exactly how place, the body, and the internal self should interact in the postlapsarian world.

## Section 3.2

### Adam's Cosmographic Vision

Milton's geo-economic survey is "perfectly congruent with contemporary techniques of cartographic projection" (Harley 418), whereas the lines immediately following create a very different kind of map. Milton sets up a clear preference between the two modes of mapping as he shifts to the second type: "but to nobler sights / Michael from Adam's eyes the film removed" (XI. 411-412). These nobler sights chronicle the journey from the Garden through Christ's return, and through this discourse of history, religion, and politics within geography Milton sketches a map of the Protestant self. Whereas the economic survey effectively emptied the world of place, this new map is highly concerned with place. And because place "is necessarily (rather than fallaciously) inflected with pathos, quality, energy, and affect" (Gillies 32), this new map is also highly concerned with the individual.

Milton creates a literary *mappamundi* in which history, geography, and temporality all focus to orient the Protestant self. This cartographic discourse stands in stark contrast to the empty vision of economic conquest Milton describes before Adam turns his eyes to "nobler sights." One could imagine the entire chronicle, from Cain and Abel through the end of the epic represented on a medieval map. In fact, this portion of the poem perfectly fits Harley's description of the medieval map: "chorography, events

and figures from widely varying historical periods (and from the ahistorical world of myth) are juxtaposed on a map in such a way that time can no longer be distinguished from space but is contained within it” (382). By creating this type of a map, Books XI and XII define what it means to be a protestant individual in a postlapsarian world.

To do this Milton maps the emergence of Canaan as a nation which is typologically related to the emergence of the Protestant self. One only has to look at the history of maps printed within bibles to see the importance of both geography and the Exodus story to Protestants of his time. The first bible to include maps was produced in 1483, and the practice was rapidly adopted by producers of Protestant bibles (Delano-Smith 11). These maps had served various purposes: “Primarily they were exegetic. They helped proclaim the Protestant view of the primacy of scripture over theological doctrine, and emphasized both the historical reality and the eschatological promise of scripture by demonstrating its geographical setting” (Delano-Smith 29). In terms of Protestantism with the emphasis on *sola scriptura* and individual interpretation, these maps then became an important tool for scriptural interpretation.

By the time Milton is writing, printing maps in bibles was common practice and the most frequently included map was the map of Exodus. As Catherine Delano-Smith states:

“It is not difficult to see why a map of the Exodus would attract Protestant Bible printers. The narrative, with its movement from bondage to salvation, from ignorance to knowledge of God, from promise to fulfillment, held a central place in both Hebrew and Christian thought. In early Christian times the story as recapitulated in Psalm 114, “When Israel went out of Egypt,” had been

incorporated into liturgies of preparation for baptism and Easter, and medieval culture absorbed it as a powerful trope for the journey of life and struggle toward salvation” (23)

Maps became a positioning tool for the individual reader; a way of orienting the self within geography and religion. For Milton’s purposes, the idea of a journey through place and time towards a promised land is highly representative of the journey of the Protestant self. He is clearly engaged with this idea as he sketches out the ideal Protestant individual through Adam’s own journey toward understanding himself in a postlapsarian setting. However, Milton takes his mapping further to show not only what it means to be a Protestant in his time period, but also how this identity developed. His cartographic discourse is the perfect way to exemplify not only the journey towards eternal paradise but the position of the individual within that map.

This highly detailed cosmographic mapping of biblical history positions the individual in a very different way than the empty geometric survey that precedes it. As Hoxby points out, this chronicle is “not a story of empire, but of individual relationships with God” (171), a highly appropriate subject for the cosmographic map Milton sketches. As we have seen in the earlier discussion of Hell, place can work on an individual in terrifying ways, and because this is a story of “individual relationships” place plays a central role in this sequence. Gillies argues that the place is devalued after the fall (46). However, I would argue that in the postlapsarian world, place becomes exponentially more important. What changes is the way place must be perceived and the individual’s relationship with that place. Gillies says that “A particular reason for the ‘visions of God’ shown by Michael in book 11 (we may imagine) is to change Adam’s place-bound

concept of worship (11.376). He goes on to say that these visions reveal the way which ‘permanent habitation ... gives way to an apparently pointless sequence of wandering, sojourn, and removal’ (46). But rather than displaying the hopelessness of place after the fall, I see Michael as exemplifying to Adam what place does mean in the postlapsarian world. His cosmographic sketching in books XI and XII effectively creates a map of the ideal Protestant individual:

... only add

Deeds to thy knowledge answerable; add faith,

Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,

By name to come called charity, the soul

Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath

To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess

Paradise within thee, happier far (XII. 574-587)

As we will see, a very specific relationship between place and the body is required for the internal paradise that Milton presents.

In the same way place was delineated for the demons in hell, identity and place are also defined for humans in the Garden. In effect, there is only one “place” in the prelapsarian world. The space of Paradise itself is entirely walled, “One gate there only was, and that looked east” (IV. 178) and it is uniform in purpose, “to all delight of human sense exposed / In narrow room nature’s whole wealth, yea more, / A heaven on earth” (IV. 208). Adam’s body literally rose out of the place, “raised us from the dust and placed us here” (IV. 416) and this place entirely informs his identity. The humans have no part in creating even their own domestic place. God creates their “blissful bower ... when he

framed/ all things for man's delightful use" (IV.690-691). He delineates place for them and as a result, because "Of God the garden was, by him in the east / Of Eden planted..." (IV.210), the two humans have no trouble defining themselves: "He for God only, she for God in him" (IV. 299). Like the place of Hell with its sole purpose of punishment, the Garden also has one purpose; it continually points to its maker. The garden is both informed by God and informs Adam and Eve's understanding of God. They have no part in creating place because there is no need to define a self, as it will come to exist in the fallen world, in such a place.

Because of this, they also have no need to define their own bodies in relation. Adam wakes and "straight toward heaven my wondering eyes I turned" and then examines his surroundings, "about me round I saw / Hill, dale, and shady woods, and sunny plains..." (VIII.261-262). He notices his body almost as an afterthought: "Myself I then perused, and limb by limb / Surveyed, and sometimes went and sometimes ran" (VII. 267-268). The noncommittal tone here brings out the fact that Adam really has no recognition as himself as a physical body. His body is not a defining entity for him. After he peruses himself "limb by limb" he still asks, "But who I was or where, or from what cause, / Knew not" (VIII. 270-271). Likewise, Eve wakes up and immediately wonders "where / And what I was, whence thither brought, and how" (IV.451-452). She sees her reflection in the water but has no recognition of the physicality of her body. In fact, she is more concerned with her surroundings than her position within them. Unlike when Satan wakes up in hell and immediately defines physical body within the torments of hell, neither Adam nor Eve have an understanding of their own physicality. This makes sense: Satan is fallen but, at this time, Adam and Eve are not. A relationship

between place and the body is a necessary aspect of the fallen state, not the state of innocence. Adam and Eve accept the place created for them by God and let this place completely inform them.

Thus outside of the confines of Eden, humans must be taught how to interact with place. Place is now something Adam must create, and reciprocally he must identify himself in relation to place. Michael gives him the necessary information with which to create this relationship. Without this, Adam is quite right to claim: “all places else / Inhospitable appear and desolate, / Nor knowing us nor known” (XI. 305-307). Adam because he is “not of woman born” must be taught to understand himself as if he were in order to reorient his understanding of place outside of the garden.

To begin, the visions that Michael lays out are highly corporeal. The gruesome physicality of Cain killing Abel, “smote him into the midriff with a stone / That beat out his life; he fell, and deadly pale / Groaned out his soul with gushing blood effused” (XI. 445-447) brings out the importance of the body in a postlapsarian world. For the first time Adam seems aware of himself existing in a physical body: “Horrid to think, how horrible to feel” (XI.465). The sequence of “Diseases dire” (XI. 474) carry his newfound physicality to a gruesome point. The body means something quite different outside of the garden. His body will no longer be located within a paradise that continually points to its creator. Rather, Adam must learn to create a relationship with place that will point to God in a similar way. The concept of physical anguish and death are a reality that Adam must learn in order to do this and these scenes bring his own physicality into his consciousness for the first time.



With this realization comes despair of the human condition, and it is at this point that the Milton begins to map out the Protestant individual by teaching Adam what it actually means to be this type of individual after the fall. Faced with the vivid list of tortures the physical body can endure, Adam understandably asks, “Is there yet not other way, besides / These painful passages, how me may come / To death, and mix with our connatural dust?” (XI.526-8). Michael’s answer is to care for the body with “the rule of not too much” and “Due nourishment” so that he might “be with ease / Gathered, not harshly plucked.” Thus he reiterates the body’s importance in his answer to “nor love they life, nor hate; but what thou liv’st / Live well, how long or short permit to heaven” (XI. 553-4). To “Live well” means to care for the body. Because men are created in God’s image there is a sanctity to the body that must be respected.

It is important to note that Michael stresses the kind of care for the body that Adam previously gave to the garden itself. He even compares the human body to vegetation found in the garden, “like ripe fruit thou drop / Into thy mother’s lap, or be with ease / Gathered, not harshly plucked” (XI.536-38). The stress is temperance over excess. This is exactly the type of care Adam gave to the garden:

With first approach of light, we must be risen  
and at our pleasant labor, to reform  
Yon flowery arbours, yonder alleys green,  
Our walks at noon, with branches overgrown,  
That mock our scant manuring, and require  
More hands than our to lop their wanton growth (IV.625-29)

McLeod's statement about the Garden that "'sweet Gard'ning labor' (IV.328) is required to maintain the natural order and check the impulses to and invasions of barbarism" (146) can also be extended to the physical body after the fall.

But recognizing the body needs care just like the garden did previously for internal paradise to exist is not enough. Unlike the garden, the body is mobile and affected by external conditions, disease, etc. The physical location of the garden within geography was unimportant when paradise was located within its bounds. However, if paradise is internal and the body is the boundary of that paradise, then the place of the body within external geography becomes incredibly important. As we already know, Satan and his demons have successfully divided up geography by usurping religious place, and Satan's claim "Divided Empire with Heav'ns King I hold" (IV. 110) is a legitimate statement as his possession of the Earth is uncontested. In this light, it becomes quite clear why Milton is so anxious about the effect of the new geometric cartographic practices and why he so vividly maps out the appropriate way to define the protestant self through Adam.

Thus Adam first recognizes his own physicality and learns to respect it before Michael can begin to teach him how to interact with place and define himself through it in his fallen state. The next scenes serve to focus and give purpose to the map that is being created. It shows people "unmindful of their maker, though his Spirit / Taught them, but they his gifts acknowledged none" (XI. 611-12). By contrast, Adam is "created, as thou art, to a nobler end" (XI. 605), and this entire sketch continually points him in this direction. Milton maps the protestant self by including an example of what behavior is not "to a nobler end."

Thenceforth shall practice how to live secure  
Worldly or dissolute, on what their lords  
Shall leave them to enjoy; for the earth shall bear  
More than enough, that temperance may be tried  
So all shall turn degenerate, all depraved  
Justice and temperance, truth and faith forgot (XI.802-807)

These “degenerate” descendants of Adam have elevated external place to a paradise and therefore rejected Protestant purpose. They “live secure / Worldly” because “the earth shall bear / More than enough.” The surplus has corrupted the value of temperance Michael so clearly laid out and the appropriation of place as a human prerogative “to live secure” within results in “faith forgot.”

This perversion of place results in the flood which effectively restores the place to its proper station. In order to do this God carries out “The end of all thy Offspring, end so sad, / Depopulation...” (XI. 755-56). With the removal of all bodies, God effectively removes place from the world. He continues, however, and washes away “all dwellings else / Flood overwhelmed, and them with all their pomp / Deep under water rolled” (XI. 747-9) and “in their palaces / Where luxury late reigned, sea-monsters whelped / And stabled” (XI.751-2). He not only removes bodies but all vestiges of the perversion of place. Thus, by saving the “one man except / The only son of light / In a dark age ... God vouchsafes to raise another World / From him, and all his anger forget” (XI. 242) and restores place to its original purpose.

However, by doing so Milton also effectively takes Eden out of known physical geography. This cosmographic sequence in books 11 and 12 wipes away the Paradise he has so vividly located. But that's an important part of the map he builds:

... then shall this mount  
Of paradise by might of waves be moved  
Out of his place, pushed by the horned flood,  
With all his verdure spoiled, and trees adrift  
Down the great river to the opening gulf,  
And there take root an island salt and bare,  
The haunt of seals and orcs, and seamews' clang (XI.829-835)

All parts of his map recall the paradise that has been lost and the journey toward the promised restoration to that paradise. The fact that paradise cannot be located on a map is necessary to Protestant journey because the postlapsarian individual is not on a journey back to Eden but to eternal paradise. Milton actively rejects the preoccupation of other Protestants of his time with locating the Garden: "By the middle of the century Calvin was struggling to fit the Old Testament description of Eden into the geography of Mesopotamia as portrayed in contemporary editions of Ptolemy's Geography" and ultimately located it between the Tigris and Euphrates (Delano-Smith 25). Other maps makers attempted to geographically position Eden as well, but Milton reacts against this practice. His texts wipes it from all known geography "To teach thee that God attributes to place / No sanctity, if none be thither brought / By men who there frequent or therein dwell" (XI 836-838). Its physical location of the Garden is unimportant in a postlapsarian world. What is important is the way the knowledge of its loss informs the

Protestant self. The garden must exist in the protestant consciousness because knowledge of is the starting point of Milton's definition of the Protestant individual.

This is how it exists on Milton's map. As Delano-Smith states, "Locating Eden on a map creates a different kind of meaning from showing as a landscape or as the centre of the world" (25). Milton rejects both of these options; Eden is not on his map physically nor does he focus his map around it. Instead it is the knowledge of the loss of Eden that informs the map Milton builds at every point. Locating paradise in an external place is a temptation man has already succumbed to, and as a result Milton literally wipes it from geography. In the postlapsarian world, where the sense of the body is so heightened, Eden as a physical location creates a relationship between the body and paradise that elevates external place beyond its purpose. The point is to let the loss of Paradise inform the internal paradise Milton creates rather than attempt to recapture an external paradise.

That is not to say external place is unimportant. But place has a specific purpose in informing the Protestant identity. Michael's discourse serves "to teach thee that God attributes to place / No sanctity, if none be thither brought / By men who there frequent or therein dwell" (XI 837). Sanctity of place, therefore, is the preoccupation of humans. They create place and the religious connotations with it. Without men to "frequent or therein dwell" no place would be special over another. But just because "God attributes to place / No sanctity" does not mean that place is meaningless. On the contrary, in a postlapsarian world, the individual needs place and it is their role to interact with place in the correct way. Within the confines of the Garden, the individual had no need to distinguish one place from another. God walked in the garden, and Adam and Eve took

care of the Garden. The entire place was holy because God defined its every aspect of it. Outside of the garden, place is no longer defined for them, and they must create a new relationship with place. "Sanctity" must be "thither brought / By men" implies the delicate reciprocal relationship between the place and the self the Milton describes in which the self creates and is created by place.

However, even though the flood has effectively restored place to its appropriate purpose, human beings are still fallible, and the temptation of external place still exists. As discussed previously, Satan and his demons have appropriated religious place in an effort to corrupt the relationship between place and the Protestant self. And they have succeeded. Humans themselves are now actively engaged in a corrupted relationship with place and are perpetuating this relationship as legitimate. Milton uses the Catholic Church to exemplify this. Like the demons, the rulers of Catholic church "shall seek to avail themselves of names, / Places and titles, and with these to join / Secular power, though feigning still to act / by Spiritual" (XII. 515-17). Milton's description of the Catholic Church's appropriation of place is quite similar to his description of the catalogue of demons. The demons' "placed within his sanctuary itself their shrines, / Abominations, and with cursed things / His holy rights, and solemn feasts profaned." In a similar way the Catholic Church "truth / With Superstitions and traditions taint" (XII.511-12) and appropriate "place and titles" (515) for "Secular power" (516). The effect of both perversions of the sanctity of place is the same: they will "...unbuild / His living temples, built by faith to stand" (XII. 529). Humans themselves are now engaged with place in a corrupting way and are proclaiming it as the legitimate means of

interacting with place. They are unwittingly involved in their own destruction and the destruction of rest of humanity as they evangelize Satan's own perversion of place.

Thus the importance of Milton's map of the Protestant self cannot be emphasized enough. The dangers of place in the fallen world come in all forms. Until Christ will "bring back / Through the world's wilderness long wandered man / Safe to eternal paradise of rest." (XII. 311-12), the Protestant self needs a way to navigate the "world's wilderness." It is exactly this instrument that Milton provides. Eventually Christ will again restore place to its proper function. His return will:

... dissolve

Satan with his perverted world, then raise  
From the conflagrant mass, purged and refined,  
New heavens, new earth, ages of endless date  
Founded in righteousness and peace and love,  
To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss (XII.546051)

At this point internal and external paradise will be the same thing, just as in the garden. But the Protestant individual must navigate the "world's wilderness" until Christ's return. Milton's use of cartography is the perfect way to exemplify not only the journey towards eternal paradise but the position of the individual within that map.

## Section 4

### Living Maps: Milton, Adam, and Reader

At the end of the vision, Adam exactly exemplifies the Protestant individual Milton has mapped. He has not only recognized his own body and self within the map, but he understands himself is having an interiority of great worth: “Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill / Of knowledge, what this vessel can contain” (XII. 558-9). The idea of his own body as a vessel creates the appropriate relationship between the inner self and external place with the body as the mediator. He exactly exemplifies the “living temples, built by faith to stand” (XII.529) that Milton maps out. The interiority of both a vessel and a temple depend on the physical structure of the object and the space external to it. Both exist to inform and support what is inside. If the vessel is damaged so are its contents, which is why Milton so strongly stresses care for the body. The external place, the body, and the internal self are all engaged in a complex relationship where they all support and are supported by each other in order to map the ideal Protestant identity. And this is what Adam learns through his cosmographic vision.

And this, likewise, exactly defines the narrator that Milton presents in the opening lines of the poem:

Sing heavenly muse, that on the secret top  
of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire  
That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed  
In the beginning how Heav'n and Earth  
Rose out of Chaos: Or if Sion Hill



Delight thee more, and Siloa's Brook that flow'd

Fast by the Oracle of God; I thence

Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song (l.6-13)

He positions himself within a cosmography of the Protestant self not the geometry of cartographic projections. The word "thence" implies an understanding of the self and the body in relationship to a physical place. In order to "invoke thy aid to my adventurous song" from any of these locations the narrator must position his own body in relationship to them. As a postlapsarian man himself, Milton immediately situates his own body in relation to place thereby setting up the importance of place within the poem from the opening lines.

However, Milton's various uses of the word 'or' show that his interactions with place are far more than geographic. They are also spiritual and symbolic. All of these locations are important historically in shaping Protestant identity: Oreb and Sinai are two names for the location that Moses received the Ten Commandments. Sion Hill is another name for Jerusalem. Siloa's Brook comes from the New Testament story where the blind man received his sight after washing off the mud Jesus placed upon his eyes (John 9:1-12). Milton posits himself into a relationship with "Oreb" or "Sinai" or "Sion Hill," and his use of the word "or" makes it clear that his relationship to place is not a static or concrete entity.

Rather, for Milton's narrator, like Adam, these places, all sacred within the history of Christianity, continually inform his own internal paradise. He can position himself from "the secret top/ of Oreb, or of Sinai" or "Sion Hill" or "Siloa's Brook" because they are all part of his internal cosmography. These physical places point to an

internal positioning whereby he can claim to be one of the “temples the upright heart and pure” (I.18). It is not just his relationship to physical geography that allows him to “assert the eternal providence, / And justify the ways of God to men” (I.25-26) but his interiority that both informs and is informed by these places. The narrator chooses these specific geographies for exactly this reason and in so doing sketches out a *mappaemundi* of sorts for his own Protestant identity.

This map exactly follows Harley’s definition of the cosmographical style of mapping in which “events and figures from widely varying historical periods (and from the ahistorical world of myth) are juxtaposed on a map in such a way that time can no longer be distinguished from space but is contained within it” (382). And this allegorical relationship to place that Harley describes informs his “adventurous song.” He calls on the “heavenly muse” to help him but does not posit the power to inspire in physical geography as the classical tradition often does. Indeed his song will “soar / Above th’ Aonian Mount” rather than be inspired by it. Place for Milton, is not sacred by itself. Nor is it only geographic but rather place is conflated with history, religion, and various other human imprints.

By invoking the Muse from various physical locations in order to ask “What in me is dark / Illumin, what is low raise and support” (I.22-23), he implies that place, to an extent, informs his internal self. He directly addresses the muse three times in the opening lines: “I thence / Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song” (I.12-13), “Thou Oh Spirit, that dost prefer / Before all Temples th’ upright heart and pure / Instruct me” (I.17-18), and “what in me is dark / Illumin, what is low raise and support” (I.22-23). While place is a vital part of how the muse will “instruct” and “raise and support” him, he

makes it clear through these invocations that it is not the physical source of the muse but rather how the muse will support his internal self that will allow him to create his “great Argument.” The Muse “from the first / Wast present” (I.19-20) emphasizing a presence not only physically but temporally as well. And this is necessary for the internal mapping Milton creates. Place, as Milton interacts with it in his cosmography of the self, is inherently temporal rather than strictly physical.

The muse then can inform Milton’s internal self because it was present not only in the beginning but also throughout history at all places that inform the Protestant self. Milton can ask for help from “Oreb” or “Sinai” or “Sion Hill” or “Siloa’s Brook” because the Muse was actually present and can therefore bring place and history to bear on Milton’s “upright heart” so that he may assert his “great Argument.” He maps his own self in the opening lines so that he can turn inward and actually ask the Muse, “What in me is dark / Illumine, what is low raise and support.” He exemplifies the internal paradise he maps out for Adam, but as a postlapsarian man, his internal self is ever evolving and subject to the same darkness as any other. In the same way he teaches Adam, he turns inward instead of outward for the means to begin his project.

And just as he maps out the Protestant self through Adam and his own inner self, his entire “great argument” also takes the form of a cosmographic map in which place and time are conflated and the individual is continually focused toward eternal paradise. By the end of the epic, the individual is firmly positioned with the Protestant map he creates. The ending lines,

The world was all before them, where to choose

Their place of rest, and providence their guide:

They hand in hand with wandering steps and slow

Through Eden took their solitary way (XII. 646-649)

leave the reader hopeful rather than in despair because Milton has so clearly mapped out the Protestant journey. Adam and Even may be just leaving the Garden, but for the reader the journey is already under way. The individual is situated within one enormous map that spans all conceivable place and time. Through this discourse that assures “providence” truly is “their guide,” Milton compiles a *mappaemundi* for mankind which pulls on place, history, religion, and divine inspiration to “justify the ways of God to men” and firmly position the individual toward the promised eternal paradise.

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