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**COUNTRY HOUSE ENTERTAINMENTS IN MILTON'S
*PARADISE LOST***

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That Milton was personally familiar with traditional country house customs and entertainments is evinced in his *Arcades* and *Ludlow Mask*. In these works the poet praised the virtuous owners, the Dowager Countess Derby and the Earl of Bridgewater, and their landed estates. Both Harefield and Ludlow Castle are presented as estates where grace has entered the natural world. Guarded over by transcendental powers, the Genius of the Wood and the Attendant Spirit, these estates are "holier ground," enclaves where the divine will operates. The entertainment and masque, performed by members of the aristocratic households, honored the courtly ideals of those who resided at these country estates. During the turbulent years of the 1640s and 1650s, however, Milton wrote polemical tracts attacking the political and social assumptions of the ruling elite, their royalism, ancestry of titles, and hereditary privilege. Yet in *Paradise Lost*, Books 5-8, he returned to country house entertainments. Drawing on a varied range of resources, Milton revalued the courtly ideals expressed in both manorial customs and literary models, especially in the country estate poems of Jonson, Carew, and Herrick.¹ It was a tendency of this genre, Leah S. Marcus observes, "to impose the imagery of the court upon a rural landscape."²

The purpose of my essay is to examine Milton's revaluation of the social ideals implicit in country house entertainments through his techniques of selection, modification, and transformation. The poet transforms these social ideals by removing them from the political ideology of the Stuart aristocracy and by raising them to a higher moral and spiritual level.

Ben Jonson concludes his paradigmatic country estate poem, "To Penshurst," by praising the exemplary aristocratic landowners, the members of the Sidney family. He says of the Sidney children that they have been taught religion

and may, every day,
Reade, in their virtuous parents noble parts,
The mysteries of manners, armes, and arts (96-8).

Interpreting these lines, Don E. Wayne focuses on the "natural Culture"³ of life at Penshurst. However, Jonson's word "mysteries"

has significance beyond nature and culture; it is his attempt to sacralize the poem. The word has a range of meaning from the ‘mysteries’ of a vocation, a secret social rite, to a religious truth known only through divine revelation. It prepares the reader, moreover, for the equally rich multivalence of the poem’s final lines:

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

The phrase “thy lord dwells” not only praises the paternal and benevolent landlord who resides on his estate, but also implies the supreme power of God who “dwells,” providentially regulating the ordered universe of which *Penshurst* is a microcosm.

These mysteries also have thematic importance in *Paradise Lost*, especially in the books that narrate the entertainments in Eden during Raphael’s visit with Adam and Eve. Both the country estate poem and *Paradise Lost* stress the “mystery of manners” through the theme of hospitality as an expression of benevolence, courtesy, and charity. Defining “Hospitality” in *Christian Doctrine*, Milton says it “consists of receiving under our roof, as providing for the kind reception of the poor and strangers,” and he cites several biblical passages, among them Hebrews 13:2: “Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.”⁴ In Eden the stranger who is entertained is “the Godlike Angel”⁵ Raphael, and the hosts who receive him are Adam and Eve, our unfallen ancestors.

Hospitality is shown in the host’s preparation, greeting, and the various entertainments for his noble guest. The traditional entertainments at the country house included banqueting, civilized social discourse, and masquing.

Both “To *Penshurst*” and *Paradise Lost*, Book 5 place considerable emphasis on domestic activity, including the hostess’ preparation. In “To *Penshurst*” Jonson’s description of Lady Sidney creates what Wayne calls a “heightened degree of domesticity” (Wayne, 114).⁶ She reaps “the just reward of her high huswifery” (85) in expectation of her guests. She has “her linnen, plate, and all things nigh” (86). Similarly, Milton describes Eve hastening “to entertain” (5.328) the expected visitor. As Adam has suggested to her, she will “bring forth and pour/ Abundance, fit to honor and receive” (5.314-15) the heavenly stranger. After turning “on hospitable thoughts intent/ What choice to

choose for delicacy best" (5.332-33), she plucks fruit, "ripe for use" (5.324). Then she heaps the board "with unsparing hand" and prepares her "fit vessels pure" (5.345-47).

A major way in which Milton elevates the social ideals of the country house is to model Adam's entertainment on the biblical account of Abraham's entertainment of the angels. Suggesting the image of Abraham as "he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day" (Genesis 18:1) just before he greets his three angelic visitors, Milton describes Adam, awaiting the arrival of their guest, sitting "as in the door...Of his cool Bow'r," away from the "fervid Rays" of the hot sun (5.299-301). Just as Abraham tells his wife to make ready, and then personally prepares for his guests, so Adam and Eve arrange things in readiness for their angelic guest.

The poet emphasizes the simplicity and purity of the biblical model by contrasting it with the debasing of hospitality by the Stuart aristocracy, who provide elaborate and showy entertainments at their country houses. He describes Adam greeting his visitor:

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

In contrast to the "tedious pomp" of the elaborate Royal Progress and visits in the fallen world, Adam meets the angel simply, naturally, with manliness and integrity, "all his state."

The naked Adam has greater dignity than the affectation and obsequiousness of the courtier with his trappings and flattery. There is courteous decorum, however, in Adam's greeting:

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

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

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

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

Herrick in "To Pemberton" compares the lord to Jove, "the *Hospitable God*" (61) who enjoys seeing his guests eating and drinking at his table. Here there is a full board of "choice viands" (67). The poet is specific in listing some of the foods served at Rushden. For meat, there are "mighty Chines" (7), "large Ribbes of Beefe" (9), bullocks thighs, veal, and fat mutton; for poultry, pheasant, partridge, quail, and much else. As Lawrence Stone has demonstrated in *The Crisis of Aristocracy*, there was a "sustained carnivorous orgy" at aristocratic households where tremendous quantities of meat and poultry were consumed. "The stupendous cost of the banquet," he writes, was "partly due to the rarity of the dishes, partly to the exquisite refinement of cooking, and partly to the sheer exuberance of scale."⁸

It is clear, however, that the principles of communality and charity are important in the poets' praise of the lord's feasts. Wroth's "open hall," for example, allows "the rout of rurall folke" to "come thronging in" to share the "welcome grace" of Wroth's lady (49-53). At Dorrants hierarchy is relaxed because "freedom doth with degree dispense" (58). Herrick celebrates the "*Guest-rite*" at Rushden, and describes "the lanke-Stranger" and the "sowre Swain" who are given relief in the hall, "where both may feed, and come again" (11-12). The rural poor are not

chased away by the porter at the door, but "each may/ Take friendly morsels" (16-17). Leah S. Marcus in her chapter, "The Court Restored to the Country," makes reference to "the traditional custom of holiday offerings to the poor in the houses of the nobility and gentry" (Marcus, 81).⁹ In "To Saxham" Carew describes the winter season and the peasants' need for relief:

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

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

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

Although Milton's dining scene conforms in many ways with those of country estate poems, he radically transforms it by going to the source of all dinner scenes. He invests his scene of feasting with a spiritual significance not possible in the great hall of a worldly lord, and thus stresses the "mystery" of manners.

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

In “thir discourse at Table” (5. “Argument”) Raphael discusses the relation between earth and heaven, the natural and the supernatural, the low and the high. Everything the Creator gives Mankind, he says to Adam and Eve, is “in part Spiritual” (5.405-6), exalting the natural world. Even the physical process of digestion becomes a spiritual act. Then the angel sits and eats with Adam and Eve, the three falling “to their viands” (5.433-34). The poet describes Raphael’s eager desire to eat, “with keen dispatch/ Of real hunger, and concoctive heat/ To transubstantiate” (5.436-38). Milton’s use of the word “transubstantiate,” with its Eucharistic associations, describes the process by which nutriments “convert” to “proper substance” (5.492-93). It is suggested, then, that this dining scene is more than an occasion for communality; it is an occasion for communion.¹⁰ Adam and Eve participate with “the Godlike Angel” in a sacramental expression of thanks for God’s favor. The table “Rais’d of grassy turf” is the Lord’s Table; the meal they eat is a prelapsarian prefiguration of the Lord’s Supper. This Supper illustrates Milton’s view of the sacrament as sealing the Covenant of Grace (CR, XVI:205). “A sacrament,” he writes in *Christian Doctrine*, “is a visible sign ordained by God, whereby he set his seal on believers in token of his saving grace,” and “we on our part testify our faith and obedience to God with a sincere heart and a grateful remembrance” (CE, XVI:165).

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

The philosophical discussion between Raphael and Adam is a major episode in *Paradise Lost*, Books 5-8. Milton’s presentation of the dinner conversation has a number of similarities with Clarendon’s description of discussions at Sir Lucius Cary’s country house at Great Tew. He writes that Lord Falkland had “a very plentiful estate,”¹¹ and kept open house at Great Tew. His guests were courtiers, lawyers, poets, and divines, scholarly men who shared Falkland’s love of good

conversation and good living. John Aubrey writes that "his Lordship was acquainted with the best Witts" of Oxford, and the house at Great Tew "was like a colledge, full of Learned men."¹² He lists among the literary men Ben Jonson, Edmund Waller, Thomas Hobbes, William Chillingworth, and George Sandys, traveller and author of *Paraphrase Upon the Divine Poems*. Clarendon recalls the wonderful conversations enjoyed there. He says of Sir Lucius Cary, "Truly his whole conversation was one continued *convivium philosophicum*, or *convivium theologicum*, enlivened with all the facetiousness of wit, and good humor, and pleasantness of discourse, which made the gravity of the argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable." Further, Clarendon says that at Tew, "the lord of the house" met his guests at dinner or supper. "Otherwise," he observes, "there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint...to make them wearying of staying there"¹³ (Clarendon, 65). Raphael's conversation with Adam resembles Clarendon's description of Lord Falkland and his learned friends from Oxford and London visiting his country house. Such a resemblance comes from the likeness of social context, but Milton's narration of an angel of God discussing spiritual and moral subjects with unfallen Man in Eden can have no parallel in the fallen world. Indeed, Milton elevates the discussion through both its serious ideas and its participants.

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

Raphael has been chosen among God's angels to visit Adam and Eve because he is "the sociable Spirit" (5.221). Good-tempered, friendly, truthful, and tactful, he exemplifies the Aristotelian virtues of social intercourse in *Nicomachean Ethics*. From the beginning through the conclusion of the visit, Raphael demonstrates in conduct and speech his angelic manners. He greets Eve with a holy salutation, "Hail mother of mankind," and blesses her fruitful womb (5.388-89). Then he pays a compliment to Adam about their Edenic state. "Adam," he says, "I therefore came, nor art thou such/ Created, or such place hast here to dwell,/ As many not oft invite, though Spirits of Heav'n/ To

visit thee" (5.372-75). Later, Raphael praises Adam for his rational understanding and ability to speak well: "Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of men,/ Nor tongue ineloquent" (8.218-19).

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

Raphael has set the sociable tone of civilized discourse in "one continual *convivium philosophicum*," and his respect for Adam's intellect, eloquence, and social decorum, gives their verbal exchange, with its sense of tension and intellectual play, a pleasantness as well as moral gravity.

After the feast, noble dignitaries visiting country houses were usually entertained by private theatricals, featuring spectacle, music and dancing. Barbara K. Lewalski notes that in *Paradise Lost* the poet reverses court practice by having the exalted guest supply the magnificent shows, The War in Heaven and The Creation.¹⁴ The angel appears as a kind of masquer himself, wearing an extravagant costume of six pair of wings "with downy Gold/ And colors dipt in Heav'n" (5.283-84). But Raphael does not need ornate and costly machinery. Through mysteries of arms and arts he elicits from his audience a sense of awe.

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

In the antimasque Satan attempts to lead his troops of rebel angels in an armed insurrection against omnipotent God. The faithful angel Abdiel tells Satan that it is folly to rebel: "Food, not to think how

vain/ Against thy' Omnipotent to rise in arms" (6.135-36). Satan's folly, his envy and presumption, lay the groundwork for the "devilish Enginry" (6.553) and "foul disorder" (6.388) of the antimasque. The seditious angel will use "force and Machines" (6."Argument") in his futile attempt to vanquish the spiritual power and love of the Creator.

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

The righteous anger and justice of God are symbolized in the mystery of arms. The Father instructs his Son to ascend his Chariot and

bring forth all my War,
My Bow and Thunder, my Almighty Arms
Gird on, and Sword upon thy puissant Thighs
(6.712-14).

These "Almighty Arms" are not a "dev'lish machination" (6.504) concocted secretly at night with "Sulphurous and Nitrous Foam" (6.512), but the spiritual weapons of "the Lord mighty in battle" (Psalms 24:8). On the morning of the third day the Son appears in "the Chariot of Paternal Deity" (6.750),

and at his right hand Victory
Sat Eagle-wing'd, beside him hung his Bow
And Quiver with three-bolted Thunder stor'd (6.762-64).

The Son of God then commands the loyal angels:

Stand still in bright array ye Saints, here stand
Ye Angels arm'd, this day from Battle rest (6.801-02).

Then "Grasping ten thousand Thunders," the Son drives the Chariot toward the rebels. Satan and his troops drop "thir idle weapons," and

losing all resistance and courage, are driven from Heaven. Thus the Son brings an end to the War in Heaven.

Just as God creates cosmic peace out of anarchic war, so his Word creates cosmic order out of the confused matter of the universe. Out of the antimasque of anarchy and destruction, Raphael recreates the main masque of order and Creation, the mystery of divine art.

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

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

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

entered the great chamber with as strange a regard, as he that cometh out of a house full of torch and taper lights, into a dark and obscure corner; knowing that at midnight (about which time I forsook my company) I left the place, attired like a second paradise: the earthly Goddesses, in brightness, resembled heavenly creatures, whose beauties dazzled men's eyes more than the beams of the sun; the sweet music recorded the harmony of the angels, the strange and curious devices in masques seemed as figures in divine mysteries. And to be short, the place was the very sympathy of an imagined paradise.¹⁵

This evocative description of the masque is suggestive of Milton's paradisaical masque in *Paradise Lost*, its "dazzling beauties," angelic harmonies, and "divine mysteries." Music and song in the theatrical spectacle of the Creation emphasize the divine mysteries of God's creating Word and the praise of angels.¹⁶

The harmony of celestial music is heard throughout the Creation. In contrast to the "odious din" (6.408) of the three-day Tournament, here there are the harmony and resonance of angels. Their choric hymn of praise, "Glory to him," accompanies the beginning of Creation, for God's "Wisdom had ordain'd/ Good out of evil to create" (7.184-88). On the first day of the Creation, celestial choirs celebrate the "Birth-day of Heav'n and Earth," filling "the hollow Universal Orb" with hymns and music of "thir Golden Harps" (7.256-58). Then a choir of angels on the sixth day praises God's "Master work" (7.504), Man "in the Image of God" (7.527). The angelic music on the Sabbath is given the fullest description, for here Raphael is most comprehensive and specific. His account of the Son's triumphant entry into Heaven after the Creation illustrates both the grandeur and ceremony of the formal masque, particularly in the use of music. Heaven resounds with a rising crescendo of harmonies from many instruments,

the Harp
Had work and rest not, the solemn Pipe
And Dulcimer, all Organs of sweet stop,
All sounds on Fret of String or Golden Wire
Temper'd soft Tunings (7.594-98).

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

In *Paradise Lost*, Books 5-8, Milton both dramatizes and defines the mysteries of manners, arms, and arts. The mystery of manners is exemplified by decorum, both social amenities and moral conduct. The mystery of arms is found in Raphael's story of "th'invisible exploits/

Of warring Spirits" (5.565), and the spiritual arms of the victorious Son. The mystery of arts "that may lift/ Human imagination" (6.298-99) is both Raphael's poetic account of the War and Triumph in Heaven, and the masque of Creation by the *deus artifex*. The 'mysteries' are all manifestations of the relationship between the physical and spiritual, human and divine. Raphael is the "Divine instructor" (5.546), an adept who initiates Adam into religious truths only known from divine revelation.

NOTES

¹Quotations from Jonson's "To Penshurst" and "To Sir Robert Wroth" are from *The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson*, ed. William B. Hunter, Jr. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), pp. 77-84, Carew's "To Saxham" and "To My Friend GN from Wrest" from *Minor Poets of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. R. G. Howarth (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1953), pp. 85-86 and 134-137, and Herrick's "Panegyrick to Sir Lewis Pemberton" from *The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick*, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 145-149. Subsequent references and line numbers appear in parenthesis in my text.

²*The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986), p. 241.

³*Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History* (Madison: The U of Wisconsin P, 1984), p. 64.

⁴*The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson *et al.*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931-39), XVIII, pp. 381-383. Subsequent references are within my text as CE.

⁵Citations from Milton's poetry in my text are to *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957), 7.10. Subsequent references are within my text.

⁶*Penshurst*, p. 114.

⁷Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, *The English Country House. A Grand Tour* (Boston: Little Brown, 1985), p. 120.

⁸Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of Aristocracy. 1558-1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 597-600.

⁹*The Politics of Mirth*, p. 81.

¹⁰John C. Ulreich, Jr., "Milton on the Eucharist: Some Second Thoughts about Sacramentalism," in *Milton and the Middle Ages* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell UP, 1982), pp. 37-44.

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¹¹*Selections from "The History of the Rebellion and Civil War" and "The Life by Himself,"* ed. G. Huehns (London: Oxford UP, 1955), p. 51.

¹²*Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (London: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 154. See Kurt Weber, *Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland* (New York: Columbia UP, 1940).

¹³*Selections*, p. 65.

¹⁴"*Paradise Lost*" and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985), pp. 207-208.

¹⁵Quoted in Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1978), pp. 83-84.

¹⁶See John G. Demaray's discussion of the poet's "presentation of grand, ceremonial, masquelike Triumphs in Heaven" in *Milton's Theatrical Epic: The Invention and Design of Paradise Lost* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1980), p. 86.