"NOTHING IS BUT WHAT IS NOT": THE SUBJUNCTIVE AESTHETIC IN EARLY

MODERN ENGLAND

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The Subjunctive Aesthetic

The success,
Although particular, shall give a scantling
Of good or bad unto the general—
And in such indices, although small pricks
To their subsequent volumes, there is seen
The baby figure of the giant mass
Of things to come at large.

Troilus and Cressida 1.3.334-40

The words above express a beginning that is not a beginning. They predict the arrival of a

larger object. A baby figure of a giant mass. An index and its subsequent volumes. The general

from the particular. According to Nestor in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida,* these are the

images that define what "shall" give a scantling of the "good or bad" to the Greek and Trojan

armies' martial designs. Nestor is discussing a potential meeting of Hector and Achilles, a battle

that should serve as an example for each group's larger designs. He construes this meeting as a

kind of planning. It is literary, made of indexes and volumes, as well as military advice, made up

of practical considerations in a particular moment of the Trojan War. His prediction is also a

"baby figure," a small image that leads to a "giant mass of things to come." This development is

strange. A large "mass" is not an adult. Nestor's words transform the initial figure of a potential

person and unfix it, subsuming the baby figure by the ranging mass that follows. In this mass, the

deliberations on what is to come implicates an overlap of options—a "good or bad"—in the

process of working toward the future. The multiple opposed outcomes of the potential meeting

and the war itself are suspended, possible, and of thrilling importance, defined somehow by their

lack of clarity. This haziness of the uncertain "or" in "good or bad" connects, in this moment, to

the "figure," or the visual summary of these possibilities. In short, Nestor is grappling with the

mechanics of plotting a future in visual terms, confronting the process of finding a practical route

to achieve what are, at least initially, unreal ends. In his miniature plot for the future, he sees an

experience that mixes the imaginary and the real. From Nestor's words, I find an appropriate

"scantling index" for introducing this dissertation. As *Troilus and Cressida* looks backward at

the mythic Trojan War from Shakespeare's moment and finds people considering options, I look

backward to planning in the early modern period. In early modern England, planning connects to

a range of narrative and imagistic forms of potential. My plan for the dissertation defines success

not in the achieving of a single goal, but in outlining the suspension and preservation of a range

of possible outcomes, in finding a way to maintain both the "good or bad" that Nestor engages.

The connection of the baby figure and great mass of Shakespeare's lines demonstrates a

particular example of a narrative-image multiplicity that I call the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

This dissertation studies the way early modern English writers and illustrators plot

provisional outcomes across texts and images. In particular, I analyze visual sources and the

relationship among early modern architecture, probability, and narrative. My work is, above all,

an exploration of plans. Investigating examples drawn from both the literary and non-literary, I

outline a constellation of image, narrative, and potential that I call the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

This phrase, which I comment on more extensively below, draws on the key grammatical

inflection that defines the provisional nature of the Aesthetic in language, and that the "shall" of

Nestor's quote above hints at—the particles may, should, would, could, and might.[1] "Shall," in

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[1] The Subjunctive is a matter of debate and confusion in English linguistics and has been since
early modern grammarians discussed it (see footnote 16 below). For the increasing obsolescence
of the form in English, as well as the controversy over defining the form, see Kovacs, Eva. "On
the Development of the Subjunctive from Early Modern English to Present-Day English." *Eger
Journal of English Studies*. IX (2009).
"Shall" and "should," in particular often blend into each other, with some definitions pushing an
indicative reading and some suggesting the subjunctive for either word. In my reading, "shall
give," in Nestor's quote is conditional and subjunctive, as he is discussing what would happen
"if" Achilles were to battle Hector. This aligns with the *OED*'s I.6 definition. "Shall" is

the quote above is provisional; it follows Nestor's earlier words about what would happen "if"

Achilles were to fight Hector. Yet it also has forward movement and speaks to a possible future.

It is a conditional statement charged with potential activity. In the course of my dissertation, I

demonstrate that this provisional language connects to visual images, or the "figure" in Nestor's

quote. Though I also reference various figures in several other images and discourses, this

dissertation mainly draws on architectural pieces. Architecture, as will become clear, inhabits the

space of the Subjunctive Aesthetic not only because it is itself an image and narrative but also

because architecture attempts to bring about a specific end in calculating and working through

probabilities through that visual narrative.[2] Nonetheless, this book would not be necessary if the

connection between architecture and conditional narratives was not also obscure, as hinted by

Nestor's confusing connection of the "baby figure" to "the giant mass of things to come." This

ambiguity, I claim, is not a distraction, but an essential aspect of narrative meaning making in the

early modern period. Ultimately, this dissertation analyzes architecture in order to define how a

ranging umbra of narrative-images can illuminate early modern representations of a provisional

multiplicity in other narratives.

A Narrative Form of Probability

Overall, I construe this dissertation as a work of narrative analysis. Yet it also challenges

definitions of narrative as sequential events in time. The first difficulty is that the Subjunctive

Aesthetic has a strange relationship to time, seemingly moving toward the future while also

emphasizing the anachronism of forward projection. Subjunctive image-narratives take place in a

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commonly subjunctive only as the past tense of "should," but the "good or bad," makes this shall
something more than an indicative statement of what will happen.
[2] For a helpful summary of architecture in England see Summerson, John. *Architecture in
Britain 1530-1830.* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993).

particular moment of time, transitioning from earlier medieval representations of building

planning and later forms of design, while also self-consciously peering backward and forward in

time. Early modern architecture is one of the earliest fields that first use the term Renaissance,

looking back at Roman ruins and incorporating medieval building techniques while also prizing

innovation and novelty. Because of this strange tension, it is easy to locate modern tendencies in

provisional narratives like architecture, a tendency my dissertation resists. In our contemporary

moment, plans are more fixed than they are in the early modern period, coloring assumptions of

what planning means in the past. For example, Nestor's phrase "the great mass of things to

come." appears to predict a more modern version of the saying—"the shape of things to come."[3]

For many dictionary editors, the phrases would probably be similar enough to cite Shakespeare

as the earliest etymology of the later phrase. But trying to understand how Nestor's words about

"the great mass," are tied to "the shape," produces several difficult representational questions

that challenge this etymology and make it a productive site of analysis. Is there a difference

between the modern phrase and Shakespeare's "giant mass?" If so, what is the difference

between the shape of things to come and "the giant mass"? Are both masses and shapes

somehow a guiding representational technique to describe the future? Does Shakespeare's

"mass" also have a shape? Is the "mass of things to come" material or is it imaginary? Do things

to come only belong to the future, or do other categories of time—say the past—also have a

mass?

   To begin addressing these questions about the temporality of provisional representations,

I begin by contending that the Subjunctive Aesthetic relates to a category of perception now

called probability, which attempts to specify degrees of potential. Most analyses attribute the

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[3] Usually attributed to H.G. Wells.

birth of modern probability to Pascal and Fermat in the late 17th century. The two

mathematicians and philosophers certainly introduce statistical calculation to explorations of the

likely and unlikely, but I believe that the shift to this statistical form has a pre-history that

connects to architecture and narratives that incorporate the subjunctive mood.[4] Though I say

more about the term probability below and in several of my chapters, I bring it up now to

emphasize that my dissertation historicizes the early modern engagement with probability as a

category perception by exploring images and narratives. An assumption in this analysis is that

perceptions can change over time and thus a definition of probability in any moment necessarily

requires a contrast.[5] In early modern texts and images, I argue probability is a non-paradoxical

multiplicity within a text or image that does not privilege defined trajectories. This definition is

related to but distinct from statistical measurements of the likelihood of an event. In the early

modern texts I analyze, probability can describe coexisting or even potentially conflicting events,

spaces, and narratives contained in a representational field. Using probability as a guiding term, I

argue that the Subjunctive Aesthetic makes images into narratives, and defines narrative by a

visual range.

     Using probability as I do in this work to describe the narrative-image perception of

potential may be slightly anachronistic, but this anachronism is also in the spirit of the

Subjunctive Aesthetic. I place the Aesthetic in the early modern, but I must necessarily look

askance at other moments in potential time periods. Plans, as Nestor's words suggest, often look

forward, and their anachronism is a primary narrative aspect of the Subjunctive Aesthetic.[6]

Defining planning in this way is not unique to the early modern period. In my moment, for

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[4] As with any origin story, there are older versions of statistical calculation.
[5] Chapter one also deals with the ways representations of time and space change over time.
[6] For a survey of the future in early modern Europe see Brady, Andrea and Butterworth, Emily. *The Uses of the Future in the Early Modern*. (New York: Routledge, 2010).

example, I see the effects of the calculations of the past. The government that makes my laws, the streets where I walk—all designed at some point in the past with a future time in mind. My embodied experience of these edifices and institutions might not always register their designed aspect, their relation to probability, or their anachronism, but occasionally the plan of something becomes vital and immanent. These modern moments when I become aware of probability and the past looking forward are often similar to early modern encounters with the Subjunctive Aesthetic. But the early modern places a special emphasis on the destabilizing suspension involved in such representations.

Architectural plans formed the starting point for my analysis, and remain the clearest example of the Aesthetic. Most of the works I explore draw out or focus on moments of planning. To explain why and how plans represent multiple possibilities through space/time and to understand why plans are a privileged site of analysis, it is helpful to survey the broad features of a plan. Although some of what I claim may appear obvious, the total effect illustrates why plans are helpful for literary critique. To begin, plans are both practical and fantastic. Their goals can be mundane or otherworldly, but they utilize the same outlining of specific steps for completion. Plans use abstraction, usually some type of proportion, shape, or mental comparison, in order to manipulate physical objects and/or people. Plans utilize both imagination and material, and they also blend the two categories. Although some readers might assume an reality predicted by plans, I do not believe that a plan's wall is a real stone, or potential stone, or if such distinctions are the important ones in the piece. As a second important point, plans typically, though not always, look from a present moment toward a future, with the aim of controlling or bringing about a desired end. In order to bring about these desired ends, plans have several stylistic features. They self-consciously announce intention. This intention should not be

confused with the often-taboo idea of authorial intention. Early modern English architectural plans from the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras in particular often do not have a defined author. Some even clearly have several authors. But even when plans have a name attached, the intention defined by the plan is not the same as the masterful control of the author. In their own moment, plans announce their intention in order to bring about that intention. They have no guarantees of success, no complete text for verification. As such plans exist on a strange scale of tautology and contingency. Plans imbricate their intention with the failure to bring about the desired end, as well as multiple other iterations of foreseen and unforeseen possibilities. This openness is partly what makes plans so powerful, and explains their appeal in the Tudor and Jacobean regimes. Plans are rarely useless, even when widely off the perception of what is ostensibly real. Finally, plans, in both narrative and image, are a unique genre of their own. As an indicator of the Subjunctive Aesthetic's versatile form, the imagery and style of plans remain consistent whether uttered in a practical setting or fantasy text. Designing a building project in *The Faerie Queene* uses an identical style as designing a building in Queen Elizabeth's England.

To capture what planning means for this dissertation's image-narratives and the predominance of probability, of that which does not strictly happen, my dissertation's title looks ahead to my final chapter, in *Macbeth*'s monologue about the titular character's own plots. As Macbeth inches toward a successful and ghastly scheme he says, "Nothing is but what is not." His words relate to his immediate emotional state, but they also appear to capture the pathos of the modern predicament of being trapped by someone else's plans. This notion, however, takes Macbeth's words out of their context. Looking backward to Macbeth as his past projects forward reveals many potential timelines in the Subjunctive Aesthetic, many ways things could have been. I pull Macbeth's words from the play and shake loose their monologue, but I do so to

emphasize that his pain is just one possible emotional encounter with probability. Macbeth may be horrified by his designs, but he is not afraid of being trapped in the way contemporary plans seem to restrict options. Although the Subjunctive Aesthetic can seem overwhelming and restrictive, it can also generate wonder, doubt, or joy. In this multiplicitous Aesthetic, I attempt to recover and uncover a sense of planning as building, as constructing, as imaginative and material labor; a means of acknowledging and working through a range of outcomes without privileging achievement. The title of my dissertation, "Nothing is but what is not" is suggestive, not a summary. Instead of existence and non-existence, I see a range of probable images and narratives that define not only literary fantasies, but also practical reality.

The Critical Impact of the Subjunctive Aesthetic

Part of the reason I focus on planning as a form of narrative is because the image and writing of architectural design defines ongoing academic modes of analysis in the humanities. Despite repeated challenges to settled categories, for literary critics, philosophers, and others, architecture is often a transparent means of representation, a fixed system that specific interpretations defy or work against. Architecture is a tool for building. Upon scrutiny, however, architecture is a specific development that is not just a fixed system in some versions of Marxist analyses or in certain accounts of Foucauldian epistemologies. Architecture is a style of image and narrative of its own that changes based on its context. This ambiguity is exacerbated by the fact that architecture incorporates likelihood, as a probabilistic form of intention built into the plan. And probability, as I argue, has a different meaning in different times. Supporting this notion, a recent work by Rudiger Campe develops the history of probability in a different cultural context at a slightly later time period. Beginning with Pascal he illustrates the

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development of modern definitions of probability.[7] My work is another step in a potentially wide network of comparisons regarding probability. Like other projects that historicize perception and seek out other ways of knowing, an obvious payoff of these analyses for early modern studies is an enrichment and new vigor for the understanding of the complexities of seemingly well-worn texts like *Paradise Lost*, *Novum Organum*, and Shakespeare's plays.

Historicizing probability also has an ethical dimension, in that my analysis reframes the anonymous and/or oft-ignored authors, painters, and architects of the many plans I explore. With the Subjunctive Aesthetic in mind, these understudied writers and draughters become primary actors for an entire movement. As a practical art, building plans are often associated with a lower class of person than critics can usually access through early modern writings. But architecture is a discourse also employed some of the most influential people in early modern England. Planning connects the unwritten and the written, giving a limited measure of contact to those without cultural capital or even literacy. Finally, the historical analyses of perceptual categories force us to think critically about what we deem our own perceptions. Too often critics fail to acknowledge how our own definitions of the likely and the unlikely predict how we approach and proceed through a text. The Subjunctive Aesthetic gathers a whole field where the issue cannot be ignored. Plans show how any teleology must account for probability, likelihood, and unforeseen contingency. This is partially an ethical insight, but more importantly it is useful across historical eras and even other disciplines.

The most important critical discussion this dissertation addresses is the one that grapples with what counts as narrative. Texts and images of the Aesthetic work with the specific demands of their time in order to define what is probable and what is improbable. In doing so, the images

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[7] Campe, Rudiger. *The Game of Probability*. Trans. Wiggins, Elwood. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

and narratives almost always look to or incorporate other eras, especially the future. The Subjunctive Aesthetic's methodological mix of specific timeliness and anachronism defines the pieces I explore. The Aesthetic's intrinsic anachronism is important for queer readings. Drawing on earlier analysis that developed the history and prehistory of gender in the Western world, many recent critics have attempted to understand non-normative forms of sexuality and desire. These explorations are not always strictly related to the expression of gender, and some of the work that attempts to queer the straightforward and linear progression of narrative. Critics like Carla Freccero and Jonathan Gil Harris have noted the way that narrative and temporal categories have the potential to queer normative understandings of texts.[8] Harris in particular settles on categories of time as palimpsests. This means that a single text can encode the past, the future, and the present in different modes of relation. Analyzing time in these efforts is important, but it is not enough. A historical analysis of probability is key to this project. Modern norms are based on modern statistical notions of probability. In contrast to normative understandings, any temporal category can have multiple probable outcomes when dealing with the Subjunctive Aesthetic. But probability is not all the Aesthetic offers for queering interpretation. For a plan, desire is directly represented by the self-conscious intention announced by the text. This desire is not strictly erotic, but it can be, as in the ubiquitous bed-plot of early modern England, where the planned sexual conquest becomes confused. The way desire is represented in plans is not authoritative in the way other texts are. In the early modern period, even relatively simple designs acknowledge the potential failure of gender systems or desire.

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[8] Freccero, Carla. *Queer / Early / Modern*. (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006). Harris, Jonathan Gil. *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). For a comprehensive recent survey of "unhistoricism" in queer studies see Traub, Valerie. "The New Unhistoricism in Queer Studies." *PMLA*. Vol. 128, No. 1. (January 2013), 21-39.

Many Italian architects design rooms with the hope that women will stay there, for instance. But the rooms, as the gender roles, could be laid out in many other ways. Plans do not just manipulate material; they navigate the potentials of embodiment and subjectivity through image-narratives.

To conclude the overview of the critical impact, I think it is helpful to describe the development of my analysis and touch on what seem to be obvious connections to Foucault's ideas. Before arriving at my conclusions, I initially focused my research on the architecture of early modern cities and the way early modern literature described space, continually comparing the way that space inflects my contemporary moment and the burgeoning urban space the past. Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* and De Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* initially guided much of my analysis.[9] These are works of visually and historically inflected cultural analysis that works through agency. The final argument in my dissertation still incorporates the accounts of both of these thinkers while attempting to push their research into new areas of narrative analysis. This is not an entirely novel development, as narrative is clearly important for both. Their oeuvres are too complex to be reduced to a handful of positions. In particular, Foucault's heterotopia that I reference in chapter three points to a different notion of multiple possibilities in spatial diagrams. What both thinkers provide is the important background of subjectivity. The development of the Subjunctive Aesthetic is the rise of a new kind of agent, as my chapters two, three and five demonstrate. In plans, the representation of ideas comes to have a decision-making capability beyond authorship that spawns new genealogies and histories of person-hood. Foucault singles out Bentham as a figure of this coming agency, but the Panopticon

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[9] Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995). De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Trans. Steven Randall. (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

most closely aligns with this new type of human actor. Like the Panopticon, early modern plans can become beings of their own, able to act in ways that often turn on their creators. Building on Foucault, the final chapter demonstrates that these plans are tragic and hubristic, working against the designs of their creators at the moment of inception even as they define certain subjectivities.

De Certeau is important for this dissertation because he illuminates what Foucault does not emphasize—that other possibilities remain in designs, even if implementation fixes the networks of power. Indeed, as the queering aspects of the Subjunctive Aesthetic suggest, the process of this growing power of fixing probability with norms is uneven and uncertain. There are multiple moments in the social development of architecture as the prevailing metaphor for western social control might have been otherwise. De Certeau exposes a deconstruction of Foucault's system of knowledge, suggesting tactics as a popular and guerilla response to the gridiron imposed by institutions. De Certeau points to the multiple possibilities included in any design, but his dichotomy still seems reductive. What he and Foucault both fail to account for, even in their navigation of norms, are the multiple categories collapsed in institutional definitions and even in tactical responses to definitions. There is more than strategy and tactics. De Certeau often approaches this notion in *The Practice of Everyday Life,* but he does not explicitly address the notion of multiple overlapping variables. He does not deal with probability.

Foucault and De Certeau did not emphasize probability, I realized, because they focus often on reified diagrams and modern notions of space. Foucault's plans points and lines that crystallize the vast veins of power. De Certeau's tactical responses pervert or convert these nodes of power to individual or communal ends, but create a dyad of strategy and tactical response—a small plan to fight the big one. As I continued my analysis with de Certeau in mind, time and narrative stepped forward to my analytic foreground and space began to recede. I rediscovered

reification; I observed that narrative movement through time often becomes represented through space.[10] As I considered reification, I realized that the way an architectural plot in the early modern period encodes space is not the same was the way my 21st century timesheets do, or the same way Marx's architectonics do. As the references to other intersections of time and space make clear, modern thinkers rely on a long history of planning that relies on a clarity or fixity. Plans are either reliable or they are not. But I slowly realized that a persistent indistinctness of time and space defines the architectural and narrative plans I inspected. After wrestling with the haziness implied or specified by plans, I realized that planning's umbra of doubt can be attributed to simultaneous multiplicity or a comingling in space. In addition to Foucault's arresting power and De Certeau's tactical responses to these apparatuses, plans contain a range of narratives called up by their utterance or depiction. These probabilities mingle and endure even when one option seems to be the only likely outcome. When a historical or institutional teleology brings about a plan, a plan's engagement of possibility persists. This can make plans both uncomfortable and valuable points of analysis. Plans meet at time and space, but move in the category of probability.

Situating the Subjunctive Aesthetic While Finding a Broader Method

My readings, as my references to later thinkers like de Certeau suggest, can provide a method of reading various texts in various times. But this method is comprehensible only if I locate the Subjunctive Aesthetic in its own early modern moment in England. This placement is

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[10] In *Kapital* Marx outlines the alienating de-materializations of labor with reification and sees it as arresting. But for a process that ties this to time while captures the materiality and theory of the process see Lukacs, Georg. *History and Class Consciousness.* Trans. Livingstone, Rodney. (Pontypool: The Merlin Press, 1967), I.1. Lukacs seems to be the exception of Marxist systematic analysis, which does not often admit many probable outcomes.

most quickly illustrated by comparing and contrasting early modern plans to other eras. The

clean lines of an overhead groundplot are not unique to the early modern period—modern

blueprints are a common image today. There are a handful of examples from earlier plans, such

as castle-building, cathedral construction, and monastery-making. But in the earliest surviving

medieval plot of a monastery, the Plan of St. Gall, the clean shapes of walls in blanks space are

not tools for the construction of buildings. Instead, the plan is "a generic solution for the ideal

monastery" that "does not actually fit the terrain" where St. Gall is located.[11] This is not to say

that medieval England had no surveyors or defined plans. Several scholars have outlined the

surveying techniques employed in medieval plans.[12] But as the ideal plot of St. Gall and the lack

of many surviving medieval plans illustrates, medieval constructions were usually on-the-ground

considerations that produced few narratives or images and worked within extant settlements or

plots of land. In the rarity of medieval town surveys, images are even scarcer. In William Fitz

Stephen's 12th century survey of London, for example, he has no drawings and only

descriptions.[13] But even when images do appear, they are not usually like St. Gall's ideal lines on

a blank page; the buildings of medieval plans are descriptive facades of buildings. In contrast,

early modern plans often utilize vanishing point perspective in cross-sections of buildings.[14] By

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[11]Frischer, Bernard and Patrick Geary. "The Plan of St. Gall." Carolingian Culture at Reichenau & St. Gall | Karolingischen Kultur in Reichenau und St. Gallen. (Accessed May 27, 2012). http://www.stgallplan.org/en/index_plan.html.

[12] For a case study see in Stratford see Slater, T. R. "Ideal and Reality in English Episcopal Medieval Town Planning." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*. New Series, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1987), 191-203. For an early overview of Medieval surveying techniques see Price, Derek. "Medieval Land Surveying and Topographical Maps." *The Geographical Journal*. Vol. 121, No. 1, (March 1955). 1-7.

[13] Fitz Stephen, William. *Norman London*. (New York: Italica Press, 2008).

[14] Palladio, Andrea. *The Four Books on Architecture*. Trans. Robert Tarvnor and Schofield, Richard. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997).

this I mean that they often incorporate images that look like paintings of buildings in addition to abstract shapes.

Thus, many of the techniques and contexts of architectural plans pre-date the early modern period. However, I locate the Subjunctive Aesthetic in the early modern period for two key reasons. The early modern era is an English age of vision—in two senses. The first sense refers to visual culture and the widespread use of images in dispersed contexts. From the Tudor period into the Jacobean reign, images attain an ascendency in English culture that has wide repercussions. As several scholars have argued, early modern England is a time and place of intense and problematic scopophilia. The workshops of Renaissance painters, the Blazon of poetry, anatomical images, mapping, property enclosure, stage effects, the depictions of overseas voyages, public buildings, and, I suggest, architectural pieces, demand to be seen and complicate the process of creating images in England.[15] In comparison to the medieval use of images, the diffusion and complexity is remarkable. The icons in chapels and the stained glass windows of cathedrals would have been an important part of daily life and objects of veneration for medieval people, and crosses provided a ubiquitous shape for cathedrals. But for technological and cultural reasons, these images remain in the margins of culture. This is literal—pictures of Cathedrals and paintings are sketched marginalia in medieval texts, illustrating the text described, as with the plan of St. Gall. The most widespread and well-known image narratives of the period are likely

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[15]There is copious work on the meaning of visual culture in the early modern period. For pieces that influence this dissertation, and early example is Freedman, Barbara. *Staging the Gaze* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), which connects visual culture to gender-based criticism. For a more argument challenging the normative and factual power of visual culture see, Stuart, Clark. *Vanities of the Eye* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). Iconoclasm is one of the key battles between Protestants and Catholics both inside the English church and on the continent. For a recent work exploring the relationship of this iconoclasm to the literature see O'Connell, Michael. *The Idolotrous Eye*: *Iconoclasm and Theater in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

in tapestries that adorned a handful of palaces and castles. But these images tend to be of singular moments, or move in a linear series, like the famous Bayeux tapestry. Their status as practical tools with complex points of view is not as robust as the early modern period and these medieval pieces do not quite have the appearance in the daily lives of large numbers of people that early modern visual and textual culture does. Sight comes to define English early modern culture in marked ways. From the battles over icons in the English church to the reliability of astronomical objects for navigational purposes, early modern England demands visual representations while simultaneously producing wide-ranging reactions to visual productions. As a succinct illustration of the early modern connection of visual-culture to literature and architecture, the early modern period is also the first time that professional building designers appear in England, the most famous being Inigo Jones in the early 17th century. Jones designs the elaborate masque theaters used for Ben Jonson's scripts in King James' court. Jones' plans for Jonson's stage are an acute example where plans are influenced by literature and in turn influence literature. But this is only part of a very broad movement in provisional narrative channels. Theaters appear often in architectural images and treatises, but more often the narrative form they employ appears in plays, poems, and prose.

For the second meaning of vision that relates to the first but that looks ahead to a different age of probability and image-narrative, early modern England is a milieu of grand and forward thinking designs. Bacon's scheme of science is one I discuss at length in chapter three, but other famous examples include the plantations in Ireland, the overseas colonial dreams of Hakluyt, Gilbert, Raleigh, John Smith, etc., joint stock companies, and the church organizational plans of Independent Protestants and, later, of Presbyterians. These visions are almost always failures even long after they fail to produce results. In retrospect, and according to later eras,

these plans and visions have an impact on later more successful endeavors. But the first

plantations and joint stock companies, in Ireland as in America, are almost all abandoned quickly

or toil in obscure failure for many decades. Protestant visions of the church pressure Elizabeth

and the Stuarts, seemingly to erupt later in the Civil War and the execution of Charles, this

historical process is like Nestor's strange baby figure of a larger mass of things to come. In

Europe, speculation and long-term plans fail as well, as with the bankruptcy of all the early

major publishing houses, but in early modern England the projects come quickly, think far

ahead, receive major institutional support, and in retrospect seem to initiate titanic projects.

Though I do not discuss the economic or colonial projects at great length in this dissertation, I do

address Bacon's "great instauration" of Science that initiates few, if any, actual Baconian

projects. The attribution of scientific method to Bacon, I argue in my third chapter, is a non-

teleological process that critics and historians nonetheless derive from the early modern period.

Bacon's actual plan, as I show, is never achieved in practice because the form it takes is the

eternal deferral of a self-consciously provisional plan. In this provisionality, historians from the

18th century onward will insert a great scientific mass of the Royal Society in the gaps in the

Novum Organum. But Bacon's famous science, like colonial designs in North America, are best

viewed as what they are—large, flawed, complicated plans. Bacon is one example, but the

English early modern period is an era littered with great designs that fail in their stated goals,

leaving traces that become the great mass of a project that they initially were not. These schemes

have practical effects, but they are also visions. For this reason, to understand the period's

culture and texts it is essential to investigate the plans of early modern England, not just in their

practical effects, but also in the narrative appeal that leads to their retooling and revision into a

history of nationalism, colonialism, and science.

To continue this contrast on the other side of the early modern period, in the contemporary moment plans fix things. Examples of the trend are ubiquitous. The law requires insurance plans for car owners, and economic speculation is so routine it is often no longer quite speculative. Military tactics of the past appear in classrooms and ongoing campaigns are live on the news. Blueprints appear on billboards, in libraries, at shopping malls. This is de Certeau's familiar realm of modernity and the practice of everyday life. In contrast to early modern plans, however, modern blueprints and plans have the institutional sanction of specialization and the certainty that comes with that social power. This is Foucault's notion of modernity. Although the architect and the expert may be aware of the many potential situations her design may encounter, modern interpretive frameworks treat plans as operative fictions meant to be re-categorized upon completion or abandonment. Once attempted, the plan is either an item of fact or a dream that never came to fruition. This push to treat plans as either fact or fiction can be seen in the mortal and legal consequences for the architects and designers of failed projects, like bridges and buildings. In many cases, the real-world outcomes of their designs treat the outcome as inevitable. If a bridge fails, it's because the architect failed. But in spite of this trend toward modern fixity, plans can still have a playful quality even today, often appearing in works of fiction to undo certainty, blending the barriers between fact and fiction.

My method can emphasize the moments of probability in fixed locales. In the recent science-fiction film *Inception*, for example, nearly a full act of the film is taken up by planning an elaborate con job involving invading someone else's dream. The film is a caper-movie, and the confidence job is familiar and common genre that leverages the excitement of planning and the slips between design and execution. Often film critics presume a simultaneous con on the audience, as theatergoers buy into the fiction on screen. This interpretation captures some of the

potential excitement of the form, but it ignores the specific probabilistic quality of planning. In the case of *Inception* in particular, the fictionality or factuality of the plan isn't important, since everything takes place in dreams where those categories mesh. The only thing that matters for a plan in this environment is whether or not the design is probable within a given context. In *Inception,* audiences can recognize the planning process because nothing seems to happen in terms of the film's narrative, but the various predictions and calculations prepare viewers for the climax. During the sequence of planning, individuals make drawings, an architect designs an environment, and possible outcomes are sifted through. Nothing strictly happens, and yet audiences become aware of many potential things happening and react emotionally. In *Inception* I see something like *King Lear*'s first scene that I lay out in my final chapter, as Lear's famous map attempts to grapple with political and personal possibility.

Beyond examples in entertainment and day-to-day life, plans form a ubiquitous metaphor and unassuming foundation for big ideas in the contemporary moment, especially in the institutional oppression of unprivileged subjects. As such, it is vitally important to actually analyze their representation. The plots of a plan, whether textual or spatial, seem to fix outcomes. In the triangular design of the Middle Passage, in Bentham's Panopticon, in the medical definition of male and female, in the conspiracy of a secret cabal, or in capitalist ideology thinkers often see rigid tracks for the future that we have to deal with as if they are simply real. These institutional plans blend ideology, conspiracy, and oppression to the point where it becomes difficult to be critical from within the operations of the plan. To understand the design of these large-scale projects means to imbricate interpretation in one outcome of these plans, to go along with their direction, to assume their teleology is, for lack of a better word, real. As a counter to this trend, De Certeau suggests that in specific enough cases we can find ways to work

around, under, or through the grids of this planned reality that no one ever designed. But De Certeau did not look closely at the early modern foundations of institutional strategies. Plans, especially the ones that remain in place for long periods of time, contain numerous gaps and lacuna for contingency. Designs, after all, would be unnecessary if success was assured. This does not mean that plans are a meaningless morass wherein we can move in any direction, but it does mean that some of the more open aspects of planning may be a more essential feature than hitherto realized. The perceived antagonism between an abstract design and a body, a group of people, or a landmass makes the Subjunctive Aesthetic necessary. Even in our most fantastic plans, transcendental abstraction is impossible. A design is always grounded to matter in some way. Inversely and in tension with this notion, early modern plans treat matter as contingent. Unlike other narrative and imagistic contexts, it is easier to emphasize the mixture of thought and matter in the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

Furthermore, although the stakes are high, the unique properties of the Aesthetic never dismiss the more literary aspects of image and narrative. Early modern plans, I note, are with us even today, though we are only faintly and strangely aware of the great mass that results from these baby figures. Although aesthetic experiences generally make moral, cultural, racial, gender, and class judgments, in the Subjunctive Aesthetic these assumptions become clearly defined and also malleable. An example: Palladio, one of the most famous of early modern Italian architects, crafts designs he argues for clear hierarchies of class and gender, with women and servants on the lower floors. But at the same time the necessity of representing and specifying this design means he grapples with other potential iterations for material and ideological organizations. Readers do not have to look deeply to realize this fact, but if one does read deeply into designs, one can see much more give and possibility than critics usually allow. The rigid barriers of class

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and gender are in Palladio's plan for the palazzo. But so are other potential organizations.

Although they seem hidden, they are constitutive of the design, represented in what seems to be a

blank space or an unwritten possibility.

Terminology

My terminology, and even the title of the Subjunctive Aesthetic, requires further

commentary. Thus far and throughout the dissertation, I employ both period terms and

anachronistic terms. Plan, for example, is not widely used in early modern English. Instead, the

words plant, plot, groundplot, and groundplan are more consistent. But the word plan and plot

are similar enough and the concept meaningful enough that the more familiar term is general

more clear for most readers. In text, when non-image plans appear, early modern writers tend to

title their narratives as devices, designs, inventions, ways, plots, or means, but there is cross-

pollination of all the terms. In grammar books of the day, the subjunctive mood is defined as the

grammatical clause that relies on another verb for intelligibility, often with little commentary or

extensive discussion.[16] Originally imported to English based on Latin grammars, the Latin relies

on the jussive, optative, and potential moods. I use the term subjunctive because it captures or

overlaps with all of these uses, but also suggests that English has its own developed non-

indicative modes of speech. In English, the particles like might, would, could, should, and shall

all overlap with the optative and the potential. The optative is about defining all the available

options, and the potential subjunctive registers the many potential outcomes. The jussive,

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[16] The most influential is Lily's Latin grammar. Lily, William. *Brevissima institutio seu ratio grammatices cognoscendae, ad omnium puerorum utilitatem praescripta, quam solam regia maiestas in omnibus scholis docendam praecipit.* (Londini: R. Wolfe, 1553). For a later grammar, focusing on English see Busby, Richard. *A Short Institution of Grammar.* (Cambridge: Printed by Roger Daniel, 1647).

meanwhile, most closely aligns with planning by giving the subjunctive a material force that pushes toward an object. All three Latin categories, however, suggest the power of the Aesthetic in early modern English. The term Subjunctive registers potentials and wondering, while also including a sense of moving in a specific direction, gathering possibilities and pushing forward rather than pausing to wonder. In connecting the category of probability to the subjunctive, I am not breaking new ground, as Transversal Theorists such as Bryan Reynolds have noted how subjunctive space allows for counter-hegemonic possibilities to register alongside hegemonic texts. I am, however, developing the notion of linguistic embedding of this suspension of cause-and-effect relationships. I assert that language often preserves a range of probable outcomes, sometimes even contradictory ones, when the subjunctive is uttered or written. This is not to say that the Subjunctive is natural or fundamental, but it does mean that I do not find my intervention in early modern texts completely anachronistic. On their own terms they contribute to a suspension of probability.

Finally, the Aesthetic part of my phrase requires a bit of unpacking. The term is loaded and can often seem to carry more baggage than is worthwhile. But confronting these difficulties and demonstrating a method of reading in spite of the problems is a part of the appeal of the term. I first became attached to the word aesthetic in describing my project because it captured the movement between text and image that defines the form. In an image of an architectural plan, the textual narrative either accompanies or is implied and contained by the plan. In the early modern verbal descriptions of plans, the imagery of space and range often appears. Because the movement I describe imbricates two distinct forms of artistic media, I chose the term that can encompass both. As an upside, the word also captures the sense that the aesthetic can appear in literary and non-literary texts, in paintings, in plays, etc. A second recommendation for the word

aesthetic comes from Kant, who uses the words in relation to the perception by the senses. Part

of what I am arguing is for a unique mode of representing the perception of probability, making

the term apropos for a perceptual category.

The final reason for using the word is also the reason why the word is contentious. I am

addressing the elite and calcified meaning of Aesthetic, by suggesting a connection of a more

menial activity with several standards of English literature. The high Victorian Aesthetic

movement, usually reduced to the phrase "art for art's sake," looked back to the Renaissance

order to define its ideals of beauty. Walter Pater's *The Renaissance*, in particular, attempts to

define a cultural milieu and ideology through the artistic continuities between various kinds of

art and literature. This definition of Aesthetic persists, rankling many critics who view the term

as restricting beauty to certain elite categories and channels of expression. I may find plans

beautiful, but I know I am looking at a form of art that hearkens back to the etymology of art as a

handcraft. Plans form a key component of my analysis, and many of the plans I view are

clustered around centers of capital and power. But plans themselves are often the products of a

nameless and lower-class group bent on practical ends. The Subjunctive Aesthetic, in spite of its

Latinate terms, is describing practical building projects. Carpenters, as Henry Turner argues in

The English Renaissance Stage, utilize groundplots more often than any other group. Plans can,

of course, be made with varying degrees of labor and cost, but a wide array of people produces

them. Furthermore, although I have outlined the essential features of the Aesthetic, I do not

rigidly divide the Aesthetic from other forms of image and narrative. Doing so would run counter

to the narratives produced within early modern plans, as they often attempt to negotiate between

opposed categories, such as material and imaginary. Nonetheless, my use of the term Aesthetic

does not completely dismiss critics like Pater and the other Aesthetes. Despite planning's often

practical outcomes, there is a sense of the closed-loop in their practice of planning. Plans work to bring about the artistry that they depict, and in a way, do produce art for art's sake.

Chapter Outlines

I attempt to ground each chapter's textual engagement with probability in a specific place and time. But because texts of the Aesthetic often look to a different time in order to bring out about a defined goal, I do not proceed in a linear fashion. Instead, I move forward and backward in time in order to suggest potential developments in representations of probability. In this my analysis reflects the narratives and images I investigate. My first chapter resembles a plan for the piece as a whole, laying out all the component parts that each image-narrative of the Aesthetic can work with or against. Many of the texts I explore are canonical pieces of literature. But many are not. My choice of pieces is partly motivated by personal preference and partly by ease of recognition for an audience who may not be extremely familiar with early modern texts. But in general I choose unique expressions of probability that have the potential to challenge preconceived notions of control and representation. An important aspect of my reading method is ability to appear whenever possibilities are calculated or represented. This includes anonymous architectural images produced on the cheap, and it also includes moments in some of the most famous names in English. By working with both, I attempt to privilege neither and demonstrate the widespread applicability of my observations.

My first chapter is in some ways a reversal of Nestor's particular to general development. I begin with a general survey of images and texts that work with probability in order to define the Subjunctive Aesthetic, and then I work down to an extremely specific expression of these Aesthetic in the Alma's house section in Book 2 of *The Faerie Queene*. The general overview

will include architectural images and texts, but will also survey different visual and textual

examples of the Aesthetic in various formats. Included in this survey are images of state plans

from the Tudor and Jacobean eras, especially the diverse iterations of Henry VIII's orders of

succession and the varied visual engagements with his designs. I also include Machiavelli's

political philosophy, which exposes the distinctly early modern way that the Subjunctive

reconciles different building plots and state inventions. Another important piece for later

chapters is the contrast I make between Providence, especially Calvin's notion of it, with

probability.

In many ways, Alma's house distills the essential features of the Aesthetic by offering the

most explicit connection of statecraft and architecture. The visual format of architecture and

probability in Alma's house helps unpack the broader means of representing probability in the

probabilistic images surveyed at the outset. In addition, Alma's house, Machiavelli, and the

orders of succession in particular offer a means of queering the representations of desire that

occur in the Subjunctive Aesthetic by highlighting the anachronistic nature of the narrative-

images they depict. The final part of the chapter begins developing the generic implications of

the aesthetic for allegory and history. In many ways this chapter defines the multiplicity of the

Aesthetic as well as the diverse loci where for its expression. In genre, medium, and context, the

Subjunctive Aesthetic defines multiple probabilities. The ensuing chapters build, cut across, or

work against several of the arguments defined in this chapter, resembling the coexisting

potentials contained in the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

The second chapter captures the expansiveness and oftentimes forward-looking nature of

the Subjunctive Aesthetic by jumping to the end of the early modern period and Milton's

Paradise Lost. I argue that the epic poem complicates the narrative distinctions found in *The*

Faerie Queene that place the Subjunctive Aesthetic between history and fantasy. Instead, Milton's poem addresses a similar but distinct issue in the registers of pre-history and history, relating the spatial anachronism of probability that I develop in the first chapter while analyzing probable-thinking writ large in an epic and religious context. Centered on the ever-receding representation of Original Sin being predicted as Satan first plans his rebellion, the chapter works through the implication of placing Satan's plot in the juncture between Christian pre-history and providential history. Furthermore, this chapter develops the queering that happens in the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Sin's appearance from Satan's skull as an agent in the angelic world initially offers an asexual version of reproduction that quickly becomes incestuous as Satan falls in love with her and she gives birth to Death. Yet Sin and Death's experiences also suggest that their representation in the universe contains the potential to disrupt patriarchal control via teleological or providential forms of history. Comparing Satan's plan to God's surveying of time and space reveals the increasing complication made possible in the Subjunctive Aesthetic over the early modern period. But the sequence also introduces planning as a new kind of agent that has the potential to work with and against the designs of its creator.

The third chapter turns away from the dichotomy of practical and literary, as suggested by the reconciliation of architecture and state papers in chapter one, and turns to the elaborate systems and experiments of John Dee and Francis Bacon. Collecting their respective epistemological projects reveals a dichotomy in the way probability is represented. The analysis of Bacon's *scientia* centers on his *Novum Organum*, which attempts to harness the random chance of experiments, attempting to negate intention and focus on material, spiritual, and emotional effects. John Dee's view for the future of knowledge is distilled in his "Preface" to *Euclid's Geometry*. But I also reference other works by each thinker, including Dee's

astronomical predications and Bacon's *Essays*. Dee's universe is strictly defined by Providence, much like Calvin's version from my first chapter, rendering the future pre-fabricated but also rendering each prediction of the future connected to its potential failure. The defined structure predicts the fact-fiction divide of modernity's numerical based epistemology. Bacon, in opposition to this, makes predictions but he leaves space for the unknowable and the unknown within his episteme. Bacon is explicit about the multiplicity of probability and attempts to work its multivalent potentials into his system, often through an overlap with architectural style. In addition to exploring the connections of two figures who are often unconnected, this chapter critiques the history and pre-history of science, by suggesting that much of the debates over probability post-quantum theory have roots that reach back to Bacon and Dee's disagreements over the nature of the knowledge and the future. The chapter finally suggests that experiments and hypothesis might be best understood as occupying a space between fact and fiction, best understood not as pure creators of fact or magical attempts at power, but rather as instances of probability in the vein of the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

The fourth chapter analyzes the genre that most clearly expresses the queer potential, the agency, restrictions, imagery, and narrative mediation of the Subjunctive Aesthetic—utopia. Gathering More's *Utopia*, Bacon's *The New Atlantis*, Donne's dystopian *Ignatius, His Conclave*, and Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World*, with references to Plato's *Republic*, I argue that the genre is description, critique, and potential for other iterations. Although understood by some critics as fictive world building, the texts actually mediate between an ostensible reality and the other potential iterations of reality. In the juncture between the likely and the unlikely, these utopian texts imagine probability in terms of first-hand experience and hearsay. Their prose often utilizes first-person point of view through another character's perspective in order to suggest the

multiple ways of interpreting established institutions, such as More and Donne's religious houses, Bacon's experimental orders, and Cavendish's animal-man scientists. Each piece critiques earlier visions of utopia that seek a regular order for the cosmos by suggesting that multiplicity is the defining feature of any design. In particular, Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World* gives the early modern summa of the form. She outlines the ways that patriarchy has defined the channels of desire, even in utopia, even as they suggest that these expressions could always be otherwise. Cavendish surveys the existing utopias and takes their critiques a step beyond by queering their desires for a homogenous or multiplicitous design as still too restrictive and heteronormative. Ultimately, Cavendish reveals that a utopia unique for each individual, while also demonstrating that each perfect design is implied or contained by the others. All these texts, but Cavendish in particular, also stand between pre-modernity and early modernity, looking ahead and looking behind. In many ways their suggestions seem to define the future, most especially Bacon's *New Atlantis*. But as they look forward, they also look to their own moment and to other potential moments that never existed. They grapple with probability by allowing an author to become an early modern architect of material, people, and ideas. But instead of offering a single view of the future, utopias touch potential and suggest the activity of readership in the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

The final chapter culminates the suggestions of agency from the second chapter and Providence in the third chapter by analyzing the plans that appear in Shakespeare's historical tragedies, *King Lear, Macbeth*, and *King John.* These plays, perhaps more than any others in the Shakespearean corpus, put plotting as the central element of both dialogue and monologue. They also show the restrictive and terrifying potential of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. In each play's action, competing plots are not just expressed as mental processes through soliloquy, but appear

in visual, spoken, and written formats. *Macbeth* contrasts planning with providence from its first scene, along the same lines as *Paradise Lost* does. But *Macbeth* is driven mad by his awareness of these possibilities, paradoxically creating a proxy agent via his designs that ends up controlling him. *King Lear* opens with a planned division of the kingdom that is immediately discarded in favor of the king's whims. Nonetheless, the divided design constructs a conflict that undoes its builder. *King John*, in contrast to the other two plays, leaves its plans carefully defined but also dangerously unspoken. Intentions are transmitted, but not with specifics. In the process that murder's King John's heir, the play depicts the potential to work against the King's plot, only to confirm it as the design becomes an actor of its own, persuading the heir to destroy himself. Each of these plays envision plans as a new kind of agent or human prosthetic that maximizes the power of rulership, but each also turns these designs on their maker. In *Macbeth* and *King John*'s encounters with the narratives of history, I also see the critique of teleology that I began in chapters one and two. In these three plays, the Subjunctive Aesthetic is exploited for terror at the possibility of time moving forward in terrifying uncertainty. Even a certain future becomes hazy and undefined when planning is introduced to each decision.

Unlike Nestor's speech, which ends in action, my own giant mass of things to come concludes with another design, a post-script that suggests where the Subjunctive Aesthetic can go next. But first, let us see how architecture helps *The Faerie Queene* build a house.

Chapter 1

The Aesthetic in Alma's House: Narrative-Images of Probability

Edmund Spenser christens the villainous sorcerer of *The Fairie Queene* with an

especially evocative title: Archimago. The name underscores the character's "archi-magic" while

at the same time linking the sorcerer to the word "architect." Making the connection explicit, the

poem uses "architect" to describe the sorcerer in the second book of Spenser's epic questing

Romance (2.1.1).[17] Using "architect" to connect magic to the initiator and oft-times controller of

*The Faerie Queene'*s plot is fitting according to a standard contemporary metaphor. Modern

readers are familiar with beings like God, Marx, or the Narrator taking on the profession of

architect and imposing a structure of ideas on society, narrative, or reality.[18] In seemingly

familiar terms, then, the first stanza of Spenser's second book equates architecture with

Archimago's manipulation of others by calling him "a conning architect of cancred guile"

(2.1.1). But in 1590, Spenser's comparison marks one of the earliest figurative uses of the word

architect, and an early appearance in the English language in general.[19] In Spenser's day, Italian

draughtsmen and translators had only recently claimed to rediscover architecture as an

intellectual discipline or profession in its own right. Similarly, the rest of book 2 suggests that the

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[17] "That conning Architect of cancred guyle." 2.1.1. Unless otherwise noted, all citations from *The Faerie Queene* are given parenthetically by book, canto, and stanza. from A.C. Hamilton ed., *The Faerie Queene*, 1st ed. (London: Longman, 2001).

[18] One of the earliest examples of this trend comes from almost half a century after Spenser's death. See William Austin, *Haec Homo wherein the Excellency of the Creation of woman is described by way of an Essaie* (London: Printed by Richard Olton for Ralph Mabb, and are to be sold by Charles Greene, 1637).

[19] *Oxford English Dictionary*, "architect" 3.a. The OED lists Shakespeare as the first recorded metaphorical application in 1594, which follows Spenser by four years. Twenty years earlier than Spenser, however, the benefits of architecture appear in John Dee, "Preface" to *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Ancient Philosopher Euclid of Margera* (London: Imprinted by John Daye, 1570).

archmage-architect comparison marks Archimago as an actual planner of buildings to an extent we might initially miss.[20] In this chapter, I take Spenser's handling of architecture seriously as I analyze the Alma's house section of Book 2. By analyzing the overlap of early modern architecture, government planning, and narrative, the stanzas focusing on Alma's house reveal the narrative and imagistic multiplicity of the Subjunctive Aesthetic in early modern England. The section also outlines the discourses touched by the Aesthetic. Gathering various forms of planning, deliberation, and contingency in Alma's house, I initiate the analysis of a multivalent concept linking early modern architecture, government plans, images of likelihood, and narrative structures and images. Alma's house is a case study and a lens for organizing discourses. Demonstrating a narrative range rather than a single narrative plot in Alma's house, I connect the genres of history, planning, and allegory through an account of probability. Spenser's sequence captures a distinctly early modern perspective on architecture, and the focus on probability in Alma's house points to the widespread engagement of the Subjunctive Aesthetic

Modern statisticians and dictionary editors define probability as the measure of the likelihood of an event.[21] Through an investigation of Spenser's text and early modern discourses of design, especially in the intersections of architecture and government, I argue probability is a non-paradoxical multiplicity within a text or image that does not privilege defined trajectories. Probability can describe coexisting or even potentially conflicting events, spaces, and narratives

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[20] On architecture's promise for interpreting Book 2 see Carroll Camden, "The Architecture of Spenser's House of Alma." *Modern Language Notes*. 58:4 (Baltimore, 1943). Recent analysis tends to accept Alistair Fowler's sarcastic dismissal this "discovered" meaning as well-explored ground in Appendix I of *Spenser and the Numbers of Time* (London: Routledge, 1964).

[21] For a historicization of the creation of modern statistical probability in a slightly later context that connect the movement to the growth of capitalism, science, and other disciplines, but never mentions architecture see Rudiger Campe, *The Game of Probability* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

contained in a representational field.[22] This version of probability can be inflected by and

represented through perceptual categories such as space and time. Indeed, the mingling of

architecture and narrative in Alma's house helps to foreground probability. As discourses of

space and time overlap in the section, multiple dimensions become perceptible within what

initially stand as defined boundaries.[23] The contingencies encoded into Spencer's poem resonate

with the contingency of architectural images from the period. Using the continuities between

Spenser's plans, architectural planning, and government orders, I argue that a discourse

involving time, space, or narrative genre can be circumscribed while maintaining an active

multiplicity within that circumscription. In Alma's house, the constant engagement with multiple

probable outcomes is important because it gives critics a means to explore genre without the

expected restrictions of generic boundaries. In short, planning in Alma's house forces readers to

reckon with doubt without dismissing it.

This chapter's analysis of suspended doubt across architecture, government discourses,

and literature sets up the subsequent chapters, but also holds broader importance for literary

criticism in other periods. The Subjunctive Aesthetic, I argue, can queer narrative and imagistic

representations, revealing the way that architecture's potential haunts the rigidity of modern

theories that incorporate architecture. The architect is one of Foucault's modern bogeymen,

organizing and identifying subjects with material and ideological institutions of power, and in

Discipline and Punish he associates this figure with modernity whenever institutional control

may appear. In contrast, Michel De Certeau argues that architectural mastery is exposed and

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[22] The *OED* has overlapping definitions that define the "probable" as something that can be proven, something that is likely to happen, something that commends itself to the mind, etc. The mixture of truth claims and non-truth claims defines the narrative form of plans.

[23] My argument owes a major debt to Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984). For a specific example, see his contrast of tactics and strategy in street grids versus the paths of individual persons.

sometimes overcome by counter-insurgency in our daily lives. According to him, we can overcome the mastery of planning with our on the ground experience. And yet, this too relies on the provisions of a plan. In his words, we can overcome the structures of power through a "tactical response" to a "strategy"—guerilla plans to fight the big plans. The difference between the two is not in manner but in scale. These theorists helpfully point out that planning is an almost mundane part of our experience, whether we believe it categorically arrests individuals or provides counter-intelligence against the forces controlling our lives.[24] I hope to build on these observations by exploring what they assume as a given.

Theorists who use architecture and architectonics often transition seamlessly to state-discourse from architecture, as if both are the same and both are totalizing. In Foucault's famous example: Bentham designs the Panopticon to keep each of its inhabitant prisoners under watch, directly connecting architecture to the operations of the state. Yet this plan is never carried out in Bentham's life. Although revealing of punitive, ideological, and institutional processes, the Panopticon is a plan and a failed one at that. Early modern architecture, I argue, haunts modern notions of represented control, and Bentham's biography highlights that. The polymath's greatest phobia was of the impossible figure of a ghost observing him, not because the ghost was real, but because it might not be.[25] The mythic narrative of the ghost that crosses the border between

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[24] When Bourdieu draws on base, structures, and super-structures of Marxism, he is discussing the way ideology fixes subjects. Marxist analysis is often restrictive, but Jameson contrasts the "play" of utopias with the "superstructure" and "infrastructure" of later times. He explicitly calls More's *Utopia* a genre of "multiplicity of consequences." *Archaeologies of the Future* (New York: Verso, 2007), 41.

[25] "Bentham was, therefore, forced to confront the distinction between the real and the imaginary from his early childhood, and it is possible that, as C. K. Ogden has intimated, it was upon the 'grim foundation' of ghosts and spectres that he constructed one of his most important insights, namely his theory of real and fictitious entities." Schofield, Philip. "Real and Fictitious Entities." *Utility and Democracy: The Political Thought of Jeremy Bentham* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 2.

impossible and possible haunts Bentham because even in if its reality is verifiable, its form is

immaterial. This materially immaterial status defines the Subjunctive Aesthetic, and is especially

visible in the connection of early modern architectural plans to statecraft. By this I mean to say

that the pre-history of architecture, where the meeting of potential and failure is more tangible

and/or conscious, can also suggest that modern plans are not as rigid as we might imagine. De

Certeau finds tactical on-the-ground responses to theory as a means to escape their stricture. I see

something similar. I see in the Subjunctive Aesthetic a means to recover a hazy, ghostly

theorization within plans themselves that also works against rigid social controls.

The chapter also draws on and contributes to more specific critical projects. My reading

of the archive of planning continues recent readings that combine the best aspects of both theory

and historicism, such as the work of Jonathan Gil Harris, among others.[26] Critics like Harris seek

meaningful multiplicity within texts, often by focusing on moments where early modern sources

rely on abstract categories such as time. The Subjunctive Aesthetic, as will become clear,

touches on many forms of representing probability. But the open connection of Alma's house

with architectural planning forms an exemplary point to elaborate on a reading that is both

grounded in a time and yet looks to another time. A building plan self-consciously connects a

present moment and an imagined future, moving between these categories. Similarly, a plan also

combines practice and theory, describing a specific deployment of theoretical imagination and

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[26] Gil Harris gives a method in *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009). He uses material and visual culture to rethink the boundaries of material, space, and time. He briefly mentions probability too, but does not develop the idea. In another vein, Henry Turner, *The English Renaissance Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) explores carpentry and geometry's influence on stagecraft in an exhaustive study of practical handbooks. He ties these practical considerations directly to a type of literary imagination. Turner's connection of literature to the plot depends on Lorna Hutson's earlier observations in *The Usurer's Daughter* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 105. Also see her, "Fortunate Travelers." *Representations*. 41. Winter (1993), 86-7.

embodied materials. In a complex maneuver, a plan navigates temporal categories while also

pivoting between practice and theory. In the stanzas of Alma's house as well as the schematic

representations of architecture, the "either/or" of theory and history breaks down into a

meaningful "both/and." A second critical project that situates my work is the attempt to give

cultural context to perceptual categories. Recent readings have fastened on space and time as

fundamental categories demanding historicization and analysis.[27] Probability enriches analyses

of space and time in early modern England with multiplicity, offering a perceptual category not

usually included in these conversations. Finally, and as my queer grappling with Foucault and De

Certeau suggests, this chapter's analysis of planning defines an anachronistic narrative within the

early modern period. In these more specific temporalities, Alma's house convenes with attempts

to queer straightforward readings of early modern texts and images. Time progresses in the

probable narratives I investigate, but not in a direct teleology or linear chronology.[28] A plan's

representation of desire is a wide-ranging engagement with multiple outcomes, never assured of

a straight line.

The chapter calls on the primary artifact of architecture—the plot (or ground plot, plant,

or plan) of a building.[29] It will become clear that the imagery and writing of these pieces connect

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[27] John Gilles, "Space and Place in *Paradise Lost*," ELH 74:1, Spring (2007), models a nuanced understanding of spatial categories in the later epic poem, contrasting homogenous space with subjective place.

[28] Carla Freccero, *Queer / Early / Modern* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006) outlines anachronism as a site for queering temporal movement. Sergio Zatti, *The Quest for Epic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006) develops an argument that Ariosto, a source for Spenser, and his interlaced plotlines deny forward movement.

[29] "Plot" or "groundplot" is the typical early modern name for a building plan. The two are usually traced to the French "plan" or "plant." See Turner, *The English Renaissance* for more on the connection of groundplot to narrative plot, 19-39. For a similar, narrative/imagistic approach to Book II see John M. Steadman, "Image-Making in the Verbal and Visual Arts: A Renaissance Obsession." *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 61.1 (1998). 53-80.

to plans more broadly as narratives describing what should, could, or might be done.[30] Beyond these texts and images, early modern political images and writings, especially about dynastic succession or state policy, also encode the same multiplicity associated with the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Both architecture and statecraft are practical, but both have a self-conscious element of imagination that incorporates aspects of fantasy. Finally, I also explore the Subjunctive Aesthetic's impact on early modern philosophy, especially the concept of Providence, through the figures of Machiavelli and Calvin. These divergent thinkers reveal the breadth of the growing awareness of probability, and the difficulties and demands of representing its multiplicity. Government, architecture, and even philosophy incorporates a probalistic narrative, usually one projecting into the future. In addition to this future-focus, the visual format of architectural plots informs the way early modern plans, architectural and otherwise, express probability. In these schematics probability is a simultaneously spatial image and narrative term. Early modern plans move in an umbra of multiplicity that accompanies the line of the plot that is drawn, or the narrative plot described by words. In a future-orientated probable narrative like a plan, the narrative of what will happen emerges from the field of probable outcomes, with some being defined more solidly and some with less distinct features. All of these potential outcomes, however, are maintained in the representation of the plan, even after a set goal has been achieved. A plan, even when successful, never stops being a plan.

My plan for the chapter has four parts. The first section gathers the critical and architectural background for Alma's house and also introduces early modern architectural works. In the second section I build on the part and introduce the texts and images of dynastic

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[30] This subjunctive language often accompanies early modern architectural plans, but even when words are not explicitly written, such language seems implied in the way plans become interpreted by readers/viewers.

succession and government policy. I connect these discourses narratives the strange time-based

tension among the advisors inside Alma's house. By looking closely at the way probability

works around and through these advisors, I argue that the collapse of time and space in Alma's

house is partially explained by an Aesthetic defined by the multiple probable narratives encoded

by planning. The third section contextualizes the projective narratives of architecture and

planning alongside other types of storytelling techniques in Book 2. This portion of the chapter

focuses on the way Book 2's peculiar narrative incorporates and manipulates more familiar

narrative genres such as history and allegory. History and allegory cannot be easily separated in

The Faerie Queene, but the Subjunctive Aesthetic's unique narrative mode allows the two genres

to interact on a continuum of probability.[31] The fourth and final section follows the religious and

philosophical impact of the Aesthetic's probabilistic representations by comparing the house to

other forms of future projection in Spenser's poem and in Spenser's romance tradition. Alma's

house forms a specific nexus around which the practical and the literary move in the same

narrative channels, enabled by planning's mixture of spatial representation, temporal categories,

and probability.

Designing Alma's House

The starting point for my argument comes from a reading of Spenser's own commentary

on the poem. In a letter to Sir Walter Raleigh appended to the publication of *The Faerie Queene*,

Spenser writes that for a narrative model, he prefers Xenophon "before Plato, for that the one, in

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[31]This is contrasted the notion that history and romance align with fact and fiction, as one genre
defines the other in Paul Riceour, *Time and Narrative Vol II*, Trans. Kathleen McLaughlin and
Pallauer, David. (Chicago: University of Chigago Press, 1990). For a similar analysis focusing
on the early modern period see Mary Poovey, *A History of the Modern Fact* (Chicago:
University of Chicago, 1998).

the exquisite depth of his judgement, formed a commune welth such as it should be, but the other

in the person of Cyrus and the Persians fashioned a governement, such as might best be: so much

more profitable and gratious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule."[32] This quotation and the

letter as a whole situate Spenser's poem as a plot for how to organize a state and instruct

politically engaged gentlemen.[33] The letter explains this hope by placing his work on a scale of

narrative genre, connecting "might best be" and "should be." Both "might" and "should" evoke

intermingling possibilities, relying on other potential means of organization for their

comprehensibility. In this formulation, Xenophon's *Cyropedia* and Plato's *Republic* stand on

opposed ends of a genre continuum. The difference between Xenophon's more-historically

inflected narrative and Plato's philosophical dialogue is in the relationship of a potential range of

narratives to limitations of likelihood.[34] Two strands run through the probabilistic comparison in

the quotation, one threading through a "commonwealth," "should be," and "rule," the other

running through "government," "might best be," and "example." The "should" strand treats all

organizations as contingent—all could potentially be otherwise. This path moves through these

possibilities to settle on a single unified option, a "rule." "Might best be," in contrast, moves

within a broad range of possibilities that "might be," and although seemingly expansive, these

possibilities are restricted by a hazy limit. This array of "might best be" stands in contrast to the

impossible options of what cannot be. The ideal Spenser chooses maintains multiplicity. "Might

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[32] Hamilton ed., *The Faerie Queene*, 716.

[33] The 1590 version of the Letter to Raleigh claims that the letter is "expounding [Spenser's] whole intention in the course of this work" making it one plan for the poem as a whole. In a telling anachronism, the intention actually follows instead of preceding the text of the poem in the first printing. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene* London: Printed for William Ponsonby, 1590. 591. Phillip Sidney, *Defense of Poesy* (London: Ponsonby, 1595) gives another early modern text very clear about poetry's value for the education of gentleman in service the state.

[34] For a summary of the ongoing dispute over Xenophon and Plato, see Gabriel Danzig, "Intra-Socratic Polemics: The Symposia of Plato and Xenophon," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* (2005), 331-357.

best," acknowledges other policies as "should" does, while also connecting to a broader range of governments that overlap with the best option. These probable "examples" persist even when Xenophon, according to Spenser, settles on what might best be. With the letter's connection of planning, probable narratives, philosophical heavyweights, and genre in mind, let us turn to Spenser's work.

Each book of the *Faerie Queene* proclaims one virtue as a theme, using an allegorical narrative to explore the virtue's difficulties, practical applications, and philosophical implications.[35] In Book 2, the theme is temperance. During the course of the book, questing knights eventually come to the House of Alma, a utopian palace that presumably illustrates the ideal version of temperance.[36] Alma's house is a strange place by any standard, but particularly within the stanzas of Spenser's poem. The house seems to be a perfect Elizabethan allegory for the state, running in an orderly fashion at the command of a noble Lady. As is often the case in medieval and early modern discourse, the ideal body politic is also an allegory for the ideal body. Many critics have struggled to parse the relationship between the two as the many overlapping potential allegories for the house often become potentially confusing.[37] For instance, Alma's advisor associated with knowledge of the future, Phantastes, lives in a room defined by

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[35] Jeff Tolvin, "Panic's Castle," *Representations*. 120:1, Fall (2012) argues that epistemological forethought about how to enact these virtues drives the plot of the poem.

[36] Frederic Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future* argues that utopian narratives overlap with planning. For another utopian intersection, also see Amy Boeskey, *Founding Fictions* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996) for a definition of utopias as moving pictures that feeds into my definition of the narrative-image of architecture

[37] "The primary allegorical reference developed in the subsequent description is to the human body with its basic parts of legs, chest, and head." Walter Davis, "The Houses of Mortality in Book II of *The Faerie Queene*." *Spenser Studies*. Vol. II. (Pittsburgh, 1981), 122-7. For Alma's house as a narrative of anatomy see Jonathan Sawday, *The Body Emblazoned (*London: Routledge, 1995), 167-8.

disorderly imagery and yet holds a senior spot in the brain trust of Alma's flawless regime.[38]

Another point of confusion involves the seeming lack of conflicts in Alma's house that readers

find elsewhere in the epic.[39] The name of the house's owner, for instance, refers to the rational

soul, which deploys reason and rules matter. Yet unlike many other sections of *The Faerie*

Queene, where body and soul seem to be at odds, this section harmonizes the two and

demonstrates the virtue of temperance without any clear conflicts. Whether political or body-

based, Neo-Platonism usually structures the ways critics have responded to Alma's house, as

critics read the house's proportions in various understandings of Platonic ideals.[40] At the most

basic level, the poem offers Alma as an ideal if often unembodied and undescribed ruler, advised

by three counselors allegorically aligned with the past, present, and future. The organization of

her household awes the visiting Sir Guyon and King Arthur with its efficient quotidian

operations as well as the learning of its inhabitants.

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[38] Fowler, *Spenser and the Numbers of Time*, 260: the Alma's House section is a '*tour de force* of ambiguity." He also associates Phantastes with horoscopes. Robert L. Reid, "Spenserian Psychology and the Structure of Allegory in Books 1 and 2 of 'The Faerie Queene'" *Modern Philology* 79.4. (1982) associates Phantastes with a tripartite division of the mind. Tina Romanelli, "Imagination as Arbiter: Spenser's Phantastes and the Natural World" (paper presented at Shakespeare and the Natural World Conference, Chapel Hill, March 29th, 2012) summarizes this ambiguity, claiming the character "proves both a blessing and an unresolved problem in his allegory of the ideal body."

[39]For a reading that fixes on Guyon in particular as "passive and puppet-like, too ludicrously virtuous to sustain readerly interest" see Grant Williams, "Phantastes's Flies: The Trauma of Amnestic Enjoyment in Spenser's Memory Palace." *Spenser Studies* 18.1 (2004). 231-252.

[40] Neo-Platonism hides a history of architecture, as the classical architect Vitrivius provides the background for many medieval and early modern understandings of Plato's philosophy. Fowler (*Spenser and the Numbers of Time*) assumes the importance of Vitrivius without comment. Frances Yates makes a case for the importance of architecture in Neo-Platonic philosophy in *The Art of Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966). For more conventional Neo-Platonic readings of Alma's House see Jon A Quintsland, *Spenser's Supreme Fiction: Platonic Natural Philosophy and The Faerie Queene* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). Allan Silverman. "Plato on 'Phantasia'." *Classical Antiquity* 10.1 (1991). 123-147. Kenelm Digby, *Observations of the 22. Stanza in the 9th Canto of the 2d. Book of Spenser's Faerie Queene.* (London: Daniel Frere, 1644).

Guyon and Arthur arrive at Alma's house after a series of encounters with Temperance's countervailing vice—Intemperance. Then, outside the Alma's walls, they battle against illusory knights as a test to receive admittance to the castle. These knights are not Archimago's illusions, but rather real beings who dissolve into nothingness when defeated. Their materially immaterial status is the first suggestion that readers are entering a realm of coextant embodiment and abstraction. The guards themselves are multiplicitous. The text never specifies whether these knights are illusions or real. Nonetheless, they have an effect on Guyon and Arthur in the narrative, even if that purpose is to pause their progress for a moment. Pausing is not necessarily unexpected in the interlacement of wandering plots in romances like *The Faerie Queene*.[41] This pause is the first of many suggestions that Alma's house will move forward along a linear path.

As readers move into Alma's house, architecture defines a mixed practical and theoretical focus by using probability. Although "plotting" and "architecture" do not appear by name, the section's style marks architectural planning as a central focus:

> First she them led vp to the Castle wall,
> That was so high, as foe might not it clime,
> And all so faire, and fensible withall,
> Not built of bricke, ne yet of stone and lime,
> But of thing like to that *AEgyptian* slime,
> Whereof king *Nine* whilome built *Babell* towre;
> But O great pitty, that no lenger time
> So goodly workemanship should not endure:
> Soone it must turne to earth; no earthly thing is sure.
> The frame thereof seemd partly circulare,
> And part triangulare, O worke diuine;
> Those two the first and last proportions are,
> The one imperfect, mortall, foeminine;
> Th'other immortall, perfect, masculine,
> And twixt them both a quadrate was the base,
> Proportioned equally by seuen and nine;
> Nine was the circle set in heauens place,
> All which compacted made a goodly *Diapase*. (2.9.21-2)

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[41] Sergio Zatti, *The Quest for Epic.*

The description emphasizes the walls' planned construction using rational principles and proportions. The clearest architectural elements in Alma's house come from the shapes "proportioned equally between seven and nine" and the mention of the triangle, circle, and quadrate. These numbers and shapes derive from the classical architect Vitrivius's divine proportions for buildings, based on a numerological alignment with masculinity and femininity. Vitrivius' *De Architectura* is the only extent classical source on architecture, and Spenser's use of Vitruvian symbolic shapes buttresses the claim that the building is between "mortal" and "immortal," between "masculine" and "foemenine"—the shapes that create this building are "twixt them both." Lauren Silberman posits that the section hovers betwixt practice and theory, and the dichotomy set up here reflects her notion.[42] In her framework, the virtue of temperance comes alive in Alma's house, performing an ideal in a practical world, much like Spenser's letter introducing the poem suggests. Her push to move between practice and theory resonates with Spenser's use of Vitriuvian proportions and shapes, as building plans also move between abstraction and practicality, attempting to build through the use of ideal shapes.[43]

The most fascinating part of the quote above is a combination of masculine and feminine within the house. Architecture mixes practice and theory and simultaneously mixes genders. The mediating work of architecture becomes both ideally and physically transsexual, even multiplicitous. Masculinity connects with perfection and immortality in contrast to femininity, which is connected with imperfection and mortality. The division comes together, however, with

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[42] Lauren Silberman, "The Faerie Queene, Book II and the Limitations of Temperence." *Modern Language Studies* , 17:4, Autumn, (1987), 9-22.
[43] In a similar reading that incorporates probability, the poem is "not to be imitated but to be marveled at" and this wonder instills "doubt." See Genevieve Guenther, "Spenser's Magic, or Instrumental Aesthetics in the 1590 *Faerie Queene*." *ELR* 36.2 (2006), 194-226.

intimations that Alma's house stands between the two gendered tracks.[44] The building's poetic

space between genders heightens the impression that architecture allows readers to enter a new

realm of probability, moving in the space between sexual dualism. Reflecting this use of

architecture, a 1637 piece with the tantalizing title of *Haec Homo* demonstrates Spenser's range

of gender through architectural images. In the work, William Austin renders several familiar

shapes:
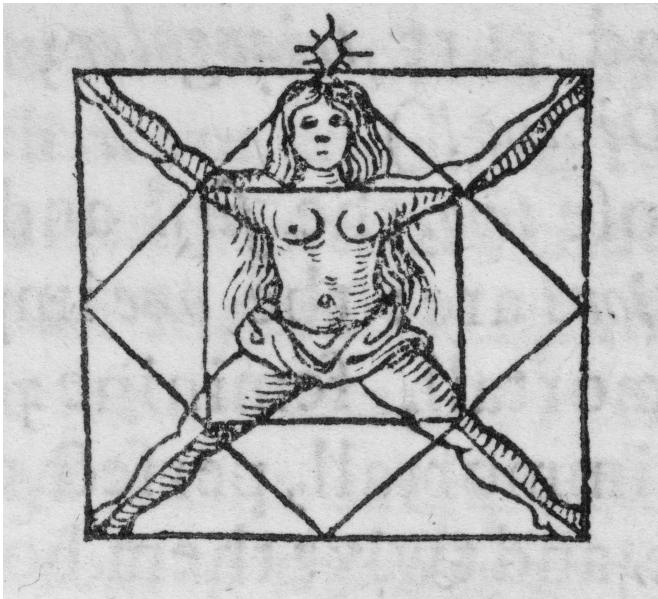
Fig 1.[45]

     Citing Vitrivius, Austin argues the square is one of several schematic proportions derived

from the human body that allows for the expression of "all proportions, all buildings, and all

structures."[46] He continues, "all of which discourse concerning the severall proportions of the

body are elegantly and briefly contracted by the late dead Spenser."[47] Austin finds multiplicity in

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[44]The genders also point to different types of columns. Vitrivius aligns Doric and Ionian columns
with masculinity and femininity in *De architectura*, 4.1.8. Renaissance architects follow. See
Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997).
[45] William Austin, *Haec Homo*, 79.
[46] Ibid. 76.
[47] Ibid. 79.

the masculine and feminine proportions of Alma's house, "Which, indeed, is no other but the body."[48] In addition to Spenser, Austin's images trope on Da Vinci's earlier and more famous Vitruvian Man, whose title also points to the ancient architect Vitrivius. Both Da Vinci and Austin seek to encode multiplicity through overlapping shapes and multifaceted embodiment. Da Vinci has multiple possibilities mingle in the same visual field of the Vitruvian man. Austin's separate series of shapes draws out the multiplicity contained within the earlier image. Comparing the above image of what appears to be a woman to Da Vinci's ostensibly masculine drawing, Austin plays on what Spenser also emphasizes, namely that male and female are both contained within the diagrammatic form of the body. The title of Austin's work, *Haec Homo*, mixes the genders of its modifier and noun, further emphasizing this overlap. Taking Austin and Da Vinci together, their images mix male and female and yet render them simultaneously probable when expressed as architecture's schematics. Austin's citations and images help clarify the gendered component to Spenser's proportional multiplicity, as architectural shapes connect "betwixt," or perhaps even among, genders.[49]

As Spenser's description of the house combines schematics and proportions of two genders in one framework, it also uses probable activities to define the entryway to Alma's house. The phrase above it, "no earthly thing is sure," insinuates that even this solid building is a temporary place, maintained and created only by human effort in imagining and preservation. The temporality of the inevitable destruction is obscure, described by the words "longer" and "soone." Yet the use of "should not endure" introduces probability to the production of the walls. Re-emphasizing the principles and application of the building process, Spenser makes the walls

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[48] Ibid. 79.
[49] For a related discussion of the difficulties of sex for Neoplatonic ideology, see Katherine Crawford, "Marsilio Ficino, Neoplatonism, and the Problem of Sex." *Renaissance and Reformation.* XVIII:2, (2004).

indistinct and yet material. They may exist, but by describing how the walls may have been conceived, he reveals the architectural connection between theory and practice that makes these walls unique. As in Spenser's letter to Raleigh, probable language defines the introduction to Alma's house. The narrator's initial perceptual framing relies on verbs defining probability with "might not it clime" and "must turne." Some of these verbs seem to negate probable narratives, like "should not endure." But the overall impression of the stanzas is an outline of the house's walls as if these probable narratives define the building's plan. In short, the introductory outline of Alma's walls plots a building with discrete shapes and proportions, emphasizes possible narratives of interaction with these shapes, and blurs the boundary between materiality and imagination. One means of evoking this mixture is by queering gender dichotomies..

Spenser's architectural blending relies on two overlapping strands of early modern architectural imagery and discourse. The first is the schematic form commonly found in printed versions of works on building. The second is often found in manuscripts and has a more artistically inflected positioning of designs in a field of color, countryside, and action. Like Spenser's introduction to Alma's house, architectural plots and writings of both types of image define their work in terms of proportions. They also depict regular shapes in a visual field to describe a building. Both types of image also encode multiplicity. In many cases, both categories of image accompany or are accompanied by writing that uses probable language such as should, could, or might.

The first schematic architectural pieces are comparable to modern blueprints. During the late 15th and early 16th centuries, images of keeps, castles, towers, villas, and fortified towns

became defined by their use of proportion and regular geometric shapes, as this image from

Andrea Palladio's *Works* (Fig 2):[50]
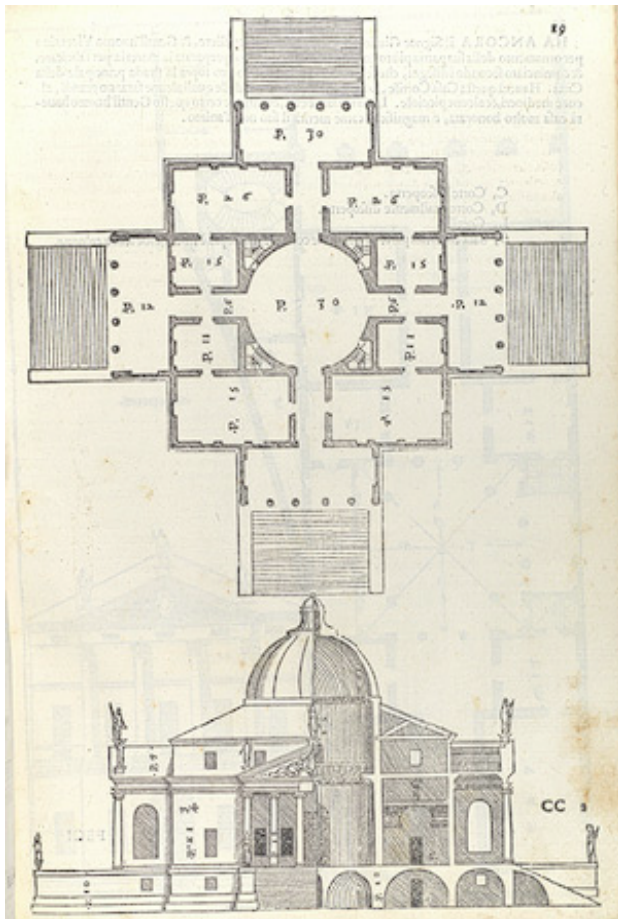
Fig. 2

Palladio stands among the most famous Italian Renaissance architects, and models his *Four*

Books on Architecture after Vitrivius. Palladio also maintains one of the most visible and lasting

presences on the English architectural scene.[51] The above image fairly represents a whole genre

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[50] Andrea Palladio, "Villa Almerico (Villa Rotonda)," *I quattro libri dell'architettura*. Book 2, page 19, (1570). Woodcut illustration with letterpress text. (41.100.126.19) "Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History." The Metropolitan Museum of Art. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/41.100.126.19#ixzz1Xm2cA8DN

[51] Serlio, Alberti, and Filarette are also widely known architects in early modern England. They were not published in English until Serlio's *Works*. (London: Robert Peake, 1611). But John Dee's preface to Euclid mentions architecture much earlier, and the Italian and Latin of these architects are in several early modern English library collections.

of architectural images, also published by the likes of Serlio and Filarette.[52] In a departure from medieval draughts of complex buildings like cathedrals or castles, this format for architectural plots reached mass audiences in the Renaissance thanks to the printing press, the growth of a professional class of designers, and the growing interest in the Roman ruins often reconstructed in these texts. The rapid standardization of these images indicates a widespread aesthetic that even modern viewers can recognize as building designs.

Like Spenser's description of the walls of Alma's house, Palladio's drawing initially seems to define the contours of a building on a blank page using solid shapes. Lines and points in blank plane with a minimum of color or mimetic touches define the design. In addition, numbers, both written and dotted by the points of pillars, emphasize the building's proportionality. These numbers, however, receive less attention than the shapes. The less schematic and more sketch-like side-view on the bottom of the image breaks the building down into its geometric shapes, simultaneously looking at and through the building's walls, much like Spenser's poem does. To understand the image, viewers must relate these geometric shapes to a building process. As a plan, the image is a tool that makes construction possible. To understand how to build, viewers must understand that the image is a narrative. The proportional abstractions in the blank space are practical. Yet this practicality remains mediated through an abstract, often undrawn and unwritten, narrative of the building process. In order to comprehend how to use Palladio's plan, a potential builder must take in the overhead view of the design as well the cross section, in addition to the accompanying textual narrative of how it could be built, and then do the understood but unrepresented mental work of connecting the two perspectives into a unitary building. In short, Palladio's plot represents the outcome of a complex process implied by the

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[52] Although printed pieces had wider circulation, for manuscript examples see British Library MS Landsowne Charter 18, MS Augustus I.II.11, 13, 32.

blank space on the page. Viewers must use the two different points of view on the top and bottom of the page to imagine a building between and beyond them. Part of the mental work involved in understanding the plan is moving between categories of time. The plan connects a present moment to an imagined future, perhaps placing the two in the same plane.

In addition to the image's combination of two perspectives and the intermingling temporal categories of the building process, another signature feature is the homogenous and blank space of the page that implies the potential for other iterations of the design. These probable lines seem invisible. But the presence of these probable narratives is paradoxically illustrated in the text describing the building. Palladio and other architects emphasize an architectural image's probable narrativity by writing a paragraph or two that describes construction or potential construction for each of these images. The stories Palladio, Serlio, and others tell in the brief sketches are of contingent modifications to the building site, available funds, and special materials. Within these narratives, just as when planning becomes the focus of Alma's house in *The Faerie Queene*, the verbs Palladio uses to describe the building process are often translated into English with the subjunctive mood.[53] For one palazzo he writes, "The hall which is above the entrance has no columns and is as high as the roof and has a walkway or balcony at the same level as the rooms on the third story, which would also give access to the windows above…the smaller hall should have a wooden ceiling at the same height as the vaults of the second story rooms…All the doors and windows would have corresponded to each other."[54] Like Spenser's description of Alma's walls, Palladio's words emphasize probability in the construction of the palazzos and villas he discusses.

[53] Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture,* 149-57.
[54] Ibid. 150-1. The standard grammar of Italian verbs make even more distinctions of probability than English, with a distinct conditional as well as a subjunctive. But for an example supporting

Alma's walls also evoke a second architectural archive that renders multiplicity in a less schematic way. This other group of architectural images are manuscript draughts commissioned by the English state during the Tudor period.[55] Sitting monarchs surveyed existing military and civil building projects and reviewed proposals for new ones. In these images one can see a clarification and substantiation of the probable narratives encoded in the blank space of Palladio's schematic images. More than Palladio, the Tudor draughts mix mimetic reflections with the abstract shapes of imaginary buildings. Although many early modern architectural designs resemble Palladio's, images like the one of Great Yarmouth below appear at a similar frequency in many archives (Fig 3)[56]:

Fig. 3

my argument the phrase "would also give access to the windows above" in Italian is "Che servirebbe anco alle finestre di sopra." 363.

[55] The British Library contains an extensive collection in this style ranging over nearly 200 years. For other examples see, Cotton Augustus MS I.ii. 3, 11, 32, 64, 69.

[56] British Library MS Cotton Augustus, I.1.f74. See http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/unvbrit/g/001cotaugi00001u00074000.html for a brief and helpful summary of the genre and provenance of the image.

In particular the image depicts the collapse of multiple categories of time through the spatial representation of dozens of probable activities mingling in close proximity. In this way, the action resembles medieval narrative paintings and tapestries. The above image depicts the entire town of Great Yarmouth, where a town's worth of activity is temporally and spatially compressed. Ships stand ready to enter the river and dock (Fig 3a), cannons fire from a fort, while cattle inhabit the foreground and windmills stand ready to spin.

Fig 3a

At the river, other concerns preoccupy the town's inhabitants as they duck someone in the river (Fig 3b) Perhaps an accused witch? A cuckold? The image does not specify, but it may in fact be trying to evoke the possibility of both.

Fig. 3b

These activities, and their similarities to familiar paintings or medieval narrative images, make it easy to miss the fact that the harbor edifices on the left of the painting are plans (Fig 3c).[57]

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[57] In the early modern period, plans describe completed edifices as well as potential ones. I believe, as the curator in the summary footnote above, that the image is a part of a royal survey of existing harbor works alongside a proposed project. There is, however, no way to be sure based on the image alone since abortive projects and existing buildings often have the same visual format. This similarity further suggests and interlacing of theory and practice.

Fig. 3c

If viewers expect an image like Palladio's, Great Yarmouth's colorful flourishes and narratives of action could mislead. But this image is not a painting or a map. It is an architectural survey and part of a construction proposal commissioned by the state. At the same time, the image helps builders and state planners and the harbor blends into the image of the town as a whole. Indeed, the waterway edifices facilitate or make possible the dozens of possible narratives contained inside the buildings, subjects, and animals of Great Yarmouth. The plots on the left have almost the same amount of information as Palladio's more obvious architectural pieces, though they may not give exact enumerated building instructions. In contrast to those images, an important formal aspect of the piece is that activity clusters in the right and center of the image, defined by where a planner might have seen activity in the town. Building on these clusters, the Great Yarmouth image also emphasizes probability in the mixture of multiple points of view in the image's different angles. The mixed vantage spot in the depiction of each individual activity multiplies the two perspectives necessary to comprehend Palladio's pages. By occupying intermingling perspectives, the image suggests that architecture self-consciously requires multiple equally likely viewpoints in a single overview, without privileging any vantage point as the only necessary one. Thus, the Yarmouth image exploits the openness to multiple perspectives found in architectural image-narratives.

Another architectural image that represents this multiplicity does so in a way that even more clearly illustrates the material-abstract blending of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. The image, describing a battle in the 17th century, has the familiar plan of a battle and a fort.[58] The twist is that the central image of the fort can be flipped up, revealing an image beneath with the destroyed version of the same fort. The image and material represent the multiplicity of these two positions in material space.

In the encoding of multiplicity, images like Great Yarmouth might be compared to Gil Harris' palimpsests from *Untimely Matter in the Age of Shakespeare*. A palimpsest is a text that has been written over, but that still contains the traces of the underlying text. According to Harris, these texts are polychromic because they contain multiple time periods, but they are also multi-temporal because they "can be made to articulate several different organizations of time." The three organizations that Harris finds in early modern palimpsests are the "polychromic," where different times can speak to each other, the "explosion," where an older text unexpectedly gains importance in more recent writing, or the "supersession," as a new text attempts to overtake the writing it covers up. In this understanding, a palimpsest's physical arrangement—its matter—is "antisequential: superimposing past and present without insisting on any linear relation between them."[59] The Great Yarmouth image may be a palimpsest of possibility, as it contains a projection of one probable future alongside actions from various other times. Like in Harris, the key features are matter, only here it is the arrangement of certain projections in addition to bodies, and there is a self-conscious freezing of actions and activities for an even greater emphasis on multiple coexisting time periods. The diagram of the destroyed fort that flips

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[58] Cotton Augustus MS I.ii.79. This image is from the late Tudor period, but is consistent with the groundplots I am describing.
[59] Harris. *Untimely Matter*. 14-17.

up to reveal the intact one offers the material version of this palimpsest. Both are images of designs that engage multiplicity.

The narrative-imagery of Great Yarmouth and the narrative-imagery of Alma's walls both define material representations of buildings alongside multiple coexisting theoretical narratives that interact with these edifices. In the above image, the possibilities include ships firing or docking, farming, grinding wheat, or even corporal punishments like ducking. In Spenser, the walls are defined by foes that "could" climb, and foes that "might" not reach the height. In both poem and image, the concerns are practical, and they are also potential. The poem and architectural archives both rely on the imagistic and narrative components of planning—they share a foundation. Using this foundation, *The Faerie Queene* poeticizes architectural images and texts in order to construct Alma's house. In the next section we will see how this basis in planning gives rise to the house's multiplicity of setting and characters.

The Shape (and Time) of State Planning Inside Alma's House

The probable image-narratives of Alma's walls set the expectations for the rest of the cantos exploring Alma's house even as the section transitions into the related process of state planning. As the operations of the state are laid bare, the poem simultaneously incorporates the architectural techniques above and intensifies an exploration of probability. The ensuing stanzas' overlap of architecture and statecraft is apropos since the Tudor regime commissioned many of the surviving architectural images as a part of far-reaching plans for war or commerce. Spenser himself, as an aide to the governor of the colonial project in Ireland, would have seen the preparation and implementation of these plans first hand.[60] But in Spenser's day this connection

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[60] For an example of a fort in Armagh see MS British Library Cotton Augustus I. ii. 32.

between state and architectural plans was new and strange, and not a simple metaphor of control. The connection between the two, I want to suggest in this section, is only linear in retrospect. In the moment these plans are crafted, the connection between different sorts of plotting was strange and destabilizing. I'll start first by giving an overview of counsel and its connection to architecture to broaden the scope of the Subjunctive Aestehtic, before turning back to Spenser's advisors and seeing how they work with the anachronism, space, and probability outlined in these discourses.

In early modern government discourses of counsel, the self-consciousness anachronism of projection often announced itself with vehement denial of provisionality that is reflected by current understandings of planning. When a monarch or a lord decided on a plan of action, no matter how complex, it was generally described as an "Act" or an "order" as when Henry VIII and his Parliament declared the various "Act of Succession." These plans were granted the status of law, but they altered repeatedly as the political and personal situation of the monarch shifted. No matter how speculative or contingent these plans might be, they were understood to be efficacious even while the creator or other agents might modify them to suit their will. These devices and plots were couched in terms of "If…then" statements, or delivered as the best course of action in what "should," "shall," or "might be" done.[61] In terms of language, these acts and

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[61] An example from the Third Act of Succession: "His Majesty therefore thinketh convenient afore his departure beyond the seas, that it be enacted by His Highness with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons in this present parliament assembled and by authority of the same, and therefore be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case it shall happen the king's majesty and the said excellent prince his yet only son Prince Edward and heir apparent, … then the said imperial crown and all other the premises shall be to the Lady Mary, the king's Highness' daughter, and to the heirs of the body of the same Lady Mary." Bailey, Alred. *The Succession to the English Crown* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1879), 130. Queen Elizabeth's first speech to Parliament clarifies that she will rely on "counsel," from "advisors," much like Alma. But even this counsel is enumerated into provisional steps, "And for counsel and advice I shall accept you of my nobility, and such others of you the rest as in

orders are plans that relate directly to architectural plans, occupying a mental space comprehensible as both practice and theory, moving through the same perceptual mode the counsel of Alma's house.

Modern historical discourses have previously had difficulty in detecting the probabilistic makeup in the comprehensibility of an Act, Order, or any kind of governmental device. If events proceed in a manner unforeseen or unforeseeable from the moment of utterance, historians have been tempted to call an Act a mere failed fantasy—or in Philip Sidney's terms a "poetic" conceit that "nothing affirmeth, and therefore nothing lieth." In contrast, historians usually grant special status to a well-executed Act that passing time reveals as prescient, believing it to be historical description, such as Elizabeth's provision settlement of the English National Church as neither staunchly Protestant nor quite Catholic. Because looking backwards allows viewing governmental acts as either failed or successful implementation, historians and critics have often associated them with various versions of linear histories—now generally summarized as Whiggish. Although there may be problems with Whiggish histories, I emphasize that the Acts of Succession or the Act of Settlement are neither operational fictions nor historical facts, but probable narratives that remain in that mode despite our attempts to contextualize these artifacts in those terms. Several historians have recently noted the difficulties in pronouncements of teleology, insisting for, example that the Elizabethan settlement of religion was not a settlement at all, but a deferral or argument powered by the monarch's fiat.[62] I want to add that the open-ended plan format of Elizabeth's act is not some dream of a *via media* English Protestantism or

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consultation I shall think meet and shortly appoint." Elizabeth. *Collected Works*. Ed. Leah Marcus, Muller, Janel, and Rose, Mary Beth. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000. 52.
[62] Lake, Peter. "Puritanism, (Monarchical) Republicanism, and Monarch; or John Whitgift, Antipuritanism, and the "Invention" of Popularity. *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*. 40:3, (Fall 2010), 463-495.

an historical fact described post mortum, but rather a device that attempts to navigate multiple

outcomes at once. The choice to emphasize historical action over the Subjunctive Aesthetic leads

us to imagine her Act as fact or counter-fact, when probability is actually the most satisfying

means of understanding how people experienced these texts. At the same time that these texts are

not as factual as some discourses would have them, though, I also think they illustrate the

practical government effects of the Aesthetic.

These government plans make things happen, and in the case of Henry VIII's issue or the

settlement of the church, can describe an ongoing process. But even once a person or group

undertakes an action, its plan—no matter how well followed—never becomes as reliable as a

description.[63] Its status remains akin to a strong suggestion for one choice among a group of

others. A plan, even when complete, remains in its own representational category that is not

fictional, but subjunctive. The Subjunctive Aesthetic in government discourses then, then is also

defined by this representational movement through probability, wherein we project ourselves,

others, and objects into an imagistic or rhetorical alternative that can approach but will not

seamlessly reconnect to ontology or epistemology. It can sometimes act as a bridge between a

piece of fiction or a fact, but in early modern England it more often moves through narratives all

its own. The transition from Elizabeth's reign to James is defined by uncertainty, doubt, and

plotting, and terrifies some while providing others with a moment to alter competing narratives

for directing new policy.[64]

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[63] The law, construed as an operational fiction, intersects in many ways with the way I construe
the continuum between acts and counsel. Kantorowicz, Ernst's *The King's Two Bodies*, even
suggests the multiplicity of forward thinking laws. But the relationship between deliberation and
law is outside the scope of this dissertation.
[64] Collinson, Patrick. "The Elizabethan Exclusion Crisis and the Elizabethan Polity."
Proceedings of the British Academy, 84. 51-92

These textual Acts and Orders have visual equivalents that demonstrate the range that we can also see in archtiecture. Modern representations of Henry VIII's Succession, for example, are often represented with a genealogical diagram that flattens time to represent a certain narrative of dynasty. Painters in the early modern era also attempted a similar flattening of time for similar reasons, although their possible progressions displayed a more extensive engagement with multiple possibilities. Monarch portraits, for example, suggested the rightful heir by placing a smaller portrait of Henry VIII within paintings of Edward, Mary, or Elizabeth— reaching through time to emphasize a certain vector of providence. Just as the Act of Succession shakes loose from fixed temporal loci in favor of multiple possibilities of ascent to the throne, images of the royal family also mingle multiple narratives in a single projection. For example, Henry's family portrait from the 1540s commissioned by Catherine Parr:

Fig. 4.[65]

The image reveals a throne room, resembling the cross-section from the various architectural pieces published in the era. Like Spenser's pillars of Alma's house, masculinity and femininity sit "twixt" the pillar's surrounding Henry's throne. But the image describes the royal family. In a substitution from another time, Jane Seymour, who is dead, replaces Parr (Henry's wife at the

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[65] The Family of Henry VIII, c. 1543-1547. Unknown artist, after Holbein. Hampton Court Palace. Oil on Canvas.

time of commission), at the left hand of the King. All possible successors to the throne appear in the image, with Edward at the right hand, and Mary and Elizabeth flanking the throne, reflecting the provisions of the Third Act of Succession. Probability of inheritance becomes distance, but is also combined by the anachronistic calling up of the dead Seymour. The image not only combines intermingling probabilities in the same visual field like Great Yarmouth, but also directly connects the representation to an architectural cross-section. Furthermore, this famous fresco is altered at least once in the course of Henry's shifting heirs, reflecting the changing of the various orders of succession, of the various ways the state plots the future.

Later images move away from the explicit connection of architecture with statecraft, although the concerns remain similar. These images also try and diagram succession with space, although in different iterations. This portrait from 1597 shows how politically multiplicitous the Subjunctive Aesthetic can be.

Fig. 5.[66]

Here, as in the earlier image, full-grown monarchs mingle across time, with a succession from left to right that mimics the experience of reading a story. No longer does each heir's parents appear—now only monarchs mingle in the visual field, possibly to emphasize the direct lines of the throne. If this is the case, however, Mary I's absence from the gathering is striking even at the moment the portrait is crafted. Her omission can presumably be explained because that particular monarch no longer fits the new Protestant political dispensation for Elizabeth's state. Some of the most famous images in the National Portrait Gallery in London preserve several of these portraits. Most suppress the possibility of a reversion to a Catholic monarch by combining images of Prince Edward and Elizabeth, or Elizabeth and Henry VIII. Some of Mary omit the young Edward. The self-conscious possibility of the regime moving in a different direction is palpable not just in the intermingling dynastic connections in the images, but also in the omission of certain importune counter-possibilities, such as Mary. These images aren't directly tied to plans, but they inhabit the Subjunctive Aesthetic. They can omit politically passé subjects such as Mary even while calling up dead ones, such as Henry and Edward. The anachronistic clustering of figures in space evokes all of these probable options, forcing a viewer to make their own calculations. But the images are also strange. They're not separate portraits, but single portraits, and the appearance of the dead in their frames calls up their ghosts. Partly, this haunting comes from the way the portraits make monarchs plastic, physically alterable to fit policy. Yet the images also make these alternate dynasties disposable or replaceable like Mary. They too are palimpsests of probable narratives.

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[66] Henry VIII, Elizabeth I, and Edward VI, 1597. Oil on Panel. Unknown Artist.Art Institute of Chicago.

In the above image, the three figures standing in the throne room suggest proper

leadership of the kingdom in a defined space. The space of the throne room calls up anachronism

to achieve a direction, to unpack a narrative through probability. Although the fact that there are

three monarchs in the image is likely a coincidence, the ghostly mixing of dead and living

sovereigns resonates with Alma's three advisors. Unlike the above image, however, Alma's

advisors from different periods of time live in separate rooms. As in Henry VIII's image of

succession, architecture centers the scene when Alma's most important advisors first appear, as

readers arrive at central turret. In this central turret, the narrator points out the "Turrets frame"

and the "roof arched overhead" (2.9.29). "Frame" repeats the word used in the initial description

of Alma's walls, and calls up once again the outline of a building plot. But expanding the

connection to counsel, the tower can also "frame" the advisors. This central spot is where Alma

holds court and where the overwhelmed narrator excuses his failure to represent the tower's

"great workemanship" (2.9.47). Despite the claim of failure, the term "workemanship"

reappears, a word also used to describe Alma's walls. Continuing the language defined in the

introduction to Alma's walls, architecture and counsel come together.

The people who live in the tower are the most fleshed-out characters in the sequence,

measured by the number of lines the poem spends on them. Inside the tower's frame, Alma's

three counselors advise her on how to best operate her estate. Critics following an allegorical

reading view these advisors as the brain of Alma's house, with each representing different parts

of the mind. This reading is bolstered by character names like Phantastes, which corresponds to

fantasy or imagination.[67] These parallels of the parts of the mind establish a framework; the

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[67] Several critics argue the advisors are matched up with parts of the brain/mind. Forebrain, mid-brain, and back-brain correspond to imagination, perception, and memory. These readings tend to elide the temporal elements of each advisor. See Robert L. Reid, "Spenserian Psychology and

complexity of Spenser's description quickly muddies this division. In addition to their allegorical status as parts of the brain, the advisors also know the past, present, or future. The characters advise their ruler and have a special relationship to the spaces they inhabit. These attributes derive from the characters' status as planners. Like an architectural plot, counsel self-consciously mediates between imagining and acting. The poem insinuates the architectural connection situating each counselor in a defined room. Yet despite the promise of partition offered by well-defined rooms, blending of space and time—not separation—underlies the way the advisors interact. In fact, their rooms come to define the connection between space, time, and probability, beginning with an advisor who generally looks to the future:

> The first of them could things to come foresee:
> The next could of things present best aduize;
> The third things past could keepe in memoree,
> So that no time, nor reason could arize,
> But that the same could one of these comprize.
> For thy the first did in the forepart sit,
> That nought mote hinder his quicke preiudize:
> He had a sharpe foresight, and working wit,
> That neuer idle was, ne once could rest a whit. (2.9.49)

In this space, a category of time seems to occupy a single room, as indicated by the equivalence of the spatial "forepart" of the first counselor's room and the potential of "foresight." This equivalence begins a correspondence for each room with past, present, and future.

The subsequent stanzas do not maintain this clear correspondence of space and time, however, but keep pushing multiplicity. Setting up the growing multiplicity and hearkening back to Alma's walls, the verbs that initiate the lines above like "could…foresee," "could…advise," and "could keepe," define an imaginative space of probable actions. Similarly, in the following stanzas "infinite shapes of things dispersed" cover the walls of the room. Unexpectedly for the

the Structure of Allegory in Books 1 and 2 of 'The Faerie Queene'." *Modern Philology* 79.4 (1982), 359-375.

room's supposedly future-orientated space, the space also contains the present and the past: "Some daily seene, and knowen by their names, / Such as in idle fantasies doe flit:/ Infernall Hags, *Centaurs*, feendes, *Hippodames*,/ Apes, Lions, Ãigles, Owles, fooles, louers, children, Dames" (2.9.49-50). Time collapses, and for a moment, it is difficult to escape the suggestion that lovers, children, and dames are imaginary constructions as "Centuars" are. Instead of the fantastic suggestion of these beings, however, this room's more ontologically trustworthy "fooles" and "lovers" introduce a continuum of probability. The imagery blends the possible and the impossible together in this space of planning, in a more pronounced version of Henry or Elizabeth's portraits that call up the likely heir and the ghosts of the dead. In Spenser's space, probable activities mingle alongside improbable or impossible fantasies like Centaurs. The room contains the projections of "idle thoughts and fantasies, Deuices, dreames, opinions vnsound, Shewes, visions, sooth-sayes, and prophesies; And all that fained is, as leasings, tales, and lies" (2.9.51). In fact, the counselor living here "mad or foolish seemed." The room of the future describes a wide range of probability and combines self-conscious truth and falsehood. Bolstering this confusion and bringing our attention back to a representation of space, flies buzz in the air of Phantastes' room, making the empty spaces of the room visually palpable but potentially obscuring the homogeneity of the room's space with moving clusters and clouds.

This is the room the reader might be tempted most strongly to associate with governance or planning, and the space that introduces the advisors. Phantastes at least partially knows the future, and yet his space is confused. The confusion embodied by the flies is partially explained as the uncontrollable operations of imagination, or the idle thoughts necessary to give rise to useful ideas. Yet beyond this explanation, the confusion of the flies, like the confusing combination of imagery in Phantastes' room, isn't really confusion at all. Here, in this space,

physically filled with the erratic movements of flies and the intermingling of "fantasies"

alongside "shapes daily seen," is where planning for the future happens. Instead of focusing only

on the future, multiple narratives, even multiple time periods, can coexist here. Spenser initially

claims that the advisors live in "three rooms" that are "sundry" (2.9.48). But the clean separation

suggested by these divisions stands in tension with the confusion drawn on the walls and the air

filled with flies. The buzzing flies give palpable contours to probability as a faint cloud of

moving points. Like the Yarmouth image's activity, the flies occupy the room's potential

iterations through an indistinct and yet visible motion. In their mapping of probability onto space

they seem like the quantum cloud of electrons around an atom, only hundreds of years out of

time. But the frame of the room is important. The imagery of their movement renders the room

of planning as a hazy space filled with intermingling probable narratives.

The other rooms continue and heighten the blended range of foresight. In contrast to

Phantastes' well-explored dwelling, very little of the unnamed present advisor's room receives

description. The lack of a name is the first indicator that this room is unique. Alma shows her

guests the paintings on the room's walls of "magistrates" and various other symbols of justice,

and its "man of ripe and perfect age,/ who did them meditate all his life long, /That through

continual practice and usage, He now was grown right wise" (2.9.54). "Now," emphasizes the

advisor's connection to the present. Considering Spenser's Letter to Raleigh appended to *The*

Faerie Queene, where a mixed form of theory and practice is praiseworthy, Spenser's

description of the counselor as one who "meditates" and "practices" also recalls the narrative

mediation between thought and action in planning. Further heightening the sensation of

probability, Alma hurries Arthur and Guyon through to the final room of the past despite their

desire to see more. The room remains an unfulfilled desire, offering a physical space that the

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narrator never enters. In fact, he calls it "full" (2.9.54). In this fullness and unarticulated description, the room recalls the initial description of the house's walls. The room is between past and future, but Spenser can only gesture to what this means by referencing a perverse denial of desire. Recent critics have noted Guyon's homoerotic potential, and the frustrated desire and denied description connects to a similarly queer appeal of the also unrepresented Alma.[68] Indeed, this ushering along marks her last appearance in the stanzas. Like her appearance, the room stays obscured and becomes a charged desire shared by Arthur, Guyon, and narrator. They can never obtain their desire, but must instead revel in the impossibility of achieving satisfaction by imagining what might be. Yet this is not end, but an occasion for more narratives of desire. In the queerly defined lacuna of this mostly unseen room, much like a blank space on an architectural plan, the balanced knowledge of perfect governance potentially exists. Yet this is the one moment in Alma's house that readers never receive an explicit depiction or description of this potential. The room contains multiplicity in a way that cannot be visually mapped or recounted in narrative. In contrast with other descriptions where space and time mingle together to represent probability, undiluted probability resides inside this room.

The obscurely glimpsed images on the room's walls only hint at the raw potential contained inside the space. The depictions of magistrates and judges are totalizing, in Spenser's words expressing "all artes, all science, all Philosophy" (2.9.53). Even the spatial context in the tower reinforces the room's multiplicity. The room passes so quickly that it can only define its status based on our confusing encounter with Phantastes' potential futures, and what readers eventually come to see in the room of the past. The room of the present does not instruct or educate by itself, but rather does so by spatially standing between confusing projections from the

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[68] Jeff Tolvin, "Panic's Castle," 15, hints at the homosexual undertones of Guyon's story, as he is the only wandering knight with no lady.

future with what will presumably be a more trustworthy and stable narrative of history in the room of the past. The blank room offers an anachronistic pivot of possibility between the past and future.

Eumnestes, the final counselor, sits in a room "ruinous and old, And therefore removed far behind, Yet were the wals, that did the same uphold, / Right firm and strong, though somwhat they declined" (2.9.55). The mention of the "ruinous" old room establishes a fundamental connection between architectural and temporal categories. Renaissance architectural prints based on proportions and rational principles sprang from Classical sources. The ancient Roman ruins found in Europe provided another type of information. Using these remains and the remaining narratives culled from Vitrivius, writers like Palladio reconstructed what they believed the buildings looked like. As they did so, they reconstructed the space of the past by extrapolating from existing parts of it. This reconstruction extended space backwards through time via a spatial calculation of probability. Playing with this architectural possibility, Spenser's sequence gives a poetic equivalent of the architectural reconstructions. In the description of the last room, spatial orientation ("behind") becomes linked in a causal relationship ("therefore") to the past ("old"). Through a manipulation of probability, time becomes a space behind readers.

In the three advisors' rooms, temporal movement meet spatial representation so that probabilities can be put into dialogue and advise the ruler of the house, to define a general direction. Although each room claims to associate with one particular category among past, present, and future, each room also contains things that currently exist, have existed in the past, or might come to be. Each space contains fictional and non-fictional images existing alongside each other. Initially aligning with the categories of linear time, the section then blends categories of time together through a defined physical proximity and a mingling of multiple probable

narratives. Characters and readers can go between the rooms. The ability to spatially move between categories of time in Alma's house reflects the Tudor orders of succession or their imagery in Elizabeth and Henry's portraits. It also calls up the Great Yarmouth image, as different probabilities mix. Multiple categories of time exist simultaneously in the same central tower because the advisors must sort through myriad probabilities to define a plan. By spatializing time in their rooms, Spenser draws on and makes explicit the assumptions behind early modern architecture. Time and space no longer define narrative but instead become categories that the multiple probable narratives of planning can manipulate. Eumnestes' room of the past, like the other advisors' rooms, blends categories of time and finds multiplicity within them. But here, unlike the other two rooms, we will see the confluence of history and allegory with planning.

Returning to my plan for this chapter, the initial lines have become more fixed. We now see how architecture allows for space and time to coalesce and even collapse into probability around Alma's advisors. In arriving at this point, however, the figure projected from my initial plan has expanded, coming to include probable details that initially seemed obscure or conflicting. My argument, like Alma's house, has paradoxically become a container and vehicle for a potential that moves beyond containment and linear movement. In the next section we will see how characters and genres from other parts of the poem inhabit the structure that the poem has made.

Putting Up the Bookshelves: How Planning Mediates Between Allegory and History

After Arthur and Guyon finally enter the room of the past there are more stanzas than in the other rooms combined. Inside, a blind old man with all the moth-eaten knowledge of the past

sits contemplating history. Here, the knights read a pair of books in genres that complement and

connect with each other though the multiplicity of planning. Guyon and Arthur pick up two

books called *Antiquitie of Faerie Lond* and *Briton Monument* from their neighboring positions on

a shelf. Both claim to be histories, but *Faerie Lond* takes the magical Fae as its purview while

Briton Monument describes more commonplace fare, such as Brutus and the various kings of

England. Both titles have some similarities, as *Faerie Lond*'s title again offers a specific place as

a marker of narrative while *Briton Monument*'s label re-emphasizes the connection of these texts

to the process of building. As Arthur and Guyon read, the text jumps to a new canto, separate

from the descriptions of Alma's house. The new canto reinforces the notion of poetically

entering yet another space, just as Arthur and Guyon entered each counselor's room. This is not

an entirely novel development, as space often defines the visual presentation of poetry—stanza is

Italian for "room." Spenserian Alexandrines in particular take a signature shape on the page. But

Spenser develops this new space to tell two sequential narratives that simultaneously open up a

range of probable narratives. The poem connects the two books of history and allegory through

the context and mechanisms of planning.

Reflecting the reader's movement through the rooms of each counselor, the poetic space

of Arthur's book moves backward through time as the narrative of *The Faerie Queen* moves

ahead. *Briton Monument* summarizes the pagan history of England, but stops before arriving at

the person of its reader:

> After him *Vther*, which *Pendragon* hight,
> Succeding There abruptly it did end,
> Without full point, or other Cesure right,
> As if the rest some wicked hand did rend,
> Or th'Authour selfe could not at least attend
> To finish it: that so untimely breach
> The Prince him selfe halfe seemeth to offend,

Yet secret pleasure did offence empeach,
And wonder of antiquitie long stopt his speech (2.10.68)

At the close of the text and the arrival at Arthur's present moment, *Briton Monument* opens up

radical conceptions of probability, where Arthur is internally divided by his pleasure with the

"offence" and the "breach" in history's linear sequential narrative. The pun on Arthur's name

with "Or th'Authour selfe could not at least attend to finish it" plays on the confusion of identity

brought on by the moment—is Arthur an author or a character? The pun's mixed identity for

Arthur combines active and passive elements. Reading becomes a kingly activity of meaning

making and yet a passive experience of interpretation. The mixture of passive and active reading

parallels Lauren Silberman's argument that the section mediates theory and practice. In the space

between active and passive, the counsel of history that Arthur finds, like other forms of planning,

calls upon intention but also opens up that intent to range around even the most established line

of dynastic succession.

The stanza above dramatizes this range of probable narratives, making their multiplicity a

privileged aesthetic site of self-reflection. Arthur's "secret pleasure" at the break in the text, by

the lack of "Cesure right," is opened up by defined absence, much like the blank space on an

architectural plan, or Alma's undefined advisor of the present. The word "Cesure" makes clear

that the temporal/spatial divisions between the rooms of the past and present advisors are also

poetic divisions between the past and the present of historical narrative via a metrical pause. The

pause encodes the pleasure of an uncertain future through poetry, and also through the masterful

denial of expectation. But Spenser connects this poetic pleasure to the proliferation of narrative

possibilities within a fixed linear history. Here on the edges of history and literature, where a

fictional character reads what early modern historians would define as historical narrative,

Arthur takes pleasure in the "wonder of antiquitie" as he takes chivalric pleasure in the

wanderings of errantry. Although Arthur may experience pride at the established sequence of things, the break also suggests he can thrill at the probable next steps for an uncertain dynasty.

The *Monument*'s caesura is ironically poignant and personal for the character reading the history, because as romance readers know, in this moment Arthur finds a secret joy in the lack of surety while he does not yet know his own future. In fact, he only recently discovered he fills the place occupied by the caesura as Uther's son. For readers who know the Arthurian cycles, who know how Arthur eventually fills this caesura and assumes leadership over what promises to be the defining British dynasty, his pleasure becomes increasingly incongruous. In many of the Arthurian cycles, and in the most popular version of its day—Mallory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*— Arthur's reign ends with a break in the line of British kings.[69] Arthur may return in England's hour of need, but Mallory has a foreign king succeed Arthur. Even this potentially problematic succession takes place only after Arthur kills Mordred, his legitimate and yet incestuous heir, in the same battle where he receives his own mortal wound. Regardless of which version of the tale that comes next, all versions of the Matter of Britain end with a disastrous break in the orderly rule of the kingdom. Thus, in one reading, Arthur takes pleasure in the unknown possibilities, not realizing that at its core this break in the book of history may ruin the goals of his dynastic plans.

The suggestion that Arthur's pleasure is "secret" provides another tantalizing reading. Although Arthur may believe that history ideally moves along a linear and providential dynasty, he also recognizes that such projections can never be reliable. God's plan for a kingdom is unknowable, and human plans for the future always bring with them multiple probable narratives that may work against even the most reliable dynastic succession. "Long antiquitie" impresses him but does not silence Arthur. The multiplying of probable next steps in his reign "stopt" him,

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[69] Even Mallory's text contains two options when it comes to the crown, however, as the Christ-like Arthur is possibly dead but also possibly still alive in another world, waiting to return.

while also instilling a hidden enjoyment in these counter-possibilities. This text in the room of the past, where history meets counsel, is multiply occupied by mingling points of view and perceptions of what is probable. Spenser exploits the potentials to tie history and theory as his letter to Raleigh also claims. But by tying the forms together, Spenser requires his readers, including Arthur, to calculate their own probabilities. In one possible future, Arthur does not die or leave the kingdom—he makes the utopian Briton promised in one possible future. Or more radically, perhaps Arthur thrills at the possibility of his own death. At this moment, the border between theory and praxis becomes reworked through a connection of past and present, with a suggestion of pleasure in the multiple probable outcomes for the future, even in the violently self-destructive ones.

One objection to this reading of multiplicity is that the end of *Briton Monument*'s cliffhanger cannot be defined as a breach, since it could not conceivably continue and still be called a history. This argument would claim that Arthur and Guyon could not read a book of antiquity's wonders that also recounts the future of their kingdom in the same text in the same style. The next stanzas address this concern by suggesting a multiplicity from a complementary and yet separate genre. In the next stanza, Guyon picks up and reads a history of Faerie Land. This history stands adjacent to *Briton Monument,* on the same shelf—their covers separating their physical space much like the room's of Alma's advisors border each other— and actually continues into Arthur and Guyon's future, albeit a future as askew to linear time as *Briton Monument*. Ostensibly the work tells of the genealogy of Fae Kings and Queens. But its final strains tell a modified version of the Tudor succession:

> The wise *Elficleos* in great Maiestie,
> Who mightily that scepter did sustayne,
> And with rich spoiles and famous victorie,
> Did high aduaunce the crowne of *Faery*:

He left two sonnes, of which faire *Elferon*
The eldest brother did vntimely dy;
Whose emptie place the mightie *Oberon…*
He dying left the fairest *Tanaquill*,
Him to succeede therein, by his last will (2.10.75-6)

In the allegorical reading of this moment, Elficleos is Henry VII with his two sons. In a literary-

praxis resonance, the eldest son, Elferson corresponds to Henry VII's son Arthur. Much like

King Arthur, Henry's son dies and leaves Henry VIII to succeed, and from thence to Tanaquill

(Queen Elizabeth, the Faerie Queene). Thus, the book predicts the future beyond Arthur while

simultaneously telling of an alternate world of the Fae. Neither fiction nor history describes this

use of allegory, nor does prophecy or prediction accurately describe the tale told here since the

book is still a history. In its alternate account of Elizabeth's genealogy, the book self-consciously

skips over or purposefully omits several reigns, most notably Mary's and Edward's. The book

treats time as malleable and contingent.

Placing this historical allegory in the land of the Fae beside the book of a more

established and reliable *Briton Monument* repeats the suggestion that probability alters a linear

progression of time. In Eumnestes' books, history and allegory connect, blend, and begin to

define each other. The moment almost predicts Paul Riceour's claims that the trustworthiness of

history is vouched for by literature's fictionality, as history defines fiction in return. Yet as Mary

Poovey argues in *A History of the Modern Fact,* early modern fiction and fact have not split from

each other. Instead of an anachronistic reading, in the history of the Fae, readers have a narrative

form that triangulates the dichotomy of history and allegory. The context and content of Guyon's

book suspend the two categories by combining them, opening up a space for the conditional

removal or replacement of events or reigns but without abandoning the framework completely.

Bolstering the suggestion of a range of probabilities within history, the books are also meant to

help guide Alma's government in the future. In doing so, the book of the Fae predicts a future beyond the narrative of the *Faerie Queene.* As Arthur's experience shows, these futures are not linear. As they move in a range, they offer the potential for excitement, but they also suggest contingency as an important element of historical texts even in the context of instruction and counsel, much as Spenser describes in his letter to Raleigh.

The two books in the room of the past, and in particular the hybrid history-allegory book of the Fae, are the generic crystallization of architectural narratives. The books reiterate the architecture of the advisors' rooms. Each of Alma's sages uses the categories of past, present, and future to define his use to Alma's state, but each operates in an area where these temporal categories no longer go in one direction. In going backward through the temporal categories of the rooms, readers arrive in a book that moves forward through an allegorical history. But the shift can easily be reversed if we face a different direction and read *Briton Monument*. Spenser places the history of the Fae alongside the book of history because in Alma's realm architecturally inflected projection becomes the primary perceptual filter for the characters. All periods of time are literally on the shelf and available to read as readers contemplate intermingling probabilities. When we think of architecture as we compare *Briton Monument* to the Book of the Fae, what "should be" and what "might best be" seem to make sense as distinct modes of thought. The allegorical text of the Fae treats all events as contingent, even in the past, and offers Tanaquil as the reign that should be. Arthur's linear history that seems to progress in a straight line nonetheless offers a range of options for what might best be. In this way, Arthur seems to be struggling with and against providence, and an entire field of law and religion called up by the Divine Right theory of kingship. In the next section, I will draw out what the

Subjunctive Aesthetic's resistance to clear teleology means for early modern religious and political thinkers who would try and work through probability.

Planning, Philosophy, Providence: Potential Inhabitants of the Subjunctive Aesthetic

In the second section of this chapter, I associated images of probable and improbable dynasty with the Subjunctive Aesthetic. In particular, I fastened on the group of images that omit Mary because she no longer fits a particular goal—the Protestant narrative arc of dynasty. Yet the dissonance and gaps between various visions of the future contained in versions of the image does not deny the conception of a progressive and linear timeline, but rather interacts with it. Calling Elizabeth's haunted genealogy a plan would be reductive. The images also rely on the conception of Providence. Providence underlies the way the royal transfer of authority works in the period. Arthur and Guyon's twin history books also suggest that the concept of providence requires some unpacking. Biblical Providence is traditionally mysterious, often inscrutable. I think, however, that the Subjunctive Aesthetic reveals another means of approaching providence—by contrasting it with planning. In this section I view moments where the conception is troubled not by failed interpretation, but by the doubt of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. By doing so I do two things. I argue that the Subjunctive Aesthetic is capable of haunting providence, of suggesting an alternate form that denies linearity and certainty. I also outline the widespread importance of the Aesthetic for defining early modern conceptions of practicality in both religious and political philosophies.

Providence has widespread importance in Europe, but divine Providence is arguably more important for the English monarchs as the heads of a new church church. Early modern thinkers including Machiavelli, Queen Elizabeth, King James, and John Calvin do not just use

the term Providence, they attempt to define its operations and adjust their own actions to their

perceptions of how it unfolds. Providence also figures prominently in other parts of the *Faerie*

Queene, especially at moments such as Book I when the holy hermit helps to foil Archimagos'

plots against the Redcrosse Knight. However, Providence is even more important in Spenser's

poetic predecessor, Ariosto, who peppers his version of the romance, *Orlando Furioso*, with

eventually confirmed reveals of long-term dynasties and narrative arcs. In a more explicitly

religious register, Calvin and Calvinism in particular have become stereotypically associated

with an obsessive focus on Providence. In the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* Calvin devotes

an entire chapter on discussing Providence, which seems to state in no uncertain terms that, "all

things are ordained by the purpose and certain disposition of God" and denies the existence of

chance, fortune, and contingency.[70] Calvin rails against the widespread acceptance of chance,

directly calling the response to associate contingency with events with the carnal—"reason of the

flesh."[71]

   I do not have the space to delve deeply into his writings, nor do I think it is necessary to

do so. But it is important to keep Calvin's discussion of fortune in mind when thinking about

how the Subjunctive Aesthetic and Divine Providence because he illustrates the way probability

haunts the religiously mandated progression of history. His description of Providence is not

isolated. It has a widespread effect on English understandings of Providence and projection in

the Tudor and Stuart eras.[72] Although Calvin repeats that God's ways are inscrutable to the

intellect of man, and that the future is known, established, and governed by God, he still tries to

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[70] Calvin, John. *The Institution of the Christian Religion.* (Imprinted at London : By Thomas Vautrollier for William Norton, 1578), 79. There are earlier translations into English, but most are abridged.
[71] Ibid. 69.
[72] Elizabeth translated Ch. 1 of the *Institutes* and James was very familiar with Scottish Presbyterianism's obsession with Calvin.

comprehend the directions of creation and apply them in his own devices. Thinking his way into

an understanding of God requires human conceptions. The way he puts God's operations into

language, in the quote above and elsewhere, is by comparing "purpose" and "certain

disposition." There is a similarity between the two terms, but it is not a comfortable one.

Purpose, as with Alma's advisors, architecture, and the various state orders of the period, is more

closely related to the Subjunctive Aesethetic than a certain disposition.

We can see this difference in the Latin as well. The word translated as "counsel" is

"consilium," a word meaning thought or consideration—a word often translated as "plot" or

"device" when Vitrivius and other architects come into English.[73] Yet despite the division of

certainty and counsel, Calvin's description and his practice suggests how uncomfortably close

they are. Like the way Vitrivius draws on divine shapes for his buildings, Calvin draws out his

Institutes from rational Providence and applies them to life in Geneva and the organization of the

church. He imagines that the "arrangement" of creation is in some way detectable, and can be

mimicked by institutional orders of government, that they can be counseled into the proper form.

Yet his suggestion that fortune remains a persistent threat of the sinful, embodied reason, also

suggests that eroticized bodies have a relationship to the purpose and counsel of consilium that

queers a straightforward movement of Providence, even as they remain inextricably connected.

Much of Divine Right theory propounded in the early 17th Century England, as James I does in

Basilikon Duron for example, suggests a similar tension between Providence and planning. Early

modern critics of Divine Right theory, many we might call Puritans, demanded a more

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[73]Calvin, John. *Institutio Christianae Religionis.* Vol. I (London: Black, Young, and Young, 1834), 141 "Dei consilio" is the phrase used.
The word is used for plan in Vitrivius: "Cum ergo haec ita fuerìnt primo constituta, et natura non solum sensihus omavisset gentes, quem admodum reliqua animalia, sed etiam cogitatìonibus et consiliis aìrmavisset mentes" *De Architectura* Book II, Chapter 1, 37.

egalitarian control of the church rely on "ways," "means," "schemes," and "device" they claimed to derive from Providence. In Calvin as in *Basilkon Duron*, however, Providence is certain, linear, and traceable. It is perfect. But the plots to achieve providence occupy a range of probabilistic narratives.

Arthur's reading experience as he encounters planning in Alma's house gives a similar suggestion that the subjunctive Aesthetic haunts visions of Providence. But this can also be gleaned from wider comparisons. In Book II of the *Faerie Queene* the operations of a rationally comprehensible god work through the knights, the hermit, and according to the narrator, in the design of the central tower of Alma's Hall where her three advisors reside. But the movements of divinity in Alma's House are not as transparent or important here as they are elsewhere, or at other similar moments in other Romance epics. In *Orlando Furioso,* for example, Ariosto describes the providential future of the Catholic Church with an extensive prophecy from the wizard Merlin that describes who will maintain the true church and how they will go about doing achieving the ends of Providence.[74] Here, however, Merlin's prophecy is in the stone of sculpture, seeming to solidify the future with material. Spenser's Merlin also makes a prophecy of Elizabeth's reign in Book III of the *Faerie Queene* that praises a wise God who constructs the glorious Tudor dynasty.In addition to Christian visions of the future, these prophecies hearken back to the Greek and Roman epics, especially Sybil's prophecy to Aeneas in the *Aeneid*. These prophecies, in contrast with Arthur's caesura, are not openly marked by probability. But they throw the way that the future works in Alma's House into sharp relief.

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[74] Ariosto, Ludovico. *Orlando Furioso,* XXVI.35. This sculpture of prophecy is also haunted by contingency. It depicts four monarchs battling the heresy of Protestantism, one of whom is Henry VIII, prior to his own break with the See of Rome. This plan within a prophecy thus hints at the range of options encoded in the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

Alma and her counselors have a bit more control over policy than a direct relationship to Providence because they engage a certain type of projection. This does not mean, however, that in early modern England there is a burgeoning separation between human will and divine foreknowledge, as the historian Reinhart Kosselleck claims. He argues that Western European thought moves from a space where God disposes and man proposes in the Medieval period, to one where human will dictates how the world will operate. Although in Alma's house divine providence may not hold the central importance it does in other moments where prophecy occurs, Providence still holds some sway over the ideology of the knights on quest and the ordering of this perfect realm. Although mediated through practice and Vitruvian neo Platonism, there is some sense of a fixed divinity that underwrites the multiplicitous efforts of planning. This divinity is not Calvin's, but it does bring Providence and planning uncomfortably close.

Machiavelli's political writings fill in the embattled relationship between Providence and architecture, giving the mirror image of Calvin's assumptions but also more concretely demonstrating probability's destabilizing effects on Providence. In his famous discussion of Fortuna and her vicissitudes, Machiavelli extends an ambivalent control over the path of history using a metaphor of a dyke. According to him, although a river may crash over the bounds, constructing a dyke can often lead to the mitigation of effects that seem to be outside human control. "I compare fortune to one of those violent rivers…Yet although such is their nature, it does not follow that when they are flowing quietly one cannot take precautions, constructing dykes and embankments so that when the river is in flood they would keep to one channel or their impetus be less wild and dangerous" (79). The design of earthworks can challenge, even if it does not overcome, this linear and one-directional force of time, a metaphor tied explicitly to recent political decisions; "If Italy had been adequately reinforced, like Germany, Spain, and

France, either this flood would not have caused the great changes it has, or it would not have swept in at all." The quotation connects the certainty of proceeding events in an agonistic relationship to architectural construction and subjunctive political discourse.

Although it initially seems like a straightforward comparison, the imbrications of control and non-control bolsters design as a means to queer the temporality of Providence. He construes the mental projection involved as masculine and Fortuna as feminine. If, as I argue, Fortuna is a secular equivalent to the direct and linear path of Providence, then this makes the stereotypically masculine dispensation of God into a feminine force of uncontrolled flooding that moves outside bounds. Yet policy can occasionally predict and mitigate the chaos of Fortuna's femininity with boldness, calling up a discourse of masculine artifice controlling and exploiting a feminine nature. Then comes another turn, as Machiavelli claims that ultimately this feminine figure can overwhelm even the most thoughtful mental edifices. Even without the bounds of dykes, Fortuna has a direction. Except the background of overwhelming possibility involved in planning eschews stereotypical gender norms. Providential fortuna seems to offer one direction, yet it also seems open to modification by human effort. The earthworks in Machiavelli's metaphor would outline a river, but also suggest that the river could go elsewhere, that it could buck the gendered terms of the metaphor. Certainty eludes. But the lack of a certain epistemology does not arrest political thought, but instead spurs it to be simultaneously active and passive in multiple ongoing Subjunctive explorations.

Victoria Kahn has traced an entire discourse based on *Machiavellian Rhetoric* that heightens the lines that run between Providence, Machiavelli, Calvin, and Divine Right theory. Although Kahn is more interested in other aspects of the discourse, an implicit and key point of Machiavelli's rhetoric involves expressing doubt and fear in the subjunctive mood while

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considering projected narratives. King James mentions reading Machiavelli closely in *Basilikon Duron*, but Queen Elizabeth's utilizes Machiavellian metaphors of statecraft much earlier in both public and personal writing. In her poem "The Doubt of Future Foes" Elizabeth engages doubt in the language of the Subjunctive. "Falsehood now doth flow / And subjects' faith doth ebb, / Which should not be if reason ruled / Or wisdom weaved the web."[75] The poem, like Machiavelli's handbook of prudence, associates reason with what should be done. Also as in Machiavelli, fortune becomes water, threatening to wash away the principality and overcoming "wisdom."

By the end of the poem, as Machiavelli does repeatedly in *The Prince*, decisive warlike action associated with historical precedent ("My rusty sword through rest / Shall first his edge employ"), will prevent the success of "Future Foes."[76] Yet despite the force and materiality of the design she describes, Elizabeth defines "hope supposed" as "the root of rue," and associates "doubt" with her "Foes" and their projections, ultimately promising "To pull their tops who seek such change / Or gape for future joy." Defining her foe's "future joy" as the problem, the narrator's final reliance on the "rusty sword" over the earlier "reason" is a strangely conservative promise to remain outside the pathways of planning, and thus remain free from guile. This is at odds with the planning that happens throughout the poem, but also forms a winking piece of propaganda since Elizabeth's spy network was exceedingly effective. In short, the poem is an attempt to rhetorically undermine other projections by insisting on the pragmatic nature of the narrators' own program—a Machiavellian rhetorical flanking maneuver, in Victoria Kahn's

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[75] I am quoting from modernized spellings of the Folger Library manuscript in *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*,133-4.
[76] A note in the *Collected Works* dates the poem to 1571 and associates it with the arrival of the fugitive Mary Queen of Scots in England.

terms (*Machiavellian Rhetoric*, 102).[77] In my terms, Elizabeth is attempting to decry opposing

engagements with the Subjunctive Aesthetic as fictitious, much like Henry VIII's earlier acts and

orders of succession. In doing so, her designs become Providence, omitting the undesirable

designs. In this, it resembles her portraits that reject Mary's claims to the throne. The poem,

however, makes clear that statecraft is capable of relying on the rhetoric of the Subjunctive

Aesthetic in order to justify itself. Doubt allows for a certain form of inspirational political

narrative. Providence is conceptually related and destabilized by the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

In this sense, the subjunctive aesthetic is the queer haunting of Providence's temporality.

In Carla Freccero's terms, queer forms eschew separation between time periods or engage in

forms of narrative that do not necessarily move in one consistent direction. There are multiple

narratives in one text and neither future nor past are clearly demarcated. For these philosophers,

rulers, and theologians, the future defined by providence becomes dangerously multiplicitous, as

it does for Arthur as he reads *Briton Monument*, but nonetheless is required to access Providence

in a specific way. More modern historians and critics have referred to the increasing absence of

direct supernatural intervention in Western European affair secularization, with all the goods and

ills that the concept brings to modernity. But the process of transferring providence from God to

history might also be a reaction to the multiplicity implied by the Subjunctive Aesthetic, of a

push to make the blurry triptych of history, plan, fantasy, fit a reductive dichotomy of fact or

fiction. Alma's house is a moment of design, and in contrast with moments of prophecy in

Spenser's poem or the Romantic tradition, occupies the hazy narrative-image range of the

Subjunctive Aesthetic.

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[77] I believe a similar calculated appearance is visible in her famous Speech at Tilbury as well.
The Collected Works, 325.

Spenser's sequence dwells in architecture and counsel before arriving at Arthur and Guyon's present historical moment, and in doing so renders the paths of history, allegory, and Providence compelling and muddled. Here, in Alma's house, where time becomes space inhabited by multiple probabilities, the structures of history and fiction are both in play but are not the only available narratives. The focus remains on the pleasures and pains of Guyon, Arthur, Alma's advisors, or readers, as each imagines how the patterns of history and allegory might be applied to policy. Audiences can secretly delight in this radical and dangerous possibility, as Arthur does, or recoil at the violent implications of the potential break occasioned by gaps in projective thinking, among many other options. As with Palladio's plot or the Great Yarmouth image, each reaction relies on having multiple probabilities in a single glance. Archimago, the architectural figure at the fore of this chapter, is not a figure of control. He is a narrator and draughtsman who gives readers a range of probabilities to engage and feel. His magic as a builder is the magic of multiplicity.

This chapter's criticism dwells inside the narratives of planning, inside this genre between history and allegory, inside architecture's simultaneously imagined and real spaces. Plans are a distinct form of narrative that treat probability as a factor in the interaction of time and space, a category of experience that people can calculate, represent, utilize, or find exhilarating. As the title of *Briton Monument* suggests, in certain contexts, such as in the hands of counselor or ruler, a book of history can also build an edifice, albeit of a different sort than a builder's plot. In addition, the book of the Fae demonstrates that sometimes a world populated by faeries imparts a calculated multiplicity as efficacious as a historical text. Probability allows readings such as Arthur and Guyon's, forcing an active navigation of what even careful critics might otherwise gloss as a self-evident text, a plotline, or a dead image. Alma's house tarries

with planning's range of possibilities and challenges critics to define our understanding of the

likely and unlikely in both literary and historical narratives by maintaining doubtful images and

narratives. Probability is difficult to trace, even in a plan wherein contingency announces itself as

constitutive. Nonetheless, Alma's house reveals that the effort to read probability is worthwhile.

As the narrative embraces a range of outcomes, defined narrative genres vibrate with potential to

generate an aesthetic experience where once there only seemed to be confusion and ambiguity.

Having defined the Subjunctive Aesthetic in Alma's out-of-the-way sequence, the next chapter

treats the Aesthetic as an integral component of narrative in *Paradise Lost*.

Chapter 2

Expecting Sin: Narrative Times and Agency

Paradise Lost is an epic about building and unbuilding, creating and destroying. In Book

VI and VII, for example, Milton takes a few lines of Genesis and expands them into hundreds of

lines of poetry, writing two entire books between the creation of the earth and the heavens. God's

creation, however, is not simply a mater of intoning Fiat Lux—"Let there be light"—and light

appearing. Even for a being of omnipotent power, the work God undertakes requires meaningful

effort, not just in execution, but also in design. God not only announces the divergent intention

and outcome for our world to his angels before he carries out his creation, he even uses "the

golden compasses…to circumscribe this universe, and all created things" (VII.225-7).[78] God is a

planner.

In a potentially baffling development though, God's planned creation isn't the first time

design and its products appear in *Paradise Lost*. Recall that Satan and his crew of fallen angels

build in a City in Hell based on the remembrance and imitation of the spires of heaven.

Immediately after building the city of Pandemonium, Satan calls a counsel in order to concoct a

new plan for how to deal with the fallen angels' newly demonic state. I could spend an entire

chapter analyzing the construction of Pandemonium, repeating the analytic techniques I used in

chapter one. But the Aesthetic is about more than just building plans. It is also about narrative

and historicity. It can alter the interpretation of an entire work. Many of the tensest and most

emotionally resonant passages in *Paradise Lost* deal with plans. Occasionally a reader familiar

with the Biblical story might know what will happen after these moments of planning, as when

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[78] Unless otherwise noted all *Paradise Lost* quotes from Milton, John. *Paradise Lost*. (Harlow,
UK: Pearson Longman, 2007).

Satan concocts his design for seducing Eve. But often readers are not privy to the specifics of Milton's expansion on the Biblical story. His audience may know the outcome of a design, but not how the poem's narrative will approach this endpoint. Even having seen the Biblical account of the world's history alongside Adam/in Eve's dream in Books XI and XII, for example, readers still watch Adam and Eve with poignant uncertainty as they choose their specific path out of Eden: "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.646-9). The quote is strange, as the two humans are solitary, hand in hand, and wandering as they try and deliberately choose their path. Multiple options are reconciled in this moment because planning's overlapping probabilities form an integral narrative component of *Paradise Lost*, doing so even at moments where outcomes seem clear.

This chapter takes the planning's temporal-spatial representation of probability to unpack the narrative forms engaged by and incorporated in *Paradise Lost* as a whole.[79] I argue that the Subjunctive Aesthetic mediates between historical and pre-historical narrative forms in *Paradise Lost*, centered on Sin's strange birth. In turn, I read back from the narrative structure of *Paradise Lost* to interrogate broader theories of history and prehistory using probability. Chapter 1 also made forays in this direction, but the Alma's house section was not integral to the narrative of *The Faerie Queene*. In contrast, planning is vital to *Paradise Lost*'s narrative, particularly at Sin's first appearance. Though my first chapter defined the mixture of image and narrative that defines the Subjunctive Aesthetic, the sources tended toward the spatial. This chapter more

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[79] Probability is important in *Paradise Lost*, as critics usually note. "The human moral universe in *Paradise Lost* becomes solidly grounded in the contingent and hence the probable." Pallister, William. *Between Worlds: The Rhetorical Universe of Paradise Lost* (Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 31. Pallister, is representative of criticism, in the sense that probability relates to philosophical concept of free will (via Rhetoric, for Pallister), not the narrative form of the poem.

closely approaches representations of time and narrative. This makes sense because a wide

temporal scope becomes the field for planning in *Paradise Lost*, in a way that transcends the

tight connection of time and space in the advisors' rooms in Alma's House. There are many

temporal scopes in the epic and I argue that the appearance of plans, projections, and the

language and imagery of planning at moments of tension between competing temporal

frameworks within Milton's poem is not a coincidence. Planning, as we saw in the last chapter,

offers a spatial-narrative form that can mediate categories of storytelling. In *Paradise Lost,*

probability bridges prehistory with a recorded Christian history. Providence, or God's knowledge

of the future, provides another means of connecting history and prehistory, as he views the

narrative from outside time. But Milton represents Providence through a contrast and comparison

with the non-divine plans of characters like Satan, Eve, the angels, and Adam. In summary, I

argue that the Subjunctive Aesthetic overlays history and prehistory with a range of potential

narratives that move in both forms of temporality.[80]

Pre-history and history and the contrast between the two will become apparent in my

reading of *Paradise Lost.* But some grounding will help to speed along my analysis. Primarily,

history connects to textually codified Biblical canon, while pre-history connects to oral tradition

and apocrypha. In the poem this division is reflected, connecting history to the human experience

of time and pre-history to the angelic experience of time. Only after the creation of Adam does

the poem and Satan's journey begin. Everything that happens prior to the creation of humans is

recounted in flashbacks and speeches. In terms of theoretical models and narrative definitions of

pre-history and history, I am drawing on several sources. One is Erich Auerbach's *Mimesis*. In it,

Auerbach contrasts the Hebrew Bible's episodes' "vertical connection, which holds them all

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[80] For a similar reading of Milton's poem as plural in voice see Belsey, Catherine. *John Milton: Language, Gender, Power* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1998).

together," with Homeric characters and stories who "appear to be of an age fixed from the very first."[81] To put his terms into metaphors of shape, the narrative shape of Biblical canon is linear while Homer's epics are imagistic and flat, like the narrative sequence on a Grecian urn. Although he is not explicit, there is also a sense in Aurerbach that Homer's fixed aged narratives align with pre-historic and oral traditions, while the Bible's written text is historic. In addition to Auerbach's narrative distinctions, I also draw on Paul Riceour's related notion that historical time is "configurational," that is, linear and imagistic. He contrasts this linear form with the episodic, "and then," type of narrative that can happen outside of these historical strictures, that he aligns with fiction.[82] Although he does not deal explicitly with pre-history, Riceour's contrast of history and narrative is more helpful than Auerbach's divisions between history and pre-history because Riceour imbricates the two categories of narrative. Fiction vouches for history's linearity and vice versa. Building on these two figures are the queer critiques of narrative forms and history, mounted by critics like Carla Freccero. Freccero demonstrates that history is always haunted by non-linearity, by anachronism. Similarly, I will argue that the way the history and pre-history connect is through probabilistic image-narratives of the Subjunctive Aesthetic, opening up a queer space for non-teleological readings.

Thus, this chapter includes a critique of a clear distinction between history and pre-history. This account aids in the larger critical project of contextualizing categorical divisions between historical and a-historical theories of subjectivity that I initiated in my last chapter. By contextualizing theory around the birth of Sin, this chapter use theory in a way that can redistribute agency among categories of people and things that do not currently have a status as

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[81] Auerbach, Erich. *Mimesis,* Trans. Williard R. Trask. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 17.
[82] Riceour, Paul. "Narrative Time." *Critical Inquiry* , Vol. 7, No. 1, On Narrative (Autumn, 1980). 178-9.

agents.[83] Probablistic movement between history and pre-history creates agents who would

otherwise not appear in historical chronologies. I focus on *Paradise Lost* for this reading because

the poem also stands on the edge of history and pre-history, not only in its content but also in its

style. In some ways the piece has elements of more modern texts such as psychological

interiority, and in others casts backward to a longer epic poem tradition. The text straddles the

border between generic epochs. *Paradise Lost*'s mixes religious and secular history with pre-

historical genealogy, constantly mediating the future, present, and past though subjunctive

imagining. On these grounds I make my argument that past alternatives can potentially disrupt

current theories of power structures by rethinking representations of probability.[84] This reading

in some ways construes Milton's text as partially or potentially heterodox, building on recent

notions of a heretical Milton.[85]

   I begin by outlining a working definition of history and prehistory as defined in Milton's

milieu and poem, drawing especially on Augustine and Aristotle's notions of temporality. Then,

I connect these temporal scopes with the background of providence. In the second section, I

analyze how the Subjunctive Aesthetic disturbs Providence's reconciliation of history and pre-

history while providing the narrative hinge between the two. To do so, I delve into the moment

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[83] For the implications of narrative on the understanding of subjects, also see Harris, Jonathan Gil. *Matter in the Time of Shakespeare.* 3-4. Freccero's *Queer / Early / Modern* and Bryan Reynolds *Transversal Theory* make similar arguments.

[84] I believe that a similar argument could be made about certain classical epics, especially the *Aeneid*, but my emphasis on secular and Christian sources will help focus this chapter. Early modern Romance novels may also come under this purview, and may be grounds for future research.

[85] For a recent piece on *De Doctrina Christiana* illustrates the debate and the ambiguity of Milton's religious positions see Donato, Christopher John. "Against the Law: Milton's (Anti?)nomianism in *De Doctrina Christiana.*" *Harvard Theological Review.* 104.1 (2011), 69-92. The criticism of Milton as heretic is an extremely old one, but has recently come to the fore again as critics like Feisal Mohamed. *Milton and the Post-Secular Present: Ethics, Politics, and Terrorism* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011) connect Milton to ongoing conflicts of religion and orthodoxy.

of planning that defines the central conflict of the narrative, as Sin appears from the head of Satan. The sequence, I argue, creates a multiplicitous narrative that moves in both history and pre-history without negating the distinction of those categories. In the third section, I turn the generic implications of history and pre-history on modern theories of subjectivity, especially Freud. Freud's theories incorporate pre-history and history to construct subjectivity, but they also require probability in reconstructing these era. In the final section, I compare Sin to Eve's fall with in mind in order to uncover a new agency in the poem's world in terms of the Subjunctive Aesthetic, bridging the narratives of history and prehistory.

Epic, Myth, and History

"The poet and the historian differ not by writing in verse or in prose. The work of Herodotus might be put into verse and it would still be a species of history, with meter no less than without it. The true difference is that one relates what has happened, the other what may happen." [86]

I begin the second chapter where chapter one ended—in a potentially confusing blend of narrative forms. Here, I hope to situate narrative categories that are broader than genre in the terms of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Before I can explain how the Aesthetic moves between pre-history and history within the epic background of Milton's poem, I must first outline pre-history and history in *Paradise Lost*. Aristotle's *Poetics* provides a relatively succinct departure point given Milton's Classicist bent. In the above sentences from *Poetics*, Aristotle settles the difference between epic poetry and history by dividing the subjunctive ("may happen") from the indicative ("has happened") with a gesture toward Herodotus. The comparison recalls Spenser's "Letter to Raleigh." As with Spenser's letter, contextualization and close reading proves the idea

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[86] Aristotle. *Poetics*, Part XI.

confounding. The ostensibly vast difference between "may" and "has" is problematic; Herodotus reports beliefs and fictions about the cultures he discusses that drive or diffuse more ontologically trustworthy historical action.[87] But more importantly, Aristotle's use of the potential subjunctive in describing the production of a poem and the past perfect indicative for a history seems paradoxical. His comparison implies one of two things: 1) Either his syllogism is faulty because he is considering one completed work and one imaginary narrative. Or: 2) he uses a divergent verb tense in discussing poems and histories. To put it another way, since in other moments, the *Poetics* describes the epic cycles to have happened in the mythological past or to have already been written, the more appropriate designation for poetry in this sentence might be "what may **have** happen**ed**." Aristotle, however, collapses subjunctive with the future and indicative with the past.

Aristotle's sense of narrative over-determines the indicative past/present/future troika at the expense of the subjunctive, collapsing what "may happen" into the three categories of time; a choice I believe proves resilient and ubiquitous. Although it may not initially appear so, Aristotle's denial nevertheless reveals probability as constitutive in defining history and fiction. According to him, poetry is still poetry even if it were to be written in verse because it concocts a narrative from what might happen. Analyzing the relative definitions of history and fiction is a constant point of contention in literary criticism. From Aristotle to Riceour the two categories are persistently intertwined. More recently, Freccero's ghosts, Gil Harris's palimpsests, and Goldberg's historicity of future projection, have mounted a sustained critique of history and pre-historical myth on the grounds of teleology. My first chapter has already built on these critical works that struggle to make sense of narrative without instinctively divide the genres of history

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[87] The most famous from Herodotus' *Histories* might be Xerxes' mysterious and symbolic dream before he invades Europe.

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and poetics. But I want to continue pushing the history in particular. The poetics Aristotle

compares with history is a specific kind of poetry. The epic poems Aristotle refers to describe a

mythological pre-history of Greece. They recount ancestral origins in a time before linear

history. In the pre-historical and mythic Golden Age, narrative is sequential, but not necessarily

linear. The actions undertaken by Hesiod's Zeus, for example, are not tied to the narratives of

Homer's Zeus. Even these ostensibly canonical pre-historic events do not happen in step-by-step

unfolding, but rather all at once in a mythological prehistory. In Milton's poem the two

categories of time are connected. We see the age before and after of history, however one

chooses to define the difference between pre-historical narrative and historical time.[88]

The moments of history in *Paradise Lost* become perceptible in moments where the

Biblical canon is recounted. When Adam falls, for example, even a non-Christian reader would

likely recognize the event as historical, perhaps even as the first recorded historical event. The

meaning may alter by sect and historical context, but the originality and reliability of the fall

would not be questioned. At the other end of history, the Archangel Michael recounts the

genealogy of Adam and Eve's offspring as *Paradise Lost* comes to a close. In Michael's vision,

readers can find Genesis, Exodus, et. al, culminate in the birth of Jesus Christ. These events and

texts are a part of the established discourses of history and referenced by historians and religious

scholars alike.[89] Other narrative strands of the epic poem seem to happen in an Aristotelian pre-

history that predates linear temporality. Satan's fall comes from non-Biblical traditions and

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[88] The most on-point comparison for this chapter is Riceour's mutual definition of history and fiction in *Time and Narrative Volume 2*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 9. See my analysis of Macbeth for a related treatment of linear and non-linear narratives. Again, see Auerbach's comparison of different epics in *Mimesis*.

[89]Braunmuller, A.R.. "*King John* and Historiography." *ELH*. Vol. 55, No. 2., Summer (1988). contains a comprehensive critique of historical teleology using early modern historiography.

sources, relying on a time before human reckoning of time.[90] Raphael, in Books V and VI, as he tells the story of the war in heaven, specifies what time means for the epic. Adam asks for the relation of "what hath passed in heaven" (V.545). Before recounting the story, Raphael wonders aloud how "shall I relate To human sense the invisible exploits of warring spirits," and decides, "I shall delineate so by likening spiritual to corporal forms" (V.565-73). Yet he begins "on a day (For time, though in eternity, applied to motion, measures all things durable by present, past, and future) on such day as heaven's great year brings forth" (V.580-2).

From Raphael's last line, one might assume that even before the creation of the Sun and the invention of days, angels still perceive time in the same way that humans do. But the fact that the aside happens in an explanatory parenthetical between a doubling, "on a day…on such a day," defies an equivalence of the two time periods. In addition, Raphael's earlier remarks that he will tell the story with an eye toward human perceptions suggests that the tale of the war in heaven uses some sort of metaphorical version of human time, just as he likens spiritual bodies to physical ones. Later remarks on days and nights of heaven in Book VI, and the speed with which motion and events can happen on those days suggests that time is in some way different for angels. Yet Raphael consistently emphasizes that this time is still sequential narrative, defined by the "motion" of "things durable" Both human time and angelic time thus take place in a sequential progression of time. All of these narratives of the war in heaven, however, take place "in eternity." The mention of eternity, in conjunction with Raphael's Classical war-focused tale and its supernatural forms of warfare, suggest that the war in heaven takes place in a mythical pre history. Like Aristotle's version of poetry, metaphor is key for Raphael to explain what the war is to Adam. He defines the war's temporality as sequential, but not like human

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[90] For a gendered reading of competing textual canon and oral Gnostic traditions in Milton, see Miller, Shannon. *Engendering the Fall* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008).

time. This similarity allows Raphael to tell his story in a way that makes sense to human perceptions, and yet actually takes place in a different kind of temporality.

The historical and pre-historical frames of time crop up consistently in the poem, often in tension, particularly when the narrative of *Paradise Lost* repeatedly attempts to imagine a perceptual state outside time in order to represent time. In a vivid example from Book III, God looks down on the fugitive Satan from a disorienting time/place, "beholding from his prospect high, / Wherein past, present, future he beholds, / Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake" (III.78-9).[91] Here, the only way to view time is as a space, in a potentially confusing mix of past, present, and future. "Forseeing," is present tense but refers to the future, while "spake" is past. Similarly, "foreseeing spake" is also mixing, as both verbs can have God as their subject. God potentially moves in both the future and the present with these verbs.[92]

Escaping historical time and representing temporality through God is not novel. Diffusing temporal tension among future, present, and past in the phrase "foreseeing spake," as *Paradise Lost* does, can be found in the orthodox understanding of Augustine. He argues that unitary objective time is only real for God, and only humans know it as a confusing and subjective experience.[93] But Augustine, complicating this representation, uses poetry to illustrate time's subjectiveness—while reciting a poem initially "all expectation is directed to the whole poem, but once I have begun…the vital energy of what I am doing is in tension between [memory] and

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[91] Spatial concepts are key to the narrative of *Paradise Lost*. Gilles, John. "Space and Place in Paradise Lost." *ELH*. Vol 74. Number 1. (Spring 2007), 27-57 reads the epic's insistence on "place" as a resistance against growing notions of "space" in the 17th century, tying it to Milton's drive to elaborate space in terms of the body rather than the mind.
[92] According to Stanley Fish's influential method of reading, both could appropriately describe the action and any confusion is due to our fallen, sinful perceptions. Fish, Stanley. *Surprised By Sin* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).
[93] The limited descriptions of God's knowledge of time are in spatial, object-oriented terms in Augustine as well as Milton. I only mention this to emphasize that time as space is not a modern phenomenon as some might imagine.

[expectation]."[94] God may move outside the linear, tripartite, time but both man and poem move in one based in potentially confusing and subjunctively associated expectation, Augustine thus maintains the standard categories of time by propping its subjective experience on God's fixed, infinite, temporality. The underlying metaphor of both is spatial. For Augustine, the human experience of this temporality, in turn, holds the past as "dead," fixed, flat, and unchangeable (XI, 28, 37). God's words in the ensuing lines of *Paradise Lost* express the same idea by comparing Man's impending fall with the narrative past of Satan's fall, entirely in the past tense, "I made him just and right, / sufficient to have stood, though free to fall. / Such I created all the ethereal powers and Spirits, both who stood and them who failed (III.98-101). Although God is discussing the future and the past, spatial metaphors of standing and falling evoke time as space. Still, a reader like Stanley Fish might conclude that this reading of "forseeing spake" as problematically human rejects Augustine's (and Milton's after him) outline of post lapsarian confused experience of time.[95] God is not confused, we are.

However, as God continues speaking, his verbs, which begin in the subjunctive, call attention to the startling comprehensibility of a supposedly being unbound by sequential time. Looking down, God predicts Lucifer's "desperate revenge shall redound / Upon his rebellious head." Even further into the future, God conjures alternatives and then predicts the temptation of Adam: "If him by force he can destroy, or worse, / By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert" (III.84-5, 91-2). After his omnipotent consideration, God switches to the verb "will."[96]

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[94] The competing temporalities are also in Augustine. *Confessions*. XI.28, 37. The poem comparison actually has two durations—the length of time in the tale told and the length of time intoned by the speaker.
[95] See *De Doctrina Christiana* X for some of Milton's thoughts on time.
Space and Place in Paradise Lost that God's exists in a parallel, "homogenous, empty" plane.
[96] God is similar to the wizards in romance, such as Merlin in *The Faerie Queene*, who similarly speaks in the subjunctive when predicting the future. Spenser, Edmund. *The Faerie Queen*. 452.

Here God works through abstractions, considering possibilities as anyone can. Yet we might be tempted to posit that God speaks in something akin to Bourdieu's legal discourse from *Language and Symbolic Power* --"a creative speech which brings into existence that which it utters."[97] Indeed, the Biblical subjunctive is exactly the *logos* most theorists have in mind when they describe even passive speech acts as simultaneously descriptive and prescriptive.[98] But we have to remember that in its future orientations, especially in this "if…then" sequence, the subjunctive mood self-consciously announces God's intention in a field of theoretical alternatives, an intention that is necessarily more predictive than prescriptive.[99] God seems to be thinking through something that he must, by the definition of what God is, already know. But we also have to remember that God's words here are "dramatic speeches," as John Creaser argues, "and not how Milton would conceive an omniscient, all-loving deity."[100] God extensively justifies free-will in the lines that follow his shift to "will" over "shall." Based on Milton's theology in *De Doctrina Christiana*, it is difficult to doubt that God's future-orientated discussion here has a free-will slant regarding human influence of a doubtful future.[101] Each moment of a human's life is contingent for the human, even if God knows the outcome, and thus God must speak of it in that way. The overall description of God's language, as he surveys time as a field, allows us to

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[97] Bourdieu. Pierre *Language and Symbolic Power,* Trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1991), 42.

[98] "Let there be light." in the *King James Bible* and "Fiat lux," in the *Vulgate* are both passive and subjunctive.

[99] Though it may eventually become both in retrospect.

[100] Creaser, John. '"Fear of Change": Closed Minds and Open Forms in Milton', *Milton Quarterly* 42 (2008), 168.

[101] This is the converse of Calvinist thought, according to the conceptual historian Reinhart Kosselleck in *Futures Past*, Trans. Keith Tribe (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1985) who would align Milton's God with an early modern shift from eschatological Christian temporality to a doubtful, secular, modern future. In support, Kosselleck quotes Guicciardini, a political thinker contemporary with Machiavelli, on projective reasoning: "since each conclusion in these considerations is developed from a previous one, the whole construction collapses if only one is false." 13.

keep the subjunctive as a force for considering possible human futures. God's will is certain, but

he uses subjunctive language to communicate free-will and outline probability.

Unprovidential Genealogies and Narrative Pre-History

God mixes times because he sees history and pre-history but makes sense of both with

Providence, Calvin's notion from the first chapter that all potential outcomes are accounted for.

Thus, the narrative of in *Paradise Lost* might be lumped together with Augustine's history, dead

an unchangeable. But that ignores the excitement of the poem and the strange meeting of times

that happens in its words. *Paradise Lost*'s future tense takes place in the reader's past. This

makes the future of the poem a reader's past, and brings the past, present, and future together in a

way that requires a linear and historical understanding of time. Yet this understanding is haunted,

adding elements not recounted in any version of history or pre-history, such as the personified

Sin and Death. The poem even introduces a new genealogy known beings or connects an

unknown ancestry to an established one, bringing new creatures into a relationship with existing

ones. *Paradise Lost* partially narrates religious history of the Biblical canon. [102] This history is

often concerned with a genealogy for the human race, and the chosen people in particular. In

chapter one, I suggested the strange Tudor genealogies of state haunt the notion of Providence.

Milton's poem is a self-conscious epic, drawn from a mix of both chivalric romance and classical

models, as Sergio Zatti argues in *The Quest for Epic*.[103] Both romance and classical epics

emphasize genealogies for their patron's ruling families, for example, the *Faerie Queene*'s

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[102] *De Doctrina's* pronouncements on the truth of scripture and Book XI and XII's recounting of
the Bible are to specific about this. See Milton, John. *Complete Prose Works* 6:578-9. But
Milton's prose works like *Areopagitica* also suggest that he considers the Biblical canon to be
reliable history.

[103] Zatti, Sergio. *The Quest for Epic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 2.

insertion of Queen Elizabeth's genealogy, or Caesar's descendants in the *Aeneid*.[104] In Milton's

own era, and contra Aristotle, early modern historians account for these "may-happen"

possibilities of mythology as well as any poet, tying family trees into histories even if they do not

necessarily consider them empirically reliable.[105] For example, Stow's *Survey of London* gives

the mythological foundation of Rome attributed to Brutus alongside several other equally

(un)trustworthy accounts.[106] The epic is a playground for mixing genealogies.

Viewed in this light and using Freccero's argument in *Queer / Early / Modern,* an

argument that aligns with Paul Riceour's mutual definition of history and fiction, we might read

a historically grounded genealogy as a "heteronormative" if-then statement that winkingly

assumes a dubious ancestor from a myth, pre-history, or fiction. This creates a tautology that

ratifies history as a trustworthy discourse in addition to current rulers and their accompanying

power structures.[107] This history is fixed, both making and ratifying its origin moment with the

current descendant and vice-versa. But as the epic performs this strange mutual support of

known and unknown, it contains a new genealogy for the Biblical rolls of time—a heretical one

that might threaten the very meaning of the word origin.[108] Sin, who springs from Satan's mind

and then sexually engages with him, is no longer original with Adam and Eve. Here, in Satan's

seemingly incestuous but also uniquely non-incestuous relationship with a feminine being who

calls him both father and lover, is a dramatically marked paradox of possibility—one not found

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[104] Spenser. *The Faerie Queen.* III.iii, Virgil. *Aeneid.* VI.890-990. Some other examples:
Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* contains a genealogy for his patron. Tasso's *Gerusalamma Liberata*,
while it does not emphasize a familial line as much as Ariosto, is perhaps a more apt a
comparison for Milton because it takes place in the recorded historical time of the Crusades.
[105] For an extensive discussion of this in regards to late Elizabethan chroniclers, see Braunmuller,
A.R.. "*King John* and Historiography."
[106] See Harris, Jonathan Gil. *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare.* 105.
[107] Freccero, Carla. *Queer / Early / Modern.* 53.
[108] Ariosto, Spenser, Tasso, and Virgil all rework tradition in potentially heretical fashion.

in the canonical history of *Genesis*—of an historical account outside what Jonathan Goldberg after Derrida, Judith Butler, and Freud calls the "Law of the Father."[109] The Law of the Father points to the origin of all taboo in incest and the prohibition against future incest, and is at once the origin of society, of civilization, gender roles, and time keeping. In Goldberg's brilliant diagnosis of the problems involved in critiques of The Law of the Father's origin in the transgression of the law by committing incest, he shrewdly notes that most contemporary thinkers have turned to Foucault for help. They turn to him, in Goldberg's words, at least partly because of Foucault's "multiplicity." Quoting Foucault at length, he writes, "This power had neither the form of the law, nor the effects of the taboo. On the contrary; it extended the various forms of sexuality, pursuing them according lines of indefinite penetration. It did not exclude sexuality, but included it in the body as a mode of specification of individuals."[110] In Goldberg's words, "Incest is lodged at the heart of sexuality" only when law becomes the "relay point for vast mechanisms" Or, according to Foucault, discovering the supposedly 'universal law of incest as foundational, the law is resecured, and modern power thereby made acceptable."[111] I have argued that the Subjunctive Aesthetic is defined by multiplicity. But Goldberg, as I suggested in chapter one, only sees multiplicity as a field for a "relay point," for fixing identities. Even as he struggles against teleology, Goldberg assumes how integral planning is for Foucault's fixing of human categories. Even Foucault treats plans themselves as self-evident institutional artifacts that the mechanisms of power impose. But by pushing a bit more, we can see that Foucault's

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[109] Goldberg, Jonathan. "The History That Will Be." *Premodern Sexualities.* (Routledge: New York, 1996), 6-7.
[110] Foucault, Michel. *History of Sexuality Vol I,* Trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Pantheon, 1978), 47.
[111] Goldberg, "The History That Will Be." 9.

institutional plans and the distribution of power among society do not easily mediate the before and after suggested by the prohibition against incest.

Satan's Sin, like the law of the father mentioned by Goldberg, happens in human prehistory, before day and night even exist. But the transgression against God leading to Sin's birth also happens in Satan's own prehistory, and also takes place in a narrative that predates every major narrative arc in the epic save for the very brief appearance of Christ before the host of angels. Discounting the deification of Christ in Heaven, Sin's birth takes place in the earliest recounted narrative within creation, in a confused time that is recounted only as a secret in a flashback. Within the flashback, it is not clear that Satan has even technically sinned against God yet. He hasn't taken his hosts to the North of heaven. He hasn't even finished deliberating how he might attempt to overthrow God. At the time of Satan and Sin's affair, Satan has not "fallen" yet, and thus the sinful incest cannot take the name of sinful until after the "general fall" and Sin's "charge" by God to guard the temptingly Freudian Gate of Hell (II.765-790).[112] I attribute part of the reason for this strange anachronism because Sin appears in a moment of deliberation, of working through probability.

Sin's genealogy, critics often forget, is not the end of her tale, as Sin enters the human world and follows Satan after Adam and Eve eat the fruit of the forbidden tree. She becomes a figurative child of Adam and Eve's decision in Milton's imagining of the Biblical story. As she and her son cross the bridge that Satan made over chaos to connect Hell to our universe, she participates in the same temporal connection that Raphael makes between heavenly and earthly days. Death, the loose and baggy eater of material, will consume everything until Christ returns

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[112] Sin appears to happily consent in being in "love" with Satan, but also calls him "father". She is still Sin, of course, but Satan has not technically committed a sin yet, he has only considered it, which as Adam later tells Eve, is not a sin on its own.

to judge and imprison him in Hell. He receives the benefits of Satan's seduction and Adam and Eve's decisions. In contrast to her son, Sin is strangely associated as both a cause and effect for the fall. She must necessarily be present at the moment when Adam and Eve commit their sin, but she only arrives on earth after an extensive travel through Chaos.[113] In addition, the narrative does not give Sin credit in the same way Satan receives blame for his rebellion against God. Yet overall Sin seems to be some sort of narrative bridge between Satan's fall and Adam and Eve's fall. In both cases she is the apparent effect of a decision, and the instigator of yet more potential sin.[114] In addition to her theological power, Sin's importance can be attributed to her character's connection of the two major narratives of the epic.

Again, I recall that Sin springs from Satan's mind and appears on Earth only after extensive deliberation by Adam and Eve. Because Sin actually appears from Satan's head in an act of reproduction that seems foreign even to Milton's sexually active angels, her specific origins are difficult to ascertain. Readers know that Satan's sin is pride, but not from whence the pride comes. There are several explanations for what makes Sin: Satan's desire to be higher than God, Satan's self-love producing a turning away from God, a mythological birth of a new agent symbolizing the change from pre-fall to post-fall Lucifer. Sin might even be a fabrication or allegory—a temptation to follow Satan's story of ungodly generativity for the unwary reader of Milton's epic. Rather than foreclosing any of these explanations, I believe that Sin's birth is best understood as the outcome of a moment in the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Sin happens when Satan begins to plan out how he might rebel against God. Multiplicity is activated in this plan, but

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[113] This is in opposition to readings that see Sin as an "incestuous image…when Satan genders with her, he donates only thoughts, and so materializes only the phantasy products of primary process." Grossman, Marshall. "Servile / Sterile / Style Milton and the Question of Woman." *Milton and the Idea of Woman* (University of Chicago Press: Chicago, 1998), 155.

Milton's version of planning adds a wrinkle to the calculation of probability. Satan's Sin is a being in her own right that owes her existence to a navigation of possible narratives. Satan claims not to know her, and she decries that he has "forgot" her, finding especially heinous that she once knew him "at the assembly, and in sight / of all the seraphim with the combined / in bold conspiracy against heaven's king" (II.747). The famous ensuing "surprise" rings hollow, not only because the moment might be Fish's temptingly incorrect reading, but because her appearance follows a "conspiracy." She is the child of design. A mixture of desire and impulse, thought and communication, allegory and action, contributed to Sin's birth. But though her origins lie in multiplicity, Sin actually becomes a character in the narrative and appears "familiar grown" and capable of bearing Satan's child. She becomes complete after deliberation, but before decisive action against God has been taken. She appears when plans begin to crystallize and Satan actually takes the impossible possibility of overthrowing Heaven's king seriously. She is a creature of probability that connects the before and the after in Satan's personal history as well as the pre-history of Satan's fall and the historical origin of Adam and Eve. She appears when Providence becomes haunted by potential.

Sin's birth in the a moment of planning is an inverted mockery of God's ability to create life ex nihilo, as Satan births a being in his "perfect image" and loves it to conceive a child (II.764). The moment also gives a satanic inverse God's Providence. Satan's planning conceives Sin and leads him into an unintended Hell. But God himself also engages alternatives, such as when he predicts Adam's fall, deliberating in a familiar way. "Whose fault? Whose fault but his own? Ingrate he had of me all he could have; I made him just and right, / Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall" (III.97-9). In a move that parallels Sin's Satanic origin-story in a strangely expansive prehistory (a story which God later acknowledges as true by letting Sin and

Death into Earth after the fall) God dictates what "shall" happen" and what "will happen" by relying on a past so expansive that the sentence ends in two infinitives: "to have stood" and "to fall." Placing a tension between probability and the certainty of the past tense at the fore, God claims he gave Adam "all he could have" even while discussing future events. This seems obvious, since God knows the outcomes of future events in the same way humans know what has gone before. It would be easy to claim that God speaks in St. Augustine's vision of temporal categories, where the past is dead and fixed. But that ignores the subjunctive activity in God's words. He may know what happens, but he deliberates and delineates other possible outcomes that could have happened. These probabilities linger even while surrounded by a pre-historic eternity and a linear history of Biblical canon. In the case of God, the past tense, negative-potential subjunctive ("He had of me all he could have") can only condemn and control human behavior by relying on a fixed, infinite notion of time ("I made him…free to fall"). Without the fixing of infinity, of actions that have always taken place in prehistory, God's potential discussions of man's behavior might overwhelm a linear and chronological movement through time, resembling Satan's plans and encoding possibility as an essential feature of defining God's temporal view. If God simply stated things as they will be, the linear chronology offered by history as touted by Aristotle and Augustine makes the future fixed as much as the past, ignoring the necessity of the subjunctive for rendering temporal categories intelligible.

God's prediction of Adam and Eve's fall, and his turn of their failure into the Fortunate Fall, is only one of a few versions of events centered on Sin. Raphael's version of Satan's fall does not describe the birth of Sin, perhaps unsurprising since Sin claims that Satan kept her existence a secret during her own tale. Raphael's version does, however, use the language of pregnancy, claiming that the appearance of Christ as Lord of all angels gives Satan a pretext for

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"malice thence conceiving and disdain" (V.666). Raphael's version also emphasizes Satan's

attempt to control heaven via planning. Taking the suggestion contained in Sin's story of her

birth a step farther with the Subjunctive Aesthetic, Raphael makes the connections of space more

explicit. In his version, Satan suggests his hosts move "To the quarters of the north," eliding

military planning with Satan's turn from faithful service (V.689). But in the most marked

difference from Sin's version of Satan's fall, Raphael emphasizes Satan's reaction to the way the

falling angel perceives god's thought-process. At the key moment of Satan's first steps against

God, Sin's birth is spurred on by Satan's interpretation of God's own plans, as if Satan imagines

himself his plans as God's Providence Satan's words to his lieutenant at the beginning of the war

in heaven, like Sin's story of her birthday, emphasize planning:

> And rememberst what decree
> Of yesterday, so late hath passed the lips
> Of heaven's almighty? Thou to me thy thoughts
> Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart;
> Both waking we were one; how then can now
> They sleep dissent? New laws thou seest imposed;
> New laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise
> In us who serve, new counsels, to debate
> What doubtful may ensue, more in this place
> To utter is not safe. Assemble thou
> Of all those myriads which we lead the chief. (V.674-84)

According to Raphael, Satan frames his grievances with God in terms of "new laws."

These new laws in turn lead to "new minds" and "new counsels" and "debate." Like Sin's

account of her birth, Raphael's story places an onus on quasi-parliamentary deliberation. Unlike

Sin's version, there is no apotheosis of evil to spring into the tale and mark a clear moment

where Satan falls. Instead, Satan suggests the appearance of a new origin as he claims "new

minds." The difference between the stories calls up comingling probabilities of the Subjunctive

Aesthetic. Both are accurate versions of the same event that nonetheless do not exhaustively

define what happens. There is a before the fall, but the moment when the fall becomes complete is muddied by the other potential choices that Satan might have made. Perhaps Satan might have even undone some of his actions by stopping at any point before being cast into hell. Supporting this reading, Raphael's language of Satan's first steps makes the subjunctive a stylistic feature of Satan's thought-process with "new minds may raise" and "what doubtful may ensue." But the feature that unites both Sin's version and Raphael's version is the multiplicity of doubt that springs from self-conscious deliberation. In both versions of Satan's first sin, deliberation allows all the subsequent events of the war in heaven to occur. Another similarity is that in neither version of events can a moment of before and after the fall be simply defined. "New" resounds several times in Satan's angelic mouth, according to Raphael. This newness reflects Satan's preoccupation with Christ's installation as a specific and distinct event, as he views the appearance of the Son of God as a novel stage in development. New can only be defined relative to something old, a historical and narrative process. But the irony of Satan's word choice when discussing the unfolding providence of God is, whether or not God is omnipotent, God's plan reconciles and unites the two distinct phases of before and after. To God everything is both new and old, flattened into space by Providence. In addition the networks of other potential ways that events could proceed via God's plans connects through different categories of time, suggesting that new and old laws may exist, but that God's providential intentions underlie both the historical and pre-historical notions of time. When deliberation comes into play, however, the Providential connection of the two frames becomes destabilized, hence Satan's shock at the new appearance of Christ.

Only by ignoring the negating the operations of probability can Satan achieve his rhetorical aim of separating distinct eras of time. Despite Satan's attempts to work through

probability and his success at achieving the avowed aims of his journey to earth, he finds no contingent other ways for the universe or his being to take. In a similar yet meaningfully different comparison with God's Providential view that concluded in the infinitive, Satan solidifies his past by negating all probable outcomes. In his moment of doubt as he looks on Earth and considers the possibility of pardon, Satan soliloquies, "Say I could repent and could obtain / By act of grace my former state" (IV.94-5). Instead of dwelling with these contingencies or even acknowledging a degree of likelihood, he quickly mobilizes other probable narratives working against his initial subjunctive foray, such as "how soon would height recalls high thoughts" and "ease would recant / Vows made in pain. He concludes "For never can true reconcilement grow / where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep" (IV.94-99). The past is fixed and severely limits even the imagination of potentials for Satan. Even without God's experience of infinity, Satan nonetheless imposes a "never" on the future in another mockery of God's power. God's future appears in his fixed language of what will be, but he keeps the other ways things could have preceded close to his indicative statements. Satan achieves control of his emotions by trying to ignore counter-possibilities and affirming the path he has already chosen. Finally, but perhaps most importantly, Satan's final thought, "where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep" is a falsehood that relies on a fixed past. The phrase has no clear subject and object, but God does not seem to hate Satan even by Satan's own standards. And at no point in the war in heaven did Satan harm God or Christ. Satan needs this myth of a mutual conflict to continue, however, but he also needs the consideration to accomplish the complex task of taking his false premise and connecting it to his ongoing narrative.

These moments dramatize the process of what the poem does as a whole. Planning bridges and reconciles disparate storytelling formats. Overall, Sin is the figure performing this

connection in Milton's epic, taking on a role in Greek mythology influenced tale of birth from

Satan's head as well as a more mundane persona as one who unlocks the gate of hell and enters

the Earth after Satan shows her the way.[115] Planning mediates between Book III's mythical

journey across chaos and Satan's theatrical monologue and metatheatrical viewing of Adam and

Eve in Paradise. The structure of Milton's epic also evokes a multiplicity in the filling in of

space. *Paradise Lost* fills in the space between a few of lines from Genesis. Satan and God's

competing designs create a massive narrative from the scanty account of the Bible. Within

Paradise Lost, Milton's poetry reflects this by using poetry to flesh out the plot of each book

described in a presaging argument. Both argument in each book and the relationship between the

Bible to the poem as a whole take a narrative skeleton and add multiplicity to it, describing

probable narratives that are not incommensurate with the source narrative but that are also not

explicitly contained within it. The argument of each book and the ensuing poetry mirror history

and the multiplicitous cloud that haunts its linear progress. They formally and spatially reflect

what happens in the narrative.

The skeleton of each book's argument and Biblical account thus form a mythic

framework for Milton to elaborate on, much like Satan's Sin provides a starting point that joins

the Biblical account to the story of *Paradise Lost*. Andrew Marvell defines Milton's potentially

heretical elaboration of Biblical canon as a "vast design" in his prefatory poem from the 1674

version of *Paradise Lost* (53). He also calls Milton's work a "project," only mentioning poetry in

the final stanza. Design is a term used for everything from architectural plans and military

campaigns to God and Satan's own ideas in *Paradise Lost*. To call the poem a design and a

project suggests that planning is an important element for reconciling what Dryden in his poem

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[115] Lucifer's designs also combine mediums. After deliberating as to whether or not he could
repent, for example, he looks on Adam and Eve as if they are in a "woody theatre" (IV.141).

calls a combination of Greek and Italian poets (55). Between Hell and Earth lies chaos, and Sin connects hell to chaos, and chaos to Earth. *Paradise Lost* begins with a supernatural lake of fire and proceeds through council, design, action, and reversal to the entire description of human history and Adam and Eve's simple walk through the newly fallen landscape. Sin's appearance in moments of planning helps reconcile the two spheres. But even before Sin appears, the language of probability and planning helps launch the poem. In the argument to Book I, which takes place in hell, Milton carefully outlines in a parenthetical that "heaven and earth may be supposed as yet not made, certainly not yet accursed" as opposed to the possibility that it is located at the center of the earth (55). In a fascinating move, the "may be supposed" suggests that the whole poem is a potential possibility, a supposition. With this in mind, Marvell's reference to the piece as a project takes on another narrative resonance.

Sin's birth thus ties together myth and history, by connecting Satan's oldest remembrances that he initially seems to have forgotten with Adam and Eve's own march through time. The connection of myth to history has an uncanny quality, as Sin's original appearance in our world emphasizes that Adam and Eve's place in humanity's narrative also takes place in Christian pre-history. In addition to this connection, Sin's special creation pivots between the comparison of God to non-God being in moments of serious deliberation, without action being a necessary component in the registering of evil. For Satan, his plan alone is enough to give birth to Sin. For Adam and Eve, they must actually eat the fruit for Sin to enter the human universe. As the worlds of Hell and Earth connect, the history and pre-history also connect. Differing measurements of temporal categories run into each other. Initially forgotten, Sin becomes important again as Satan attempts to work his new design on the beings of earth. The warning given by Raphael temporarily put out of their minds, Adam and Eve also conspire to become

Gods themselves. Thus, in two key moments in the narrative, Sin and planning overlap. Her birth within planning opens established origin stories such as Original Sin to be moved through time—in this case, back into forgotten memory, back into pre-history. This movement, in turn, reveals probability as a constitutive element in defining historicity.

Critiquing Theories of History and Prehistory

Taking Sin's birth as emblematic as one potential of probabilistic image-narratives, I now turn to the theoretical implications of Milton's story for the way we understand the interaction of myth (or prehistory) and history in theories of subject formation, especially of subject formation that incorporates gender as a foundational category.[116] Although many theories of subject formation antedate *Paradise Lost* by hundreds of years, the intertwined reading makes sense for several reasons. First, Sin's place in the narrative looks ahead to the future, much as Milton's poem as a whole does. As we saw in the first chapter, looking backward at moments of planning shows individuals in the past looking toward the future, even if they cannot quite recognize the future through the multiplicity of probability. The final two books of *Paradise Lost* give a momentum to movement through time that does not stop in Milton's contemporary moment, but looks far beyond. Sin, according to Milton, will continue to have a place in our world long after the poem is forgotten. But more than that, the epic suggests that forward and backward may not be the only way to think about the relationship of past and future, as probability gives rise to coexistent accounts in multiple time periods. As a second reason it makes sense, within *Paradise Lost*, the birth of Sin seems to be moving toward a conception of subjectivity incorporating gender. She springs full-grown from Satan's mind, but has an agency all her own. We must

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[116] Although the argument that theory inherently incorporates gender makes sense, I am referring to theories that are more explicit.

remember that Satan is an angel and not a person, despite his person-like qualities. But Sin is a different sort of being than angel or human as well. Her agency is different from Satan's, and she is daughter and mother in one, giving birth to Death but in a manner different from her birth from Satan. She is a creature of both thought and body, becoming a figure in the narrative at a moment where probability is being explored and pre-history and history come into a relationship with each other. Angels, as Raphael notes, do not have gender like Adam and Eve do. If so, this makes Sin the first woman in creation, and makes Satan's plan leading to her birth the first recorded birth in our universe.

Using these parallels, I will turn to Sigmund Freud's theories not because they are easy to debunk, but rather because they remain a model for cultural theorization and gender formation despite their perceived out-of-date status. Turning to Freud's theories is useful because Original Sin is an important mythical element in Psychoanalysis. Freud transforms the context of the religious idea, but still treats it as a locus of analysis. Furthermore, as with Sin's birth, Freud treats gender as an integral component of subject formation. Additionally, as Goldberg, Foucualt, and others make clear, long after his ideas have been popularly debunked, literary critics still turn to Freud's categorical explorations of the mind for a means to tap into the unconscious of cultural prejudices. I would suggest that critics and philosophers who claim to have no truck Freud's work in particular or theory in general, nonetheless incorporate basic assumptions from his ideas, especially his pieces *Civilization and Its Discontents, Totem and Taboo, Interpretation of Dreams,* and *Moses and Monotheism.* The most obvious assumption drawn from Freud is the notion of the unconscious—the pattern beneath intention that might be likened to Providence. But one of the most persistent mysteries Freud grapples with, one found even among the most anti-theoretical thinkers, is the difficult division between history and prehistory that still allows

for the prehistorical expression within history. Finally, Freud is a useful point of comparison because like Milton, he attempts to use narrative to define the non-narrative age before a recorded reckoning of time.

I want to focus on one important example of thinking in this vein from *Civilization and Its Discontents*. One of the metaphors that Freud uses in an attempt to untangle human development focuses on spatial planning. "Let us, by a flight of imagination, suppose that Rome is not a human habitation but a psychical entity with a similarly long and copious past—an entity, that is to say, in which nothing that has once come into existence will have passed away and all the earlier phases of development continue to exist alongside the latest one."[117] Gil Harris, who reads buildings constructed with the remains of other buildings to define overlapping temporalities, would find this formulation familiar, perhaps even drawing on it as an inspiration. But unlike Harris's palimpsests of space and time, Freud does not think the present alters the past. Prehistory can be expressed through in history, but not vice versa.

Milton's poem gives us some productive parallels that feed into Freud's work as well. Death's rape of Sin after his birth in Hell, for example, violently marks the moment where the oppression in women might begin with an incestuous relationship. In Freud, this incestuous desire happens in each individual subject and family, but also occurs in the social pre-history of tribal humans.[118] For Freud's personal and social prehistory, as in Milton's poem, the incestuous desire marks an ascendency of masculinity and provides a source for all later taboos. In both Freud and Milton, incest marks a moment of secrecy and shame that must be hidden when viewed in retrospect, and Freud is explicit that this shame causes the past to be purposefully

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[117] Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents,* Trans. James Strachey (New York: Norton, 1989), 18.
[118] See Freud, Sigmund. *Moses and Monotheism,* Trans. Katherine Jones (New York: Vintage, 1967).

forgotten only to be recalled in moments where one undertakes an effort to alter one's status. In Milton, however, unlike in Freud, the incest connects to recorded history via an established and connective narrative, in a clearer and more concise version of Freud's often complicated attempts to untangle history from pre-history. [119] In particular, Milton's account of Sin's birth resembles the notion of personal prehistory and development that we find in *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Speaking of "clear and sharp lines of demarcation" between self and other melting away in "in love" Freud claims that "the feeling of our own ego is subject to disturbances and the boundaries of the ego are not constant."[120] The Freudian tale of love recalls Milton's account, where Satan's self-love redraws the map of self and other by creating a new being.

Following immediately on his observations on love and incest, however, Freud hints at a difficult idea that has not been seen as having the wide-ranging implications that it does, which brings the Subjunctive Aesthetic into central importance for theories involving history and pre-history:

"Further reflection tells us that the adult's ego-felling cannot have been the same from the beginning. It must have gone through a process of development, which cannot, of course, be demonstrated but which admits of being constructed with a fair degree of probability."[121]

The construction of the self is not a particularly alien idea in any era, and even the idea that there can be no evidence of the creation of a self is not attention-grabbing. What remains unexplored is what Freud means with "a fair degree of probability" and why he connects probability to the reconstruction of the ego within a broader discussion about civilization. Hinting at the importance of the Subjunctive Aesthetic, Freud himself teases us by connecting

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[119] Much like Hell is connected to Earth via a bridge once Sin and Death arrive in it. Freud's division from history and prehistory is complicated, but persistent. Shame and taboo are among the levers that pivot between the two, and Freud is committed to maintaining categorical differences between the two.
[120] Freud. *Civilization and Its Discontents*. 13.
[121] Ibid. 13.

probability, planning, and the pre-history of human civilization with his thought-experiment of

Rome, where all its buildings of the past still stand in the present moment. In language that

recalls the Great Yarmouth image, Strachey translates Freud's words like this,

> On the Piazza of the Pantheon we should find not only the Pantheon of to-day…but…the original ediface erected by Agrippa; indeed the same piece of ground would be supporting the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva and the ancient temple over which it was built. And the observer would perhaps only have to change the direction of his glance or his position in order to call up view or the other.[122]

The observation of multiple views on the same space of all different times is familiar, and Freud

places this suggestion in a sentence marked by a "would perhaps."[123] He can only imagine the

confluence of prehistory and history in space by resorting to probability.

The other notion implied by Freud's "fair degree of probability" is that there is a process

of development in time and something that happens before that process which cannot be shown

or seen. After imagining all of the Pantheons there have ever been, he writes, "There is clearly no

point in spinning our phantasy any further, for it leads to things that are unimaginable and even

absurd."[124] The unimaginable potential of this image haunts the perceptible world. Freud thus

establishes some sort of break between development and a beginning marked by "phantasy" or

"probability." He suggests we might posit pre-history as something akin to biology, a state that

cannot be defined and only approached retroactively by its development. Furthermore, I would

align this personal movement of *Civilization and Its Discontent*, in conjunction with his ideas

from *Moses and Monotheism* and elsewhere, that the beginning is the space of myth, and that

history reworks these prehistoric myths in development through time.

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[122] Ibid. 18.
[123] The phrase in German is "wurde vielleicht," also subjunctive.
[124] Ibid. 18-19.

Paradise Lost forces us to rethink Freud's notion of pre-history, as the epic's pushing back of the original appearance of sin is a simultaneous subjunctive-historical movement, which does not seem to depart radically from dominant Christian narratives because it retains a genealogy for Sin and Death. Milton's work asks where the source of Sin might have come from before Adam and Eve, and how it could have entered the world. The poem's movement keeps the narrative of Eden found in the Bible intact, but also opens up a past where there was not supposed to be a past. Sin's birth challenges a notion of a fixed foundation of Biblical law by giving an alternative narrative account of origin that re-enters the historical narrative only after making the previously abstract Sin a personified agent—one who aids Satan against God. Not a philosophical result of Eve and Adam's decisions, the heretical genealogy of sin transforms Sin into a being that gives birth to Death, producing a doubled genealogy in prehistory that also blends with the fixed chronology of history when Sin enters the fallen world. In turn, this allows for the production of a familiar but new account as Sin takes a central role in the Christian history revealed to Adam and Eve by the Archangel Michael.

Adorno and Horkheimer claim that myth and history are the same, they just have different frames. Freud also addresses this potential overlap. According to a friend of Freud cited at the beginning of *Civilization and Its Discontents*, religions draws its source from a "sensation of 'eternity,' a feeling as of something limitless, unbounded—as it were, 'oceanic.' This feeling, he adds, is a purely subjective fact, not an article of faith."[125] Although Freud quibbles with the "illusion" of religion, he nonetheless agrees that the "indissoluble bond" that an ego feels with the external world is an intellectual perception while the boundary between the ego and the external world "cannot have been the same from the beginning. It must have gone through a

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[125] Ibid. 11.

process of development."[126] As the sentences show, this past "development" is couched in the subjunctive mood, speaking in probabilistic terms about an inaccessible ontogeny. But even Freud's critical ontogeny relies on a calcified past for the meaning of his suppositions—he can't use "must" without mentioning "eternity" first. In this, he approaches Augustine's discussion of God's eternity in tension with human consciousness of time.[127] Anchoring suppositions in a tautologically reliably unknown pre-historical past as Milton's God does hinders Freud's critique by restricting him to the way things must be, to a vision resembling Providence. But within these restrictions, the subjunctive language struggles against fixed borders between time periods.

With Milton and Freud's contrasts of history and myth, of prehistory and history in mind, I return to Freud's statements about the development of the self. Freud's "fair degree of probability" in the construction of the ego might initially seem to be a modern statement about statistical significance and the demands of scientific peer-review. Sin's experience in *Paradise Lost* suggests that even for beings that have decided origin stories, the boundaries of a fixed and eternal past remain malleable when probability enters the definition. I would not take Freud out of his time. He is defining his reconstruction of the psyche in terms of a statistical likelihood, trying to suggest that his account is close to the one that actually happened, a developmental story that is scientific and statistically reliable. Embedded in this more recent definition of probability, however, is the anachronistic idea of coexisting spatial-narrative probabilities, such as the twin accounts of Sin that we find in Milton. Freud's metaphor of the many overlapping Pantheons illustrates this connection. But Freud also acknowledges a blending of coexisting narratives of subjectivity, when he states, "An infant at the breast does not as yet distinguish his

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[126] Ibid. 11. Lacan's "jouissance" draws on a similar intellectual perception, but for the purposes of this essay I am more interested in critical understandings of religion, time, and the subjunctive than in psychoanalysis itself.
[127] Augustine. *Confessions.*

ego from the external world, as the source of the sensations flowing upon him. He gradually learns to do so."[128] Despite the fact that Freud's story seems to rely on a before ego and after ego, and despite his ability to actually demonstrate the process of subject formation, there is a blending, a "gradually" learned process. In this sentence, the creation of a new being does not come about in moments of deliberation or decision-making as with Sin's birth from Satan's mind. Sensations teach the baby the difference between self and non-self, ego and non-ego, dividing the prehistoric non-subject from the historically verifiable and identifiable one.

In a way, however, the process of ego-creation only becomes conceivable once Freud turns his attention to figuring the process out. His backward projection relies on self-conscious intention. "One comes to learn a procedure by which, through a deliberate direction of one's sensory activities and through suitable muscular action, one can differentiate between what is internal—what belongs to the ego—and what is external—what emanates from the outer world."[129] The process of cause and effect in this process are striking, with Freud repeatedly emphasizing what "must be" and what can and cannot happen.[130] Yet despite what seems to be a straightforward process, Freud's ideas embed numerous other explicit and implicit contingencies. Freudian followers like Lacan and Laplanche have extrapolated these coextant possible courses of development at great length in their works to discover non-heternormative subjectivities. But I would like to suggest that Milton's notion of Sin as original in both heaven and earth, provides a paradoxical forbear of the tension between what must be in the development of a Freudian ego and the countless ways that the development can go awry, all the ways in which the polymorphous perversity of subjects can express through what seems to be a fixed

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[128] Freud. *Civilization and Its Discontents.* 13.
[129] Ibid. 14-15.
[130] Ibid. 14.

developmental trajectory. Freud, in attempting to uncover the developmental process, comes up against a modern eruption of the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

Sin's story, like Freud's narrative, makes claims to be about universal issues and big origin moments like Civilization or Man's First Fall. But the tale is also a personal one for Sin, as she becomes a self-aware being in a world with other creatures related to and yet unlike her. Beyond this somewhat transparent moment of new consciousness, the event also suggests a personal transformation for Satan as well. Satan becomes the individual he remains throughout the narrative of *Paradise Lost* in the moment when he gives birth to Sin and differentiates an action or aspect of himself from what he once was. The moment not only mediates between prehistoric mythology and historical record, but also between self-awareness and non-self-awareness in Sin and Satan themselves. The moment is a personal awakening, when the undifferentiated mass of potential selves begins to actualize into defined identities. Similarly, Satan's crisis of doubt in his anti-God mission after he crosses chaos illustrates this same negation of other potential selves in a ratification of existing self. Satan's strangely deliberate non-choice to do as he must and continue into Eden suggests that carrying out his plan against God's new creations requires negating other possibilities in order to affirm the handful that he might do. Attempting to figure out the range of possible actions, even in a social situation as Satan does, makes probability a constitutive element of selfhood. For Freud as well, what one must or can do is an important if un-emphasized aspect of the formation of the ego.

Freud's work is not the only theory in which the self-conscious intentionality of planning forms an important assumption for theorization. Planning mediates between the realization of non-I and I in more modern theories of subjectivity as well. In John Rawls' political philosophy, for instance, the ideals he proffers for the foundation of a society involve a blind deliberation

about what a being with no identity would like from a potential society. Only after moving through this deliberative and unknown phase of selfhood can this non-being proceed into more concrete aspects of what justice looks like for specific individuals. This deliberation never happens and can never happen, and yet defines notions of what should be. In other theoretical terms, the heresy of pushing back the timing of sin is, in Bourdieu's terms, a "subversion" that "exploits the possibility of challenging the social world by changing the representation of this world which contributes to its reality… counterposing a *paradoxical pre-vision*, a utopia, a project or programme, to the ordinary vision which apprehends the social world as a natural world: the performative utterance, the political pre-vision, is…a pre-diction which aims to bring about what it utters."[131] Prediction for Bourdieu, in short, helps define the past and the future, but only through a paradox. I want to suggest that the "programme," he points to, are the probabilities that linger in plans. They haunt these notions of sequential or linear time in the creation of any subject that exists in time.

I do not mean to suggest that planning or the Subjunctive Aesthetic is a universal aspect of selfhood, representation, or thought. But the subjunctive must appear in a mediating role when identities come to be formed. This is because deliberation allows for the non-contradictory tension of multiple possible lines of action without allowing for an overwhelming degree of possible narratives to overwhelm a coherent identity. Planning gives theoreticians of self-hood a range of motion that beings can move through and still remain recognizable to themselves. Individuals can alter or modify these plans, or even surprise themselves by moving outside of their bounds due to unexpected events, but the Subjunctive Aesthetic will appear in the transition

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[131] Bourdieu. Pierre *Language and Symbolic Power*. 128.

of between these phases, transforming the past into a mythic foundation for a linear and

chronological narrative of selfhood.

New Subjects in Forgotten Times

In this last section, I would like to return from theory to a more simple narrative of

planning, in order to outline that the probable thinking of plans helps reconcile huge narratives

with the small application. I see the overlap of large swaths of probable narratives with small-

decision-making by looking in particular at conversational deliberation. The coincidence, I

contend, comes not because the big categorical notions are attempting to latch onto specifics, but

because the verbal and narrative styles overlap. By looking at Sin and another moment of sin,

specifically the moment where Eve makes her decision to eat the forbidden fruit, *Paradise Lost*,

and the epic genre more generally, has the potential to do more than threaten patriarchy with a

new genealogy for Sin. Instead of the placing familiar characters in new potential situations, the

Subjunctive Aesthetic can render beings previously unimaginable into historical agents. The

most obvious of these beings are Sin and Death, but I also include angels and the false but

believable serpent that Satan inhabits to trick Eve

The epic's form suggests the connection of minor deliberation to sweeping ones. Satan's

journey has its impetus in the counsel of Book II. This counsel corresponds to God's counsel

with Jesus in Book III and Satan's own self-reflection in the same book. These discussions of

probable courses of action are bookended in Book IX by Eve's deliberations with Satan and

Adam, usually understood as a seduction, a temptation, or a trick by Satan.[132] Although many of

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[132] Even in an avowedly feminist reading: "Satan's initial temptation included many inversions
of hierarchy." Miller, Shannon. *Engendering the Fall,* 94. For a reading that attempts to work
outside the patriarchal version of authority in what she calls a "Gnostic" form that exposes the

these readings maintain Eve as an agent and some place an extreme focus on the exercise of her will as she sins, interpretations of the sequence tend to elide the strange subjectivity of the snake, and they also, I argue, misconstrue the nature of Satan and Eve's interaction. In the original ten book publication, the correspondence between Book III and VIII would have been much more apparent. Book III contains not only God's extensive deliberations, but also Satan's deliberations with himself about his course of action as he beholds Earth. In the ten book publication, the mirroring of deliberation in Book III and the deliberation between Eve and Satan would have been much more apparent. This reflection emphasizes Eve's choice—she could deliberate as God does or as Satan does. But it also requires that she deliberate with a serpent, a non-human who previously has no importance to human experiences in Eden.

Before I analyze how non-human beings become comprehensible to human experience of narrative, I will simply note how important they are Milton's poems and the epic in general and what makes them strange to human characters. The most obvious is the angels, who communicate with humans, but are also baffling. This confusion is suggested at least partially by the fact that they experience potentially non-heteronormative sexuality. Raphael tells Adam— "Whatever pure thou in the body enjoyst …we enjoy / In eminence, and obstacle find none / Of membrane, joint, or limb, exclusive bars: / Easier than air with air, if spirits embrace, / Total they mix, union of pure with pure / Desiring; nor restrained conveyance need / As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul with soul" (VIII.622-9). Angels desire, embrace, and love but not like Adam and Eve do, and yet the angels and humans communicate, and even seem to come to some accord about how pleasure works with each other. We also saw Sin's strange birth that somehow allowed her to give birth as humans do, although it was with the angelic Lucifer. Shannon Miller

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"hidden" power that Eve maintains in spite of Satan's rhetoric that describes her as oppressed see Foula, Christine. "When Eve Reads Milton." *Critical Inquiry.* 10. (December 1983), 329.

notes that the epic hides a hidden history of femininity that upsets Patriarchal distinctions of gender.[133] I have suggested that between verses two and three of *Genesis,* Milton expands a narrative based on apocrypha and oral traditions of Lucifer's fall to radically re-contextualize history and canon without dismissing them. With the angels, *Paradise Lost* rolls in these oral traditions to literary text, granting something like citizenship to a type of being that many of Milton's fellow radical Protestants would be loathe to acknowledge.

Milton's decision is not entirely unique. From the unborn Roman ghosts of Virgil's *Aeneid*, to an underworld Achilles who renounces war in the *Odyssey*, alternate worlds that overlap with supposedly established ones can alter and create new agents in epic narratives. In *Paradise Lost*, an entire world predating recorded history is heavily populated with angels. Angels are comparable to and communicative with human beings, and even the dour Michael comforts Adam and Eve in the final two books. But angels also make meaningful choices, and both fallen angel and angel alike have influence in the secular historical (i.e. non-Christian) and material world, as the demons' activities as ancient Greek Gods in Book II demonstrates. Sin and Death, although they have a firm place in Christiian history, are also new characters, made comprehensible through eroticism and the connective tissue offered by the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Two final characters that receive very little space in the narrative, but who are also novel to Milton's poem are the King Chaos and his Queen Night, who grant Satan his passage over their domain. Milton is drawing on Greek and Roman traditions in his depictions of these beings, and they receive so little narration in the narrative that I do not think I should devote the space to an extensive analysis. I will note, however, that these characters have a connected and yet confusing connection to the spaces they inhabit along the lines of Alma's Advisors. Like her

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[133] Miller, Shannon. *Engendering the Fall.*

counselors, they become both agents and places. I have been focusing on time more than space in this chapter, but I would like to mention Milton's description of Chaos as a topos "without deminsion, where length, breadth, and height, and time and place are lost; where eldest Night and Chaos, hold eternal anarchy" (II.893-6). The organizing principal of the section, then, is not space or time, but Satan's plan and the probability of success that carries him on his mission. His plan also seems to make the previously unrepresentable Chaos and Night into avatars who can speak and aid or hinder Satan on his quest. Like Milton, Satan's project makes characters were there was only a confusing mixture of time and space.

Turning to a different sort of deliberation and decision-making, Eve's calculation of probabilities also incorporates a non-human agent—the serpent. Importantly, and as with the angels, before the conversation arrives at deliberation, the eroticized intercourse begins with Eve wondering at "language of man pronounced by tongue of brute, and human sense expressed" (IX.553-4). In Eve's deliberation that leads to her decision, a gendered subjectivity and deliberation become intertwined just as with Sin's birth. In fact, she explicitly ties subjectivity and deliberation to the use of language. Although earlier Eve does not wonder at the fact that Raphael can speak human language, her question to the serpent is the same question that Adam asked of Raphael, "how?" "How cam'st thou speakable of mute" (IX.563). The question, like Freud's work, attempts to work through the before and after of consciousness by tracing a process that can only be reconstructed in the past tense. Eve is trying to reach into the serpent's prehistory. Satan, of course, gives her a lie and even that lie only glosses what Satan calls a "strange alteration." Much like Freud's theory and Sin's birth, Satan's his falsehood provides the basis for a fascinating sequence of deliberation, with the basic assumption that the fruit gave the

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serpent the ability to make "speculations high or deep" (IX.662). But as I have argued with Sin, it is never clear when Satan himself became Satan.

Without many promptings, Eve quickly begins to employ a subjunctive language of probability to converse with the serpent. After learning of the snake's apparent intelligence Eve first asks for proof of this in the form of the source tree for the serpent's magical fruit. Upon discovering that it is the forbidden tree, she can only say ""of this tree we may not taste nor touch" (IX.652). Although absence is not evidence, I note that God's injunction is not, "you will not." Even Adam, attempting to steel himself for Satan's mission, never says, "We will not eat." In this moment, Eve repeats the language she has heard from Adam, who heard from God. All these repeated prohibitions were monologues that left the possibility of tasting or touching the fruit implied by the "shall." Although the option was previously unthinkable, Satan picks up on Eve's "may," to open the door to counter possibilities. He begins with a simple one-word question, "Indeed?" His follow up question is scarcely much longer but opens up a discussion using the very language of God's probabilistic prohibition, "Hath God then said that of the fruit of all these garden trees ye shall not eat, yet lords declared of all in earth or air" (IX. 656-8). Eve's "may not," becomes Satan's "ye shall not," and Eve picks up on this in her response to Satan's question. The difference is one of forcefulness. May and may not imply a gentle suggestion away from options, and "shall" gives God's words an edge of negativity that they may not have otherwise had. But this small shift is only one of Satan's rhetorical flourishes about what could happen, as he launches into a tour-de-force argument that throws at least four possible scenarios into a jumbled deliberation and advise asking, essentially, what's the worst that could happen? Look at me, I ate the fruit.

Satan ends his extensive deliberations of options by asking, "These, these and many more causes import your need of this fair fruit" (IX.731-2). The repetition of "these" and the suggestion of causes and multiplicity expand probable courses of action that was already latent in God's prohibition. Furthermore, the deliberations themselves seem to make the serpent into an agent. Like God, his plotting moves through probability. Satan has an ulterior motive, as he attempts to expand the range in order to place a new emphasis on the possibility of eating the fruit. He shifts the narrative focus of probabilities to make taking and eating seem more appealing than it once did, and his appearance as the serpent ties this expansion of possibility to the expansion of subjectivity to the animals of Eden. But his deliberation is not action. It is not seduction or trickery, per say. Furthermore, the ruse does not immediately work. But the conversation does aid Eve as she thinks, "thus to herself she mused" (IX.744).

The language of Eve's deliberations is not in the subjunctive, and is in fact overwhelmingly indicative. But the key verb that switches Eve from focusing on God's prohibition to asking Satanic questions of what could happen is "infers." The questions following the inference lead then to her picking the fruit and eating. All of this is to say that Satan's subjunctive explorations set the stage for Eve's shift, providing the background of probability that haunts God's providence. As with Sin's birth, it is difficult if not impossible to point at a moment where her decision changes. Understandings of the sequence have focused on choice, as Satan out options for Eve to choose from and she makes the fateful decision. But by paying attention to the language we can see that Satan's plans provide a stylistic juncture that tells us how Eve makes a choice and how Satan helps define the choice as such. The Subjunctive Aesthetic gives a range of probabilities that Eve then sifts through to make a final decision.

The sequence is in many ways then a return of Sin's birth through Satan. Just as before, Satan's plan provides a key source for Sin. Only here the counsel that leads to the fall is actually narrated. We never saw the angelic parliament that produced Sin from Satan's skull in the presence of his lieutenants. But we do see the conversation that helps give Eve a chance to alter her own subjectivity and translate herself to the level of God. Eve, like Satan, seems to have a compulsion to repeat her Sin and transmit it to another being. She does so by offering Adam a choice, but again, her choice derives from a plan. She asks herself, "But to Adam in what sort shall I appear? Shall I to him make known as yet my change, and give him to partake full happiness with me, or rather not, but keep the odds of knowledge in my power without copartner" (IX.816-21). She plans what she should do, but she is asking if she should let Adam follow in her developmental pattern, if she can create a new being from him just as she has become new herself.

At this moment, the connection Eve and Adam with Sin and Satan reveals how deliberation creates new beings from within what seem to be the defined borders of old ones. It passes between subjects. It makes the serpent into a conversationalist. Satan is the fable or mythical or prehistoric version of this transformation, while Eve and Adam are the historical type. Their deliberation creates the awareness of a new range of probable actions, which in turn give rise to new sorts of self-definition that to not involve obedience to God. This leads to the ejection from Paradise that reifies the hierarchy of genders according to God. Yet Eve's deliberation in Eden also reverses the gender dynamics of the earlier birth of Sin, allowing Eve the power to rethink her position, to craft a new being from herself as Satan does from his mind. The connection of Sin to Eve is an ancient and pernicious one, but Milton's epic does more than simply dismiss Eve's decision as weakness or malice, as patriarchal interpretations would imply.

My reading of the sequence suggests that deliberation creates agents in non-heteronormative ways. Deliberation is queer not because it seems incestuous as in the case of Sin or because it works against God as in the case of Eve, but because it ties these moments together with implied and yet unrepresented potential courses of action. Sin is not a human woman like Eve, yet because of her multiplicity she can resemble one.

At the gates of hell, after Adam and Eve fall, Sin speaks to her Son and says,

> Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,
> Wings growing, and dominion given me large
> Beyond this deep; whatever draws me on,
> Or sympathy, or some connatural force
> Powerful at greatest distance to unite
> With secret amity things of like kind
> By secretest conveyance (IX.243-9)

Sin speaks here of "greatest distance" and "secret amity." I connect the distance and overlap to the gulf and resemblance between history and pre-history. It resembles a moment of queer haunting by one of Freccero's anachronistic ghosts. But there is a difference. Sin's amity derives from the ostensible overlap of the conditions of her birth with Adam's and Eve's rejection from the garden. Yet Sin's story is never fully told here or anywhere else in the epic, and remains lost in an implied and potentially contradictory prehistory. The instantaneous transmission of the fall suggests an overlap in Sin's perception of time when it comes to origin moments, such as the eating of the forbidden fruit. But we do not know exactly when Sin leaves her post at the gates of hell and heads to earth. Does she fly when Eve falls? When Adam falls? When they have post-lapsarian sex and experience shame? I say yes to all of these. There is simultaneity in Sin's perception of the fall. But it is a hazy and overlapping simultaneity defined by probability. She moves in both history and pre-history but renders the two categories locally destabilized.

According to Sin, the "secretest conveyence" connects her to the birth of history as Adam and Eve fall. Shedescribes this connection in a range of overlapping options— in an indescribable sympathy, or connatural force, or a "whatever." All of these narrative options are connected by the "or" and none are final or clear.[134] This reflects Sin's character as well as the multiplicity of Eve's conversation with Satan. Sin has her first appearance in pre-history and history, and the multiplicity of deliberation is what connects the two moments of falling in the two different temporalities. Sin leaves not because of simple compulsion, but rather due to the acknowledgement of a range of options is what allows her to choose to move across the night, allowing her probalistic narrative to haunt God's providence. Following her will come a forged path for Satan's crew and along with her will come Death. But what Sin initially offers is "new strength," and "wings growing." Before the straight line and the road to the fallen earth is constructed, Sin has a motion of her own, circumscribed by Christian tradition, but multiplicitous in origin. Although it may seem strange to discuss Sin as an agent, even tinged with the positivity that implies, she has as much agency as Eve, Adam, or Satan in the narrative of *Paradise Lost*. In my chapter on Shakespeare I will again look at the connection of agency and plans, at moments in historical tragedies when plans seemingly gain the capability to act or exert pressure under their own power and resound on their creator. But in *Paradise Lost*, Sin is not herself a plan as much as she is the outcome of one. She becomes defined as evil in retrospect based on the products of Satan's designs in both pre-history and history. Yet the concept of The Fortunate Fall implies that Sin's perceived evil is a malleable, perhaps suggesting that such categories are the outcome of the probable designs that swirl around her.

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[134] For an entire chapter on the Miltonic "or" see Herman, Peter. *Destabilizing Milton: "Paradise Lost" and the Poetics of Incertitude*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). Herman does not tie this to a narrative form, but rather to a poetics.

Sin's ever-receding origin in probability lies between a tiny choice and the grandest

epoch-spanning design. With grand designs in mind, I now turn to more practical projects of

early modern Science. Though they seem in some ways more practical than Satan's plots against

God, their projects also reach into the supernatural world of magic.

Chapter 3: Bacon and Dee's Planned Epistemologies: The History of Probability in

Science and Experiment

This chapter explores two works defined by the Subjunctive Aesthetic by situating these pieces within these authors' wider textual productions. If Chapter 1 is a broad overview of what sort of texts comprise the Subjunctive Aesthetic and Chapter 2 is a specific example of the Aesthetic's impact on *Paradise Lost*, then this chapter is an experimental case study connecting two very different pieces of writing that deal with planning. My use of the term "experimental" is calculated. I use the word in a provisional sense, and not to refer to a controlled event that would take place in a sterilized laboratory. In an experiment that exposes a range of options rather than one that fixes a fact, I recover the sense of experiment as a range of probable outcomes. In using the term in this way, I want to do justice to two of the strangest and yet most familiar figures of the Renaissance in language they helped popularize, but also to expose the strange etymology of the word experiment and its long relationship with projective narratives and images. In addition, I hope to bring a broader range of meaning to ongoing scientific practices and expand how critics imagine the history and pre-history of Science. I argue that a notion of an "experimental method," at least for these two thinkers, is a fraught term that navigates the tension between a defined system and that system's probable effects. The two figures I explore in this chapter, Dr. John Dee and Sir Francis Bacon, have a deep and lasting influence in the fields of epistemology that contemporary thinkers now associate with Science. But the epistemologies that later critics attribute to Bacon and Dee never existed in their day. Instead of a system in practice, the two natural philosophers offer a system in proposal. They offer a vision of the future in their writings that attempts to be practical. In this chapter, I uncover

the Subjunctive Aesthetic in the sweeping projects of Bacon and Dee, primarily by focusing on

Dee's "Mathematicall Preface" to Euclid's *Geometry* and Bacon's *Novum Organum.* I argue that

Bacon's work grapples with probability and incorporates it into the essential features of his text

and project, while Dee's writing and imagery relies on linear and fixed definitions of planning

that become haunted by probability.

Although Dee and Bacon begin their publishing careers nearly fifty years apart, they live

in the same England and communicate with the same people. They occupy a similar space as

self-conscious intellectuals who also have close entanglements with state machinery and its key

figures, including Queen Elizabeth, King James, and Lord Burghley. They are natural

philosophers, both at odds with the university curriculum.[135] They both argue for a new

epistemology. They both construct an imaginary future, and they do so through visual and spatial

representations. In addition to all these personal similarities, this chapter's comparison of Dee's

"Preface" and Bacon's *Novum Orgnaum* is apt for two major reasons. First, both pieces are

introductions to larger texts that plot where the subsequent implications of the texts will go.

Although *Novum Organum* is much longer than Dee's "Preface" to Euclid's *Geometry*, it is

essentially a preface to the proposed *Great Instauration.* Secondly, the projects represented in

these texts describe epoch-spanning endeavors that neither man believed likely to be achievable

in their lifetime. In Bacon's case, this intention is first announced by the title of his massive and

incomplete work *The Great Instauration*, enhanced by the proem announcing "FRANCIS OF

VERULAM REASONED THUS WITH HIMSELF AND JUDGED IT TO BE FOR THE

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[135] Nicholas Clulee uses the term natural philosophy to describe the general trends of Dee's
works, while Peter French and Frances Yates use terms like Hermeticism, Science, and Magic.
Clulee, Nicholas. *John Dee's Natural Philosophy* (New York: Routledge, 1988). Yates, Frances.
The Rosicrucian Enlightenment (New York: Routledge, 2001). French Peter. *John Dee: The
World of an Elizabethan Magus* (London: Camelot Press, 1987).

INTEREST OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS THAT THEY SHOULD BE MADE ACQUAINTED WITH HIS THOUGHTS."[136]

A major and misleading continuity between Bacon and Dee is their relationship to Science and magic.[137] Bacon is typically seen as more modern in the sense that he deals less with magic, while the confounding Dee happily peers into crystal balls. Recent scholarship has rejected this division that distorts their milieu for anachronistic notions of Science. Although Bacon rejects explicit mentions of hermetic philosophers and alchemists such as Dee, he uses their methods and even explicitly mentions magic in *Novum Organum*. Dee, meanwhile, embraces alchemical figures like Agrippa and Friar Bacon and uses mathematics in a way that resembles the later and widespread use of statistics. Both figures, then, seem to be both proto-Scientists and magicians. Early Modern magic presents problems for modern academics for two reasons. First, because alchemical methods often overlap with what historians now call Science, readers tend to place them in a teleology that distorts elements of their work that buck other frameworks, such as mysticism or religion.[138] Secondly, when magic does not overlap with

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[136] Bacon, Francis. *The Works* (Vol. VIII), Trans. Ellis, Robert, Douglas Heath and James Spedding. (Boston: Taggard and Thompson. 1863). Bacon's text is in Latin, but there is no shortage of translations. In this chapter I refer to the most recent Oxford edition of Bacon, but the above translation gives a better sense of the forward-looking aspects of Bacon's work. The Latin privileges position as well as time with the verbs "viventibus" (those living) and "posteris" (those coming after). Posteris is temporal, looking to the future, and positional, with the thing coming physically behind. This seemingly minor detail is a pattern in Bacon's writing, and the spatilization of time hints at his widespread engagement with the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

[137] I capitalize the first letter of Science to indicate the modern institutional system. Rossi, Paulo. *Francis Bacon, From Science to Magic* (New York: Routledge, 1968), places Bacon in a contentious relationship to the hermetic tradition that Dee seems to inhabit. Although it once was problematic, it is no longer controversial to align Bacon in this tradition for most historians. Rossi's work builds on Frances Yates' work on the hermetic tradition.

[138] For a positive view, see Yates *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*. For negative views that nonetheless assume the teleology, see Latour, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern* Trans Catherine Gallagher, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993) and Adorno, Thedor and Horkheimer, Max. *The Dialectic of Enlightenment*. (New York: Continuum, 1989).

science, magic still seems to be at odds with scholarship in a few important ways. At least one historian argues that Dee's position and Hermetics/magic in general can never be properly situated because it relies on a lost oral tradition.[139] Other scholars who work with magic seem to have to go out of their way to explain why they write about a pursuit that does not currently exist as an object of academic inquiry. One recent historian argues, "The story of Dee's life opens a doorway into a forgotten Tudor landscape, not so much a world that we have lost but more a strange, unfamiliar place that few modern readers can imagine."[140] In Dee's case, proto-Scientific pursuits comfortably support mystical and magical intellectual pursuits and vice versa. As an example of a scholar trying to unite these disparate movements, Peter French's exhaustive biography of Dee concluded with a claim that his wide-ranging research only formed a first step that would require the work of "a historian of science…a historian of politics" and also more research to fully unpack the "Hermetic tradition."[141] But more recent scholarship argues that the genealogy of alchemy to Science is not accurate either.[142] Along with these critics of Scientific modernity, I doubt whether Dee or Bacon would recognize the Scientific Method's relationship to the systems they espoused. Even the famously skeptical Bacon mentions magic in *Novum Organum*, a fact that scientists would like to forget and that Bacon historians tend to ignore.

As a result of these issues, I believe science is a misleading term for what both Dee and Bacon do. I do not make this claim based only on an anti-teleological ground. To be glib— neither Bacon nor Dee actually do much of anything that can be said to resemble science or magic in much of their writing. Instead, they offer an intellectual plot for what might be done

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[139] Forshaw, Peter J. "The Early Alchemical Reception of John Dee's Monas Hieroglyphica". *Ambix* (Maney Publishing) **52.3** (2005), 247–269.
[140] Parry, Glen. *The Arch-Conjurerer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), Xi.
[141] French, Peter. 208-9.
[142] Latour, Bruno. *We Have Never Been Modern.*

under the aegis of science and magic. Thus, this chapter approaches the "Preface" to Euclid's *Geometry* and *Novum Organum* as if they are plans, albeit sprawling and epistemological. Although I come at both pieces with the Subjunctive Aesthetic in mind and suggest a similarity, I think the differences between the two figures is more important in that the contrast illuminates divergent ways the Aesthetic can appear. I argue that Bacon defines his knowledge-project as an uneven spatial expansion into unknown possibility. The image and narrative of his system moves in the familiar range of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. The expansion of knowledge outlined in Bacon's text is uneven because Bacon works to incorporate probability into his system. *Novum Organum* has the signature of the Subjunctive Aesthetic—a forward looking anachronism that is nonetheless open-ended and multiplicitous. He opens up a space for probability in the gap-filled process of mental exertion that comes with his classification techniques. His system of knowledge circles around the seeming gaps, so that others can label these gaps at a later date.

Dr. Dee's "Preface" to Euclid's *Geometry*, at first glance, makes him seem to be a planner like Bacon—a practically focused thinker who incorporates experiments that could be called empirical. But John Dee's project in the "Preface" to Euclid is more obscure than Bacon's. The major problem with understanding the text is that John Dee published few texts in his life and few posthumously appeared in public.[143] The Preface is broad ranging but has little context beyond Euclid's ancient collection of geometric proofs that follow it. Even Dee's manuscripts, which were preserved and copied by early English book-collectors such as Elias Ashmole and others, are only a small trace of what was a massive body of writing, much of which was destroyed or lost. These problems are not unique to Dee's corpus, but the scale of this loss in

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[143] This is at odds with his surviving library catalogue, one of the largest in Europe, as well as the scraps of Dee's writing that do survive suggest a huge output. Roberts, Jullian and Andrew Watson Eds. *John Dee's Library Catalogue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Dee's case is striking. Dee had perhaps the largest library in Elizabethan and early-Jacobean England, and one of the largest in Europe. His surviving manuscripts point to a body of his own writing on a similar scale. The many gaps in his writing make it very difficult to discern a comprehensive program from the Preface to Euclid, especially in comparison to Bacon's large body of work. Nonetheless, Dee accomplishes much in the tiny space at the beginning of what is essentially a textbook, and his work there is cited and reproduced to this day as an important marker of the evolution of thought during the Renaissance, specifically in regards to mathematics, physical mechanics, and architecture. Furthermore, from the pieces that do survive, certain tendencies become apparent.

I argue that Dee's project in the "Preface" allows for no probabilistic gaps or hazy visuals in workings of the world. Dee defines his universe in terms of clean lines that interact throughout the cosmos and through time. The future, as well as the past, can be revealed by linear geometry—it waits predictably for those with the correct knowledge of its divisions and hierarchies and can even be glimpsed in the present moment. Unlike Bacon's *Great Instauration* of knowledge, Dee's "Preface" to Euclid's *Gemoetry* insists that he need not initiate a structure for his project. The structure pre-exists his proposal in a regular spatial form. He only needs to see the pattern and fill in the blanks through experimentation. The only thing hiding this defined future of Dee's system is the experimenter himself, who must be physically and spiritually pure. The results of any experiment reflect the essential identity of the experimenter. Dee's system, like Bacon's, offers an image and narrative of the future. Unlike Bacon's future, Dee's future is linear—it can be confirmed or denies like the visions of Providence outlined in Chapter 1. As the Subjunctive Aesthetic haunted Providence in Chapter 1, I argue that Dee's epistemological plan

is haunted by the Aesthetic, by probability that renders the progression of time in non-linear ways.

Both Dee and Bacon encounter probability with their methods, but the stylistic difference between the two proposed epistemologies can be seen in Dee's use of numbers and geometry in comparison to Bacon's narrative forms. Dee argues he decodes a future contained in any given moment while Bacon imagines he can arrange the future like a sentence, communicating through time. Although both writers attempt to test, use, and define their epistemology through experiments, Dee has two options. He can confirm a linear vision of providence or fail, but in both cases Providence remains sure. From the inception of his system, the scepter of probability, which Dee defines as interpretive failure, haunts the providential timeline in his numerically inflected epistemology. For Bacon, experimental failure blends gradually into success, aligning his plan for epistemology with the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Both Dee's "Preface" and Bacon's *Novum Organum* reveal spatialized probability and the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

I begin my argument by surveying Dee's proposed epistemology, and situating it within the practices he describes and attests elsewhere. I especially focus on the use of parallel lines in his images and narratives. Next, I analyze the style of Bacon's projects in terms of a range of probabilistic narratives. I connect these probabilistic narratives to the building process that Bacon describes elsewhere in his *Essays*. In the third section I compare the way the two thinkers utilize and define experimentation in terms of their larger projects, suggesting that they offer two different kinds of experiment, Bacon's version utilizes the range of probability of the Subjunctive Aesthetic, while Dee's linear providence that is haunted by predictive failure, by ranging probabilities that the format of his plot cannot avoid. In the final section of the chapter, I connect the two versions of experimentation to modern experimentation, arguing that ranging

probability, like magic, haunts the providential narrative currently that preoccupies experimental notions of science.

Dee's Architecture of the Universe

Frances Yates credits John Dee with popularizing a brand of Neo-Platonism in England through his use of Vitruvian principles. As I discussed in my first chapter, Vitruvian principles find expression in England before John Dee's birth in various forms and to different degrees. For example, Vitrivius's proportions appear in *The Faerie Queene* and architectural plots. Yet Dee is important in the spread of the directly related but more occult branch of Renaissance neo-Platonism that engaged in fortune-telling, astrology, and holy contemplation. From a modern vantage point it may be most surprising that his obsession with numbers, magic, astrology, and his use of various Platonic principles held a meaningful appeal to those in the highest levels of government. Dee had the ear of Queen Elizabeth, casting her astrological chart before she even became queen, a fact he often tried to leverage for official support after her ascension and that got him into serious trouble with the Marian Inquisition.[144] Dee spied for Burghley, informing on the movement of Jesuits while abroad. In one letter reporting on his spying activities, he even gives advice on foreign policy in the Low Countries immediately before he gives reports of alchemical experiments.[145] When Elizabeth considered calendar reform, she turned to Dee for a carefully crafted proposal explaining the methods of calculating time and how the calendar

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[144] For a summary of Dee's interesting relationship to the Catholic regime see Woolley, Benjamin. *The Queen's Conjurer* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), 39-53.

[145] "A Jesuit named Parkins is sent and come from Rome, fraught with diverse suttle devises, of most damnable treason…I fynde my coniectures, there ratified, day by day…Zealand and Holland." Dee, John. "Letter to Burghley." Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lansdowne 61. Fol 159.

"should" be arranged.[146] Dee personally met with Gerard Mercator, famous as the designer of the most widely used projection for the globe. Dee also carefully critiqued Copernicus, rejected positions at various continental and English universities, and made proposals on policy to the Holy Roman Emperor.[147] He even wrote advice at the behest of local communities on how best to drains fens and dig ditches.[148] Although few of his ideas were adopted wholeheartedly by the regimes he advised, the fact that he gave advice repeatedly to both Catholics and Protestants is striking in an era when advisors like Raleigh fell into and out of favor so quickly. Dee clearly had information that the elite of both England and Europe found appealing, and delivered it in a way that made him consistently useful to leaders. He was a planner—an architect and an advisor. He was also a prophet. Although Dee aligns the two roles, I argue they pulse with tension.

Despite the tension of the two roles, Dee's Mathematicall Preface to a new English translation of Euclid's Geometry is a key piece in the propagation of Vitruvian architecture and neo-Platonism more generally in early modern England. In the words of the historian Peter French, "Dee was making such theories—the heart and soul of the neoclassical revival— available in English to the rising class of Elizabethan artisans." French argues that for Dee architecture is the "queen of arts and science" because all fields must be mastered to engage design properly, making the architect the "universal scholar who must be able to teach, demonstrate, describe, and 'judge all works wrought', whether it be a house, a church, a city or the structure of the universe." This universal scholarship of architecture also has "a magical

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[146] Dee's proposal is in Oxford, Ms Add. B. 1. It describes "A memorial what is done, and what ought to be done, in this Reformation" of the calendar. The pages are carefully written in multiple colors and often use gold ink. The reform was never adopted.
[147] Woolley. *The Queen's Conjurer.* 253.
[148] Dee, John. "On Draining Fens." Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 242, fols 156-4.

dimension because ideally structures were patterned after potent celestial harmonies." [149] The

magical celestial patterns of Dee resemble the divine shapes of Vitrivius I outlined in the first

Chapter. But a close-reading reveals an architecture distinct from the multiplicity of Spenser's

poem The key difference between the ranging shapes drawn from Vitrivius in that setting and

Dee's use of structures lies in what French calls Dee's "universal" positioning.

Like Bacon's proem to *Novum Organum*, Dee begins his preface with an

acknowledgement of expectations. "If, for my sincere endeuour to satisfie your honest

expectation, you will but lend me your thankefull mynde a while: and, to such matter as, for this

time, my penne (with spede) is hable to deliuer, apply your eye or eare attentifely: perchaunce, at

once, and for the first salutyng, this Preface you will finde a lesson long enough."[150] Dee makes

the claim of educating his reader, but he does not seem at first to be advocating a long-term

project as much as he is introducing a lesson. He announces a specific goal and a defined plan.

He is going somewhere. Unlike other plans I have outlined, I think it is important that Dee's

language is indicative, despite starting with an "if." He outlines a future that is, not one that

might be, even in the simple "lesson" of describing his project.

As Dee continues, he makes it clear that the stakes of this preface and for Euclid's

Geometry more generally reach to a cosmic level. Dee's universe can be divided into three

broad categories. "For, either, they are demed Supernaturall, Naturall, or, of a third being.

Thinges Supernaturall, are immateriall, simple, indiuisible, incorruptible, & vnchangeable.

Things Naturall, are materiall, compounded, diuisible, corruptible, and chaungeable. Thinges

Supernaturall, are, of the minde onely, comprehended: Things Naturall, of the sense exterior."

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[149] French, Peter. 58.
[150] Dee, John. "Preface," *The elements of geometrie of the most auncient philosopher Euclide of Megara* (Imprinted in London by Iohn Daye, 1570), 5.

The third category of being "are called *Thynges Mathematicall*," and bridge the other two.[151]

This description of the categories of the universe is broad. But this broadness indicates a consistent style. Dee's syntactically parallel description of Natural and Supernatural sets up a spatial parallelism that runs throughout his epistemology. The Supernatural, in Dee's vision, is separate from the Natural. Each description runs alongside each other in the first sentence, with a one to one match of adjective antonyms. But in the second sentence their parallel structures junction on a verb, suggesting they can move in a similar narrative arc, going forward in the same direction. After this verbal connection of the Natural and Supernatural, Dee unveils the category that connects the two. The verbal parallelism, the "third being," "Thynges Mathematicall" run between both and connect both categories.

"Thynges Mathematicall" is the key to the plan for Dee's project. According to him,

"A meruaylous newtralitie haue these thinges *Mathematicall*. and also a straunge participation betwene thinges supernaturall, immortall, intellectual, simple and indiuisible: and thynges naturall, mortall, sensible, compounded and diuisible. Probabilitie and sensible profe, may well serue in thinges naturall: and is commendable: In Mathematicall reasoninges, a probable Argument, is nothyng regarded: nor yet the testimony of sense, any whit credited: But onely a perfect demonstration, of truthes certaine, necessary, and inuincible: vniuersally and necessaryly concluded:"[152]

In the first chapter we saw Queen Elizabeth deny the machinations of policy in her poem on future doubts. Here, Dee makes a similar claim that "mathematicall" thinking eschews "probablitie and sensible profe," and requires a "perfect demonstration." But by now this is familiar, resembling Calvin's Providence in the guise of mathematical certainty. As with Archtur's brush with Providence in my first chapter, Dee's subsequent application of "Mathematicall reasoninges" to practical matters and the Mathematical third thing's "straunge participation position betwene thinges supernaturall… and thynges naturall" belie the claim of

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[151] Ibid., 5.
[152] Ibid., 5.

certainty, suggesting a hazy range that upsets a clean parallel between natural and supernatural. As he attempts to describe his project in a way that eschews "probabilitie," he nonetheless fails to escape from other forms of projection and planning. His geometry seeks a "perfect demonstration," but by plotting a plan for Euclid's method, he must necessarily call on a movement between the internal consistency of geometric abstraction and the uncertainty of material objects. Notably, Dee explicitly brings up the word probability in this discussion. But he is not discussing mathematical probability. He only mentions the word so to decry the operations of probability in the use of mathematics, even while he acknowledges its operation in the Natural world.

The mention of probability connects the Natural and the Supernatural in a tense standoff even while seeking to reign in the multiplicity of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Dee goes on to claim, for example, that geometry can describe soldiers in the field. At the same time mathematics describes the probable field of war, mathematics also allows for the representation of the supernatural realm. Math, for Dee, offers a "perfect demonstration," and yet also describes the more messy applications of war. This problem can be explained by Nicholas Clulee's analysis of Dee's natural philosophy throughout his published texts, where each visible and invisible thing in the universe exerts influence in all directions, with earthly material influencing the Supernatural as well as being influenced by them via beams of light.[153] Beginning and ending with these cosmic rays, probability has no place in Dee's system because the universe is comprehensible, fixed by the straight lines of celestial influence. Past, present, future, Supernatural and natural—all exist in a defined and accessible state that must be understood by lines. Probability, for Dee, enters only when human error colors enlightened attempts to access

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[153] Clulee. *John Dee's Natural Philosophy*. 54.

this predictable, cause-effect based universe. And yet, Dee cannot align mathematics with the "immortal" power of the Supernatural world without the "mortal" natural world. Although the "Preface" attempts to shift the focus onto perfection, the multiplicity that Alma's house defined in Chapter 1—where moral and immortal were combined in the multiplicity of architecture—pushes against the parallelism of separate lines.

Failure haunts the plan for Dee's future, and Dee's "Preface" spends time denying the operations of probability while also explicitly admitting the numerous possible failures of representation. This is necessary for the reasons mentioned above—Dee outlines an accessible, defined universe that is knowable to the proper student. Furthermore, Euclid's geometry traditionally demands internal consistency, proof, and certainty. Suggesting otherwise renders the exercises contained in his Geometry less reliable than they might otherwise be. But one of the most important reasons why Dee denies the operations of probability even while consistently defining his project against failure is because Dee is attempting to construct a persona of mastery in the preface. To do so, he turns to space because according to him the ideal master is the architect:

> And the name of *Architectur*, is of the principalitie, which this Science hath, aboue all other Artes. And *Plato* affirmeth, the *Architect* to be *Master* ouer all, that make any worke. Wherupon, he is neither Smith, not Builder: nor, separately, any Artificer: but the Hed, the Prouost, the Directer, and Iudge of all Artificiall workes, and all Artificers. For, the true *Architect*, is hable to teach, Demonstrate, distribute, desribe, and Iudge all workes wrought. And he, onely, searcheth out the causes and reasons of all Artificiall thynges. Thus excellent, is *Architecture*: though few (in our dayes) atteyne thereto: yet may not the Arte, be otherwise thought on, then in very dede it is worthy.[154]

Parallel constructions continue in Dee's description. The architect is the "*Master* over" and the Architecture's "Science hath, above all other artes." Like the advisors in Alma's house, or God in Milton's heaven, the Architect is the "hed, the Provost, the Director, and Judge of all

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[154] Dee. "Preface." 26.

Artificiall workes, and all Artificers." The manipulation of space becomes defined by spatial and hierarchical metaphors.

At the same time architecture's control seems to soar above lesser pursuits, the mastery also seems to be constrained by restricting control to "worke" or the "Artificiall." But Dee immediately expands this restriction by including the architect's ability to judge "Artificers" as well. In addition to things, persons also bow to the architect's control, which Dee makes explicit when he compares the architect to his "mechanicians." "The *Architect*," he writes, "procureth, enformeth, & directeth, the *Mechanicien*, to handworke, & the building actuall, of house, Castell, or Pallace, and is chief Iudge of the same: yet, with him selfe (as chief *Master* and *Architect*,) remaineth the Demonstratiue reason and cause, of the Mechaniciens worke in Lyne, plaine, and Solid."[155] The temporal relationship of the "building actuall" is strange. As we might expect, the planner "enformeth & directeth the Mechanicien" of the "building actuall," but he also give the "reason and cause of the Mechaniciens worke in Lyne, plaine, and Solid." Reason and cause are backwards looking abstractions of completed buildings, but like an architect "enformeth" the construction of the "actuall" with geometry, the architect also reconstructs the "cause" using "Lyne, plaine, and Solid." As I suggested above, space, specifically lines, planes, and solids, makes sense of a completed temporal process here. Time moves in cause and effect relationship that reflects the clean lines of the project's description. Dee's architect, master of all, remains within specific lines, shapes, and solids.

Regular shapes also inform Dee's use and understanding of plotting in the "Preface." For example, in his "groundplot" that describes the layout of geometry's epistemology, parallelism structures the way that Dee understands plotting.

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[155] Ibid., 20.

Here haue you(according to my promisse) the Groundplat of
my MATHEMATICALL Preface: annexed to Euclide (now first)
published in our Englishe tounge. An. 1570. Febr. 3.

[chart of the mathematical arts]

[156]
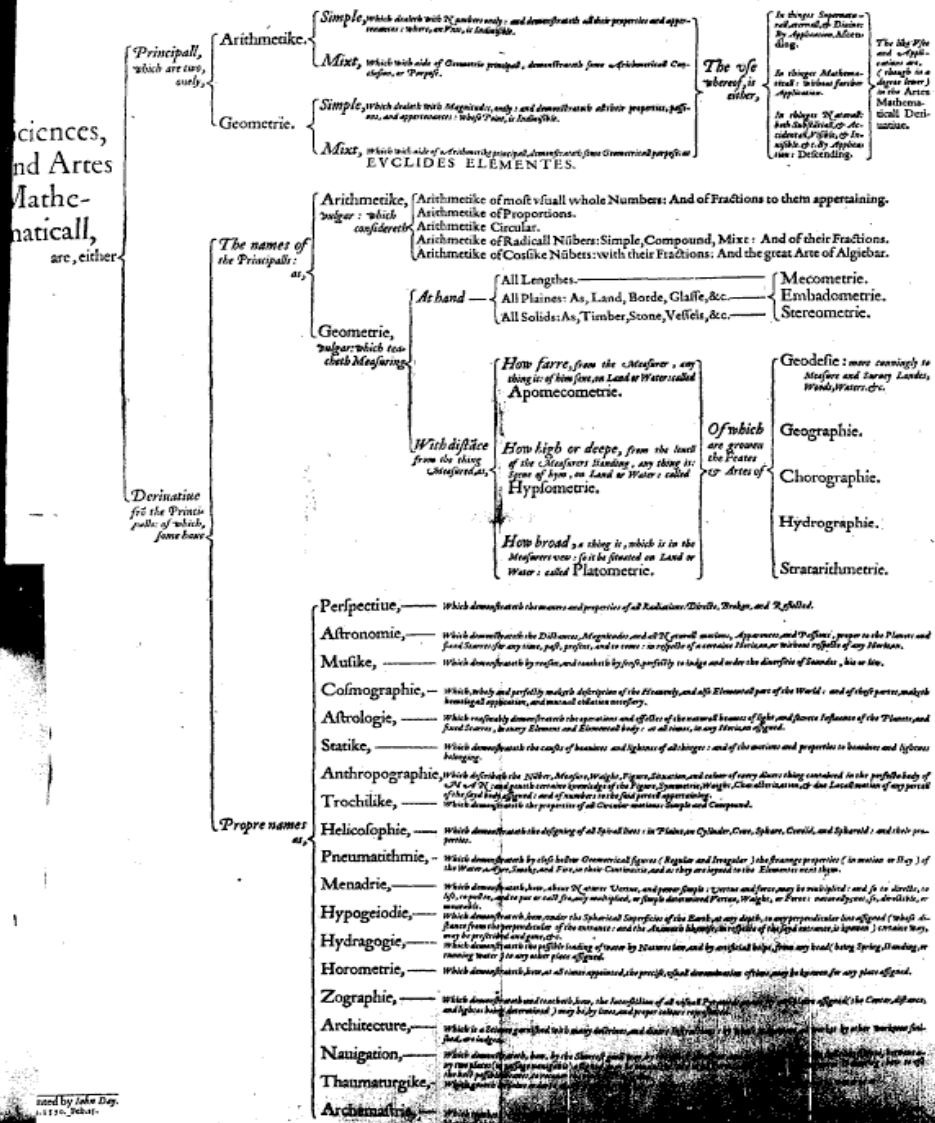
In some ways this page is singular for its time, but in many ways it is extremely familiar.

Outlines and charts have made sense of the structure of texts at least since the inscription of the

Homeric stories on ancient Greek pottery. Early modern charts much like Dee's were also used

to organizes masses of information into clearly visible chunks. Bacon, for example, had a chart

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[156] Ibid., 30.

strongly resembling the above that enumerated Henry VIII's forces in Northern France during his early skirmishes for maintaining English continental possessions.[157] But few authors immediately revealed their own plan for a text in the text itself. When a table of contents does appear, it does not usually organize its information in parallel yet merging lines as Dee does here, and it rarely appears after the text in question. Yet Dee claims that this "groundplat"—one of the earliest uses of the word "plot" to describe the structure of a text—is delivered "according to his Promise." Like the architect describing the "reason" for the building in his Preface, Dee here looks backward over the text we just read to describe the outline for what he just explained. The linearity of Dee's geometric epistemology, then, is only available in retrospect. Yet at the same time, the groundplat could precede his writing, or inform its layout. The plot for Dee's preface to Euclid thus describes what already happened, but in a way that retrospectively predicts the organization the text itself. The plot renders the reader's awareness of the Preface's construction heightened by flattening our reading process onto a single page. Doing so makes the plan for the process seem descriptive and not prescriptive.

As Dee's backwards looking plan suggests, the groundplat is haunted by Dee's parallel and interacting planes of existence. Each major field is discrete, from Astrology to Thaumaturgy. But each field also melds into the overall rubric of "Sciences and Arts Mathematicall." The "Principles" form the top branch of these Sciences, with the "derivate" appearing below. In spite of seeming divisions, the Principles enumerated at the top of the page, "Arithmatick" and "Geometrie" reappear under the "derivative rubric." The slight curves of the flowchart similarly hint at a non-linear contrast to the relationship of the parallel lines. Like the Supernatural and Natural influencing each other in various predictable and unpredictable ways,

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[157] The Queen's College, Oxford, MS 32.

through a disclaimed probability, the lines on this chart also seem to exert and influence on each other beyond their hierarchical separation into parallel lines. This is only a hint, however. The image insists on the clean separation of lines in a way that architectural images do not.

Dee's groundplot image builds an organized structure, akin to Chapter 1's architectural designs. Only here, the structure is the visual representation of an epistemology. Dee is gesturing to a type of architectonics, a means of hierarchizing and systematizing intellectual practice. Unlike the multiplicitous image-narratives of architecture in Chapter 1, Dee's groundplot treats textual description as line. The lines of text are fixed on a line, and so is their indicative grammar. The descriptions of fields of knowledge do not gesture to a range of probable narratives. Yet a strange anachronism persists, called up, I argue by the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Dee's "Preface," with its groundplot and description of using geometry in these varied endeavors, is a plan without a first step. The plan only becomes clear once Euclid's images have been constructed in the text that follows the "Preface." For example, a reader could never understand how to construct a map using the principles of proportionality without first understanding how to divide a circle into its component parts, or more basically, to make a circle. Unlike Dee's descriptions of geometry, the tiny figure of his groundplot does not directly unpack the larger practice of geometry. At the same time, it has a relationship to it. By looking ahead to these practical applications Dee can justify and make sense of Euclid's abstract exercises. In doing so, the "Preface" clarifies the stakes of Dee's ideas. He believes that this new English translation will start a long-reaching process whereby mathematics will play an important role in the day-to-day lives of most individuals. Yet this is only justified by an imagining backward.

Dee's design obscures itself and the operations of planning. The capstone of this project is not plotting or architecture, even though it attempts to draw on the power of that discipline. Architecture provides a parallel once again, but "Archmastrie" holds primacy among all the Mathematical Arts and Sciences Dee outlines, and his description is worth exploring carefully:

> NOw end I, with Archemastrie. Which name, is not so new, as this Arte is rare. For an other Arte, vnder this, a degree (for skill and power) hath bene indued with this English name before. And yet, this, may serue for our purpose, sufficiently, at this present. This Arte, teacheth to bryng to actuall experience sensible, all worthy conclusions by all the Artes Mathematicall purposed, & by true Naturall Philosophie concluded: & both addeth to them a farder scope, in the termes of the same Artes, & also by hys propre Method, and in peculier termes, procedeth, with helpe of the foresayd Artes, to the performance of complet Experiences, which of no particular Art, are hable (Formally) to be challenged. If you remember, how we considered *Architecture*, in respect of all common handworkes: some light may you haue, therby, to vnderstand the Souerainty and propertie of this Science. *Science* I may call it, rather, then an Arte: for the excellency and Mastershyp it hath, ouer so many, and so mighty Artes and Sciences. And bycause it procedeth by *Experiences*, and searcheth forth the causes of Conclusions, by *Experiences*: and also putteth the Conclusions them selues, in *Experience*, it is named of some, *Scientia Experimentalis*. The *Experimentall Science.*[158]

The end of "Archmastrie," according to Dee is "Experimentall Science," because he searches for the "causes of Conclusions, by *Experiences*." This method is no "Arte" but a true "Science..for the excellency and Mastershyp it hath" over other formal systems of knowledge. Again, the over and beneath levels of knowledge are in place, but again they are mutually influential. Dee can only explain Archmastrie in this space by offering a probable comparison. "If you remember," he suggests, "how we considered Architecture…some light may you have, thereby, to understand…this Science." As in the parallel lines of his flow-chart of mathematical knowledge, architecture and spatial explanations reappear in helping to define what "Archmastrie" is.

Dee refuses to carefully define the practice of these arts here, but Nicholas Clulee has convincingly argued that they are each based on seeing through time by manipulating material

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[158] Dee, John. "Preface." 26.

and light. The practice, "Sintrilla" in the words of one historian, "enabled seers to divine the

past, present and future, by using polished surfaces to reflect celestial rays onto semi-precious

stones submerged in three different liquids."[159] Once again, the structure of the universe

reproduces itself within Dee's epistemology, and once again the parallel yet mutually influential

practices and objects of inquiry define Dee's method. These overlapping means of glimpsing the

established future using space define the work Dee engages in with his Preface. He is working to

use Euclid's methods of defining space in order to fill in a future that he has seen—a universal

future where both "marchants" and alchemists use numbers and shapes to plan their lives. The

archmastery he describes rises above architecture, attempts to work architectural representations

into a single line. Probability can only provide a persistent problem for this natural philosophy,

and he tries to declaim probability even while acknowledging the constant likelihood of failure in

his experiments.

According to the above paragraph's meditation of arch-mastery, the way that Dee

navigates the connection of Supernatural and Natural is through his use of experiments—what

we might call spells or alchemical processes—that called Supernatural forces to accomplish

goals.[160] These recipes or directions had specific step-by-step directions and explanations for

why certain objects or activities achieved certain effects. At first glance, these experiments

resemble Dee's preface in their denial of probability. They claim certainty. However, the

possibility of failure riddles even the simplest spell. For example, if a practitioner is not properly

cleansed in body, or his motives are not pure, the experiment will fail. Even if one is, the

outcomes are often self-consciously murky. The most prominent and persistent example of this is

[159] Parry, Glenn. *The Arch-Conjuror.* 36.
[160] Dee's own experiments can be seen in various documents, but especially Oxford, MS
Rawlinson 241. He also owned manuscripts of earlier "experiments," such as Oxford, MS
Ashmole 337.

the cloudy visions that Dee sees in his scrying glass. The probability of improbability of success, then, depends on the practitioner and a degree of mystical mastery that cannot be simply represented. In the same way, Dee's representation of the universe incorporates probability through the interpreter's viewpoint. At any point, an observer can make a mistake as to how the Supernatural plane and natural plane interact with each other.

Dee's experiments often incorporate the geometry that he praises at great length in this Mathematicall Preface to Euclid. A specific sort of alchemical experiment demanded careful construction of proportional geometric shapes to summon Supernatural forces.[161] These shapes could be rearranged for different purposes, but the most common usage was to build a ring or a square to contain a certain power and another shape, usually a rearranged version of the container, to repulse a certain power. Dee's *Monas Hieroglyphica*, another one of the few texts he published, is a fair representation of the degree of thought that goes into these shapes. The *Monas Hieroglphica* itself is a single shape that Dee believes is the key to understanding mathematics, alchemy, religion, and politics. He spends many pages explaining how to properly construct the symbol and its various meanings. The shape of this design is a perfect demonstration of Dee's essential nature of the universe. Although the component parts of the shape can be moved around to demonstrate different aspects of the perceptible world, his proposed epistemology never alters the lines or implies a range of outcomes. Dee also owned and used a geometric seal for alchemical experiments.[162] The probability for failure again appears with the construction of these shapes, which must be carefully proportioned, measured, and inscribed into the proper material. Constructing these shapes, as Dee's library shows, is a means to experimentation. But the proper implementation of spatial representation defines their success

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[161] Oxford, e Mus 173

[162] As of 2012, this piece was on display in the Enlightenment section of the British Museum.

or failure. The failure of experiments is often blamed on the incorrect rendering of the shapes. There is no range of outcomes in their lines.

Dee ends his work with a push for experiment. When he uses the word "experiment," he is referring to practices such as producing and consuming alchemical mixtures, peering into glasses to consult with angels, or using astrology to predict the motions of stars. The texts in Dee's library and his own writings use the word experiment in these and many other possible contexts. But the essential feature of these experiments is not usually to find the unpredictable, but to establish Providence. Like Dee, Bacon moves toward experiments in the second half of his work, using the last quarter of his *Novum Organum* to describe experiments and the conclusions drawn from these experiments. He gives them much more space. As we will see in the next section, he also imbues a different meaning into the practice.

The Plan of Bacon's Knowledge

Bacon's *Novum Organum,* unlike Dee's "Preface," does not refer to mathematical, astrological, or astronomical calculations. Most of the last quarter refers to experiments of natural philosophy, and Bacon gets quite specific with what the experiments are and what their results could be. Bacon has an impressive list of physical experiments that reflect the strange breweries of liquids, gasses, and solids found in other alchemical distilling devices, and initially seems to focus only on the physical sensations they offer. For example, Bacon offers certain liquids, such as "vinegar" as associated with "heat" because they cause a similar sensation, and suggests further experiments be done on the nature of heat, such as, "taking a lens and observing

whether or not it makes the sun's ray more intense in one's hand."[163] Yet by the end of *Novum*

Organum, Bacon also to "Magical Instances," to explain the difference in "magnitude" between

peculiar instances of "cause and effect." His practices are wide-ranging and owe an obvious debt

to earlier alchemists, but with an important difference. Bacon is never sure what will happen and

he makes suggestions that others try his proposed experiments to see what might occur. His

experiments do not reflect strictly on one experimenter, but on a group of similar and yet

multiplicitous individuals. He incorporates probability into his experiments.

He also indicates the provisional nature of the text by pointing to the probable ways it can

be completed. In *Novum Organum*, Bacon structurally represents the many possibilities for his

New Instruments of *scientia* primarily through a self-acknowledged incompleteness. In many

places the text refers readers to look elsewhere or wait for the missing parts. For the 1620

publication, Bacon begins by pointing to the future with the "plan" and partitions of the *Great*

Instauration. "It is made up of Six parts," which begin with "The Partitions of the Sciences,"

moves through "*Novum Organum*," "*The Phenomena of the Universe*," then the "*Ladder of the*

Intellect," and then look at "*Anticipations of the Philosophy to Come*" and finally, "*The*

Philosophy to Come."[164] But this outline is provisional. He only includes small sections of the

Preliminaries, Part II, and Part III of the proposed six books of the *Instauratio*, with later

publications or manuscript pieces working to fill in the "absent" text.[165]

In addition, the text incorporates the directed probability of projection by calling this list

of possible books a "*Distributio Operis*," which the Oxford version translates as a "Plan of the

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[163] Bacon, Francis. *Novum Organum* Ed. Rees, Graham, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 223.
[164] Ibid., 27
[165] Ibid., xx-xxii for a complete structural analysis of *Novum Organum* and the way Bacon's later publications fill in some of the gaps he leaves.

Work."[166] This translation is particularly meaningful in terms of the Subjunctive Aesthetic and

reveals an important connection between Bacon and Dee. *Distributio*, in addition to, *Ordinatio*,

is one of the many words Vitrivius uses to describe his architectural plans or the process of

direction undertaken by an architect.[167] The word could easily be translated as "groundplot," the

word that Dee uses to describe the outline of his Mathematicall systems in the Preface. The

translation and structural placement of Bacon's plan also reveals an important distinction

between Dee and Bacon. Bacon labels the work to come, but he does so in textual form, without

the parallel lines that Dee uses. *Novum Organum* also places its plan at the front of the text, not

at the end. In conjunction with the incomplete nature of the text, this front-loaded plan suggests

a speculation and labeling of absence that Dee's preface will not engage. Just as the plans in the

first chapter, these two uses of plots and plans reflect the anachronistic narrative of planning.

Both Dee and Bacon are attempting to look ahead, or in Bacon's words, to anticipate the arrival

of a new system of thought, but in order to do so they have to look backward and survey the

present. Dee uses the parallel lines, but Bacon's style points to a textual focus that emphasizes

spaces between blocks of text as much as it emphasizes what the texts say.

  The space between the work's "Plan" and "Book II," is taken up by an acknowledgement

of the "*Partitions of the Sciences*" which are "Absent." But, the author helpfully adds, "They

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[166] Ibid. 26-27.

[167] From Vitrivius. *De Architectura*. I.3.1 "Architectura autem constat ex ordinatione, qua graece *taxis* dicitur, et ex dispositione, hanc autem Graeci *diathesin* vocitant, et eurythmia et symmetria et decore et distributione quae graece *oeconomia* dicitur. Ordinatio est modica membrorum operis commoditas separatim universeque proportionis ad symmetriam comparatio. Haec componitur ex quantitate quae graece *posotes* dicitur. Quantitas autem est modulorum ex ipsius operis sumptio e singulisque membrorum partibus universi operis conveniens effectus."

can to some extent be retrieved from Book Two of *The Advancement of Learning*."[168] In Latin,

this can is not declined in the subjunctive, but instead uses the word "possunt." Although the

word is indicative, the meaning of the word translates most effectively as "can," and in general

refers to the operations of a probable outcome. The reference to the probable in the indicative

conjugation suggests a reliance on the movement of probability in a nonetheless empirical

project. But it also points to Bacon's sense of an uncertain narrative time as essential to the

completion of this often-unpredictable movement. He uses the word "possunt," or "can," instead

of "sunt" or "is." The *Novum Organum* demands certainty, but here, at least, Bacon tries to

make probability work for him as well. Furthermore, this gap in the text calls attention to itself

as a moment of collapsed time by pointing not just backward to a previous publication, but to the

next chapter, "Now Comes the Second Part of *The Insaturation*" it ends. But again, the text is

incomplete—"not set out as a finished treatise but only as a summary digested in aphorisms."[169]

To get a better sense of what this incompletion means for the projection of Bacon's project, I will

now turn to the text that Bacon omits and cites in his pause between Plan and Book II, and use

portions of his essays for context. This aside defines why *The Novum Organum* should be placed

the planning-focused flows of the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

A Broken Knowledge in the Essays and The Advancement of Learning

In Book XVII of *The Advancement of Learning*, Bacon outlines out a subtle yet

polemical critique of logical method as he associates it with Aristotle. In a few paragraphs

Bacon places his hopes with "aphorisms" as "a knowledge broken" requiring men "to inquire

further" for knowledge. He dismisses "method" because it can only "carry a kind of

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[168] Bacon. 49.
[169] Ibid. 49.

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demonstration in Orb or Circle, one part illuminating another."[170] Bacon's problem with method

overlaps in many ways with later critiques of scientific method, specifically Shapin and

Schaffer's *Leviathan and the Air-Pump*, which outlines Boyle's attempt to create a vacuum.[171]

In *We Have Never Been Modern*, Latour draws on their research to argue that Boyle's airpump

experiment is not only the foundational abstraction of modern science, where "natural laws" are

created in laboratories, but like Bacon, is also skeptical of fabricated demonstration. In this case,

the artificial vacuum in the air pump acts as a constitutional guarantee of objective reality,

designed, as Bacon might say, "to secure men."[172] Bacon doesn't believe in control groups as

modern scientists do, nor does he require the unified proof of geometry, as John Dee does in his

Preface to Euclid. Instead *The Advancement* suggests, as *Novum Organum* does, that readers

inquire further, without any objective guarantees of certainty. But Bacon also doesn't veer into

radical skepticism that denies the possibility of knowledge. Bacon mainly moves through

probability. He refuses certainty and demands inquiry, and the "broken…circle" suggests that

space and shapes can help in understanding this movement.

   Bacon's phrase, "a kind of demonstration in Orb or Circle, one part illuminating

another," connects Bacon's assessment of method to a critical engagement with Dee's geometry.

Although we have seen that Dee is also not as simply reliant on the proof of geometry as parts of

his preface might suggest, Bacon is openly critical of geometrical demonstration. Yet he still

uses the language of geometry in his critique, and I would also argue that he uses a time-based

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[170] Bacon, Francis. *The Advancement of Learning* Ed. William Wright, (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 142.
[171] According to their analysis, Boyle (who insisted he was not a follower of Bacon so often that it became difficult to separate the two) used what the Royal Society eventually termed the "scientific method" to draw conclusions by using the death of a bird in "virtually witnessing" the creation of a vacuum inside an air-pump. Schaffer, Simon and Steven Schapin. *Levithan and the Air Pump*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. 67.
[172] Bacon. *The Advancement*, 30-1.

and fragmentary understanding of the way space can be defined. Bacon's understanding of geometry then, resembles one outlined by David Lachterman in *The Ethics of Geometry*. Lachterman reads against timeless, "homogenous," and unified geometric forms to emphasize even visibly closed figures in geometric proofs as narratives "performed before the 'present moment.'"[173] Connecting this definition of geometry to early modern architectural discourses through his *Essays*, I argue that Bacon takes the obscured narrative movement of probability found in geometric method and expands on it to create a plan incorporating divergent probabilities. In this vein, Bacon's *Essays* also demonstrate a refusal of spatial and temporal unity, which *The Advancement of Learning* derides as a "show of a Total."[174] By doing so Bacon suggests that the shapes he uses to define time are mutable, expansive, and modified by the operations of probability.

In the essay "Of Building," Bacon proposes to "describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof." Bacon's model is brief in the extreme—only "two sides…a side for banquet…and a side for the household."[175] Having established these, the narrator walks through the model to create the rest, first by noting the "land," then "the stairs," then "beyond this front is there to be a fair court," and "beyond this court…an inward court."[176] Bacon transforms the "model" into a first-person narrative of walking through and observing the various component modules of the estate as a whole. Instead of claiming that he offers a view of the building as a whole, he offers only glimpses of parts. To put together the house, a reader must move through the text of the narrative, and take the various stairs, courts, and walls into their mind,

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[173] Lachterman, David. *The Ethics of Geometry*. New York: Routledge, 1989. 56.
[174] Bacon, Francis. *The Advancement of Learning*.142.
[175] Bacon, Francis. "Essays." *Lord Bacon's Works* Vol. 1 Ed. Basil Montagu, (London: William Pickering, 1825), 149.
[176] Ibid. 151.

constructing the house as an architect of builder would. Unlike Dee, who would make the

physical laborers tools of the architect, Bacon obscures the difference between the two. This

narrative technique reflects his definition of "method" as "knowledge broken." The broken

pieces of the house he describes in his essay demand an inquiring reader capable of mental

construction.

By requiring a narrative to connect the pieces of a broken house, Bacon implicitly

invokes one of the most understated parts of Vitrivius's *De Architectura*. Vitrivius, as might be

expected, emphasizes geometry in his overview of architecture, but he also emphasizes

"literature" for a "dependable record" of the building process.[177] Vitrivius himself gives no

involved records of building, but he also does not give images or descriptions of the buildings as

a whole. In many ways, this absence of images or descriptions spurred the architects of the

Renaissance to reconstruct and construct the buildings mentioned in Vitrivius based on

fragmentary material ruins and the principles the ancient architect defined. Bacon also calls on

the more contemporary architects who helped publish the floor plans and cross sections derived

from Vitrivius.[178] These architects follows the Vitruvian example and pair each building plan

with a narrative describing his successes and difficulties—for example, fitting his plan in spite of

the "awkwardness of their sites," narrating his patrons' requests, and his imaginative process.[179]

Palladio also draws floor plans and cross sections of buildings based on Greco-Roman ruins, but

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[177] Vitrivius would have the architect take all knowledge as his field—he advises education in every discipline. Vitrivius. *On Architecture* Trans. Robert Travnor and Schofield, Richard (New York: Penguin, 2009).
[178] Serlio, Arberti, and Filarette, along with Palladio, are the most influential. For an account of the Italian architectural Renaissance's effect on English architecture, see John Summerson's *Architecture in Britain.*
[179] Palladio, Andrea. *The Four Books on Architecture.* Trans. Robert Tarvnor and Schofield, Richard, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 149.

in spite of the seemingly unified appearance of these drawings, his narratives tell of the fragmented "ruins" and their history, emphasizing the interpretive work he does on these pieces by repeatedly using the phrase "one can tell from the surviving remains…"[180] The practical application of architecture, then, used broken knowledge. It used gaps and potentials.

In contrast to this understanding of the narrative application of geometry in architectural discourses, John Dee's "Preface" states that architecture uses geometry, "so, Ye whole frame and figure of the buildying, may rest in the very Lineamentes. Etc. And we may *prescribe* in mynde and imagination the *whole frame*, all materiall stuffe being secluded" (emphasis mine).[181] Dee is more interested in a totalizing system of knowledge than Bacon, although my analysis of the constant presence of failure in Dee's efforts to reproduce the structure of the universe suggests a haunting by the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Paolo Rossi's *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science* argues that Dee was an important forbear and antagonist for Bacon's philosophy. Rossi traces the magus ideal of hermetic philosophy—the isolated, secretive hoarder of knowledge—to Bacon's rejection of hermetic forms of thought as imposed systems that refuse empirical experience.[182] And as Dee's remarks indicate, not only magical discourses are part of Bacon's critique, but geometric systems as well. Dee's plans are "secluded" in order that geometry can "prescribe" the "whole frame." For Dee, a part contains the structure of the whole.

Bacon's "Of Building," from his *Essays* takes the opposite direction from Dee. His narrative uses the component pieces found in Palladian architectural discourses to emphasize the "materiall stuffe" as much as possible by unfolding each piece in a self-consciously continuing narrative that ends by offering another yet-to-be narrated space in the future ("As for offices, let

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[180] Ibid. 225.
[181] Dee. "Preface." 1.
[182] Rossi, Paolo. *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science* Trans. Sacha Rabinovitch, (Boston: Routledge, 1968).

them stand at distance, wish some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself").[183] If

Bacon has a system, he summarizes it best in "Of Gardens." The essay is "not a model, but some

general lines of it"—"partly by precept, partly by drawing."[184]

      The general editors of the Oxford edition of Bacon's works acknowledge the importance

of absence in Bacon's works, but they also qualify this claim. In their words, he "adroitly (and

as ever) turned incompleteness to his advantage to corroborate one of his main and (in 1620) far

from obvious contentions---that the reconstruction of the sciences was not to be the work for one

man a single generation but of many men in many."[185] But as I have argued, this incompletion

was not a rhetorical tactic, or even a contention, but an essential feature of the way that Bacon

approached communication and interpretation. Readers must always take the broken parts of his

texts and use them to build a new text. In this way, Bacon consistently looks to the future with

his texts and leaves a space for the future through the narratives in his texts. A.P. Langman's

essay on "Chance, Time, and Natural Divination in the Thought of Francis Bacon," argues this

focus on the future is a result of Bacon's "theory of a mutable future" and that Bacon ultimately

brings the future into the present.[186] I would agree, and I would emphasize that this is one of the

features of the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

      Langman also argues that Bacon lived in the future because he found the readers of his

time lacking. According to Langman, Bacon "believed that eliminating chance as a method of

discovery would bring the future closer as it accelerated the rate of the discovery of the laws of

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[183] Bacon, Francis. "Essays." *Lord Bacon's Works* Vol. 1 Ed. Basil Montagu, (London: William Pickering, 1825), 152.
[184] Ibid. 160.
[185] Bacon. Xx.
[186] Langman, A.P.   "The Future Now: Chance, Time and Natural Divination in the Thought of Francis Bacon." *The Uses of the Future in the Early Modern* Eds. Andrea Brady and Butterworth, Emily, (New York: Routledge, 2010),142, 155.

nature and new technologies," as an "experimental" philosopher.[187] I believe that Langman is

pointing to an important feature of Bacon's method by suggesting the importance of probability.

But I take issue with the word "eliminating." I have been arguing that Bacon seeks to harness

divergent possibilities instead of doing away with the operation of chance. For instance, in

Novum Organum he often defines the outcomes of his experiments in terms of probability.

Langman is correct that Bacon emphasizes the reproducibility of his experiments, but no more so

than Dee or other alchemists, and not to the extent that later scientists such a Boyle will attempt.

This, as Adorno suggests, is one of the problems that Boyle and other Royal Academicians and

Scientists have with Bacon—he is not as meticulous or reproducible as they would like him to

be.[188]

Comparing Bacon's method to architecture and planning make his utilization of

probability easier to uncover. But thinking of his writing in terms of the Subjunctive Aesthetic,

with a narrative technique of self-conscious incompletion and a framework of defined probability

seems appropriate. Bacon uses narrative techniques and takes up the subjects other planners of

his era also explore. But in addition, Bacon repeatedly uses the language of building for his

work. I already mentioned the "plan" laid out at the beginning of *Novum Organum*, As another

example, he describes the experimental basis of his project as its "foundation" (*Fundamenta*) in

the "Preparative to Natural History" that immediately follows the text of the *Novrum

Organum*.[189] This metaphorical description of the process of writing as building or architecture is

not novel or unique to Bacon. But because Bacon is constructing an architectural plan for a

system of epistemology, his metaphorical use of the terms of building gains a new significance.

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[187] Ibid.,142-3.
[188] Adorno, *The Dialectic of Enlightenment.* 3-4.
[189] Bacon. 451.

The overlaps are striking. *The Great Instauration* begins, according to its plan, with the "partitions of the science," (partitiones) which suggests that Bacon understands the process of constructing a system of thought as somehow equivalent with thinking architecturally. This is not to say that Bacon has a Gramscian layout of architectonics or that he begins the Foulcauldian process of breaking the human body into its component piece. But the overlap of his novel epistemological techniques with the language of building blurs the line between description and speculation in a way that reflects the narrative operations of planning and the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

Where Projects Meet

With this blurring between description and speculation in mind, I will now put Dee's style and Bacon's spatial styles into conversation. To begin, I must point out that in *Novum Organum,* Bacon's new techniques for experimental science have no avowed end goal of projection. An often overlooked, but extremely important word choice reflects this absence— the word "hypothesis" never appears in the *Novum Organum* or *The Advancement of Learning*. Translations that include the scientific term often use it for the word "theoria," a choice reflecting anachronistic sensibilities. For example, a great debate between culture warriors hinges on the Theory of Evolution, and whether or not the term holds meaning as speculative guesswork or provisional organizational system. Bacon's writing occasionally differentiates between the two, but not in great detail and not in a way that reflects the split between speculation and fact. In fact, Bacon works hard to connect these spheres with his epistemology. For example, *Novum Organum* explores the operations of "induction" for many pages, but this version of induction only follows after a collection of existing propositions and then eliminating

incompatible claims.[190] Then, after the collection of experiments, the rejection of faulty

conclusions, and supposedly valid conclusions demonstrated, more explorations follow. These

explorations involve time and reconsideration, beginning with a "first vintage," or "provisional

interpretation" (*Interpretatio inchoata*).[191] The subsequent steps in his new technique are often a

confusing mixture of abstract and observational, but attempt to speculate probable categories of

phenomena from physical experiments.

This is not to say that Bacon outlines a knowledge-belief free-for-all. In Bacon's terms,

"We should not let the intellect bounce and fly up from particulars to remote and almost
the most general axioms…and from their fixed truth to prove and settle intermediate
axioms…But we should hope for better things from the sciences only when we ascend the proper
ladder by successive, uninterrupted, or unbroken steps, from particulars to lower axioms, then to
middle ones, each higher than the least until eventually we come to the most general. For the
lowest axioms barely differ from naked experience. The highest and most general now available
are notional, abstract, and without solidity. But the ones in between are the true, solid, living
axioms on which men's fortune and affairs depend, but above them again we come at least to the
most general ones themselves, such as are not abstract but properly limited by these middle
ones."[192]

This might seem to reverse the claim made in *The Advancement* in praise of broken knowledge,

by arguing for "unbroken" and "uninterrupted" steps to knowledge. But the space of Bacon's

system is not in the axioms, or in the organization of lower to higher claims, but rather in the

spaces between axioms and which steps are the central focus. He places special emphasis on the

middle axioms, the space between high theory and basic observation. In my interpretation,

Novum Organum focuses on a form of knowledge that is neither abstract nor material, but rather

provisional. For Bacon to call these "true, solid, living axioms on which men's fortune and

affairs depend," is a strange claim to make. But with the architectural terms in mind and the

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[190] Ibid., 162. 253.
[191] Ibid., 268-275.
[192] Ibid., 161.

efficaciousness of projection, we might not be so surprised to discover this assertion. He is, in short, arguing for a probabilistic understanding, where "solid" material "properly" constraints abstraction but without severing the connection between the two categories.

An important contrast to Dee from section is the use of parallel and potentially hierarchical spatial organization for a system of knowledge. Ascending Bacon's steps of knowledge very closely resembles the levels in Dee's universe. The upward ladder promises a parallel structure of forms of knowledge. Ascending the steps of these orderly parallels promises broadly true knowledge about the universe. But Bacon believes that the middle divisions of his axioms have the capability of restraining or modifying the higher levels. Dee also believes that the material world influences the spiritual world and vice-versa, but Bacon embraces the area between material and theoretical without clear separation. He attempts to give specifics, but his experiments and distillations never fall on one side of abstract or material. Any given step on the rung of his epistemology can be material, abstract, or both. Furthermore, Bacon's parallel lines do not inscribe the structure of the universe as Dee's three parallel orders do, but rather promise to ascend beyond. Or, to put it another way, this ladder of axioms can continue into division until specific axioms become a spectrum connecting experience to knowledge. They are potentially infinite, and ascension upwards is no more revealing than ascension downward.

In addition to these different modes of deploying spatial metaphors, one key difference between Bacon's experiments and Dee's experiments likely lies in the way Bacon incorporates potential experiments and leaves open the possibility for their interpretation. Dee emphasizes the possibility of failure by his minute records of repeated tasks.[193] Bacon emphasizes the

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[193] Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson, D 241. These experiments are tedious in the extreme. For more spectacular failures, see Casaubon, Meric. *A True and Faithful Relation of What Passed for*

possibility for the unexpected in his promises of future experiment within repeating the same

tasks. Both forms of repetition incorporate the possibility of change contained within repeated

tasks. These possibilities are unpredictably predictable—both Bacon and Dee acknowledge their

limited knowledge of how an experiment can turn out and yet also have ideas of what can

happen. For both thinkers, each experiment brings with it a penumbra of possibility, a range of

possible outcomes. But Bacon and Dee give differing connotations to these (un)expected

outcomes. Bacon finds the possibility of harnessing possibility intriguing, exciting, and useful.

Dee finds the unexpected failure of his experiments frustrating and limiting.

The overlap of alchemical language in Dee and Bacon has already been suggested by

previous work that connects Bacon to the magus tradition the Dee seems to personify. But the

specifics are striking and revealing. Dee writes the *Monas Hieroglpyhica* to unpack the monadic

shape that contains all the secrets of the universe. Bacon ends *Novum Organum* by mentioning

"monadic instances" and "magic" in his explanatory schema.[194] In another work, *De Augmentis,*

Bacon even uses Dee's experimental methods as a metaphor for knowledge about the future.

"Natural divination," or predicting the future, can be either primitive or "by Influxion." The

primitive prediction of the future happens in "sleepe, in extasies, and near death." The other

method, however, is "grounded upon this other conceit; that the mind, as a mirror or glass,

receives a kind of secondary illumination from the foreknowledge of God and spirits."[195] Bacon

plays on Dee's reflecting glass experiments by transforming them into mental metaphors. Dee

imagines he sees the shapes of creation, and the future itself in his polished glasses. Yet while

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Many Years Between Dr. John Dee and Some Spirits (London: Printed by *D. Maxwell,* for T.
GARTHWAIT, and sold at the Little North door of *S. Pauls,* and by other Stationers. 1659).
[194] Bacon. *Novum Organum.* 445.
[195] SHE 4.399. I am indebted to Langman for unpacking the significance of this work by Bacon,
and although I disagree with his conclusions I could not have made this argument without his
observations.

Bacon does not seem to think that a single session with a crystal or glass can reveal the future or

causes and effects, He does take the method and applies it to the mind. For Bacon, "The mind,"

functions as Dee's beams of light do. This metaphor makes the brain a mediating organ between

sensory input and categories of phenomena, not structured and calculable like Dee's geometric

beams of light, but irregular and spotty. Indeed, Bacon makes this a critique of the mind. "Men's

minds are so marvelously beset that they altogether lack a clear and polished surface to focus the

true rays of things."[196] *Novum Organum* provides new techniques for polishing the surface of

the mind's glass. But more importantly, Bacon's project admits that the glass is opaque, beset,

and misleading. The rays of light the mind tries to unravel are broken, like his forms of

knowledge. They do not pass in straight predictable lines as Dee's cosmic rays do.

In Bacon's own words,

"Natural divination is sometimes more certain, and sometimes more slippery according to the subject under consideration. But if that subject be of a constant and regular nature, it makes for certain prediction; but if it be variable and a mixture as it were of natural and accidental, the predication may let you down. Nevertheless even in a variable subject, if it be carefully reduced to rules, a prediction will generally hold good, and if it does not hit on the right time, it will not wander off the point by much."[197]

In many ways and at many moments in his writings, Bacon lends himself to science's promises

of a predictable certain world according to certain theoretical laws. He connects knowledge and

power, writes about reproducibility of experiments, and attempts to skeptically fix material

causes. But Bacon has taken Dee's Natural Philosophy of optics, lights, and rays that encode the

structure of the universe and unstructured them or at least pointed to their "variable" and

"accidental" aspects. He writes, a "prediction will generally hold good," but that is not the stuff

of a scientific system. This is the language of planning, of provisional projection, of the

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[196] Bacon. *Novum Organum.* 11.35.
[197] Ibid. 12.23. 107

Subjunctive Aesthetic. Time becomes space to be sought out through probability and intention, and even if the exact goal cannot be achieved, Bacon's natural divination "will not wander off the point by much." It will, however, wander.

But if Bacon's *Organum* forms a provisional narrative of possibility that leaves gaps for the future in the present moment, what then does John Dee describe in his *Mathematicall Preface?* Bacon deals with Dee's methods on a very specific level, to an extent that historians have not quite registered. But I do not believe that Dee provides a basis for Bacon's forays into possibility. Dee's fixed divisions of knowledge arise from an attempt to reduce the operations of probability, while Bacon acknowledges the power of probability and attempts to make it work. Both draw on architectural imagery and language to make their arguments. The difference may lie on the competing meanings of "plot" in the early modern period. Dee believes he records the structure of something that exists, even if only in an imaginary form. Bacon's plot for his epistemology attempts to bring something into being without too closely defining contingent features.

In terms of textual-imagery, Dee's use of a genre of writing called ephemerides may reveal how he imagines the way time, space, and probability work, especially in comparison with Bacon's representation of time. Dee kept no diary as such, but made notes in at least three volumes of works called *Ephemerides*.[198] These are charts of astrological positions for the constellations and the planets at various dates. They may cover fifty years of time or more, with space in the margins. Dee usually uses this space to record important births as a first step toward

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[198]Oxford MS Ashmole 487, "Ephemeris Ioannis Stadii" is the main example for this chapter. There are others in the Bodleain including Ashmole 488, and Ashmole 423 (423 contains Ashmole's notes on Dee's annotations)

making a horoscope. [199] But over time he begins to record mundane or personal events in this makeshift diary, for example on "Junius 1594 23" he writes, "I discharged Robert Web of my service and gave him 40 for full satisfaction of all things." One sad entry on Julius 13 records, "Michael Dee did give up the ghost after [he] said O Lord have mercy upon me," on the day of his son's death. Dee takes the structure of time as a given in these gaps. The *Ephemerides* are a tool used to predict the future, and Dee fills in the blanks of the future with the present quite literally, often writing in the spaces left by the grids. But the structure is a given, with lines defining the way different moments interact. But this structure's format is haunted by annotations and footnotes in the margin, drawn by unknown hands. In these emendations, narratives proliferate. In contrast, Bacon has gaps for his future as well, but he believes that his program offers at least one alternate future and suggests multiple probable possibilities.

Finally, I return to experiments, where I began. In the Preface and the *Organum* we can see where Bacon and Dee, alternately called Magi, Scientists, or Philosophers differ and overlap. They both believe in repetition of physical behavior, Bacon through his categories of phenomena and Dee through the geometric expression of the cosmic structure. Both use architectural narrative techniques and metaphors of architecture to construct their programs. Both are attempting to fix a future through the use of experiments. But the difference between the two lies in the way their experiments are represented in terms of intention—not authorial intention, but the self-conscious intention of a text's announced goal. Dee's experiments seek to rediscover and confirm his structure of the universe. Probability becomes expressed only in his failure to make his experiments meet the geometric ideals expressed in his Preface to Euclid. Bacon experiments with unknowns, transforming the process of experimentation into a mainly

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[199] In Ashmole 487, he records the birth of' "Sebastianus: Rex Portugal" on 1554 Januarius 19-20. He also records the birth date of his medium, Edward Kelly in the following year.

mental process that draws its conclusion from physical phenomena. Intention is also self-consciously directed in his experiments, but Bacon directs them to discovering patterns across experiments instead of an individual one. In his system, probability is not the expression of random chance alone, but also the marker of various competing explanatory schemas for observed phenomena. Yet despite these important differences in the way that Dee and Bacon use projection in their projects, both have methods and concerns that overlap closely. Dee may place his faith in mathematics and image where Bacon places his emphasis on anachronistic narrative, but both utilize the tropes and tools of the Subjunctive Aesthetic in their work.

Dee and Bacon: Magicians, Scientists, Planners

I conclude this chapter by connecting my analysis of Dee and Bacon to the current critical understandings of science. I initially stated that science and magic misstate Dee and Bacon's projects, and offered the Subjunctive Aesthetic as a more satisfactory explanation. But with the haunted parallel lines of Dee's "Preface" in mind, I want to suggest a similar haunting of modern Science by probability. Though Dr. Dee's influence on epistemology and Science though remains opaque relative to the genealogy of thought centered on Bacon, his efforts align relatively closely with the concerns of Boyle, Newton, Margaret Cavendish, and other self-described natural philosophers and Royal Society members. Dee himself worked hard to cultivate and yet also to decry a public persona as a master of natural magic, a pursuit that he called a "science." In his own moment, Dee's persona influences how characters as familiar as Prospero and Faustus signify to an audience—the power-mad magician and careful sorcerer can seem to describe Dee at different moments and in different contexts. The sorcerer persona he popularized still haunts representations of Science and scientists to this day in characterizations

of the Wizard of Menlo Park and Dr. Frankenstein. Furthermore, Dee's focus on numbers, algebra, and other mathematical methods in conjunction with alchemical "experiments" arguably makes him more important in the history of statistic-based science than Bacon. In short, the figure of Dee as mathematical conjurer, and the uncontrollable suggestion of probability that accompanies that identity, has defined the mad scientist figure that haunts the Scientific Method.

Bacon's relationship to Science is the inverse of Dee's haunting. As many historians have noted, Bacon's writings were important to members of the Royal Society in the late 17th and early 18th century, and Scientific Method is usually attributed to him.[200] This is in spite of the magic that he repeatedly invokes, and the range of options that his texts incorporate. He works to incorporate a range of probable outcomes into his experiments. Nonetheless there is a strange transmutation that happens in the institutionalization of the Scientific Method that seems to reduce probability's hazy range. Despite some historical readings that situate Dee and Bacon as Rosicrucian freethinkers, as enlightenment figures before the enlightenment happens, I do not believe that there is a linear way to connect these figures to the later Scientific Method.[201] Parts of this chapter may demonstrate the importance of Dee for the history of science, and many historians focusing on Dee have already attempted to do exactly this. Other moments of analysis in this chapter may bolster Latour's critique of modernity by historicizing the methods of Science to demonstrate the magical roots of Bacon's natural philosophy. My arguments have important implications for both Bacon's and Dee's relationship to Science if one believes in the fixed Scientific method. A more important implication, however, is that multiplicity and probability haunt experimental science to this day.

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[200] Many thinkers, including Adorno and others, are skeptical of this attribution, but only because Bacon is not "modern" enough.
[201] Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*.

One main locus of this haunting, as I gestured to with its absence in Bacon's work, is the hypothesis. A hypothesis is an essential feature of any experiment, but we often forget that it is a proposal. A hypothesis is an engagement with an unknown element in terms of probability. It is a future-looking narrative that spells out what experimenters believe to be the likely outcome of an experiment, relying on interpretation, assumptions, and a range of outcomes. A commonality of experimentation is that the biggest breakthroughs occur when trying to explain why a hypothesis failed. But Bacon has no hypothesis, and his oftentimes confusing practices such as freezing chickens and the like make no specified assumptions as to an outcome. And indeed, the results of these experiments often confuse Bacon. Dee's occult experiments, in contrast, can only confirm one outcome—the providential establishment of a fixed future. Modern experimental method tries to restrict all variables save one, reducing the impact of probability on an experiment's outcome. If we keep Dee and Bacon in mind, then the modern Scientific method seems like a compromise between fixture and wide-ranging probability, a modern spin on what came before. But this too is wrong. Modern experimental method makes no claims of completely fixing probabilities. No matter how controlled, no experiment is one hundred percent repeatable. Instead, science requires scientific significance to its results, relying on statistical calculations of probability. This method, unavailable to Dee and Bacon, suggests that calling these men the forbears of the modern experiment is strange.

The experiments of Dee and Bacon have an oblique relationship to contemporary Science, with controlled experiments and calculated statistics. Yet the debate between the two illuminates debates in the history of science, particularly in Schrodinger, Einstein, and other physicists' opinion that probability is absurd, that God does not play dice with the universe, that there are unified answers to the movement through time and space. Schrodinger initially assumes

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that the Cat of his probabilistic experiment—simultaneously alive and dead—is a joke. He only

tarries with quantum physics and the multiplicity of superposition in order to arrive at position, at

fixity, at matter and knowability. Of course, many quantum physicists or experimental scientists

would suggest that an experiment can have multiple outcomes, even if all the variables are

completely controlled. A notion of facts that resembles Dee's Providence nonetheless persists.

In Bacon's incorporation of defined lacuna and an openness to mutual contradiction, in

contrast, I see a proposed epistemology that can intellectually sustain a range of probable

outcomes. I do not mean to reduce the differences between Bacon and Dee to modern debates of

probability and physics. But I think that Dee's experience in particular reflects Einstein's idea

that science is about certainty, about achieving a fixed and verifiable version of the universe that

resembles Providence. My comparison is mediated by wildly different material and intellectual

milieus, but the problem of probability in both cases suggests that a range has the potential to

haunt the fixed outcome of even modern experiments.

Even if science can occasionally grab attention, scientists are generally not scandalous in

contemporary times. In contrast, Dee and Bacon are surrounded by controversy—Bacon for

bribery and Dee for conjuring. These are scandals of policy-making, and as critics and

proponents of Science have repeatedly suggested, Science is often explicitly related to policy-

making in our own area. Both Dee and Bacon also perceive themselves as figures of transition,

looking ahead to the fruition of their own projects. This tendency helps explains why scholars

position Bacon and Dee across the Medieval and the Modern. This can generate a satisfying

movement through history and buttress the historical claims of scientific ascendency, but also

skews interpretive efforts toward the modern. Both Dee and Bacon take themselves out of their

own time, and in turn, scholars are happy to do so as well. But finding the Subjunctive Aesthetic

interacting with these two texts of "natural philosophy," provides a historical context around

Science and magic and expand the conversation surrounding these fascinating figures. I hope to

side step some of the problems of focusing on loaded terms like Science, Magic, Hermeticism, or

Natural Philosophy. These huge systems are slippery and unwieldy, and alter their relationships

in specific historical moments. In fact, the contrast between Bacon and Dee's interaction with

probability suggests that there may still be multiple visions of Science, multiple means of

experimenting. But I want to finish by suggesting that a portion of Science and Magic's

complexity can be attributed to the fact that Bacon and Dee are making proposals. In their

plotted epistemologies, not only do I find a way to reconcile Science and Magic in their time, but

also see a parallel between the magic and certain branches of Science today. Whether one result

of an experiment or many, probability provides a problem that has the potential to haunt Science

Chapter 4:

Multiplicity, the Moon, and the Subjunctive: A Gendered Critique In the Utopian Genre

In 1666 Margaret Cavendish publishes *The Blazing World*, 150 years after Thomas More printed *Utopia*. Between the two publications the English population experienced the fall and restoration of the Stuart regime, a short-lived Republic, a Commonwealth, and the creation of the Church of England. Between the two publications a wider European audience also read hundreds of other texts about imaginary institutions and nations that would eventually become known as the utopian genre, after More's *Utopia*. Like More and Cavendish, many of the authors of these utopian texts had close connections to governments. Similarly, a connection of utopian fiction to policy-making is demonstrable but indirect.[202] For example, some of the institutions and technologies More describes in *Utopia* are eventually adopted in More's homeland. Despite this connection, however, the path from imaginary-island to government policy and/or practical application is a twisting one.

In this chapter, I argue that the strange connections of policy to utopias are best understood in terms of the overlapping storytelling techniques and imagery of the Subjunctive Aesthetic.[203] In the pages that follow I compare utopias to each other but keeping in mind the

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[202] The most obvious is probably Utopia's five-day work week or the full employment of men and women.

[203] For the connection of modern architecture to utopianism that construes them as both ideal and practical, see Tafuri, Manfredo. *Architecture and Utopia* Trans. Barbara Luigia La Penta, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1976). "Architecture now undertook the task of rendering its work 'political.' As a political agent the architect had to assume the task of continual invention of advanced solutions, at the most generally applicable level. In the acceptance of this task, the architect's role as idealist became prominent. The real significance of that utopianism which modern historical study has recognized in Enlightenment architecture is thus laid bare. The truth is that the architectural proposals of eighteenth-century Europe have nothing unrealizable about

massive projects of Bacon and Dee in chapter three also helps situate these utopian works in a

broader continuum of planning. More than Dee and Bacon's experimental and epistemological

plots, I argue that the early modern utopian form is the literary genre that most clearly inhabits

the Subjunctive Aesthetic, demonstrating the blurred boundaries of material and imagination.[204]

In short, each utopia I analyze hinges on the likely and unlikely, springing from where the two

merge. This argument focuses on genre, and builds on the dissertation's earlier momentum in

this vein. Narrative genre has already appeared in chapter one and two, where the Subjunctive

Aesthetic has typically mediated between disparate genres, such as Romance and history in *The*

Faerie Queene or history and pre-history in *Paradise Lost*. Now I will turn to utopia to

investigate a genre that defines and is in turn defined by the Subjunctive Aesthetic. In particular I

will focus on texts from individuals close to the center of various Tudor and Stuart regimes;

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them." 12. Although he analyzes from the enlightenment into modernity, his notions apply even
more clearly to early modern utopias, which have vastly different standards of what is realizable.
[204] Criticism on the utopian genre is prolific, and often seems to offer a bellwether of modernity
for critics. As I have throughout the dissertation, I argue against a simple connection of the two
periods, and focus on early modern treatments. Additionally, though many critics do not, I treat
utopia and dystopia together for reasons that will become clear in my analysis of Donne. A
helpful summary of the genre is Susan Bruce's introduction to *Three Early Modern Utopias*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2009). For current early modern studies, the most
influential analyses is probably Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to*
Shakespeare (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980). In more recent years, the genre has
become associated with historicizing modernity and capitalism. See Jameson, Frederic.
Archaeologies of the Future (New York: Verso, 2007). For an indication of how utopia has
become a ranging description of almost any piece of prose, see Siebers, Tobin eds. *Heterotopia*:
Post Modern Utopia and the Body Politic (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).
Although, I address literary critics in this chapter and restrict myself to early modern analysis,
my argument is also inspired by the critiques of Margaret Atwood's dystopias, especially *Oryx*
and Crake and Octavia Butler's utopian pieces, both of which explore and expand notions of the
probable.

More's *Utopia,* Donne's dystopian *Ignatius, His Conclave*, Cavendish's *The Blazing World*, and Bacon's *New Atlantis*.[205]

In order to contrast the early modern foregrounding of the Subjunctive Aesthetic in utopias with the earlier and less probabilistic ideal organizations I also reference Plato's *Republic*.[206] With this grounding contrast, I argue each utopia's text blends with the others through the multiplicitous image-narratives of probability. Ultimately, like an architectural plot, utopias represent a space between material and imagination, invoking the narratives of other utopias because utopias evoke a in a probalistic narrative space. In doing so, each text exposes the fixed borders and institutions of utopia as hazy, malleable, and provisional. At the same time I emphasize probability, I am also tracing the development of the genre over time. Each successive utopia critiques earlier utopias. Unlike Harold Bloom's notion of weak model theory, however, where each author attempts to subsume and surpass a previous master, early modern utopias attempt to expand multiplicity from within the bounds of previous ideal spaces. Utopias envelope and construct with each other, they do not willfully objectify previous utopias.[207] The utopian tendency to find multiplicity from within culminates in Margaret Cavendish's infinite worlds within *The Blazing World*, which expand the assumed gender-related divisions of earlier utopias to render the probability of the form an essential feature of the story.[208] She attains this

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[205] More, Thomas. *Utopia* Ed. David Wootton, (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1999). Bacon, Francis. *Three Early Modern Utopias.* Ed. Susan Bruce, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Cavendish, Margaret. *The Description of a New World Called the Blazing World* (New York: New York University Press, 1992). Donne, John. *Ignatius, His Conclave* Ed. T. S. Healy, S.J, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1969).

[206] Plato. *Republic* Trans. Grube, G.M.A., C.D.C, Reeve. (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1992).

[207] Contrast this with Bloom's "misprision," which suggests a categorical division of past from future while also directly connecting the two time periods. Bloom, Harold. *The Anxiety of Influence* (New York: Oxford, 1997), 30.

[208] Although I'm working in the English literary tradition, a similar argument could be made in a French context with Anonymous. *Isle of Hermaphrodites.* (1605).

blending of previous texts by incorporating them, but not subsuming them in an individualist fashion. Cavendish's world, like the other texts in this chapter, exposes that utopias transition with the world outside the text. Like plans, utopias move between material and a representational imagination, ultimately blending into a communal authorial effort of multiplicity.

The texts I explore give a wide-ranging cross-section of the early modern construction of the genre. To sketch out some of the outlines of the genre for the purposes of this chapter: Each text engages in self-conscious world building and the concocting of policy. They each use forms of narrative to discuss institution, government, and policy. More's *Utopia* is perhaps the most familiar for our time. And despite the recent mass of publications on her work, Cavendish's is arguably the most obscure for influential critics.[209] In *The Blazing World* Cavendish uses citizens of the real world as characters alongside fantastic and impossible characters, with a Romance narrative of shipwreck and travel that connects multiple possible worlds. Bacon's *New Atlantis* describes an island where many of the policies he outlined in *Novum Organum* and his other writings are put into literary narrative. Donne's *Ignatius, His Conclave* may initially appear out of place in that it describes the capital city of Hell and it various historical figures that strive for political power. But planning forms key features of Donne's work, allowing him to springboard into multiplicitous points of view that resemble free indirect discourse. Cavendish takes all of these elements and transforms them into characters or plot devices, crafting a utopia of utopias, expanding on the blending of imagination and material that the earlier pieces approached in their probabilistic narratives. Each text heightens the probabilistic narrative-spatial blending that appears in More's work. Each new iteration embraces this multiplicity more than the ones before.

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[209] Jameson calls Cavendish particularly strange in *Archaeologies of the Future,* 8-11.

The stakes of my criticism are high, pushing against the boundaries of literature itself and modern notions about the temporal development of genre. Michael McKeon's influential discussion in *The Origins of the English Novel* offers one strand of criticism I hope to complicate and build on. He argues that the "early modern crisis in standards of truth" and the "origins of the novel are…coextensive and…specifically generic."[210] Part of the origins of the novel he analyzes include utopian fictions, although he never analyzes any 16th or 17th century utopian works at length. However, following his lead, critics of utopian fiction have found the truth claims put forth in utopian works also tend toward the rise of the realistic novel.[211] McKeon has been criticized for his teleological progress of thought and genre.[212] I am not interested in piling on these criticisms, and prefer to define how a genre such as utopia can develop anachronistically in the Subjunctive Aesthetic more than other forms of prose, as other utopias are connected to the other utopian instantiations. Despite my criticism of McKeon, I agree that truth-claims are important for defining early modern prose pieces, and especially utopian fictions. But I would like to put this into conversation with the self-consciously mediated narratives of the Subjunctive Aesthetic that I find in utopias. The language philosopher Donald Davidson unintentionally buttresses my attempt when he claims, "a non-indicative sentence can not be said to have truth value."[213] Although Davidson's investigation is philosophically focused, he is discussing language, and specifically the subjunctive. His claim is striking in the sense that even a lie has a

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[210] McKeon, Michael. *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), Xxii.

[211] Bruce, Susan. "Introduction." *Three Early Modern Utopias.*

[212] McKeon defends himself from teleology on http://long18th.wordpress.com/2006/10/07/mckeon-responds-to-dave-and-laura-on-presentism-from-comments/. He specifically argues that teleology can exist in non-linear chronology, and also says that linear chronology does not ipso facto mean teleology.

[213] Davidson, Donald. *Inquiries Into Truth and Interpretation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 121.

negative value with regards to the truth. What does it mean then for the non-indicative moods to have no truth-value at all, not even as a negative version of the truth, even when works tell extensive narratives using it? What sort of meaning-making is involved? What type of rhetoric or narrative would take place in a genre with no truth value? The answer, I suggest, is in utopias, which embraces probability, provisionality, and multiplicity.

Finally, this chapter speaks to Marxist critiques of utopian thinking that date from *The Communist Manifesto*.[214] For example, Frederic Jameson's uncharacteristic contention that utopia can be an "imaginary enclave within real social space" that "offers the figure of a closed space beyond the social, a space from which power distantly emanates but which cannot be itself thought of as modern." He even goes so far as to claim that in contrast to the "bustling movement of secularization and national and commercial development" a utopia is "something like a foreign body within the social: in them, the differentiation process has momentarily been arrested, so that they remain as it were momentarily beyond the reach of the social and testify to its political powerlessness, at the same time that they offer the space in which new wish images of the social can be elaborated and experimented on."[215] Utopias seem to be, in Jameson's terms, a unique fantasy that allows for experimentation and elaboration—he compares them to childhood imagination play. Perhaps because he focuses on the genre's compatibility with Marxist architectonics, he also claims that planning in its daydreamer's utopian form is distinct from "erotic daydreams," or the physiological, immediately material forms of image and

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[214]See Marx, Karl. *The Marx-Engels Reader* Ed. Robert C. Tucker, (New York: Norton, 1978), 497.
[215] Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future,* 15-6. Krishan Kumar mentions the tension of Jameson's dismissal of early modern utopias as fantasy, but he generally accepts Jameson's description of early modern Utopia. "The Ends of Utopia." *New Literary History.* Vol. 41, Issue 3. (Summer 2010), 551-2.

narrative.[216] I reject this easy separation. Part of what I do in this chapter is situate utopia as a

non hetero-normative form of representing desire that would not register as "erotic" on

Jameson's scale, because it is communal and multiplicitous. I do not mean to reduce Jameson's

argument to a single point since I do not believe this is the main thrust of his ideas, but by

working through his oversight I see the potential to uncover an overlap in queer and Marxist

readings. Part of Jameson's strange division reflects his focus on More over other utopian

writers. Only in *The Blazing* does the utopian potential to queer desire come to the undeniable

forefront of the form. Nonetheless, Jameson does fix utopias with straight lines, while I argue

that utopian organizations move in an umbra that connects to the way desires connect to

representations of the likely and unlikely. Utopias are not a foreign body in the social fabric, as

Jameson would claim, but a queer presence that haunts the over-idealized conception of utopia as

a complete flowering of a new world. Jameson is correct that utopias do contain experimentation,

idealization, and novelty, but he misses the probabilistic elements that would have been familiar

to early modern writers through the discourses of architecture. By connecting the works in this

chapter to plans, we can recontextualize them as closer to efficacy than we might otherwise

imagine, and move away from an anachronistic application of "utopian" for ideas that may not

have been as distant from practicality as the term now implies.

Foucault once contrasted a heterotopia with a utopia, placing the utopia, like Jameson,

outside the physical world. By construing utopias along the narrative-imagistic lines of planning,

I argue that utopias are heterotopias. That is to say they mediate between an ideal and real world.

Like plans, utopias mediate between a reality and fantasy, build in a probablistic place connected

to an imaginary non-place through the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Similarly, by mediating between a

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[216] Jameson. *Archaeologies of the Future,* 10.

self-conscious fantasy and a real world, utopian fictions destabilize any claims to truth even as they seek to define the contours of what the truth is. Each work in this chapter addresses this simultaneous mediation and definition in a different but related style. Each piece of prose uses or references visual narratives and the multiple coexisting possibilities of the Subjunctive Aesthetic to craft narrative. Utopias, I demonstrate, rely on the spatial aspects of the Aesthetic because narrative alone does not capture the overlapping probabilities that each text engages. But utopias also straddle literary and non-literary narrative, compelling because they blend elements of the two categories. In the end, utopias, like architectural plots, require a ranging form of image-narrative. Utopian multiplicity surpasses architectural plots, however, in evoking a range of probable layouts in the shared world of author, texts, readers, and characters.

The chapter begins by laying out how essential probabilistic image-narratives are for utopias by contrasting More's *Utopia* with Plato's less architecturally influenced and more geometric *Republic*. *Utopia*, I argue, initiates the genre in an uncomfortable self-critique that grapples with likely and unlikely through narrative and image. Then I turn to Bacon's *New Atlantis* to uncover a burgeoning sense of multiplicity in narrative, as multiplicitous perspective becomes infused in his island's signature probabilistic institutions. Donne takes this multiplicity to the level of inner-monologue, tying multiplicitous representations of subjectivity to plots against authority in *Ignatius, His Conclave*, much like Sin and Satan in chapter two of this dissertation. The chapter culminates with Margaret Cavendish's critique of utopia in *The Blazing World*, finding multiplicity that leverages the genre's narrative and spatial play. Cavendish does not eliminate individual authority from utopia, but suggests that authorship and power are distributed among subjects when planning becomes the primary mode of discourse. *The Blazing World* manifests the strange excitement of the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

A Geometric Base: The Connected Proofs of Utopia

By the time Francis Bacon writes *New Atlantis* near the end of his life (first published posthumously in Latin in 1624), the tropes of utopia have become self-reflexive. One of the inhabitants on his imaginary island of Bensalem even "read in a book of [an Englishman], of a Feigned Commonwealth," referring to *Utopia*.[217] But More's *Utopia*, while not quite as self-conscious of its genre, is still engaging with a long tradition of writing that most utopian critics trace to Plato's *Republic*.[218] In fact, each of the works in this chapter specifically mentions Plato's work. Cavendish in particular deals with Plato at some length.[219] Viewing the continuities and differences between the early modern works and Plato's ideal city gives an operational definition of the tropes of utopian fiction and also makes the Subjunctive and architectural elements more apparent. In particular, understanding what More does with Plato's narrative use of geometry will help explain what sort of narrative process takes place in Utopia.

To begin, Plato's narrative of his *Republic* is framed by dialogues, winning over at least one openly hostile participant through a demonstration of a polity's organization.[220] Plato's work self-consciously relies on rationality to imagine a polity's organization, as do the early modern utopias. For More's intended audience who reads Greek, *Utopia* is also transparently imaginary, with several puns, such as "*Utopia*," which means "no-place" or "happy-place," and

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[217] Bacon. *Three Early Modern* Utopias, 174. The word "Feigned" in itself is not dismissive. The Bensalemites are fond of trickery. 184.

[218] See George Logan's *The Meaning of More's Utopia (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983). More. *Utopia.* 125. Donne. *Ignatius.* 54-5.

[219] Cavendish. *The Blazing World,* 187 for the mention of Plato's Republic. See 194-5 for Cavendish's discussion of "Platonic lovers."

[220] The narrator in the case of *Utopia* and Glaucon in the *Republic*

"Ademus," meaning "ruler without a people."[221] The *Republic* is more self-consciously imaginary as Socrates freely outlines a polis decoupled from any specific physical location. This imaginary seems closer to what Jameson has in mind when he defines utopia as a defined space within the social imaginary. More, in contrast, places his *Utopia* in the same world as his narrators and ostensibly in the same world as the reader of the book. *Utopia*, then, more than Plato's imaginary city, mediates between a mimetic representation of a world his contemporaries occupy and an imaginary non-place.

In another key comparison, both More and Plato emphasize the language and use of geometry as a means to ground rationality and organization, with several meaningful differences.[222] The *Republic* claims that the rulers of the imaginary *kallipolis* should be instructed in the use of geometry in order that they consistently "arrive in full agreement" during deliberations.[223] Presumably for similar reasons, all the citizens of Utopia learn "geometry."[224] But Plato takes great lengths to incorporate simple, regular shapes into his discourse and emphasize the importance of geometry. The *Republic*'s most confusing moment might come when Socrates attempts to discern the relationship among "Understanding," "thought," "Belief" and "Imagination" using the ratios on a line. The ratios are not metaphors or explanatory tools.

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[221] More. *Utopia,* 101. In *Divulging Utopia,* Baker demonstrates More's preoccupation that only the intended, highly educated, audience read this work, and they would likely have been aware of the pun.

[222] Historians of mathematics may consider this axiomatic. Geometry, for the Greeks, includes what early modern mathematicians consider the relatively distinct discourses of geometry, arithmetic, and even algebra. I am referring to shape and ratio based calculations when I use the word geometry. See Lachterman, Brian. *The Ethics of Geometry* for a detailed history of the discipline.

[223] Plato. *Republic.* 184.

[224] More. *Utopia,* 114. Like Bacon, Moore derides the "logic" of European universities as he discusses Utopia's universal education, mainly because its logic creates conflict.

Each of these characteristics and even the line itself relates directly to a ratio of truth-value.[225]

Also important to note, the truth-value expressed here via geometry is separate and closed-off

from the material world in a fundamental way. The ratio of truth, not the line or the concepts of

understanding, etc. marks the key idea of both line and words. Truth and the line are parallel,

much like Dee's universe in chapter three.

One might be tempted to conclude that More's fictional world outstrip even Plato's

Pythagorean obsession with geometric unity,[226] based on the woodcut cover of the 1516 first

edition.[227] In the image, the island is a circle surrounded by water, seen from above (as a circle

would be in early modern editions of Euclid's *Geometry*), with another circular river inscribed

within it to reinforce its peculiarly regular shape.[228] The 1518 edition's woodcut is even more

regularly circular. Indeed, these images reproduce the rigorously defined shape found within the

text. The island's natural cliffs are "treacherous" and "only the locals know the safe channels."

Yet in what I would argue is one of the most important differences from Plato, these ostensibly

natural coasts are artificial—the founder of the republic "cut away" land that connected an

ancient peninsula, creating the circular island.[229] *Utopia*'s space is regular, but it is produced by

human exertion in a social and material world.[230] In this, More's *Utopia* emphasizes the

intellectual and physical labor of constructing a geometric shape in the material world beyond

Plato's ideal forms. Both More and Plato share an emphasis on geometric principles in

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[225] Plato. *Republic*. 183-5. "Arrange them in a ratio, and consider that each shares in clarity to the degree that the subsection it is set over shares in truth."
[226] Ibid. 183. See the logarithmically divided line explaining the proportions of existence.
[227] More. *Utopia*. 6. The woodcuts for both editions were designed and commissioned by Erasmus and Giles. See David Wootton's introduction to *Utopia* on the development of the images through the different editions.
[228] One of Euclid's demonstrations inscribes a circle-within a circle. Euclid. *Elements*. 150.
[229] More. *Utopia*. 90-1.
[230] Utopia does not rely on an afterlife along the lines of The *Republic*'s Myth of Er, or the propaganda of Plato's three castes.

education and style, but More emphasizes the intellectual and physical labor required in imagining and translating this into material constructions.[231]

Unlike Plato's polity that denies its plasticity, More's utopia allows for change through human effort even if it gives little time describing that effort. Presumably, the separation of Utopia from the mainland required extensive intellectual and physical labor in disciplines we might call engineering and architecture. One could argue that Plato's *Republic* also uses human intellectual labor to define its contours, specifically though the conversation of Socrates and his interlocutors. But even Socrates goes through great effort to efface his ideal city as the work of construction. He reiterates over and over that he only uncovers the truth—he does not build it. This claim may be disingenuous, but the degree it dissimulates is somewhat unclear. The *Republic*'s humor and irony have been a matter of debate since Socrates said in its pages that he would ban all forms of fiction from his republic's educational program, even while admitting that the state would incorporate self-conscious lies. Classicists have attempted and will continue attempting to untangle the nuances of Plato's narrative.[232] But the overall interpretation of the *Republic* is that the ideal social layout emulates ratios, shapes, and ideas that for some reason or another we must claim exist outside our world. These ideal forms connect in a unified whole, whether in an actual afterworld, as in the myth of Er, in the world of geometry, as in Socrates' line demonstrating truth, or in the baffling narrative of Plato's cave, which transforms material things into the shadows generated by a fire in a cave and the truth into the light of the sun. These unified connections always end in regular, and usually simple, shapes.

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[231] Overall, however, More and Plato's republics seem to be defined by geometric artificiality in a homogenous, two-dimensional space that readers may look down upon to note systematic regularity. This is, as Henry Turner notes in *The English Renaissance Stage*, one of the key elements of a "groundplot" in what will eventually expand into the field of Architecture. 23.
[232] See Rosen, Stanley. "Introduction." *Republic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) for a counter-argument that Plato's text must be serious.

Utopia incorporates geometry in its narrative, in the curriculum of the island's own educational program, and also in the description and woodcuts of the island. But More departs from Plato's adherence to regular ratios and clearly defined forms. If the *Republic* has a shape, it would be a Pythagorean one—perhaps a circle like the universe in the myth of Er, or a triangle like the tripartite division of his gold, silver, and bronze castes. More's island, although its general impression is circular, incorporates both an artificial and natural gap. Returning to the woodcut, at the center of the island's layout a careful viewer can see this gap behind outline of a ship. This gap, although a naturally occurring harbor, according to the text, is not regular. This gap gives the island an overall shape of a crescent. A crescent is not a terribly complex shape by most standards, but *Utopia*'s narrative implies it requires more work than a circle or a triangle.

I argue that this crescent shape defines the key departure that early modern utopias make from Plato's regular world. The shape implies some sort of otherworldly connection to the moon, although the woodcut's shape does not overly play up the lunar connection.[233] Later utopias will make much of the moon, however, as in Donne's *Ignatius*. The shape calls up other-worldliness, as well as an outsider femininity for the patriarchal Utopia. But the separation implied by the crescent is undermined in demonstrating the separation's construction through labor. "It is said—and the appearance of this coastline seems to confirm the claim—that this country has not always been surrounded by the sea. But…a fifteen-mile-wide stretch of land that linked the peninsula to the land should be cut away, turning it into an island."[234] Although Utopia's crescent island is blotchy at best, not matching the actual shape of the moon, the effort in cutting away fifteen miles of land implies grounding in materiality. True, the effort is not extensive as stereotypical physical labor, being quickly passed over. Instead, the labor is the mixed

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[233] More. *Utopia,* 90.
[234] Ibid., 91.

imaginary-physical labor of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. The cutting away of Utopia from the mainland is a design that gets carried out. It is labor that blurs the boundaries between the naturalized experience of the world and a non-earthly body. The island's regularly-irregular shape is made in the world from the material of the world, but incorporates an overlap of moon and earth in Utopia's shape that initiates a haunting spatial probability.

Narrative Geometry

More takes what I have called Plato's geometry and modifies it, blending and connecting the role of construction and practice with abstract consideration. Although I do not discuss shapes in every text, so does each other piece in this chapter. Despite this elevated self-consciousness, however, More does not abandon an emphasis on Plato's geometry. Before I move on to other English early modern works that depart more drastically from a geometric basis, I will examine the narrative techniques of *Utopia* and the *Republic* to locate a similar overlap in the way they craft narrative. Before I do that, however, I must acknowledge that Plato and More write with the separation of nearly two thousand years. Plato's work, most certainly read out-loud in Plato's Academy at some point, maintains an element of performance even in the writing and translation that most of the Western world finds familiar. More's work, in contrast, begins with letters from various famous intellectuals of the day. Many of the differences between More and Plato might thus be attributed to a differing focus on textual or oral transmission. But even admitting these differences, both More and Plato begin in dialogues. These dialogues become charged with argument in both works very quickly, with distinct and controversial opinions becoming expressed in a social setting. Furthermore, a first person narrator defines the perspective of each of these works. In The *Republic*'s Socrates and Glaucon

are the narrators, in *Utopia,* the narrator claims to be the same Thomas More who is the author, as well as Raphael Hythloday.

The first person narrator and the dialogue form require a reader (or listener) to quickly evaluate the truth-value of any utterances made by the characters involved. The fact that many of the characters in both dialogues are presumably real people—Socrates, More, Cuthbert Turnstall, etc—intensifies the demands that we treat these events as having happened. *Utopia* pushes harder than the *Republic* for recognition as ontologically trustworthy with its many prefatory letters attesting to the truth of its narrative.[235] But once the characters have been established and the stakes of the argument demonstrated, both works move quickly to describing an ideal political structure. Although the *Republic* never forgets its dialogue form, Socrates voice eventually comes to dominate the description of his ideas, with only the occasional assent by his interlocutors. *Utopia* divides its introductory dialogue from the description of Utopia proper, but the effect only makes explicit what happens in the second half of Plato's *Republic*. Overall the effect of moving from dialogue to an almost monologue description draws the audience deeper into institutional planning after beginning in a relatively mundane deliberations.

The city that Plato describes in the *Republic* begins as a consideration, almost as a counterfactual. Socrates asks all his speakers to grant him a temporary suspension of the true/false dichotomy in an attempt to define what justice is through an imaginary exploration. As he claims to be unable to do this with the example of a single man, Socrates expands the scale of his investigation to the size of a city. This narrative move reflects the operations of Euclidean geometry, where scales can change but the essential propositions of geometry remain the same. Socrates also promises to return to the question at hand, and he eventually returns to answer what

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[235] More. *Utopia*, 40-5.

justice is when he discovers what a just city-state looks like. The first person narrative never drops out, and the impression of the section as a whole reflects Euclidean methods as much as Socratic dialogues, with a series of questions that in turn receive an answer. These steps build up to a unified theory of the perfect social organization and the ideal individual.

In contrast, More divides the description of Utopia from the framing dialogue in two separate books. A new narrator different from More's persona—Raphael Hytholoday—frames the narrative not by a counterfactual, but by an impersonal description of the island that he insists actually exists. He also insists on Utopia as an exemplar to be imitated. In place of the isolated proof, then, we have a distant description of the island that begins on the largest scale (much like Socrates claims to do) and moving down through individual institutions that make up Utopia's social structure. The use of maps and the woodcut on the cover reinforce this "overview," narrative style. "They," and "There is," begin nearly every paragraph, and the narrator's first person reactions disappear until the final few pages. *Utopia's* narrative resembles Plato's abstract overview but removes the constant question-and-response style that defines the dialogue.

The final few pages of More's narrative depart drastically from the *Republic*. Here, the persona of More's narrator stand-in returns to pass judgment on Utopian institutions in a markedly different way from Hytholday. He "was left with impression that many of the customs and laws established in that country were simply absurd."[236] Yet despite this challenge to the value, and possibly even the truth claims, that Hytholday makes, the narrator never addresses him directly. The disagreement hangs over the close of the narrative, but unlike the *Republic*, which closes with a potentially unbelievable myth, *Utopia* does not finish with this disagreement. Instead of ignoring everything that Hytholoday has described, the narrator claims,

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[236] Ibid., 159.

"I am happy to admit that there are many aspects of Utopian society that I would like to see established in our own political communities, even though I don't expect to see my wishes realized."[237] These few lines do incredibly complex narrative work. The sentences take an object of absurdity, which seems incompatible with the narrator's lived reality, and break utopian policy into discrete chunks available for practical application in limited ways. Furthermore, this connection is enhanced by the letters that close the book and suggest the application of many of the ideas expressed in Utopia. This break renders the text's abstract parts into potential points of activity or plans. The entirety need not be accepted because the unitary whole is actually multiple.

Walking Through *The New Atlantis*

Bacon's *New Atlantis* takes some of the geometric notions found in Plato and More, but also takes More's blending of truth-claims another step and works to emphasize multiple possibilities through narrative. In fact, he reworks the utopian genre as a critique of Plato's geometric unity. Like the earlier utopias, Bacon utilizes sections of dialogue. Portions of his work are in dialogue between the credulous narrator and a "Father" of the "Salomon House," or "Joabin…the good Jew."[238] Unlike the earlier works of More and Plato, however, these dialogues do not frame the account of the island so much as they give a first-person narration of its topography. In fact, there are no discussions until later in the work, and unlike *Utopia* and The *Republic*, these discussions tend to occur when the text describes Bensalem's institutions. When readers receive systematic overviews of the island as a whole, the descriptions are mediated through quotation marks in a conversation, and then again through the perceptions of the

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[237] Ibid., 160.
[238] Bacon. *Three Early Modern Utopias,* 174-7.

narrator, and above all are characterized by the disorienting overall narrative framed by a foreign place.[239] Unlike Plato's projective consideration through the perspective of Socrates, and unlike More's report of Hytholday's visit to a distant land, the narrator of *The New Atlantis* writes from within the place he describes. He captures his confusion in the moment. The unitary and distant descriptions of the *Republic* and *Utopia* have been replaced by a limited engagement that critic Kate Aughterson has associated with the quest for "fixed reference" in a "realist" empiricism. In her close reading of the narrator's arrival on the island, a system of reference becomes fixed through "sequential narrative." [240] This sequential narrative marks a major narrative difference from More and Plato. In addition to establishing an expected empiricism that requires material experience of Bensalem's institutions, Bacon's narrative also de-emphasizes unitary figures in space through a potentially destabilizing narrative. For example, the narrator sees a "haven,…the port of a fair city" as the *The New Atlantis* begins. Yet despite the work's title readers cannot even tell if this land is an island, as the narrator does not know its contours either.[241] Along with the narrator the audience waits in quarantine "three hours" before glimpsing the island's institutions, which only unfold as they become available in fragmentary perceptions.[242] First person sensory experience defines the way one views Bensalem.

In comparison with Plato or even More, *The New Atlantis* is anti-systematic in terms of its narrative use of topography, and calls to mind Michel de Certeau's experiences walking through New York City as he contrasts them with looking down on a dead city from the top of

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[239] The dystopian inverse of this is Donne's *Ignatius, His conclave*, which is also in first-person.
[240] Aughterson, Kate. "'The Waking Vision': Reference in the *The New Atlantis*." *Renaissance Quarterly*. Vol 45, No. 1 (Spring 1992), 123-30.
[241] Bacon. *Three Early Modern Utopias,* 152. Bacon's secretary and posthumous editor decided on *The New Atlantis*. Bacon never wrote a title for it.
[242] Ibid., 153.

the World Trade Center in *The Practice of Everyday Life*.[243] In the contrast between overview of

the city and moving through the streets, De Certeau defines the difference between strategy and

tactics. De Certeau defines "strategy" as "the calculation (or manipulation) of power

relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an

army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a *place* that can be delimited as

its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or

threats (…objects of research, etc.) can be managed."[244] De Certeau may have More and Plato's

republics in mind when he writes this, as for More and Plato, the ideal city can be isolated and

exert its will on its surroundings. Plato's entire world, in fact, is defined from an exterior point in

the Myth of Er. The experience of Bacon's Bensalem, however, corresponds more closely to

walking through the streets of a city, a move De Certeau associates with tactics. Tactics are still a

form of planning for De Certeau, but they respond to strategy, retooling the operations of

institutional power to exploit and create unimagined possibilities. For example, cutting across a

deer path instead of sticking to the streets. De Certeau finds this response praiseworthy and

necessary in the face of intuitional control. In narrative terms, lived experience can't be defined

in geometric terms for Bacon. Instead, Bacon, like de Certeau, emphasizes the moving through

and emphasizing first-hand experience over broad descriptions of institutions.

Before continuing into what separates Bacon's narrative besides an increased emphasis

on a first person experience, I also recall a similar trend in Bacon's other writings where I tied

this tendency to probability. A.P. Langman in his article "The Future Now," has noted a similar

trend in Bacon's *Sylvia Sylvarum* and *New Atlantis* with regards to "divination," as he argues

Bacon seeks a new foresight by tracing a cause-effect narrative that is observed, experienced,

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[243] De Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everyday Life,* 3.
[244] Ibid., 36.

and provisionally extended into the future.[245] But a better example from one of Bacon's other works mentioned in an earlier chapter demonstrates his experiential, narrative conception of even non-utopian spaces. In the essay "Of Building," Bacon proposes to "describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof." Bacon's model is brief in the extreme—only "two sides…a side for banquet…and a side for the household."[246] Having established these, the narrator walks through the model to create the rest, first by noting the "land," then "the stairs," then "beyond this front is there to be a fair court," and "beyond this court…an inward court."[247] Bacon transforms the "model" into a first-person narrative of walking through and observing the various component modules of the estate as a whole. He builds the house by walking through it.

By describing a home this way Bacon uses pieces, requiring a narrative to connect them. In this, he implicitly invokes Vitrivius's *De Architectura*. Vitrivius, as might be expected, emphasizes geometry, but he also emphasizes "literature" for a "dependable record" of the building process.[248] Bacon also calls on Palladio and his contemporaries, who began widespread publication of floor plans and cross sections derived from Vitrivius. Although de Certeau might dismiss modern graphical representations of the city as dead, Palladio's buildings in *The Four Books on Architecture*, broken in their component pieces via floor plan and cross section, are self-consciously incomplete, requiring an experience of the building itself. As Vitrivius recommends, Palladio pairs each with a narrative describing his successes and difficulties—for example, fitting his plan in spite of the "awkwardness of their sites," narrating his patrons'

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[245] Langman, A.P. "The Future Now," 153-4.
[246] Bacon, Francis. *Essays,* 149.
[247] Ibid., 151.
[248] Vitrivius would have the architect take all knowledge as his field—he advises education in every discipline.

requests, and his imaginative process.[249] Palladio also draws floor plans and cross sections of buildings based on Greco-Roman ruins, but in spite of the seemingly unified appearance of these drawings, his narratives tell of the fragmented "ruins" and their history, emphasizing the interpretive work he does on these pieces by repeatedly using the phrase "one can tell from the surviving remains…"[250] In a similar way, Bacon's "Of Building," uses the component pieces found in Palladian architectural discourses to emphasize the "materiall stuffe" as much as possible by unfolding each piece in a self-consciously continuing narrative that ends by offering another yet-to-be narrated space in the future ("As for offices, let them stand at distance, wish some low galleries to pass from them to the palace itself").[251] If Bacon has a system, he summarizes it best in "Of Gardens." The essay is "not a model, but some general lines of it"— "partly by precept, partly by drawing."[252] In this essay Bacon is self-consciously provisional— his text is subjunctive and architectural, not a distant overview.

Returning to the dénouement of *The New Atlantis*, the narrator comes to the Father of "Salomon's House…at [his] day and hour."[253] The Salomon House is the representative institution of the island, even choosing the government, but the Father unfolds its "true state" in a narrative.[254] In his words, the "end of our foundation" is "the knowledge of Causes, and secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of Human Empire; to the effecting of all things possible."[255] Although "Human Empire," seems to offer a spatial metaphor, the true end is in "causes" and "secret motions" and "all things possible." Emphasizing probability and

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[249] Palladio. *The Four Books of Architecture,* 149.
[250] Ibid., 225.
[251] Bacon. *Essays.* 152.
[252] Ibid., 160.
[253] Bacon. *Three Early Modern Utopias,* 176.
[254] "First….secondly…thirdly….fourthly…" Ibid., 177.
[255] Ibid., 174.

space, the ensuing description of the House's experimental "Preparations and Images," eschews the two dimensional conception of boundaries described by More and outlined in the woodcut image of *Utopia,* since Bensalem's space, like Palladio's, extends into the sky and underground.[256] Yet even these three dimensions require motion for intelligibility. When Salomon house makes "demonstrations" it is not of "geometry," but of "sounds, and their generation" or "lights and radiations."[257] The only outline the narrator gives of Bensalem as a whole is quick, uninformative, and oriented toward motion and multiple possibilities; "we have circuits or visits of divers principal cities of the kingdom."[258]

The New Atlantis contains no map or description of the island—even the fact that is an island is first mentioned in a parenthetical aside in a conversation.[259] Bacon refuses to define the contours of its space, and also drops the initial framing story by the work's conclusion. Unlike More and Plato, who return to their background dialogue, readers never discover how or if the narrator returns to Europe to inform the world of his discovery as the Father bade him do. William Rawley, Bacon's secretary, added a note in his hand to the end of *The New Atlantis* claiming "[The rest was not perfected]."[260] But based on Bacon's critique of geometric method, his use of architectural discourse, and his emphasis on motion over unity in *The New Atlantis*, it seems equally plausible that the text is indeed "perfected," in the sense that it demands experiential implementation. It is multiplicitous, a probable narrative that resembles a plan, calling on readers to construct with it. The narrative demands us to imagine the possible applications of Bensalem's institutions, not based on truth-claims made by prominent

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[256] Ibid., 177. "Large and deep caves…sunk six hundred fathom…some…are digged and made," and they also have "high towers…the highest of them three miles at least."
[257] Ibid., 181-3.
[258] Ibid., 185.
[259] Ibid., "(a city upon the eastern coast of our island)" 159.
[260] Ibid., 185.

intellectuals or the narrator. Readers themselves must decide how practical or imaginative the ideas contained within *The New Atlantis* are. These plans have contours, but they also contain interpretative possibility, a contingency that is self-consciously open to multiple pathways, never constrained or perfected.

Interiority and Thinking Ahead in Donne's City of Hell

A common thread that runs through Plato, More, and Bacon is a demand on readers and listeners for interpretation, from the argument and questions of Plato's dialogue, from More's qualified dismissal of the Utopians at the end of his text, or from the abrupt end of *The New Atlantis*. In each of these texts, an aporia demanding interpretation multiplies the possibilities for social organization. The promise of rational reorganization relies to some extent on mapping thought onto space, as the geometric narrative techniques and style of these works suggests. And to some extent a first-person narration feed into each of these text's ability to spatially conceive of thought, as in Plato's line of truth or More's regularly shaped Utopia. But at the same time, as I argued for *The New Atlantis*, the first-person narration can also use first person narration to create a shared sense of reality. The texts I have analyzed thus far in this chapter utilize a connection to an empirical reality shared by the author and reader, even as they blend the difference between imaginary consideration and real experience by placing ostensibly real places and people into the text itself alongside self-consciously imaginary abstractions. John Donne's *Ignatius, His Conclave*, published a decade before Bacon's *New Atlantis*, also maps intention onto space, although primarily through the creation of defined interiority and the narration of projective thought processes. But Donne encodes inverse of ideal and regular organization by outlining a society that negates all positive plans. The confusion of dystopia in Donne suggests

that utopia's multiplicity is relatively easy to exploit for effect, even so near its publication. *Ignatius* makes this clear with a blending of subjectivities as Donne expands the mutliplicitous points of view beyond Bacon's techniques.

At first glance, Donne's *Ignatius* does not seem utopian by any of the standards of the rest of the texts in this chapter, with the aforementioned "Letter" from the Printer emphasizing the work as one of satire aimed against the Roman Catholic Church. Donne's text describes a Jesuit's vision of the capital city of Hell, a city that strongly resembles Rome, with various intellectual celebrities of the past century making their case to be admitted to Satan's inner circle. Donne's nameless narrator never offers the city as an ideal place of political organization, and never even praises the figures he sees there. But Donne's text overlaps with the other texts from this chapter on several levels. Although published under the name of Anonymous, the book's preface begins with "The Printer to the Reader," where the printer justifies the printing of the satire by citing other writers of satire such as Erasmus.The printer's conversation with the author forces us to connect the material of the book to our world, while also surrounding and defining the contours of satire from a real world. But Donne takes the interiority of the first person narrator found in the other utopian works to a higher pitch.

Beginning with a hail to two angel statues at the "Colledge of Sorbon" and the "Popes Consistory," the narrator claims he once tried to reconcile the two schismatic Catholics of France and Rome represented by the angels "in these papers."[261] From this seemingly practical concern, the narrator then launches into the focus of his story. He flies in an "exstasie," where he meets the "true enemy" of the battling factions of the church, an enemy that we will come to recognize

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[261] Donne, John. *Ignatius, His Conclave*, 5.

as Ignatius of Loyola, leader of the Jesuits.[262] Like the end of The *Republic,* while in the throes

of his religious rapture, the narrator obtains a supernatural view of the world from a point that

seems to be outside. Unlike the simple, regular shapes of Plato's universe, Donne's picture of

the world also incorporates the architectural elements of Bacon's or More's utopia, as the

narrator "had liberty to wander through all places, and to survey and reckon all the roomes, and

all the volumes of the heavens, and to comprehend the situation, the dimensions, the nature, the

people, and the policy, both of the swimming Ilands, the Planets, and all those which are fixed in

the firmament."[263] Donne's world again moves away from geometric regularity and emphasize

an architectural organization for the universe with "roomes," but also incorporates regular terms

like "volumes" and "dimensions" that might be more "fixed."

The narrator's overview promises a "survey," or the ability to "comprehend the situation"

in a single glance, which in itself could imply either an architectural plot or Plato's view of the

universe. But I would align Donne's thinking more with the Subjunctive Aesthetic's

architectural representations than with Plato's more geometric view. Later, for instance, the

narrator will re-emphasize buildings, rooms, and space. The cosmic view incorporates

"swimming Llands," or the "Planets," which move through the sky as well as objects that "are

fixed in the firmament." Like the architectural images from chapter one that offer fixed shapes

that describe one possible building out of many, or Bacon's undefined probabilities from *The*

New Atlantis, the image describes a mental space where a single shapes brings with it more than

that single shape. The swimming motion of planets aligns with the possibilities for the

organization of space that one finds in an architectural plot, like the flies of Alma's house.

Donne's brief aside is the first of many descriptions that helps set up the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

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[262] This is the inverse of Plato's Myth of Er.
[263] Ibid., 7.

In a reversal of the hint of otherworldiness that was implied by Utopia's crescent shape, the narrator of *Ignatius* thinks immediately of astronomers when he enters the heavens on his simultaneously spiritual and material journey. He refuses to describe what he sees, ostensibly mocking Kepler's supposed claim that nothing happens "*in heaven without his knowledge*."[264] At the same time he satirizes Kepler, the mention of astronomers in his religious vision and the humor make the heavens immediately recognizable, and blend heaven and earth together. This is the first reversal of *Utopia*'s moon on the earth, in Donne's text. Similarly, after his tour of the heavens, the narrator enters Hell, mocking the vision at each step on the way by referencing the ridiculousness of spatial specifics, as when he stops briefly to mention the "Suburbs of Hel." The mention critiques Roman Catholic theology, with its well-explored space of hell, but two important assumptions are made clear in this mention of *"Limbo* and *Purgatory*." [265] First, Donne invokes the possibility of a spatial representation of the underworld. Second, the text makes spatial representations self-consciously ridiculous, nebulous, and unreliable. This is the mocking and doubtful counterpart to planning's multiplicity. Ignoring the absurdity of a hell with suburbs, the narrative not only continues to use the notions of space it mocks but makes them even essential narrative devices.

As with Bacon's *New Atlantis,* the narrator continues into hell with a very local view and does not immediately see an entire city, as the description of Limbo and Purgatory as suburbs could signal. Instead the point of view moves through a series of mysterious "inward places." After passing through these quickly readers come to a "secret place, where there were not many beside *Lucifer* himself."[266] Besides Satan, certain individuals such as "Pope Boniface" and

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[264] Ibid., 7.
[265] Ibid., 9
[266] Ibid., 9

"Mahomet" have "a roome" in this palace, which seems to resemble the papal compound in the Vatican. As satirical as the spatial description might be for Donne, the narrator uses an architectural representation to concoct an inner-circle for Satan's servants in our world, again making a blend of otherworldly and familiar. Here, unlike in the *Republic*'s Myth of Er, the supernatural areas are not separated from ideal space by moving circles outside material creation, but by rooms, specifically a "secret" room somewhere deep in the "inward places" of the Satanic Palace. This secret throne-room and court of Satan provides a metaphorical description of Satan's central importance in the operations of hell, as well as a condemnation of certain religious figures. Additionally, the separation of Satan from the rest of his city comes to have narrative significance. "The gates" separating Satan from the rabble of hell, "are seldome opened, nor scarce oftner then once in an Age," but the narrator is lucky enough to be present at once such moment.[267]

The gate simultaneously provides a narrative break, material barrier, and character separation, but connects the real-world architecture of the Vatican with an otherworldly space. In this, it resembles the appearance of the astronomers in the narrator's mention of heaven. And as with Donne's blended heaven and earth, we once again we see boundaries at a moment of fluidity. The rest of the narrative of *Ignatius, His Conclave* will describe the efforts of individuals to gain access to Satan's inner circle by describing how successful they have been in spreading sin and evil in the world through their intellectual programs. The gate can be crossed, but the means and probability of entering Satan's inner-circle remain uncertain. In this suspension of movement, the supposed separation of the gate becomes probabilistic and subjunctive. It resembles the walls of Alma's house in the first chapter.

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[267] Ibid., 13

As famous Renaissance thinkers from Copernicus to Paracelsus to Machiavelli step

forward, the reversal of the utopian trope of positive improvement takes central focus. The

speakers use a dialogue, but not to advance an ideal social organization like Socrates does, or

attempt to describe the best social organization that takes place in a distant land as *Utopia* and

The New Atlantis do. Instead, each speaker tries to justify how much damage they have done to

Christendom or to the world, while simultaneously attempting to advance forward into Satan's

presence. Donne's reversal of the constructive movement of utopias to destructive movement

may seem to make this more satire than utopian work.[268] Donne takes all the tropes we have seen

in utopias thus far and simply reverses their narrative order. For example, he eventually gets

around to mentioning "*Plato*, and other fashioners of *Common-wealths*" but only at the climactic

confrontation with Machievelli toward the end of the narrative, and only to mock that these

writers "allowed the libertie of lying, to Magistrates, & to Physicians."[269] He thus focuses on

utopian style, rather than the content. The institutions become absurdly probalistic, able to be

completely reversed on the basic level of positivity or negativity. Furthermore, the fact that

Donne only specifically names Plato is important, because *Ignatius* quite specifically reverses

The *Republic*'s narrative as well. Instead of beginning with more basic forms of plans as

Socrates does, Donne's narrator begins by flying into heavenly ecstasy to view the cosmos in a

single survey before taking us into Satan's palace and introducing us to familiar figures as they

outline more mundane forms of policy. Donne rejects Plato's correspondence between geometric

forms and the structure of society. *Ignatius* suggests that spatial representation in Hell's cosmic

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[268] *Utopia* also incorporates elements of satire as well, and arguably so does The *Republic*, even
if describing its comedy as satire is avant la lettre. My point is that I see no reason Donne's
satire cannot be both.
[269] Ibid., 55.

geography comes through via architectural understandings of the universe. Hell, in *Ignatius*, is comprehensible through the plan of the Pope's abode.

Ignatius's reversal of utopian narrative progression and tone all point to multiplicity, suggesting that the probabilistic elements of the form lends itself to dystopic resituating even at this early moment in the genre's modern development. But the primary technique that highlights probability in *Ignatius* also blends barriers is a non-architectural style of inward movement. As the narrator moves to the core of Satan's abode, he also begins to see into the thought processes of the individuals there. Copernicus strikes up a conversation with Satan to justify why he belongs beside the fallen angel. Following the quotation mark that defines the edge of Copernicus's words, "*Lucifer* stuck in a mediation. For what should he do? It seemed dangerous to graunt it, to one of so great ambitions."[270] After an introduction that seems to promise dialogue, we instead fly into Satan's mind and find him considering what he "should" do. From this moment on, readers catch glimpses of dialogue, but mostly extensive recitations of monologues by Machiavelli and Satan's puppet-master Ignatius. In addition, a huge chunk of the rest of *Ignatius* describes the thought process of each speaker. As the initial deliberation about what Satan should do implies, these considerations are often written in probabilistic terms. After following the narrator move outside the confines of the his body, and then moving with him as he exits the confines of the earth, readers then encounter familiar figures, rooms, and move deeper into hell. After arriving at the capital seat, most of the narrative observing the interior monologue of the people there. The narrator's newfound ability to enter their thoughts continues his journey that blends the boundary between interior and exterior, rendering even a separation of minds hazy. Donne thus heightens the connection of spatial representations of thought to his

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[270] Ibid., 13.

narrative by aligning thought with space in his narrative movement. In a more extreme version of Bacon's first-person utopian encounter, Donne transforms his dystopia into a multiple first-person account.

Despite the reversals and expansion of utopian narrative style, I emphasize that Donne's hell diverges from The *Republic*, *New Atlantis*, and *Utopia*, in one obvious way. Hell, although seemingly planned by various figures, often erupts into complete disorder as riotous mobs push at the gates of hell, an advisor controls a puppet monarch, and upstarts constantly threaten to overthrow what little order exists. By the end of the work, however, these failures define the contours of an ideal polity in the negative of all of Hell's tropes. Again, Hell's failures illustrate a probabilistic accompaniment of utopian success, outlining the negative image of an outcome through enumerating all the ways design can fail. If utopias can be aligned with planning and calculations of probability, then Donne's dystopia gives the reverse, recounting all the contingent ways a plan goes awry without actually describing the successful plot. Donne's text makes the elements of plotting explicit in the ways I mentioned, but he also suggests that Hell's anti-plotting can provide a plan of its own.

Ignatius even describes the possibility of expanding Lucifer's kingdom with a new "Lunatique Church," on the surface of the moon.[271] Their mentions also makes an important connection to gender, as Satan and Igantius's plan to expand in this area relies on the misogynist argument that the Queen of the moon will be easily swayed as other female monarchs have, with the extensively qualified exception of Queen Elizabeth. By claiming that Hell's model can be transposed to the moon, *Ignatius, His Conclave* makes its utopian connections explicit. The lunatic society has clear parallels with other famous Renaissance tales imagining a journey that

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[271] Ibid., 83.

incorporate elements of an ideal society on the moon. More importantly, it reverses More's trope of the moon on the earth.[272]

The mention of the Queen of the Moon and the long and complex comparison Ignatius makes with Queen Elizabeth also makes the utopian connection to planning clear. Believing that Hell has the ideal form of society, Satan's personal Jesuit Ignatius plans not just to colonize the lunar society the way he notes North America was colonized, but use its model as a plan he can impose on an other social organizations. In fact, he compares this organization with the actions of Queen Elizabeth to critique specific "innovating" in Church policy that he finds appealing.[273] But the connection of the lunar church to Elizabethan religious policy also makes Donne's mockery of utopian pretensions as actual more credible than most readers would think likely. Hell's idea of exporting its ideal standards and institutions to the moon seems ridiculous, but Donne repeatedly condemns this for one specific reason. The Jesuits, on both earth and in hell combine, blur, or skip the barrier between praxis and theory. He claims that Jesuits "never content themselves with the *Theory* in anything, but straight proceed to *practise*."[274] Later he claims that the "*Pope* and *Lucifer* love ever to follow one another's example: And therefore that

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[272] Some examples of these are Kepler's *Somnium*, or the more famous Renaissance rediscovery of Lucian's *True History*. Lucian's classical text also contains a journey to the moon, but with a society that incorporates fantastic and occasionally plausible organizations. These texts incorporate elements of utopia within their pages, with policies worth mimicking. But the astronomical connections running through *Ignatius* that finally become explicit with the lunar expansion of hell most likely finds its closest parallel in Tommasso Camapanella's *City of the Sun*. *City* is more obviously utopian in the sense that the commonwealth described uses the worship and organization of astral bodies as its guiding principles and focuses on the actions of a polity.

[273]. He qualifies this critique by claiming that her actions do not amount to "properly an *Innovation,* less thereby I should confess that *Luther* and many others which live in banishment in *Heaven* far from us might have a title to this place." Donne. *Ignatius*, 87.

[274] Ibid., 67.

which the one had done in the middle world, the other attempted in the lower."[275] Thus the

Jesuits seem to move in a "middle world" where theory is praxis, a world best understood

through planning's multiplicitous mediations and the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Donne's dystopia

thus makes the operations of planning in the genre a self-conscious object of mockery.

       To push Donne's satire one step more, the text's mockery also makes interpretive

demands on the reader that seems to resemble the close of Bacon's later *New Atlantis*. Critically,

the text is usually understood as ambiguous or is reduced to pointless satire.[276] Yet Donne

himself was famously ambivalent about the Catholic Church, wavering for years before finally

converting and becoming the famous Doctor Donne at the personal behest of King James. The

text also seems to invite a degree of sympathy even with the point of view of the villainous

Ignatius himself. We spend so much time in his mind as he schemes to maintain his power that

sympathy becomes a side effect. But even if this affective reading is anachronistic or socially

impossible, the cases that all the famous figures make to attempt and gain entrance to hell seem

ambivalent at best. From Copernicus to Machavelli, each character does their best to condemn

their own actions, only to be told they just aren't quite evil enough. Readers also see these

character's thought processes, and their reasoning for how they might best turn the situation to

their advantage. Their actual moral fiber, whether or good or bad, is confusingly left open to

interpretation. Even Donne's praise for Queen Elizabeth is mediated through the tepid critique

and strange praise offered by Ignatius. The text constructs a dystopia from unconstruction,

suggesting that utopia can blend into dystopia through probability and point-of-view. This

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[275] Ibid., 73.

[276] Korkowski, Eugene. "Donne's 'Ignatius' and Menippean Satire." *Studies in Philology*. Vol. 72. No. 4. (Oct. 1975), 419-38. For a more recent piece that captures the religious ambiguity of Donne's work and downplays the satire, see Tutinia, Stefania. "Notes on Machiavelli and Ignatius Loyola in John Donne's *Ignatius, His Conclave*." *English Historical Review*. (2004) 119(484), 1308-1321.

interpretative demand multiplies the possible social institutions that might serve as models by offering a negative cloud of failed designs, and also explains why Donne bolsters the first-person experience so much in comparison to other utopian tales. Donne may critique utopian visions, but he also suggests that the grounds for this critique are many-shaped, requiring an interpretive vantage to fix any particular criticism.

Ladies' (?) Bodies (?) And Utopian Fictions

I turn now to the longest section of this chapter, to a utopia at the end of the early modern period that clarifies many of the tendencies contained in More, Donne, and Bacon, but also throws many of their probalistic restrictions into sharp relief. Frances Yates in *Ideas and Ideals in the North European Renaissance* claims that Francis Bacon thought in images, "like a man of the Renaissance."[277] Yates' words suggest a connection of image to masculinity that has been explored at great length by a number of critics. All of the writers in this chapter thus far could be called "men of the Renaissance," and I have argued that in their building of the utopian genre they do think in images and in turn attempt to use these images to represent their knowledge. Bacon, for example, uses architecture in *The New Atlantis* to unpack imagery only through narrative and the promise of continuation. Building on Yates, I argue that although Bacon's images form a key component of his work, his imagery also relies on a moving, narrative representation of knowledge that often encounters real material and persons, which complicates the masculine assumptions that accompanies authorship. Up until this point in the chapter, I have only touched briefly on discussion of gender. But Francis Yate's comparison and Donne's

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[277] Yates, Frances. *Ideas and Ideals in the North European Renaissance* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 68. Yates is paraphrasing an argument by Brian Vickers from *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose*.

comparison of Queen Elizabeth with the Queen of the Moon gives us a very clear connection to

the much later utopian work by Margaret Cavendish, *The Blazing World*. Her narrative also

recounts an imagistic tale of an otherworldly queen. Cavendish's world engages the Subjunctive

Aesthetic with intensity, finding multiplicity most especially in utopian texts. *The Blazing World*

also incorporates the blending of idea and material, and I argue that Cavendish reveals that this

blend relies on the construction of gendered categories. *The Blazing World* leverages these

categories to participate in the critique of utopias embedded in the form since More, especially

assumptions about individual authorship. Cavendish's critique focuses on gendered categories,

but also suggests that the geometric forms floating behind the utopias in this chapter have

become obsolete as she introduces a protagonist-driven narrative as a defining feature.

Stylistically, *The Blazing World* reflects an image-narrativity by defining a parallelism that is not

parallel, but rather that blends in a materially non-material cloud. Cavendish, more so than any of

the other authors in this chapter, exposes the queer heterotopic elements of utopia, the form's

multiplicity and probability.

First, I want to briefly re-survey the utopias of Cavendish's predecessors. Gender is

important to the institutions, narrative, and imagery of the earlier texts I have explored in this

chapter. However, the authors seem to deal directly with women or gender in a handful of

sentences. Plato gives the most space to gender roles, but only because Socrates is compelled to

defend his radical conception for gender equality from direct criticism. The *Republic* includes

children in its universal sharing of property, and connects this to an argument that women are

expected to engage their citizenship just as men do, as opposed to managing a defined domestic

sphere of some kind.[278] More's *Utopia* is more specific in defining what women can do, and

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[278] Arguably all of Plato's kallipolis is a domestic sphere—or circle.

more explicitly attempts to define what early modern gender could mean even in a society that seems to have achieved an almost egalitarian balance. In More's commonwealth, women participate in labor just like men. They can be priests (although they rarely are), farmers, craftswomen, etc. but they are ultimately subservient to their husbands just as children are subservient to their parents and men are to their elders. In an important addition that suggests the importance of sight for embodied gender in the early modern period, More also allows for affianced men and women to observe the naked body of a potential spouse in order to decide on mutual attraction and compatibility. *The New Atlantis* finds this a bit too much and may even obliquely deride More for his suggestion, but Bacon's commonwealth still allows for friends of the spouse to inspect and report on the naked body. The journal format of *The New Atlantis*, however, leaves actual experience with women outside the scope of the narrator's quarantine. In a similar way, Donne's Hell holds the remarkable status of not including a single woman among the insiders of the conclave. Highlighting this absence and complicating what might seem to be a clear gender split, *Ignatius* pauses to remark explicitly on the status of ladies in the sections I explored in the section above. In indeterminate misogynist terms, *Ignatius* suggests that women are most susceptible to Satan's charms, but then fails to include a single woman in Satan's dystopian capital. These responses to women may seem to range widely, but they all take on some standard assumptions.

Each of these utopian represents women as a gendered category that is either absent from the social structure, as in Donne, or that can be altered through the communal will to become functionally identical with men with slightly limited capacities. Socrates says very clearly that women will do exactly what men do in the kallipolis, including going to war and practicing naked physical fitness in the gymnasium, to the chagrin of some of his listeners. In *Utopia*,

women have the ability to participate in society in the same positions as men, but without the ability to excel to the same extent in morality or physical strength. Yet unlike other institutions in *Utopia* that have a history in the ancient founder's laws, readers have no clue how the ancient Greek-influenced culture of General Utopus led him to enact an equality of the sexes to any degree. More's narrator seems to take as self-evident that freedom to pursue a talent and communal efficiency simply give rise to the equal labor of both sexes.[279] Even more than the labor of cutting away the peninsula into an island, More's text suggests that the switch to the employment of women can happen rapidly with focused and communal effort. Bacon's text spends even less time describing the general status of women. Besides the mention of Adam and Eve pools where friends observe the naked body of a potential spouse, only one brief line that suggests women are employed in the various scientific enterprises on the island. For the Baconian utopia, women are the raw material of visual imagery, to be viewed by men and in return to view men for the purposes of childbearing.

The cumulative effect of each of these treatments suggests women are the unprocessed sources of human material to be manipulated and shaped by utopian plans. Although not simply vessels for the production of children in any of these works, women's bodies and behaviors become the most radically altered even by the extreme standards of the texts involved. As my earlier analysis suggests, the commonwealths achieve this change without any suggestion of a single woman's volition or opinion. In Frederic Jameson's analysis of the utopian genre's early modern origins that I outlined at the beginning of the chapter, I see a repetition of the theoretical manipulation of embodied females in the utopian texts. Trying to outline the pleasures of abstract

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[279] Unlike Plato, however, More's family unit remains intact. The difference between genders in More's commonwealth only persists institutionally in the segregated seating arrangements for women, men, and nursing mothers at each family's supper.

construction, he mentions Cavendish's utopia, specifically in conjunction with an infantilized

"pleasure" and "play." Although Jameson claims this concept of pleasure applies to other

utopias, the specific citation of a woman's work at this moment is revealing because one page

previous he claims that the utopian genre escapes the "erotic economy" to focus on en economic

one. Although he makes an equivalence of erotic power to economic power, he divides the

two.[280] The economic pleasure is mediated through some kind of femininity for Jameson, the

raw material for a theoretical definition of the genre. His analysis reflects the earlier utopias, but

also downplays the gendered complications of the texts.

A utopian connection between raw material and femininity is complicated for several

reasons. To begin, I have already argued that the Subjunctive Aesthetic blurs the distinction

between material and non-material in order to construct a contingent narrative. Secondly, men of

all social standings also become raw material to be shaped by the utopian institutions in each of

these texts. Plato may claim that stereotypically masculine endeavors like wrestling and war fit

the women of his new *Republic* better than stereotypically feminine traits. But even he blends

gendered tropes by suggesting that men whose skills incline them in the direction of child rearing

will help in the raising of children. More argues even more clearly than Plato that masculinity

changes under different institutions, as war and even violent activity becomes unacceptable to

the Utopians. The plasticity of gender roles, and the blending of stereotypically feminine or

masculine pursuits and traits suggest the contingency involved in narratives of probability, even

if More and Plato leave the specific explorations in a handful of sentences. Their minor asides

seem to suggest a fluid notion of sexuality, or at least a blended range of possibilities beyond a

dichotomy of sexes. I do not want to overstate the potential feminism of these texts—women

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[280] Jameson. *Archaeologies of the Future,* 10-11.

remain categorically inferior to men in them, even with their expanded range of probable social roles. Bacon and Donne, for example, generally pass over the presence of women. And when Donne actually discusses femininity, the narrative's tone becomes jarring, devolving on tropes about female weakness and inability to be productive beyond childbearing. Bacon and Donne's texts may seem to depart from More and Plato, but they assume a comfortable category of femininity, and only clarify that women receive very little discussion in utopian texts because their pliability is aligned more comfortably with material embodiment. *The Blazing World*, playing up the Subjunctive Aesthetic, upends the earlier assumptions and renders a gendered multiplicity alongside the utopian mixture of theoretical and material.

    The Blazing World depicts and undermines the categorical manipulation of women by designs from its first pages by beginning with a man "extremely in love with a young Lady" who attempts to "execute his design" of either marrying or "obtaining" her.[281] In opposition to Jameson's division of the erotic and the economy, design and desire are not equivalent in the introduction to Cavendish's narrative, but they blend into each other when the object of each is a Lady.[282] The abductor's plan almost comes to fruition when he steals the Lady and takes to sea. A cloud of contingent events, however, thwart his plot when a storm moves them off their expected course to the frozen north seas where all the men eventually freeze to death. The narrator gives an "Alas," to the sailors, focusing mainly on their lack of a sensible plot for sailing, "not knowing whither they went, nor what was to be done in so strange an adventure, and not being provided for so cold a voyage, were all frozen to death." The lady meanwhile survives

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[281] Cavendish. *The Blazing World,* 125.
[282] In an introduction to *The Blazing World* Lilley, Kate argues that hermaphroditism is key to Cavendish's rise to power. Cavendish. *The Blazing World,* xxvi-xxix.

"by the light of her beauty, the heat of her youth, and the protection of the gods."[283] The

abductor's plan and the manipulation of a female body become untenable because navigation,

like other forms of projection, relies on probability. In the course of these ranging encounters

with probability, the Lady's material body pushes back against masculine designs to alter the

conditions of the plan. The lady's ostensible objectified status even saves her from a cold death,

allowing her to survive where the men all die. As the narrative continues, readers discover that

this environment is not just an extreme point of our own world, but rather the connection to

another world that touches our own "Pole to Pole."

This is the second utopian work in this chapter that mentions another world beyond earth.

The first was Donne's mention of the lunar Queen. But Plato's Myth of Er and More's

suggestions that *Utopia* is in fact a "non-place," also seem to suggest that a key component of

utopian fictions involve positing a type of world-creation or parallel world. Donne's offer of a

lunar church, and Bacon's Bensalemite mines and towers that reach high into the sky and deep

into the earth suggest similar possibilities. The narrator of *The Blazing World* claims that the

parallel world her protagonist enters is only one of many, all of which are invisible because the

light of our sun blinds us to the presence of these worlds. In my terms, the "Lady" protagonists's

entry into one of these other worlds comes because she is forced to engage the plans of her

would-be abductor. The other world she enters eschews the narrative intentions of the potential

rapist, exploring a counter-possibility that is parallel but mutually constituative. Cavendish's

introduction suggests that by believing that only the man has a narrative design ignores an entire

other probable world implied by the necessity of this design, specifically the Lady's own

intentions. By making a plan the entrepot into a new world, Cavendish makes the continuum of

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[283] Ibid., 125-6.

utopia and plan apparent. She also reveals the gendered assumptions inherent in a utopian separation regarding the author's intention.

The protagonist exploits the probability of the Subjunctive Aesthetic to confront masculine intention, rendering her as a character capable of resisting the stereotypical movements of gendered categories. Both gender and authorship conflate in this protagonist's rapid crossing of worlds. The other texts in this chapter make some claim of a shared reality with our own, but the unnamed "Lady" protagonist's experience in crossing over to the new world suggests that these other worlds of utopian fictions are fabrications by multiple authors, readers, and characters, not just the vision of an male author. In the new world with unfamiliar materials, the Lady quickly meets unfamiliar beings. First she encounters "bears…upright like men," but then comes across multiple races of upright beings, including fox-men, bird-men, and "grass-green" men.[284] They bring her, without her understanding or consent, to the Blazing World's Emperor who, like the man with designs upon her in her own world, marries her without consulting her wishes (he makes a show of worshipping her first). The moment offers a gendered connection uniting both worlds in a parallel but distinct fashion. In the Blazing World, abduction seems slightly more acceptable not because the spouse is the Emperor of a world, but because in this parallel world the "Lady" is able to engage in open design of her own. The wedding and her relationship to the Emperor receive no description. Indeed, the only significant thing about the marriage at this point is that the Emperor "gave her an absolute power to rule and govern all that world as she pleased."[285] After a view of the new Empress's extensively described "accoutrement" we move to her curious investigation into the ordering of the new world, as she

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[284] Ibid., 127-32.
[285] Ibid.,134.

reorganizes it to fit her desires. The Lady has her own plans in the blazing world, instead of being forced to deal with the designs of men.

The reversal of the protagonist's social power from the beginning of the narrative to her encounter with the Emperor is quick and remarkable, made even more remarkable by the possibility that the new Empress is the only public woman in this parallel world. The word "man" or "men" describes each of the beings in this strange world of animal castes, even including worm-men, and readers only find out later in a conversation about prayer that women stay in the home to pray.[286] Cavendish's publically homosocial Blazing World suggests that the Lady's unaccountability within the strange world's social order allows her a unique position that compels the inhabitants of the Blazing World to worship her as a deity and invest her with extreme amounts of power. The Lady encounters the plans of men in both her world and the Blazing World, and although the plans would control her behavior the utopian frame also gives her a unique ability to reverse her position. She survives abduction because the male plans failed to account for contingency. In this new world, instead of mere survival, the Lady takes charge and sets out uncovering the Blazing World's underlying structure and re-ordering it according to scientific principles. She becomes a kind of avatar of the Subjunctive Aesthetic as soon as she ascends the throne.

The New Empress has big plans, and the first thing she does is survey the epistemologies of her world:

Of these several sorts of men, each followed such a profession as was most proper for the nature of their species, which the Empress encouraged them in, especially those that had applies themselves to the study of several arts and sciences; for they were as ingenious and witty in the invention of profitable and useful arts, as we are in our world, nay more; and to that end she erected schools, and founded several societies. The bear-men were to be her experimental philosophers, the bird-men her astronomers, the fly-, worm-, and fish-men her natural

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[286] Ibid.,135.

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philosophers, the ape-men her chemists, the satyrs her Galenic physicians, the fox-men her politicians, the spider- and lice-men her mathematicians, the jackdaw-, magpie- and parrot-men her orators and logicians, the giant her architects, etc.[287]

This description transforms the Empress into a surveyor of many different sorts of "men." It also bookends specialized fields of knowledge with architecture and the language of architecture. Before the description, "the empress erected schools, and founded several societies," and then the list of her animal scholars ends with the giant "architects." This might suggest that by the time Cavendish writes *The Blazing World*, the connections of institutional knowledge-based statecraft to architectural mastery seem obvious. Again, however, I would suggest we resist this teleological urge. In the third chapter I suggested a similar connection of knowledge systems to architecture in my comparison of John Dee with Bacon. But there I argued the connection is adversarial. Like Dee's outline of knowledge in his preface to Euclid or Bacon's survey of epistemology in *Novum Organum*, the fields that Cavendish lists in this catalogue associate architecture with disciplines utilizing spatial and mathematical projection, such as astronomy. But Cavendish also associates architecture and projection-based disciplines with natural sciences such as those described by Bacon, for example experimental philosophy.[288]

If we look at the Empress's survey and retooling of the Blazing World's scholarly disciplines out of context, we might be tempted to conclude that the instrumental use of the Subjunctive Aesthetic necessarily leads to a deified monarch who uses plans of systems to reinforce state power and vice-versa—a very modern world, even if a woman pulls the strings. Indeed, the Lady argues with representatives from each scholarly species in order to fix fields of knowledge while shoring up the stability of her political order. Also suggesting a prototype of

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[287] Ibid., 134.
[288] In some ways, Cavendish is explicitly connecting Bacon's plan/ordering of knowledge of *Novum Organum* with the form of utopia.

the military-industrial complex, the Empress eventually goes on to use her knowledge of these disciplines to plan and execute the invasion of yet another world in the second part of *The Blazing World*.[289] This invasion even involves submarines and a strangely modern type of bomb. But the most convincing suggestion that the Blazing World predicts a modern regime of carefully planned knowledge is the extensive discussion of authority in the creation or invasion of new worlds. In the course of her scholarly interrogations, the Empress meets spirits who inform her that infinite worlds exist. She even meets Margaret Cavendish during a spiritual projection into another world. Furthermore, the Empress even attempts to secure the Duchess Cavendish a world of her own.

In isolation these details support Jameson's assessment of the utopian genre as the workshop for the social imaginary that feeds into the modern state, and the continued domination of women. In particular, Cavendish's suggestion that architecture forms a model for organizing knowledge for the state feeds into terms like "superstructure" and "infrastructure."[290] The text also gives credence to McKeon's idea that utopian writings lead to the novel by looking ahead to tropes we find familiar. During the course of *The Blazing World*, Margaret Cavendish appears as a character. The insertion of the author as a character and an emphasis on an author-function seems particularly novelistic. In a discourse on the pleasure of authoring a world, and what seems to be a blatant display of weak model theory, the Duchess character/author even goes through several patterns for an imaginary world, beginning with Pythagoras, going through Plato, continuing to Hobbes and others, finding each of these authorities deficient.[291]

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[289] Ibid., 208-220.
[290] Jameson. *Archaeologies of the Future,* 30.
[291] Cavendish. *The Blazing World,* 187.

I acknowledge this is one potential reading of the text, but I emphasize it as a potential one. I also see parallel narratives that interact with and occasionally differ from this teleology. The outline Cavendish presents here has several obstacles to marking *The Blazing World* as the inauguration of a fixed world of human behavior, of science, or even probability. To begin, the dialogue between the Empress and her scholar-species is a dialogue. Although sometimes she agrees with the assessments of her advisors, she also finds them confusing, unhelpful, or incomprehensible. Occasionally, as with her "Galenic" fish-men or the "worm-men" her interrogation leaves open questions, without deciding questions of natural philosophy in any particular direction, demanding more interpretation along the lines of Bacon's utopia.[292] She has as much information to offer them as they do to her. Second, the inclusion of architects and orators alongside each other in the rolls of scholars also forestalls the suggestion of complete control. The Empress interrogates each of her castes, but she never has a conversation with her architects. In this absence, readers have the suggestion of a connection to the second-to-last group, the orators and logicians, who come last in the Empress's interrogation. But when the Empress finally questions them she mocks their syllogisms. Does her mockery extend to the architects? Presumably not, since their caste is the one that will later build the submarines that allow her invasion of another world. Yet the connection of the architecture in oratory in her list, and the Empress's emphasis of their duties as "art," suggests that Cavendish has a Vitrivuian idea of an architect—a broad-minded builder focused on the practical application of theoretical abilities. Architecture does not transform the knowledge outlined here into tools for the state, but connects disparate theoretical concerns into practice without foreclosing any particular use. Architecture, for Cavendish, does not fix. It blends.

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[292] Ibid., 157.

Ultimately, the author as a character actually poses the biggest challenge to a teleological reading that would define Cavendish's utopia as a blueprint for a modern text. Authority, for Cavendish, becomes multiply occupied, both material and imaginative. This is most acute during a long sequence describing spirits that illustrates the connection of gender, authority, and materiality in the field of planning. As I mentioned above, the spirits consulted in *The Blazing World* help the Empress in her quest to find out about her old world. The Empress uses the term "immaterial spirits" to describe these beings, who also have their immateriality confirmed by the fly-men who summon them. This immateriality is hazy and doubtful, however, as the Empress's advisors note that the immaterial beings can use matter for clothing. After this initial tension that blends material and non-material comes an even bigger difficulty for defining materiality in the following parenthetical, "After the spirits had presented themselves to the Empress, (in what shapes or forms I cannot exactly tell)."[293] Even when wearing their material clothes and conversing with the Empress, the spirits do not have a defined shape. According to the spirits' extensive conference with the Empress, spirits believe that materials can act upon them as they can act upon material. "Natural material bodies give spirits motion," they say.[294] The Empress remains skeptical. Here, *The Blazing World* is positioned in the dispute between the theoretical and material of the strange spirits. The spirits consistently work to achieve the aims of the Empress once she makes contact with them. Like plans, although they cannot act on materials and are not materials themselves, somehow they have an effect on materials. But most importantly in undoing authority in utopia, these spirits become the conduit through which the

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[293] Ibid.,165

[294] Ibid., 168. The conference is a wonderful question and answer session that sprawls through philosophy, mundane questions, theology, and even mentions John Dee at one point.

Empress contacts the author Margaret Cavendish, making her a spiritual "scribe" for a proposed "Cabbala" that will explain the Empress's survey of knowledge.

As this spiritual contact suggests, the appearance of the spirits does more than just blend material and theoretical. As they are described, the parenthetical "(in what shapes or forms I cannot exactly tell)" also interjects with the voice of the narrator who has been absent from the text until this point. The narrator and author are as confused here as they are in other utopian texts—unable to define forms "exactly," just as the spirit's forms cannot be defined. This, "exactly," construes materiality as provisionally defined, unable to quite fit in a single shape or form. At the same time, the parenthetical introduction of the author inaugurates a blending of text and authority that reduces the amount of control exerted by designs or plans. Up to this point, *The Blazing World* seems to emphasize a masterful unitary authority in the creation of a social plan through the Empress's sprawling survey of knowledge. But the parenthesis surround another voice that disagrees with the Empress, opening a new world in the text itself. One might simply wish to claim this voice is the same authority, as the spirits suggest that the creation of the world is the ultimate form of control. But the author hinted by this parenthetical aside is actually summoned into the narrative of *The Blazing World* as a scribe at the behest of the Empress. This allows for a shared authority between text and author, as designs begin to generate their own counsel and modify the narrative of *The Blazing World*. Once in the world, Cavendish's avatar advises the Empress against a plan to concoct a Cabbala to unravel the mysteries of the universe. Thus, the designs of the state that Cavendish authors become modified from within the narrative by counter-probabilities. In turn, the Empress will exert influence on Cavendish's world.

The main way the Empress influences the Duchess is through the push to design her own world. All the other utopias surveyed have attempted to connect a self-conscious fantasy to the real world via the insertion of the author or characters that seem familiar. Cavendish dramatizes this by actually visiting the world she creates as a character. The design of her world does not simply proceed from her mind though, as the spirits claim. The author is summoned by the text itself. In fact, the character of Cavendish laments her inability to achieve her own designs. As she attempts to create her own world she works through the designs of other philosophers and writers, dismissing "Pythagoras" in particular because "She was so puzzled with numbers, how to order and compose the several parts, that she having no skill in arithmetic was forced also to desist from the making of the world."[295] She then dismisses Plato's designs for focusing too much on the motion of thought. She is more sympathetic to other systems. Her other worlds include literary examples, Hobbesian philosophy, and even other utopias, in a reveal that evokes the genre-overlaps of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Although she does not embrace any of these other probable worlds, she includes them together, emphasizing the validity and connection of each.

The Duchess eventually comes to design her own world, the world that presumably becomes published as *The Blazing World*. Cavendish emphasizes the Subjunctive Aesthetic in her description. "When the Duchess saw that no patterns would do her any good in the framing of her world; she resolved to make a world of her own invention, and this world was composed of sensitive and rational self-moving matter." The world is so perfect it "cannot possibly be expressed by words, nor the delight and pleasure which the Duchess took in making this world of

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[295] Ibid., 187.

her own."[296] The substitution of "invention" for "pattern" in describing the worlds of Plato and Pythagores evokes the language of architecture, and also connects this type of planning to utopian fluidity. The emphasis of "self-moving matter" emphasizes the world's moving-picture quality, locating narrative in what would otherwise be a frozen image of a world. This image cannot be expressed by words, and yet in a seeming paradox Cavendish does exactly that with the text of *The Blazing World*. The paradox relates back to the earlier parenthetical aside of "what shapes I cannot exactly tell." The narrative alone does not express the Duchess's world, but the narrative in conjunction with images gives a probable outline of the one perfect universe. Furthermore, the aesthetic pleasure of this ordering is emphasized as well. Far from Jameson's assertion that this ordering is distant from an erotic economy, the genitive that ends this paragraph, "in making the world of her own," seems to suggest the providential power of God that connects to erotic generation, similar to the images from Milton in the second chapter.

The Duchess's "making," differs from heteronormative models of generativity. To begin, she creates her world alone, explicitly rejecting male models such as Plato or Pythagoras. Emphasizing this, the act is called "making" and not "creating" or something more explicitly sexualized. But the fantasy is not quite parthenogenic either. Before this moment, when the Empress initially summons the presumably authorial Duchess of Newcastle, the gender dynamics of creating worlds become difficult to reduce to standard tropes. As Margaret Cavendish comes to the Blazing World as the Empress's choice to write down the Cabbala, the Empress claims, "This lady then…will I choose for my scribe, neither will the Emperor have reason to be jealous, she being one of my own sex." The spirits she engages to obtain Cavendish respond, "In truth…husbands have reason to be jealous of platonic lovers, for they are very dangerous, as

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[296] Ibid.,188.

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being not only very intimate and close, but subtle and insinuating."[297] Upon the arrival of

Cavendish's spirit, "the Empress embraced and saluted her with a spiritual kiss."[298] Soon they

are "platonic lovers, although they were both females."[299] This platonic sharing eventually ties

into their imaginary worlds, as they are able to completely share their creations with each other.

Instead of Jameson's model of a non-erotic pleasure to Utopia, Cavendish suggests that utopia

does not escape eroticism, but queers the movements of pleasure.

The moments where the Lady and Cavendish's author share minds and bodies in a

probabilistic setting defines the multiplicity of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. The pleasure of their

sharing renders utopia building as a distinct exercise, both literary and practical, that allows for a

multiply situated authority. Cavendish makes utopia a project of epistemology, but an

epistemology that interacts with and even incorporates disparate narratives of knowing. *The

Blazing World* is a single world that contains many worlds, a utopia that defines the probalistic

connections among utopias. These utopias happen in the same anachronistic time-frame,

accessible from within and between each other in both body and mind, exemplifying the ranging

image-narratives of the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

Looking Back and Looking Forward in the Subjunctive Aesthetic

Early modern utopias seem to create a genre that looks toward the future. As we have

seen, this forward looking is complicated by the simultaneous sideways push into distant lands,

policy, supernatural worlds, or self-consciously geometric abstraction. Cavendish most clearly

illustrates that utopias do not define a future, whether through geometry or minutely controlled

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[297] The reversal of the Empress's position is complete here, as she seems to abduct a woman.
The difference is that she allows the Empress to come and go between worlds.
[298] Ibid.,181.
[299] Ibid., 183.

architectonics. Instead, utopias move through multiple coexisting probable organizations that have elements that interact and overlap. We can see a similar movement in Donne's *Ignatius,* as well. Bacon's *The New Atlantis* bridges the gap between an overarching social program as he outlined in *Novum Organum* and the operations of an entertaining narrative. Both Bacon's plans for a new science and his utopian intervention utilize shapes and narrative in order to illustrate their institutional and policy abstractions. The real difference between utopia and Plato's earlier piece lies in their narrativity. Plato's narrative is defined by an isolated world, whereas in More, Bacon, Donne, and Cavendish, a world becomes constructed as readers move through it. These new worlds are not defined as belonging to the future or the past, or even at a distant location in another part of the world. They are defined as mutually intelligible probable courses for the social environment they emerge from and critique.

Still, the sensation that utopias predict aspects of our current institutions persists. Although this may be the inevitable nature of narrative itself, I would suggest that we remember the operations of probability to resist seeing a direct relationship between these subjunctive narratives and our current world. As we look back to the past, we often forget that people in the past are looking back at us. They may see aspects of our situation, but there are also parts they would fail to recognize due to a rejection of the unlikely. Likewise, the way we make sense of behavior in the past relies heavily on what we expect to find, and we will continually revise this understanding as we sift through evidence and focus on different specifics. In both temporal directions, and whatever our vantage point in time, particularly at moments when planning happens, probability becomes the lens through which we interpret stories and the unfolding of history. Utopias are the genre looking most clearly to the future according to many critics and readers, but they do not do so comprehensively or in a way that forecloses other possibilities. As

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a form of entertainment made from plans, they move self-consciously through multiple

coexisting narratives of the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

Chapter 5

"Nothing Is But What Is Not": Shakespeare's Script and the Contingency of the Stage in Three

Historical Tragedies

In the four previous chapters I outlined the operations of an aesthetic grounded in non-linear, probabilistic, and spatial thinking that combines aspects of both image and narrative. For the most part, each of these texts and images I discussed, as well as the genres that they represent, stayed on a page (or a canvas). Whether painting, woodcut, dystopian tale, or epic poem, the element of embodied human performance and material hovered in the background, obscured by the imaginative activity of reading or viewing these texts. Even with the buildings produced by plan that I analyze, the Subjunctive Aesthetic remained static. Accessing potential in materiality is difficult. The buildings plotted by the plans, whether they stand or not, are museums and ruins, requiring a viewer's imagination to reconstruct the narrative of its planning, hiding the labor and motion that appears in design. In some ways, this invisible haunting makes sense, as the potential of the Subjunctive Aesthetic haunts the dead remains of a once-occupied building. However, as I have suggested since Spenser's narrator entered Alma's house, the Aesthetic is not just imaginative or ghostly—it is material. In this chapter, I turn to the Shakespearean theater, where matter returns with a vengeance in order to illustrate that bodies never left the considerations of plotting. A play's narrative relies on inhabiting the physical space of the stage that doubles as imaginative space for the play, paralleling the spatial mediation of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. In at least one way, the requirement that the audience imagine a fixed space for the activity of the theater is the inverse of the plans in the first chapter. Viewers must construct an imaginary place from the material narrative unfolding before their eyes in real time.

At the same time, the theater adds a broader form of projective narrative to the scope of the dissertation. Although perhaps more clear in their exploration of probability in space, architectural images rarely appeared in the lives of most people. Works like *Utopia* and *Paradise Lost* also remained out of the ken of many. Even an illiterate individual, however, could go watch a performance of *Macbeth, King Lear,* or *King John* and deal with the complex chronology of planning, register the subjunctive potential of projection, and feel the emotions contained by the narrative.

This chapter focuses on the historical tragedies of *King Lear, Macbeth,* and *King John*, works that deal with how aristocrats and royalty construct and destroy political regimes in historical time. Although each play seems concerned with lofty matters of state, however, the speech, the words, the space, and the special effects of the theater all serve to show the ways in which the Subjunctive Aesthetic may have infiltrated the imaginations of people who would never have participated in stately deliberations or architectural planning. In the performance of these plays, I find a wider self-consciousness about the promises and dangers of enumerated planning in early modern England, as audiences access complex negotiations of probability. Specifically, this chapter argues that the three historical tragedies perform a probability that haunts fixed representations of prophecy, national borders, and history with a range of contingent outcomes. I also analyze the way these three plays derive an impetus from navigating probability by looking backwards in history. Ultimately, I connect this backward-looking navigation of plotting to current critical approaches to theater, suggesting that multiplicity should be an integral method for approaching performance.

Developing the promise on the word Aesthetic to indicate a multi-media artistic presence, this chapter uncovers the same imagistic representational strategies on stage that I also found in

text, draught, and painting. In order to make this argument for an audience's imaginative response, I reconstruct a multiplicitous audience in a way that may occasionally run counter to historical notions of what an early modern audience would be aware of, but that nonetheless emerges from script of the plays. Anachronism, as I have shown repeatedly, is a key feature of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. By focusing on the performance of these plays, I do not just bring the Subjunctive Aesthetic back to material human bodies on a stage or into a new medium; I also hope to outline the emotional resonances of the seeming abstractions of a plan. In these works, projective considerations are moving. They cause joy and bring pain. Although the trickery of *The Alchemist* or Petrucchio's plans in *The Taming of the Shrew* could also work well for this chapter, I have narrowed my focus to tragedies to closely explore the emotional impact that planning has in a sense of lost possibilities. In my other chapters, multiplicity seemed to add to perception, making positive readings where there only seemed restrictive interpretation. In contrast, the acute emotional power of these plays suggests that a sense of lost possibilities is only made possible by a sharp awareness of contingency—the audience knows, for example, that Lear could have done things differently. This sense of loss, both of identity and life, contributes to queer readings of the tragedies, connecting to the loss implied by normative and linear models.[300] As this suggest, in addition to the tragic component, I also chose history to continue exploring the Aesthetic's strange relationship with linear time.

In the first section of the chapter, I compare the movement of prophecy and planning in *Macbeth*, suggesting that rational engagement with a supernatural knowledge of the future skews that future into equivocation and multiplicity. This argument is a continuation and embodiment of the notions of Providence outlined in chapters one and two. Then I survey the way that flat

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[300] For an influential argument and an initiator of this recent trend see Edelman, Lee. *No Future* (Raleigh: Duke University Press, 2004).

spatial enumeration of a divided kingdom in *King Lear* threatens to divide the entire kingdom

into a nothingness of fixed possibility. Lear's planned dissection and arresting of his kingdom, I

argue, creates an institutional force that moves outside seemingly normative lines of intention,

working against the very borders that division would seem to create. I also tie this process to the

making and unmaking of certain boundaries of subjectivity. In the third part of the chapter, I turn

to the ways *King John*'s potential projections transform history by rendering its constant

promises—even tragic promises—unfulfilled by the narrative of history. As in *Macbeth*, *King

John*'s plans defines an intention that moves in a range, frustrating avowed goals even as

planning makes them achievable. I conclude by tying the plays' historical navigation of

probability to my own practice as a literary critic who looks backward in history.

Prophecy and Tomorrows

"Present fears/ are less than horrible imaginings./ My thought, whose murder yet is but
fantastical,/ shakes so my single state of man that function is smothered in surmise,/ and nothing
is but what is not" (*Macbeth,* 1.3.136-41)[301]

As the planned moment for undertaking his murderous "imaginings" on King Duncan

draws closer, Macbeth agonizes over the explosive power of possibilities. He feels his "single

state" shaking, threatening to break his identity apart, and finally ends this monologue in a

paradox that connects existence to nonexistence via imagination. Yet the "surmise" he speaks of

is not a nightmare. His thoughts are established courses of action already discussed with his wife.

He wavers here, but eventually the appeal of power becomes too much and, when the

opportunity presents itself, Macbeth murders Duncan, frames the king's retainers, and seizes the

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[301] The quotations from all three plays, including both Folio and Quarto versions of *Lear*, come
from the Norton edition. Shakespeare, William. *The Norton Shakespeare* Eds. Greenblatt,
Stephen, Walter Cohen, Jean Howard, Katharine Eisaman Maus, (New York: Norton, 2005).

throne. For a whole act before the coup, however, and for nearly the entirety of the rest of the narrative, the play's action amounts to a consideration of how to achieve rulership. The tangibility of imagined courses of action is one of the defining features of *Macbeth*, bolstered by the play's supernatural emphasis on ghosts and prophecy. But this palpability of probability often passes unremarked in critical discussions of the play.[302] Gil Harris in *Untimely Matter in the Age of Shakespeare*, however, provides a reading that touches on probability by focusing on time. According the Harris, the stink of stage squibs used to make thunder suggests the explosive intrusion of the past into the present, offering a temporality that does not move in a linear way through past, present, and future, a movement Harris and other critics have criticized as "heteronormative." In particular, Harris's last thought is tantalizing. He claims *Macbeth*'s final moments reveal "another temporality…in it, two seemingly different and even opposing moments are conjoined."[303]

If linear time has been associated with heteronormativity, as critics like Harris and Carla Freccero claim, then projection in *Macbeth* adds an unnatural and queer mode of narrative to the temporal movement of the play. It transforms even a certain future into a single possibility overlapping many others. In this dissertation, I have repeatedly demonstrated this idea when deliberations occur in early modern writing. Running alongside this notion of multiplicity, the play also suggests that certain types of magic, alchemy, or knowledge can theoretically make the future knowable. Repeated confirmation of these prophecies would seem to corroborate that there is a single future. Supporting this notion is the fact that prophecy is not a literary conceit

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[302] The connection of tragedy and certain prophecy is as ancient as *Oedipus*. For one take see Calderwood, James. *If It Were Done:* Macbeth *and Tragic Action* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986). There are hundreds of other articles in this vein, but most don't treat probability as a factor. For one analysis that works against this trend, see Reynolds, Bryan. *Transversal Enterprises* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).
[303] Harris. *Untimely Matter,* 139.

nor is it strictly demonic and evil. In chapter three, as John Dee predicted the future for the

English state as the official state prophet to Queen Elizabeth, I also analyzed a Providential and

unitary future. Alchemists like Dee who saw the future in their scrying glasses believed in this

providential chronology, a future that can be obscured by the hand of God or demon, but unified

nonetheless. In *Queer / Early / Modern* Carla Freccero argues that this understanding of a linear

unified history is heteronormative and limiting—it not only denies the creative potential of

anachronism when we interpret the past, but also denies the ghostly presence of the past in the

present moment. Harris finds Freccero's chronology in *Macbeth*, locating England's Catholic

past inscribed into and exploding out of the squibs of the theater. He associates this intermingling

of categories of time first with the equivocation of crytpo-Catholic plotting against James from

within the state. But he also associates the doubling with differing chronologies: the ritual time

of a Catholic past and the empty homogenous time of the Protestant now.[304] Harris notes this

absence of ritual time is distilled in the line "nothing is but what is not." I agree. I also argue that

probability is more helpful in understanding this moment and the play as a whole than time. In

order to make this argument, I must contrast prophecy with probabilistic calculations like

planning.

King James's *Daemonologie*—a work critically associated with *Macbeth* that confronts

witchcraft—uses a version of Providence to define the prophetic power of witches.[305] One of the

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[304] Ibid., 139.
[305] The field of witchcraft in early modern England, even confining myself to *Macbeth*, is too massive to summarize here. For the direct connection of King James to the play, an authoritative example is Paul, Henry. *The Royal Play of Macbeth* (New York: Macmillan, 1950). Sharon Jaesch's article "Political Prophecy and Macbeth's 'Sweet Bodements'" gives a helpful overview as well, arguing that that prophecy is often political, using ancient tropes in new situations to represent new hopes and fears, relating this to the witchcraft James feared so much. She also captures the multiplicity of prophetic interpretation. *Shakespeare Quarterly*. Vol. 34, No. 3 (Autumn, 1983), 290-7.

first problems the dialogue associates with witchcraft is the ability of devils in "foretelling of things to come," which the speaker claims is impossible because the Bible mandates the future is only available to demons "either as being worldlie wise, and taught by an continuall experience…judges by likelie-hood of thinges to come, according to the like that hath passed before, and the naturall causes, in respect of the vicissitude of all thinges worldly: Or else by Gods employing of him in a turne, and so foreseene thereof."[306] For King James there is only one future, even if the future accessed is via supernaturally demonic or holy means. James's seeming clarification of how demons know the future also contains an ambiguous choice that resonates with *Macbeth*—even devils can use the certain terms of prophecy if God employs them against their will in his own "turne." Whether god or demon, supernatural prophecy follows the same timeline as "natural" cause and effect.

A good/evil ambivalence in prediction is unproblematic for James as both prophecy and devil's lies are meant to pull willful sinners into damnation through Providence.[307] One reading of the play might also claim that the witches' prophecies similarly lure Macbeth to his tragic doom. Bryan Reynolds in what he calls in *Transversal Enterprises* suggests a different route, finding "potentialities in instabilities" in *Macbeth*, as the play essentially puts James' position under scrutiny.[308] Indeed, the play contains a series of predictions and prolepsis that are fulfilled over and over. In presenting these, the play seeks to define what happens when prophecy accurately predicts a new King of Scotland without providing the specific means that this teleology will come to pass. One of the first results of this prophetic knowledge given to

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[306] James I. *Daemonologie (*Edinburgh: Robert Walde-Grave Printer to the King's Majestie, 1597), 5
[307] James uses the word "tragedy" in this section to describe the results of prediction.
[308] Reynolds, Bryan. *Transversal Enterprises,* 19.

Macbeth is a suspension of linear time in order to make a plan incorporating this prophecy.

After the witches make their ambivalent prophecy and disappear, Macbeth laments a parallel

possible present with a desire, "Would they had stayed" (1.3.80). By uttering the line he enters a

mental space that splits time into multiple possible times. After this entry into a probable world,

Macbeth continues to encounter the prophecy he received from the witches with provisional

language. "Your children shall be kings," he predicts to Banquo (1.3.80, 84). In terms of action,

when events verify the witches' prophecies, Macbeth prevaricates instead of leaping into

damnation, and slowing his movement toward what he perceives as an inevitable goal. While

"smothered in surmise" Macbeth waffles, but more importantly he begins moving in a form of

imaginary narrative that is not reliably linear (1.3.136-41).

As he returns home the prophecy precedes Macbeth to his castle in the form of a letter

even before he tells Lady Macbeth how he will deal with the prediction. Based on his letter and

this information, his wife to form her own calculations about the probability of Macbeth being

"crowned withal" (I.5.27).[309] This seems to signal an arrival of a certain future, but when

Macbeth arrives she must exhort him to act because he remains non-committal. In fact, the next

scene has him continue to contemplate his options in a monologue beginning, "If it were done

when tis done, then twere well it were done quickly" (1.7.1). Again, the subjunctive appears.

With the initial nudge of this supposition, the consideration begins to unpack itself, "We but

teach / Bloody instructions which, being taught, return / To plague the inventor," Macbeth says

(1.7.8-9). The verbs here are tortured by being piled on top of each other and in shifting tenses,

and the mental space is uncertain. Macbeth seems to be speaking generally, but he uses a

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[309] For the early modern distinctions between early modern prophecy and prediction see
Kosselleck, Reinhart. *Futures Past* Trans. Keith Tribe, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1985).
King James does not comment on the subject. But John Dee in chapter three seems to conflate
the two.

mixture of present tense ("teach") past tense ("being taught), infinitive ("to plague"), and the strange word "return." Return implies a repetition, a connection of past to present and future, but in this case it's about the "invention." The words summon the ghost of anachronistic multiplicity that vibrates Macbeth throughout categories of time and even nudges him out of time. Similarly, Lady Macbeth's later line, "Th'attempt and not the deed / Confounds us," not only refers to attempted murder leading to capture, but to the newly coined "attempt" actually acting on its own volition (2.2.10-11). Conjectures seem to trap the characters in a way that reflects reflect the damnation James mentioned in *Daemonologie*, suggesting a similarity between prophecy and projection.

The similarity of a unitary future and probable calculation splits, as Macbeth's deliberations multiply probability. The most vivid moment of being overwhelmed by his own plans comes when Macbeth delivers his monologue immediately prior to murdering Duncan. "I have thee not, and yet I see thee still," he says to his dagger. "Are thou but a dagger of the mind, a false creation / Proceeding from the heat-oppressed brain," he asks it (2.1.35-39). The apostrophe anthropomorphizes the object, but the lines also comment on the otherworldly compulsion brought on by seeing a plot so close to its performance. The certain future is no longer certain, but begins to undermine the reliability of the present moment for Macbeth. Taking full advantage of the monologue, this scene dramatizes the suspension of time that happens when a character steps out of the play's action to consider his options. He stands on stage alone with passing time, while the play's action does not pass in real time around him. Continuing deeper into the monologue, Macbeth describes his own actions with the phrase, "towards his design moves like a ghost," comparing his own imagined actions to Tarquin's rape of Lucrece (2.1.55-6). This moment is the nightmarish inverse of Carla Freccero's ghosts. She

claims that the "past is in the present in the form of haunting," that is, the ghost of the past haunts the present moment.[310] But Macbeth does not just connect past and present, he is moving through a projection in the present moment by enumerating the steps toward a possible future. The language is supernatural, but the movement is non-linear—it's ghostly. In the consideration of the monologue, Macbeth stands alone on the stage. The dagger he holds moves toward a design, but a design itself is a movement toward an aim, a plan. The movement proceeds to endless movement—not circular repetition, but a surging motion within ranging options.

The speech to the dagger also proleptically scripts the subsequent scene with Banquo's ghost. The ghost scene provides another moment where Macbeth seems to lose control when a plan is put into practice, in this case his plan to murder his former friend (III.4). As with the dagger, the ghost scene is dramatically material and non-material. Here directors must choose whether to have Banquo's actor present in the scene, have nothing present, or some combination of both. But the demand for this decision is exactly what I am emphasizing. A ghostly Banquo, like a ghostly dagger, confirms the multiple possible choices that accompany any moment of linear time. With either staging decision Banquo's ghost simultaneously demonstrates the successful prediction of Macbeth's murderous design while also returning to plague him to uncontrollable fits with possibilities. Even a unitary prophetic future contains myriad movements toward its fulfillment when human agency is applied to it in the form of a plan. Harris might claim that time doubles in this moment, splitting into endlessly connected transitions between temporal categories. I agree. But chronology also doubles in the sense that projection allows time to occupy parallel or intersecting linear movements. Although the witches have predicted what happens to Macbeth and Banquo, they do so in a way requiring the knowledge of multiple

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[310] Freccero, Carla. *Queer / Early / Modern* (Durham NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 80.

interpretations, a self-consciousness of multiple specific paths. This self-consciousness is

heightened by the fact that plans almost always fail only achieve a stated goal. They surpass the

bounds of intention. For example, when Macbeth murders Duncan, he does not see the dagger

killing the king's retainers as well. When Macbeth plans to kill Banquo as well as Banquo's son

Fleance, he fails to account for the son's escape.

By the end of the play Macbeth can no longer operate without constant reference to

prophecies. Furthermore, his tyrannical paranoia becomes kingdom-wide. All his subjects live

in fear of arbitrary and contingent violence, making probability an emotional presence in their

lives. Lady Macbeth enacts the split of linear time into probability that Macbeth earlier feared.

In her doctor's words, "thick-coming fancies…keep her from rest" (5.3). Like Macbeth, she now

lives in a dream world with competing probable narratives, wherein she could wash out the

guilty spot that she remains unable to remove. Within this dream she remains arrested inside

projections, considering the developments of her plans. "One, two—why then tis time to

do't…what need we fear when none can call our power to account? Yet who would have

thought the old man to have had so much blood in him" (5.1-31-4). This narrative reaches into

the past but also into a competing present and future. How will they hold on to their power?

Who could have predicted the King would have so much blood? The Doctor calls the report of

these deeds "unnatural." They are unnatural in a horrified sense at the violence, but they also

work against a naturalized motion of Providence as multiple simultaneous probabilities coexist.

Guilt and removal of guilt, the murder of the king, the consolidation of power—each design is

probable and has enumerated steps to demonstrate its achievement.

When Lady Macbeth dies, Macbeth registers the probable narratives he is caught up in

and decries the tragedy of enumerating the steps that lead to his certain future. "She should have

died hereafter," he says, in a flat counterfactual with little potential power, where "there would have been time for such a word." His next words, though, "Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow" suggest the prophecy that began the play, and multiply the divergence of a unitary tomorrow into probable tomorrows. Macbeth emphasizes that he is not just moving through linear time, even while he appears to do so, he then considers "the last syllable of recorded time," before turning back to "all our yesterdays" that "have lighted fools the dusty way to death" (5.516-23). The way to death seems to offer a unitary progression, but the "yesterdays" that pave the way to death suggest the same anachronistic multiplicity that Macbeth's plans offer in fulfilling his prophecy. When Birnam Wood moves and Macbeth battles the man not of woman borne, he fulfills the prediction offered at the beginning of the play, not to mention other prophecies uttered along the way. But he also brings to fruition the plans of his enemies, Macduff and Malcom, while frustrating his own designs.

The play ends not with a unified Scotland or a celebration of the overthrow of a tyrant, but another plan. Malcolm will be enthroned at Scone, he will make his thanes into earls, and set the kingdom aright in "measure, time, and place" (5.11.39). But even here a background prophecy accompanies these plans. Fleance will eventually become father to the kings that lead to James. Some of Malcolm's plans may be fulfilled, but the probability for tragedy remains. Yet a more generous way of reading this final moment of projection is that the multiple probable outcomes of these plans accompanied even Macbeth's tragic arc. Each step in his supernatural narrative offered a consideration for another possible action, an unnatural projective narrative that spun off into intermingling possibilities. This is not to say that there are infinite possibilities when early modern audiences watched Macbeth engage narratives of planning, but it does suggest that the enumeration of specific steps along a linear progression opens up certain chances

for events to proceed in other ways. In fact, the foregrounded awareness of these possibilities contributes to the emotional resonance of the play's many tragic moments. The unfulfilled possibilities of plans define the sense of loss contained in a play that does exactly what it predicted it would do in the first scene—see Macbeth king and lose that kingship. Like the royal ghosts in the dynastic portraits of chapter one, a natural Providence is accompanied by unnatural probability.

Lear's Kingdoms and Creatures of the Deep

Macbeth's concerns with the aims of rulership resonate with *King Lear.* The first words Lear speaks in the play summon the lords who want Cordelia's hand in marriage, establishing the King as a figure of command. But his next words suggest that this command is only one level of his mastery. "We shall express our darker purpose. / Give me our map there. Know that we have divided in three our kingdom, and 'tis our fast intent to shake all cares and business from our age" (1.1.33-5). The lines mingle purpose, commands, intent, a map, and a kingdom. But why is this purpose darker than open command? Is the purpose hidden? If so, how can it be revealed and what does it mean when it appears in the light? The play diverges from *Macbeth* by rendering the future almost immediately unpredictable, since Lear's division of the kingdom is ignored as he changes his mind, much like the altered images of Henry VIII's succession in chapter one. But in many ways the concerns of both plays are the same. Both plays explore how a ruler enumerates the possibilities of governance and use this information to preserve or improve the polity. But where *Macbeth* tarried with parallel streams of prophetic time, *Lear* struggles with probability and space.

The intersection of narrative with avowed purpose and physical space was defined by architecture in the first chapter and influenced the arrangements of space in the utopias of chapter four. As I suggested in the varying frontispiece islands of More's *Utopia*, certain types of mapping and navigation feed into the Subjunctive Aesthetic because they attempt to craft narratives of probability. If *Macbeth* suggests that even accomplished plans can never shake off their connection to unaccomplished parallel possibilities, then *King Lear* outlines the inverse. The spatialization and enumeration of Lear's kingdom is defined by characters' failure to bring about their aims or even to meaningfully approach them. Whereas *Macbeth* overwhelmed characters by connecting possibilities, *King Lear*'s attempt to reveal and diagram desires, purposes, and aims fizzles the movement toward those desires, compartmentalizing possibilities and arresting them, thereby dissolving institutions and identities. In a similar reading, Valerie Traub recently explored the overlap of mapping and bodily representations in *King Lear*, claiming that the discourses construct "a spatialized idiom that rendered newly thinkable a representative conceptual model, a stable secular standard, against which commonalities and differences could be measured…anatomy and cartography developed, both separately and in tandem, common spatial techniques of abstraction, rationalization, and comparative classification."[311]

One of the critics to pick up on the importance of the map in the first scene of the play, Traub is also seeking to discover a "style of reasoning" behind the organizing discourses she seeks to complicate, and uncover the "prehistory" of a modern epistemology that creates a generally representative abstraction based on specific material things.[312] Like many of the

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[311] Traub, Valerie. "The Nature of Norms in Early Modern England." *South Central Review*. Vol. 26, Numbers 1&2 (Winter and Spring 2009), 60.
[312] Ibid., 45.

critical models mentioned throughout the dissertation, most especially in my third chapter on scientific projects, I would characterize her reading as part of a broader movement to define intellectual or ideological movements in the past based on discourses a way that resists the teleologies of Science, modernity, progress, or any other self-consciously current institutions. A Subjunctive reading of *King Lear* also attempts to approach the inaccessible ideological constructions of a different place and time. Like Traub, and as we have seen in the previous chapters, the Aesthetic works back from discourses defined by early moderns. Unlike Traub, however, I argue that the play's focus is not on what the overlap of anatomy and cartography reveal about a burgeoning focus on divisible classification. Rather, the play bemoans this inexorable task as an inevitable failure because probability both defines and undermines divisible categories through spatial abstraction. Multiplicity unmakes classification.

The first suggestion of this failure is the king's incorrectly divided map. Lear must have spent considerable time before the play in thinking through his "darker purpose," and he presumably thought very carefully about the divisions of his kingdom. And yet, when he encounters the unexpected lack of praise from Cordelia, all of that careful enumeration and division of possibility and space seemingly becomes a fantasy to be ignored. His spatial representation of possibility could not account for this unforeseen decision. But before exploring the failure of the map and its implications for the play, I would like to take a moment to explain its presentation, its evocation, and its meaning, specifically for political control. Turning back to an image like the Castle of Limerick from Chapter One (Figure 1), a viewer can see that groundplots incorporate elements of maps.[313]

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[313] A 1611 image of the fort at Limerick made by the royal surveyer Josias Bodley, brother of the founder of the Bodleian Library. British Library, Cotton Augustus I.ii.33.
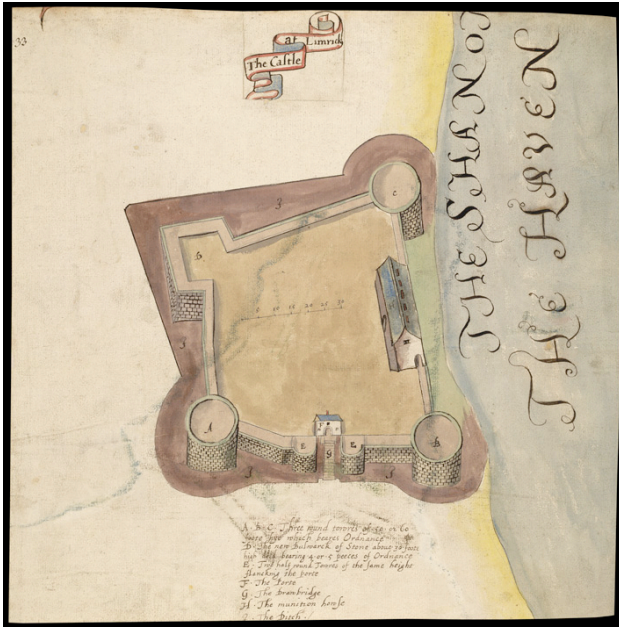
Fig 7.

Compare this to a map from the same period such as Fig 8 below[314]:

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[314] A map of Ulster made for Queen Elizabeth in the second half of the 16th century. British Library, Cotton Augustus I.ii.19.

Fig. 8

As Henry Turner notes in his survey of plotting techniques, the lines, the labeling, and the use of

scale in the images resemble each other because the instruments and mathematics for designing

and mapping run together.[315] The difference between the two images initially appears to lie

entirely in the level of focus on buildings. As Turner argues, map-making and planning are often

a part of the same trend, a movement to self-consciously construct a provisional layout for

property lines or the lines of the seashore with what early moderns perceived as the clean

principles of geometry. Turner notes that this process is often difficult, requiring geometrical

abstraction to represent very specific material.[316] Similarly, Traub's argument implies that the

growing discourse of cartography attempted to distill a representative abstraction of what are

often maddeningly blurred lines. A carefully maintained hedge or a fence, for example, can mark

a property line. This seems stable, even if we know that fences collapse and hedges grow. But

some lines on maps are more difficult. With the shift of a tide and the roll of a wave, the borders

of England change. In the terms of a map—the border between Limerick and the surrounding

counties can be clean, but the border between the land and sea is a bit murkier, indicated on both

plan and map by shaded colors.

Although Traub's observation of multiplicity has clear similarities to the probable

narratives of the Subjunctive Aesthetic, I do not claim that mapping is an instance of this

narrative-image form. Generally, I would agree with Traub that mapping requires dissection,

classification, and arresting of material. These abstractions are meaningfully different from the

projective narratives of the Subjunctive Aesthetic for many reasons, but the main one is that the

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[315] Turner. *The English Renaissance Stage,* 20-25.
[316] For a similar argument about the role of potentially reductive abstraction in poetry, see Werlin, Julianne. "Marvell and the Strategic Imagination: Fortification in *Upon Appleton House*." *The Review of English Studies.* (May 2012).

maps that Traub explores focus more on image and space outside of time in a way that unifies

multifarious probability. The ideal map of England does not move with the tides, instead taking

many of their possible extents into account in order to collapse the seashore into a unitary non-

narrative image. Traub makes the case that for maps; a representative probability comes to

dominate the many contingent arrangements of material bodies or nation-states. Gloucester's

false encounter on the cliffs of Dover vividly suggests the imaginative construction of borders

and its importance for *Lear*, emphasizing the non-visual ideological and linguistic stratums

involved in building the borders of a nation. But Gloucester only wants this representative

idealization of the border so that he can jump of it. In a way, his border, like Lear's map, is a

tool for navigating—a place where his course can be charted, his designs achieved.

Thus, I would agree that Gloucester's representative idealization of the famous Dover

cliffs resembles what we might now call a norm. But I also argue this only forms part of the

spatial narratives of *King Lear*. Granting Traub's critique that critics of *Lear* often attempt to

universalize an archetype or image from the play, I still argue that the play works very hard to

demonstrate the failure of an attempt to diagram any ideal form and registering possibility gives

us an important marker of this movement. In the words of one critic, "Shakespeare wilfully

ignored gratification of our appetite for justice in favour of other, darker possibilities." [317] In this

attempt, Shakespeare is not unique, as demonstrated in other plans from the era, but there is a

strange spin on spatial planning because "there is a kind of mad pliancy about geographical

reference in *King Lear*." [318] Characters named after places establish this overlapping movement

of places to other places as when France and Burgundy come to England (France comes twice to

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[317] Flahiff, Frederick T. "Lear's Map." *Cahiers Elisabethains: Late Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, (30), 1986 Oct., 17-33. (1986), 30.
[318] Ibid., 19.

different locations). But in addition, Gloucester's encounter on the cliffs of Dover and the speed

with which Lear and other characters move between spaces also suggests how easily space

comes to meet the demands of time in the play. This pliancy of place allows the play to play

with aims and movements beyond temporally linear ones. Lear does not just set out to define

space with his maps or anatomize the countryside; he manipulates already-extant maps with a

purpose in mind. He seeks to define his comfortable authority and maintain the succession of his

chosen dynasty, much like the images of Henry VIII in chapter one. The play's manipulation of

space thus has an emphasis on a forward-thinking time, as well as a foundation in contingency.

All this sets up the map in scene one as not just as an idealization of matter into a

representative form, but a real failure of the idealization to bring about a workable way to sift

through potential alternative divisions of the land. As he commands his children to speak of who

"doth love us most," Lear has them speak in a decided order—eldest first (I.1.49-52). But the

whole time, the youngest Cordelia's asides to the audience undermine Lear's "darker purpose."

Her few asides to the audience reveal the extent to which Lear's expectations depend on

understanding divergent probabilities. The asides do not establish Cordelia as a trustworthy

daughter or figure of honesty.[319] As Harry Berger outlines, Cordelia "did have a share" in the

ambivalent treatment of Lear that leads to her husband's later ascendency in England.[320] Her

answer to Lear may be honest, but her asides suggest that she is deliberating—sifting through

possibilities for how she will answer her father. She is plotting. "Love and be silent," is her first

decision, which she soon modifies (I.1.59-61). Cordelia becomes a powerful woman with

calculated and mediated desires. Cordelia, like Macbeth or her father, works through her darker

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[319] For a summary of the confusion about Cordelia's motives and actions see Knowles, Richard.
"Cordelia's Return." *Shakespeare Quarterly* , Vol. 50, No. 1 (Spring, 1999), 33-50.
[320] Berger, Harry. *Making Trifles of Terrors* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 46

purposes as she struggles to plan how she will answer Lear. Her eventual answer that she loves

him as much as she should until she marries fulfills Lear's demands, and may even do so in a

way that early modern audiences would have found honest and pious. Still, her words fail to

answer him to the extent or in the way that Lear expected. Her answer looks ahead to a husband

she does not have and suggests the impending division of her love in the same way her father's

map looks ahead to the division of his kingdom.

Why does the map suit Lear, then, while Cordelia's answer to the extent of her love

enrages him? Not because Lear is senile, nor is it because the answer is completely unthinkable.

The overtones of a powerfully patriarchal father-daughter interaction color the extent and

expression of his anger, but Lear reacts poorly even when strangers question his authority.

Goneril's answer to his question of love helps explain the stakes for Lear's rulership. She tells

him that she loves him "Dearer than eyesight, space, and liberty" (I.1.54). And Regan cites

Goneril in a repetitive answer. Eyesight, space, and liberty would seem to predict a regime for

control, a panoptic vision of kingship. Cordelia's response, meanwhile, suggests alternative

arrangements for the political and familial order, even from within the dutiful options of a

hegemonic ideal "Haply when I shall wed / That lord…shall carry half my love with him…I

shall never marry like my sisters" (I.1.98-101). Her plan for the future divides her love in half,

but it also provides a counter-plan that Lear has no real response to other than his suggestion that

her idea is "untender." How much he has to complain about is difficult to imagine. He is, after

all, asking suitors to marry Cordelia so that he can retire from cares and pursue a potentially

ridiculous Arcadian retirement. Although traditionally seen as an innocent who dies because she

loves her father too much to lie to him, Cordelia's deliberation in the very first scene suggests

that Lear's real problem is that she also reveals her darker purposes. She diagrams or performs

her intentions in a way that multiplies the contingency of the map on the stage through multiple players

Even the appearance of the map on the stage is highly contingent, performing the contingency of probability. The quarto and the folio versions of *Lear* give a different spin upon introducing the prop. "The map there," in the quarto, or "Give me the map there," in the folio ersion, not only suggests different emotive responses to the map, as Traub claims, they also offer competing types of maps.[321] "The map there," could point to a wall-sized atlas dividing up the English countryside—an image known among both galleries and groundlings.[322] "Give me the map there," offers an image more miniature, a text Lear can put in his hands or perhaps on a table. Both types of map appeared in the Renaissance, but the map actually used in the scene influences how we read Lear's darker purpose and the probable politics of the play. Although I find it difficult to believe that even a huge version of the map would be completely accurate in terms of cartography given the monetary constraints of the theater and the cost of an extensive map, I also doubt the company would have ignored the burgeoning awareness of reliable maps in the era.[323] Whether or not a map appeared on stage, then, we can surmise that an audience would have had a specific awareness of the possible divisions of the kingdom of England based on the way that Lear divides his kingdom.

But thinking through which map appears also more also helps us understand how maps would register with an audience who could not afford the expensive folio versions of Saxton or

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[321] Traub. "The Nature of Norms." 42.
[322] The Great Yarmouth image from chapter one was derived from an earlier map-like plan that stood on the local town hall. These massive images are widespread, and likely also appeared in potentially public areas.
[323] For a summary of maps, their origins, and uses see Helgerson, Richard. "The Land Speaks." *Representing the English Renaissance* Ed. Stephen Greenblatt, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 326-61.

Seckford's new maps of England.[324] In early modern England more generally, but also for *Lear*'s case in particular, the larger map means more effort put into its creation. As we saw in the Great Yarmouth image, a township or the crown often commissioned a larger spatial representation that would dwarf what could be published on the printing press. Smaller maps might appear onboard ships, in letters, or in private collections, but the larger maps offered a greater level of detail and the opportunity for political digression. Maps have space for coats of arms, the Crown's seal, or various activities taking place in the countryside. This does not mean a larger map necessarily equates to an increased amount of political narratives, but the larger maps often give more detail to their myriad points of view and intermingling possible narratives. On the stage, a larger map offers physical space to place Lear's coat of arms placed on the countryside or perhaps in the space framing the map—a common technique at the time. A larger map also provides the opportunity to divide the smaller allocations between Cornwall and Albany by labeling these subdivisions with crests as well. The larger map allows the audience to actually see the divisions being made, to see the shifting possibilities of rulership. At the same time, the extensive size of such a map would suggest the level that Lear has thought through his division. A giant map suggests that Lear's purpose has been projected on a massive scale—he must have felt he had a fix on his daughter's motivations and a confidence in their willingness to make a public profession. A smaller or unseen map suggests that Lear has put far less effort into imagining the potential divisions of his kingdom, even if he did have certain expectations.

With no decided evidence as to the map used in Lear based on the competing scripts of the folio and quarto, I suggest extending the pattern established in my reading of *Macbeth*. The two scripts' simultaneous options for both only clarifies the probability of performance. Both

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[324] Ibid., 327.

maps seem equally likely depending on the self-conscious purposes of a theater company, audience, or reader. Both also make clear that probability became represented through in spatial terms—any division that happens in this map could happen in another dispensation. A massive map seems to make a mockery of Lear's purpose by suggesting its ridiculousness or pushing it toward a mad fantasy of a senile old man. This aligns with a traditional reading of *Lear* arguing that dividing the kingdom, dividing the patriarchal inheritance of primogeniture, or dividing subjectivity, destroys all institutions made by breaking them into nothingness. Yet this reading ignores the fact of Lear's plans, whether he is mad or not. Any political division of the kingdom, even a unitary non-division where Lear remains king until he dies, would still follow the darker purposes of the king. Introducing this redrawing, however implies the importance of planning in a wider sense. Even a whole or undivided map contains the potential for numerous redistrictings, redivisions, or reimaginings of the political landscape. Even if the audience couldn't see the map on stage, even if Lear's map is a tiny hand-map that the audience was meant to imagine and not see, the "the visual character of the generic nation map—the iconography of the map's surface" remains a central focus of the characters' dialogue when they use the map.[325] As much as an architectural plot, then, Lear's image depends on spatializing probability to define narrative. Only here Lear attempts to make the image serve his political narrative.

The visual and spatial divisions of a politically motivated map can undo the political order, as they might seem to in *King Lear*, but the king's multiple contingent plans also constitute the kingdom. Traub suggests the play occurs in the prehistory of the discourses of anatomy and cartography—before an always-already of the catalogued body. But *Lear* also

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[325] Gilles, John. "The Scene of Cartography." *Literature, Mapping, and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* Eds. Gordon, Andrew and Bernard Klein, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 117.

plays before the Foucauldian moment of institutional planning defining the patterns of life and before de Certeau's counter-reading of tactical response to institutional strategy. Lear's map demonstrates the failure of plans, but it also gives a peak behind the curtain and suggests that plans use space to constitute the field of social activity. My temptation with *Lear* is to read the king's enumeration of possible divisions of property and power as reductive. Like Traub, I think criticism sees a play that disjoints bodies and participates in the idealization of certain white, male, property-holding subjects as figures that will eventually become norms. But because I see the play in terms of probabilities, I see the constant and meaningful presence of non-hegemonic forms of the political order as well. In the end, I think the quarto version of the play is the one that emphasizes these probabilities, offering a huge map and showing the audience that property may always be divided with a different probable narrative in mind. But this version does not dismiss the folio's smaller, still contingent political rethinking.

The quarto's multiplicitous vision of planning comes through not just in the doubled scene with Lear's maps, but also in the lines, found only in the quarto, when Albany hurls extensive invective at Goneril. One choice sentence of a consideration: "If that the heavens do not their visible spirits send quickly down to tame these vile offences, It will come, Humanity must perforce prey on itself, like monsters of the deep" (4.2.45-50). The cause and effect of this counterfactual is as strange as Macbeth's ghostly dagger, but one key point is that the mini-narrative described here relies on "visible spirits" to prevent the vile offences from spurring self-destructive behavior like the kind in the unseen depths of the ocean. Albany does use the word "will" instead of something more conditional, like "shall," but the murky depths of his comparison transposes a sense of doubt to his words. According to Albany, the visual field promises to expose Goneril's darker purposes, but at the same time he tells her, "Howe'er thou

art a fiend, a woman's shape doth shield thee" (4.2.65-6). As Albany defines Goneril's behavior as unwomanly and monstrous he simultaneously catalogues her as womanly in a misogynist vein, and her intentions remain hidden by a surface appearance. Like the map, visual definition alone cannot confirm a unitary narrative of her identity. Sight promises to expose the darker purposes and the depths, but at the same time visual presentation dissimulates her plots. Albany's suggestion also uses space and the visual to queer what the "shape of a woman" means.

The disconnect between sight and ontology becomes complicated by the fact that Goneril's monstrousness relies on seeing not her actions or even her shape, but her intentions. Albany is not horrified at her acts or shape as much as he is by her desires as they come through in her machinations, in his words her "disposition," the "nature which contemns its origin" and "cannot be bordered certain in itself" (4.2.31). Disposition is an apt word for the denatured nature Albany sees when a woman uses her femininity to work beyond a certain essentialized vision of what femininity is. The word signals a place and an identity, and in this case, also emphasizes a strange moving relationship to space. "Disposition" does not mean what Goneril is in an essentialized way or where she stands so much as it is a dis-position, a deviation from an established place. In the way Albany utters it, the term suggests a possible relationship to where Goneril stands that also suggests the possible places she might go in the field of imaginable possible desires. Her disposition threatens to break the "borders" of her identity because it helps establish her identity via projection. A map's edges are necessarily defined by the intentions of the map-maker and the map-reader. Goneril's plans define who she is, but also who she might possibly become.

The script of the play encodes this enumeration of distinct possibilities and connects them to more modern notions of subjectivity that I will take up in my final section. Albany utters the

last lines in the quarto while Edgar speaks them in the folio. The words are the same, the

trajectory of the tragedy similar, but the distinct path each version takes is meaningfully

different. The words themselves speak of intention, in the Subjunctive, defining the proper

course of action. "The weight of this sad time we must obey," says Albany/Edgar, "speak what

we feel not what we ought to say." The indicative of "speak what we feel" seems to promise the

possibility of connection between intention and performance, of a link between surface and

identity. Unlike many other Shakespeare lines, these lines don't break the connection by

suggesting that lying or error are the spill twixt cup and lip of inner and outer identities. Instead,

like the map of the first scene and like Goneril's monstrous identity, Edgar's lines are bordered

by a "must" and an "ought." Identity, both public and private, becomes mediated through

subjunctive verbs that demand action or signal likelihood. In this sentence, the self-conscious

intention of the Subjunctive Aesthetic surrounds and buffers the potential for both performed

identity and something akin to inward subjectivity. This problematic boundary suggests the

queering potential of projective mediation for subjectivity, but also suggests that projected

narratives define an inner-outer subjectivity that Descartes might recognize. Like the proscribed

map's definition of the country, the boundaries of "must" and "ought" define the enumerated

steps to making a person. Yet this person defined by a range of probable narratives remains open

to different "musts" and "oughts." These Subjunctive demands do not just look to the future.

King John: The History That Might Never Have Been

The first Shakespearean movie adaptation to project on the big screen was, to my constant surprise, *The Life and Death of King John* in 1899.[326] But this fact may not shock those who are familiar with this underrated play, as *King John* has repeatedly lent itself to various forms of projection in its strange performance history, the most famous being the insertion of an ostentatious signing of the *Magna Carta* during Victorian era productions.[327] Strangely squaring with the play, this retrospective constitutional-monarchical-republican deployment into a feudal world would operate as a magnificent set-piece, but only re-emphasize what Walter Cohen notes in his introduction to the Norton edition of the play as the failure to deliver the narrative "coherence" that the play "promises."[328] In this final section, I analyze what it means for a play to promise something in the field of the historical past. The other two readings of Shakespeare plays in this chapter have explored the projective probable narratives of the Subjunctive Aesthetic in a play that looks forward with prophecy, and one that explores the spatial representation of probability via maps and space. I turn now to *King John* to see how projection plays out in the terms of history, a movement that has remained submerged in my discussion of the two other historical tragedies but that was vital to the argument of chapter two. As Freccero reminds us, the past is always haunting the present. But this haunting becomes especially strange when planning becomes involved. *King John* does not emphasize space or the future to the extent that the other plays I have discussed do, but it does spend an extreme amount of time focused on defining the exact steps of plots. These plots—generally undefined and often

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[326] *King John.* 1899. Dir. Walter Pfeffer Dando and William K. L. Dickson. (United Kingdom. 1899).
[327] Candido, Joseph. ed. "*King John.*" *Shakespeare: The Critical Traditions.* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Athlone, 1996).
[328] *The Norton Shakespeare,* 1045. Cohen also notes that the play is, in some critics' readings, a projection backward of the conflict between Mary and Elizabeth.

unrepresented or unspoken—nonetheless promise a unitary history that the play's action can never fulfill. The element of contingency built into their plans keeps spilling over the channels carved by historical perspective, channels that the characters in the play would seem to be following. In doing so, the play opens the space for frustration of desire in the pauses between the steps of plans.

Contingency is grafted into the play's title, *The Life and Death of King John*. Although not a strange name for the time, the combination of *Life* and *Death* is conspicuous in Shakespeare's corpus of plays with titles that emphasize the *Life of Henry V*, or the *Tragedy of King Richard II*. *King John*'s title, in contrast, promises both the life and death of a monarch, a promise it never delivers, a dual promise that the action of the play eventually undermines as impossible to fulfill. John dies offstage in the final act, at the hands of a character that the audience never sees. The machinations, motivations, and intentions behind the assassination remain mysterious, but they also throw into relief the drama and dangers set up by the rest of the play. Shakespearean audiences as well as modern audiences watching the play have their temporal perspectives open to a reimagining of the past. Neither audience can quite reject the narrative of this re-imagined past because they both live at the end of its teleology. But because characters cannot know the future, a sympathetic viewer must necessarily also remain open to multiple possible pasts as these characters feel out the differing probabalities. In the words of Kathryn Schwarz, the "counterfactual" is the integral to *King John.* The play's "representational strategy…is a theory of mimetic rupture through which the past must produce the future, and the future produce the past, across an alienated moment of non-presence."[329] I associate this "theory of mimetic rupture" with the plans of the play and the way they interact with the retro-

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[329] Schwarz, Kathryn. "Queer Futility: The Life and Death of King John" *Shakesqueer*. Ed. Menon, Madhavi, (Raleigh: Duke University Press, 2011), 169.

perspective of history. The play's various plots that move through the Subjunctive Aesthetic, in addition to the counterfactual "ifs" that Schwarz outlines, are the key moments that expose this rupture. Within some of these gaps lie momentous historical events, but these events never follow the narrative of the moment, even if plans eventually come to define the conditions for history. In many moments throughout the play, actions seem to appear from an equally likely and unlikely other word that resembles the one of the play. In *King John*, the Subjunctive Aesthetic demonstrates the power of self-conscious intention for defining history. But in the characters' attempts to define probability, the aesthetic also suggests radical other modes of interacting with linear time wherein policy decisions expose the lack of agency that comes with backwards projection. Like Spenser's book of history from the *Faerie Queene* in chapter one, the play's deliberations also suggest that history can be as contingent as freshly made plan.

Similar to *King Lear, King John* begins with an embassy between nations and members of the same family. Dynastic war spurred by the emotional demands of old family rivalries and the promises of political power forms the premise of the first scenes. This premise defines the bulk of the plays action, and impact each subsequent negotiation, battle, and plot that unfolds in the rest of the play. But these familial and dynastic struggles can distract from the aside that arguably leads to John's death. The decision to fund the war by the "charge" of "our abbeys and priories" presumably disgruntles the monk who murders his king in the final act (1.1.48-9). Both decision and result seem arbitrary and beside the point, forming a single facilitating step for the rest of the play's action. The decision is only one toward John's larger intention. But the decision and its result also point to the almost overpowering role that minute possibility plays in the specifics of government planning. In the early modern period, contingency begins to figure prominently in all levels of governmental discussion, from the theoretical, to the popular, to the

official writings of advisors like Lord Burghley.[330] As I outlined in the first chapter, Machiavelli

is a writer whose discourse and methods appears prominently in each of these levels, and he is

also obsessed with utilizing historical narrative as precedent for his ideas. As such his work

provides a helpful point of comparison and suggests that the concerns of the play also figure in

broader discourses featuring history and government. In *The Prince*, I would align the arbitrary

and accidental contingency of John's minor funding decision with Machiavelli's definition and

exploration of the role of *fortuna* or fortune. Fortuna as a figure of contingency encompasses a

broader category than a notion of the counterfactual, but also interacts in a similar way with the

future and past. Machiavelli's theory of *real politick* incorporates fortuna and claims to focus on

practical matters, while still largely moving through theoretical abstraction at the way Caesar

Borgia, for example, might have held on to power. Like an architectural plan, then,

Machiavelli's handbook straddles the line between imaginative and mimetic, forming imaginary

lines out of intermingling probabilities. Machiavelli, however, generally restricts himself to

prior example, even when dealing with the present or future of state policy.

As Victoria Kahn outlines in *Machiavellian Rhetoric*, Machiavelli's writings in both *The

Prince* and *The Discourses* are concerned with dialectical reasoning.[331] He uses this dialectic to

predict and influence the future. This puts Machiavelli at odds with some contemporary political

philosophers like Guiccardini, for whom the projection of "if-then" statements is unreliable for

decision-making.[332] But English writers often use Machiavelli by name, and even when they

don't, often incorporate his notion that the future can and should be predicted based on previous

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[330] See the beginning of chapter three for correspondence between Burghley and Dee on international policy.

[331] Kahn, Victoria. *Machiavellian Rhetoric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994). Kahn captures the multiplicity of planning with her notion of Machiavelli's ambiguity.

[332] Speaking of *prudentia*—"Since each conclusion in these considerations is developed from a previous one, the whole construction collapses if only one is false." Guaccardini, *Ricordi*, 135.

events. Thus, Schwarz's suggestion that the counterfactual "if," is a key concept for the play also

suggests the importance of Machiavelli in understanding the style *King John*. The play's

engagement with Machiavelli is significant because *King John* puts the Florentine's methods of

concrete planning based on historical precedent into practice, but the titular character still loses

control. For Machiavelli control is occasionally fleeting as well, but unlike his "fortuna," which

can overcome abstract "embankments" of "reason," King John becomes swept away as a side-

effect of the minute decisions involved in his own plans.[333] In short, unlike Machiavelli's

considerations played out in government discourses that see fortuna as the threat, *King John*

creates a monster through the operations of his reason.[334]

    King John contains a Machiavellian prince as the titular character, and it also contains a

dialogue that exposes the intentionality and probability thought inherent in Machiavelli's dispute

between fortuna and reason. In Act III, Hubert listens to a speech by King John in subjunctive

"if-then" statements, conjuring up an imaginary "churchyard" with a "spirit" and a mention of

his "purposes," that is intended to convey a command to kill John's presumptive heir, Arthur

(III.3.52-55). Although John mentions "Death" and "a grave," as a part of this oblique command

for murder, the words are disconnected from any particular sentence and interspersed with

Hubert's obsequious assent. Like *Macbeth*, a ghostly presence defines the enacting of a specific

series of commands. Unlike Macbeth, however, the complex series of orders remains unspoken.

John's final command is "I'll not say what I intend for thee. Remember" (III.3.66-8). The

exchange highlights two implications for the Subjunctive Aesthetic. First, projection remains

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[333] Machiavelli, Nicolo. *The Prince* Trans. George Bull, (Penguin: New York, 2003), 79.
[334] Another tantalizing Shakespearean connection: Lady Macbeth requires a doctor because her complicity in the plot against Duncan compels her to sleepwalk. Machiavelli compares projections to medicine, arguing that it is easier to cure a disease caught "to start with" than at later stages, but more difficult to diagnose or predict. Ibid., 12.

mostly unspoken but agreed-upon, the words of John's command self-consciously conceal a

purpose that relies on very specific enumerated steps. Second, the final word "remember,"

suggests that history and memory defines the plot against the young prince's life. As in

Machiavelli, the expedient path is defined by backwards thinking, not looking ahead. In this

field of discourse, any potential narrative relies on an audience's understanding of the likely

path. In this case, Hubert must undertake what he understands to be John's will, again opening

up the space for constant failure of intentionality as in *King Lear*.

An exchange where a monarch's orders and intentions become open to wide-

interpretation may seem highly dramatized. But this exchange from *King John* also recalls a

similar series of textual and oral exchanges from a few years before the first performance of the

play. At the culmination of these discussions, Queen Elizabeth finally signed a warrant to

execute Queen Mary of Scotland long after various Privy Counselors and members of Parliament

had argued that they understood it to be her will.[335] But this decision was only arrived at after

years of discussion among council, in Parliament, and even debated in the nascent printed

publications of the day. Elizabeth's plans were never certain even to her closest confidants, but

everyone agreed she certainly had some sort of design, and they based their conclusions and

suggestions on historical precedent. Many of the publications addressing how Elizabeth should

treat Mary claimed to uncover the hidden machinations of counselors. As in Elizabeth's poem

and *King Lear*, the authors of these plans argue that other political agents engage plots while the

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[335] As early as the *Treatise of Treasons* by John Leslie in 1572, recusants accused Cecil, Leicester, and parliament of agitating for Mary's death against Elizabeth's will. Parliament men like Stubbes in *The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf*, believed Mary's execution to be Elizabeth's wish (but were occasionally punished severely for advocating it). For a fascinating outline of how different groups—including Philip Sidney—believed they understood Elizabeth's unspoken and spoken commands, see Natalie Mears' article "Counsel, Public Debate, and Queenship: John Stubbes' 'The Discoverie of a Gaping Gulf."

monarch leaves intentions visible and honest. In short, they contrast plotting with counseling and leadership. They also turn repeatedly to historical precedent to make their policy outlines.

The execution of Mary is a unique moment in the Elizabethan regime where public discourse can criticize the monarch with few serious repercussions. A public audience that would usually have no input with the queen was able to speculate on the affairs of state. And although most of these criticisms were written, leaving out direct access by a huge chunk of the theater's potential audience, the various plots against the Queen's life were surely widely discussed. The discussion may have made Elizabeth and her counselors uncomfortable, but they had little choice as they speculated. By manufacturing and representing public policy, plans open themselves up to competing plots and counter-plots. Works like *The Treatise of Treasons* claimed that working against the defined intentions of the monarch are treasonous, even as *The Treatise* sought to alter the policy of the Elizabethan regime. Catholic and Protestant each believed they grasped Elizabeth's true intention, and sought to define a device to enact this will. Some of the narratives of conspiracy and secret decision-making found in works like *The Treatise of Treasons* often seem outlandish at first glance, but they also occasionally ring true and some of their claims find consensus among historians today. In the narratives of government policy, both the defined plans and the assumed (and often secret) intentions and possibilities have equal weight. In a movement that mirrors Machiavelli, Elizabeth, and *King John*, historians discussing events such as these today must turn to probability and intention. They also suggest that this is a moment where the wider public understands plans and finds emotional investment in even more mundane affairs of the state.

Part of the reason that public discourse proliferated around this event is because Elizabeth refused to make public pronouncements on the issue—except for a refusal to make

pronouncements. In neither writing nor speech does she tell her advisors exactly what she wants.

This decision might be calculated or it might indicate indecisiveness. But instead of reading this

deliberation as uncertainty, I think it captures the range of probability of planning. Decisiveness

blends into indecisiveness within the Subjunctive Aesthetic, because multiple possibilities all

move to the foreground. Even if she does simply intend to kill Mary, she cloaks her intention as

King John does with Hubert. Elizabeth must insist on the clarity of her own state policy, and

only signs the order for Mary's execution when Mary's role in the Babington Plot against the

regime becomes public knowledge. As with the absent Queen Mary of chapter one, if there is a

providential narrative for the Elizabethan regime, the narrative cannot be open to competing

probable Marian dynasties. The irony, of course, is that Mary's execution is only necessary

when the state acknowledges that the competing dynastic claim for another English monarch

holds validity.

This peak into Elizabethan policy suggests the real repercussion of understood orders, as

her plan seems to bring about its design even without the explicit consent of the monarch. Also

like Queen Mary's execution, eventually King John's implied order to Hubert will be written and

specific. Writing them down, however, does not contain their power in the play. John's written

orders of execution of increase the strange and unpredictable power of his plan. Arthur receives a

note from Hubert telling the boy his eyes must be burned out—strangely in opposition to the

"death" and "grave" of the earlier command (IV.1.38-9). As in *Macbeth* the specific

considerations initially bring arrested motion of thought. "Must you," asks Arthur. "I must,"

answers Hubert tersely, "And will you," Arthur interjects, "And I will," says Hubert (IV.1.40-2).

The dialogue's repetition would seem to emphasize the pre-meditated nature of the blinding, but

the consideration gives Arthur time to interject not just with one line but with several large

monologues that give the iron time to "cool." As the iron cools does, Hubert finally abandons

his interpretation of the plan and agrees to give King John "false reports" the boy is "dead"

(IV.2.127). Simultaneously, in the interim between John's writ and the false reports, the king

grows to repent his command and seems to reverse it. Yet the play's backward projected

narrative of execution morphs into a kind of Fortuna, seemingly completed by Arthur himself.

Arthur dies accidentally jumping off a wall to try and escape but not before naively pleading

with the ground not to harm him. The pleading to the ground suggests a kind of inevitability, but

a strange one involving a decision to take a chance and jump. Thus, a chance accident comes to

represent the will of the monarch to an untrusting nation, although there is no cause-effect

relationship that directly links the two. In retrospect, the narrative seems plausible because it is

probable— John likely had specific steps for what should be done. Yet his plan opens up the

space for undoing cause-and-effect connections between commands and actions, while

paradoxically allowing for history's buttressing of a linear chain of history.

As I previously mentioned, John ostensibly dies because of a command that returns to

plauge him from the play's first scene. The line, "Our abbeys and our priories shall pay / This

expeditious charge," seems to be the only motivation for the king's offstage poisoning by a

displaced monk (I.1.48-9). But John appears to be dying of fever even before the poisoning, like

Arthur a victim of what A. R. Braunmuller in "*King John* and Historiography" calls the

backwards looking abstraction of "history. " This backwards abstraction uses the projected

narratives of the era as an organizing principle. This principle, however, is just as much a

disorganizing principle. A penumbra of possibilities accompanies every action undertaken with

an eye toward fulfilling a plot. Thus, the multiple probable narrative projections of *King John*

render abstraction and contingency a key element of any historical description. Bruanmuller

locates this abstraction in Stow and Holinshed and their modified history focused on the glorification or critique of a particular regime.[336] I add that this trend is even more important in overtly political writers like Sidney, Elizabeth, and Machiavelli. Both historians and more abstract political philosophers ground much of the work of contemporary historians of the early modern period, because they suggest what was probable. I agree with Braunmuller that in some ways the action of the theater is in conflict with history in this play, but exactly how this conflict unfolds is contingent and relies on the reading of the represented intention of planning. The wide import of political planning in England suggest that they became a kind of public spectacle, and helps explain how a play like *King John*, where very little violence happens but much is threatened, would be performed in the theater. This does not mean that all plays, or even all Shakespearean plays, emphasize self-conscious thinking about the future. But *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, and *King John* do. *King John* in particular exposes the force and dangers of history-based governmental projection by dramatizing the tragic effects of acting non-actors such as John's unspoken intentions.[337] Like Cohen's reading of the play as a failure to achieve what it promises, some might argue that by failing to deliver, the play robs historical agents of their efficacy and emotional power. As a side effect of this failure, an underlying critical assumption is that the play also renders itself oblique to the canon of some of Shakespeare's most widely known plays—his historical tragedies.

I challenge *King John*'s strangeness, not because I believe in a canon or think the play is entertaining, because all three plays show how emotional power becomes intensified in moments when this historical version of reconstructed planning comes to the fore. Backwards looking

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[336] Bruanmuller, A.R. "*King John* and Historiography." *ELH*. Vol. 55. No 2. (Summer 1988), 332.

[337] *King Johan*, by John Bale, a possible source for the play, actually has abstractions acted as characters. "Civil Order," "England," and "Treason" are all individual players.

historical agency becomes the narrative of potentially fulfilled desire for coherence. But this desire for coherence also entails a sacrifice of agency when represented through the narrative of plans, revealing that even successful coherence is disconnected from itself. Thinking about the future means remembering the King's commands. John's carefully mediated attempt to transmit a command via unspoken and ghostly means gains authority of its own, seemingly ignoring and then reconfirming John's original intentions. In this case, John's projected narratives incorporate careful description and calculated gaps for counter-possibilities. These possibilities are thrilling or terrifying depending on one's perspective. But the real excitement comes from the awareness of both of these chances. To put it in other terms, the play alters the relationship of reason and fortuna found in Machiavellian discourses by connecting them. Actions guided by reason occur only by the interjection of random chance and improbable intervention incited by the earlier stages of planning. Only in retrospective, by engaging in the Machiavellian mining of the past can reason tautologically define itself against the improbable actions of Fortuna. Machiavelli's attempt to apply historical lessons to current problems only re-emphasizes the provisional nature of historical narratives like those of *King John*. Ascribing failure based on represented intention is only possible because that intention is represented. Failure to deliver promises does not define *King John* any more than failure defines *King Lear* or *Macbeth*. What makes critics uncomfortable is that the play exposes the abstractions in historical narratives, by opening space for audience reactions to perceived intentions. History becomes contingent because historical actors incorporate contingency into their writings, imagery, speeches, and actions.

Abstraction, Aesthetic, Material Practice

I would like to conclude this chapter with an investigation of what the performance of

probable narratives in a historical milieu means for critical practice on theater and reading the

past more generally. Theatrical narrative appears to require us to make assumptions about the

fixity of architecture, of the solid materiality of buildings. When I say "us", I do not just mean

literary critics; I refer more broadly to historians or any Shakespearean audience. But what does

the fixing of the past's architecture look like? When stage designers look back at the early

modern stage and build an imitation, they make reasonable guesses, reconstruct, and build

narratives based on plans—both spatial and otherwise. Admitting this guesswork is not to say the

contemporary moment can arbitrarily remake the past. There is a range of possibilities available

to us based on material evidence and archival sources. This process is anachronistic in multiple

categories of time. We do not seek to understand the theater of the past and leave it there. We

bring what we find back, and in doing so we remake material culture for the future. The most

striking examples of this tendency to modify and use space through what we imagine to be the

probable narratives of history are buildings like *The Globe* and the playhouse at Stratford, the

Blackfriars playhouse in Virginia, or the promised reconstruction of the Blackfriars Theatre in

London.[338] These reconstructions are not limited to the original sites and I would be surprised if

they remain limited to English-speaking nations.[339] Several of these buildings are based on

surviving plans and ruins, and as a result, even the most fastidious reconstruction involves

contingency. Even with archaeological remains guiding reconstruction projects and floor plans to

outline what some draughtsman planned in the 16th century, a builder could never precisely

remake Shakespeare's Globe. In the attempt to reconstruct the past, however, we moderns

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[338] http://www.guardian.co.uk/stage/2011/aug/04/globe-theatre-to-build-roof
[339] http://www.americanshakespearecenter.com/v.php?pg=70

reproduce the tendencies of Renaissance architects like Palladio in simultaneously understanding and misunderstanding the ruins of Rome while rebuilding its perceived glories. As with these architects, we use likelihoods to define material space. We, perhaps, do not realize it or admit it. Yet the architects of the period may also have been unaware of the extent to which probability shaped their representations and material reality.

In spite of the similarities between living planners and the dead, however, Renaissance reconstructions are different than ours. The ability to produce identical physical copies of objects such as buildings is a myth that we do not likely share with early modern planners. This myth of reproduction, as Edward Said, Benjamin, and others have argued, is flawed because each repetition, no matter how exact, becomes interpreted in a different perceptual and social context. But architectural plans add an element of probability that precedes the crafting of a building and weaves into the interpretation of that building. In this, the Subjunctive Aesthetic appears today, and I can illustrate how in a personally familiar, and yet deeply strange, example. In Nashville, TN, the "Athens of the South," an exact copy of the Parthenon stands in a lovely park not far from Vanderbilt University.[340] This copy is not made out of Grecian granite funded by Pericles, but stucco and concrete. The exhibit makes no claims for exact reproduction. In fact, for those who pay the entry fee, the plaques near the statue of Athena warn that this is a hypothetical copy—an imagined reconstruction. Attesting to this, bust usually unmentioned by visitors and tour guides, the building is only three fourths the size of the actual Parthenon. As plausible as the material may be, verisimilitude is not the point of this edifice. It is self-consciously performing the past in terms of what is probable. The Nashville Parthenon is a model as well as a real building. It is a plan that one experiences in the flesh, blurring the boundary between

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[340] This ostensible exact copy is actually 3/4ths the size of the "real" Parthenon and is a reproduction of a plaster edifice built for the Nashville centennial of 1897.

representation and material reality. Like Lear's simultaneous big map/small map/kingdom, the building calls up the Subjunctive Aesthetic.

But we moderns do not stop with physical reconstruction; as *King John* did in Shakespeare's day, we attempt to re-perform past. At the Parthenon in Nashville, for example, huge pageants were held in years past to commemorate and cultivate a connection with ancient Greece. To this day the local Shakespeare in the Park performs near and sometimes on the building itself. In a more reliable venue, at the Globe by the Thames audiences pay to see period costumes derived from research. Viewers hear words spoken based hours of accent lessons based on linguistic studies. They watch a stage built with the investigation of theatre-craft. Each performance defines a backwards-looking critical practice and this critical practice in turn transforms the landscape of the surrounding city and the unfolding of the city to come. As critics seek the spatial contours of the past, we often find ourselves anachronistically collapsing all time periods in space and seeking to define how things "actually" were, as if we could somehow make the past become the present. In this method there is something of planning, as both designers and critics define materiality through abstraction, through that which is not there. We try to understand characters and staging by working out old plans and enacting them, much as *King John* does with English history. Many audiences find these performances entertaining and convincingly faithful to the past. But each time I watch a faithful Shakespearean adaptation, though I am impressed by the reconstruction, I am more moved by the sensation that so much of the past is lost or unlikely. I find exhilaration as theater companies try and plan ahead for their own maintenance while I watch them "remember," in the words of King John, what the commands of the past were. So much is unspoken and unwritten but seemingly understood, derived from the puzzling out of what must logically or likely follow from remains and a script.

The early modern theater, I believe, pronounces a tendency to reconstruct buildings and performances in our contemporary moment not because of some special charm, but because many modern representations facilitate the movement between materiality and imagination. To illustrate this trend by a very general contrast with other eras of performance, theater audiences are content to leave the medieval past in ruins, while late 17th, 18th and even 19th century plays remain mostly unperformed. Yet our contemporary moment not only performs early modern plays, but also builds new buildings in which to enshrine them. This, I think, is partially due to the material-abstract mix of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Architecture and the theater have an ancient history, but in early modern England the relationship becomes especially important, hinging on a shared enthusiasm and an overlapping Aesthetic. The Blackfriars was the first time the theater went indoors, and Inigo Jones made his name as a stage designer for masques as well as an architect. Early modern theatrical space calls to the present moment because the designs for these venues, like many of the plays performed at them, encode anachronism and probability through the image-narrative of the Subjunctive Aesthetic. The plays of the period find terror, pity, perhaps catharsis, in potential narratives—in nothing that is something. The reconstruction of buildings from plots means fleshing out and making real alternative probabilities, in contrast to what seems to be the fixed boundaries of the modern world that many perceive. In this fleshing out, the relationship between plan and action mirrors the relationship between script and performance. Performance, even the performance of a script performed as faithfully as possible, moves in a range about the lines of a script. Directors and actors must think through motivations, intentions, likely movements, and tones.

A commonplace topic for a conclusion among scholars of the early modern period, involves defining the impact that understanding the past has on interpretations in the current

moment. I am doing so right now. But I would suggest that early modern theatrical critics keep in mind the relationship of Providence and probability that came to the fore in *Macbeth* and *King John*. In *Macbeth*, prophecy seems firm in the background as thinkers and actors move through probable narratives. The tendency to treat a unitary future is persistent, and it is easy to forget how many performances are contained in a single script. By following the lines, we often end up exactly where we expected a version of Providence to lead us. Different critics might define providence as historical progress, decay, or a juridico-political-epistemological era, depending on how one defines a critical method. But whatever the methods used, critics rarely acknowledge the element that contingency plays in all of these definitions. The narratives of the Subjunctive Aesthetic are not based on progress or decay, or in an institutional apparatus as De Certeau and Foucault might imagine. Instead, the indistinct and yet detectable haze brought by the subjunctive defines the perception of a relatively commonplace form of narrative in both the past and the present. The Subjunctive Aesthetic is not about ignoring the divisions between script and performance, abstraction and empirical reality, or jumping the gulf between back then and right now. What this method offers is an acknowledgement that probability defines our practice and our narrative interoperations. This multiplicity is often mundane, neither utopian nor dystopian or tending in any one direction in particular, but probability nonetheless haunts the material and immaterial narratives of performance.

Post-Script: Thinking Ahead

The Subjunctive Aesthetic offers adaptable readings, and I think my introduction and chapters point to other eras where the Aesthetic would be useful.[341] Instead of seeking other eras with this post-script, however, I will make a refocused summary in order to re-ground the Aesthetic in early modern England. I have claimed that architecture and planning are connected, pervading the cultural production of image and narrative that acknowledges and works through a category of perception currently called probability. This form of narrative and image is pre-normative, yet nonetheless deals with ideal categories and has impact on physical bodies. Visual artifacts and imagistic descriptions capture a form that finds its connected inverse in textual and narrative multiplicity. The provisional uncertainty of the various forms of planning and probability sifting that I have surveyed can be contrasted with the early modern rise of descriptive fixing of time and space such as Providence or the national borders on maps. Using the multiplicity and provisional umbra around planning I have not only critiqued ongoing criticism, but performed meaningful readings in various genres and texts. I would like to conclude now by continuing this trend. I offer two readings of image and narrative in the early modern period using the Subjunctive Aesthetic, one of a broad and familiar form of narrative and one of a specific poem.

First, the familiar: One aspect I hope to develop in the future is the relation of the image-narrative that I outline to queer desire and potentially queer subjects and subjectivity in early modern texts. I have tried to maintain non-heteronormative forms of desire by avoiding a fixed

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[341] Bryan Reynolds also emphasizes multiplicity and Subjunctive Space in his work on Transversal theory, as I suggested in the Introduction. One fertile area for Subjunctive studies is the Victorian era. See Lindstrom, Eric. *Romantic Fiat* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Miller, Andrew. "Lives Unlead in Realist Fiction." *Representations,* Vol. 98, No. 1 (Spring 2007).

analysis of exactly how planning might be erotic. In many places, especially in the utopian

chapter, my readings touched on or incorporated how probable deliberation gives rise to

pleasures that appear to queer genre and gender at the same time. The multiplicity of the forms of

image-narrative I engage, however, frustrates my attempts to describe in specifics how plans can

queer desire besides registering suppressed forms of desire as a possibility. That being said, I

plan to develop what I have argued up to this point more fully, namely, that planning renders

desire self-consciously shared between multiple authors and interpreters. Plans, even when kept

secret, are representations, open to the contingency of others and the ranging probabilities within

even the designer's own mind. Plans, more so than many other forms of representation, attempt

to directly represent a desire, whether communal or individual, in a way that makes them

attainable and yet is always fraught with denial and failure. As I analyzed over and over,

however, the act of planning often renders the achieved goal strange, lacking, or unknowable.

Extensive planning renders even the achievement of a design somehow different than the simple

attainment of a desire. Working through a plot makes what appears to be straight somehow hazy.

In this difficulty of specific description, however, I find the potential for exciting

readings that again emphasize non-normative potentials. In particular, the ancient and well-

critiqued bed trick is a point where I will continue my analysis. The bed trick is the swap of one

sexual partner for another when a rendezvous is planned or expected. And though it is called a

trick, Julia Briggs survey of the bed-trick defines the trick as a plot device.[342] I note that the bed

trick could easily be called a plan, design, or plot in itself. Though the technique is widely used

and well discussed, the bed plot remains strange. How can one accidentally have sex with the

wrong partner just because it's the right place at the right time? My initial response, based on my

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[342] For a summary of Shakespearean bed tricks and a history of the plot-device see Briggs, Julia. "Shakespeare's Bed Tricks." *Essays in Criticism.* (1994) XLIV (4).

research, is that a bed plot defines a wide form of desire because it is a plot. A plot, in its narrative and image, necessarily incorporates probability, gathering options that appear to be clear to the observer insensitive to probability. By limiting the place and time, the likely and the unlikely come to the fore of perception. In the right bed at the right moment, suppressed desires have a chance to come to the fore. Strange and unexpected sexual dalliances, such as the complicated multiple bed tricks featuring the disguised Pyrocles-as-Amazon in Sidney's *Arcadia*, give space to recognizably queer or homoerotic narrative strands.

In the case of the *Arcadia*, a husband and wife are both in love with the disguised Amazon, with the wife supposedly seeing through his appearance. Pyrocles tricks the two into seeking a dark cave where they find each other while expecting him, and despite the seeming resolution, the possibility for homoeroticism persists in both design and outcome. If the wife sees through the disguise, why not the husband? Or perhaps the cross-dressing is what makes Pyrocles appeal to the wife in the first place. In this bed trick, and in others, there may be a point where queer theory and life meet, as bed plots do not just contain the potential for swapped partners of the appropriate gender, but swapped partners of indeterminate gender. Often in early modern criticism, queer theory and lived reality are considered worlds apart. Conflicts between abstract ideas about subverted narrative and the painful reality of oppression seem irresolvable. But plans are the means by which theoretical concerns and practical application are bridged. Bodies can be changed and unlikely desire can become potentially practical. By further defining the way designs contain homoerotic, transexual, or other queer forms of desire in bed plots, I will be able to better define how theory and practice meet in the way individuals read, speak, and write.

I would like to conclude by suggesting another specific text that would help illuminate the Subjunctive Aesthetic, and the connecting of text and image. George Herbert's concrete poetry in *The Temple* constructs images of a church using words, providing a poetic version of architectural image-narratives. In particular, his poem, "The Altar," is a striking piece of imagery and poetry that gives a new energy to the next analytic step:

<div align="center">

A broken ALTAR, Lord thy servant rears,
Made of a heart, and cemented with teares:
Whose parts are as thy hand did frame;
No workmans tool hath touch'd the same
A HEART alone
Is such a stone,
As nothing but
Thy pow'r doth cut.
Wherefore each part
Of my hard heart
Meets in this frame,
To praise thy Name:
That if I chance to hold my peace,
These stones to praise thee may not cease.
O let thy blessed SACRIFICE be mine,
And sanctifie this ALTAR to be thine.[343]

</div>

The poem is in the shape of what it describes, adding an element of image to lyricism. Yet this placement also makes me keenly aware of the effort in shifting each word in a specific spot to achieve this effect. Poetry already suggests careful placement of words, but this is beyond the attentiveness of a non-concrete poem. I cannot help looking at the gaps between the words of "The Altar," viewing the altar as a broken one and transforming it back again to a whole one. The shape of the poem, like its narrative, is both whole and split, a constellation that makes me aware of all the other ways the poem might have been. The shape, one most also note, appears as

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[343] Herbert, George. *The Temple* (Cambridge: Printed by Thom. Buck, and Roger Daniel, printers to the Universitie, 1633).

the letter I. The poem, in both form and content, is about constructing a self upon the potential wreckage of one's self, about writing a narrative by making a lyric image. It is about the painful, pleasurable, and anachronistic process of forming subjectivity. The poem is a plan for how to achieve lyricism and holiness, but does so by embracing the potential failure of its design. It describes joy and agony in the same figure, a whole altar that is also a cracked altar. On the shape and story of Herbert's multiplicitous altar, I find an appropriate end point for the Subjunctive Aesthetic. Looking ahead to what might be next, I see other ways my analysis might have been presented. I also see a completed text written within the range of design. If this dissertation is a construction then my consideration of the next steps makes feel the way that probability shaped and continues to shape my conception of what is complete and incomplete, what is concrete and what I've imagined. I look over a great mass of things in the figures of old plans, the shifting umbra of the shape of things to come.

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Manuscripts

British Library

Additional MS. 35213, art. 1. Catalogue of John Dee's library made sometime after
    1589.

Appendix MS. XVLI, parts 1 and 2. Manuscript of John Dee's spiritual diaries.

Bodley, Josias. A plan for a fort in Limerick. 1611. British Library, Cotton Augustus I.ii.33.

Cotton. Augustus. MS. I.1.i. John Dee's map of Northern hemisphere with rights to British
    territories.

------------------.I.i.30. A color groundplot of a fort titled, "The rock in the islet fortified.
    1594-5 .

------------------. I.i.46. " The state of Dover Haven 1595." The foundation of the King's Pier is
    one unfinished work, most of the rest are completed or decayed. The notable exception is
    the "North Jambe intended this year 1595."

------------------. I.i.61. A plan of a fort titled "Harwich," probably proposed to be erected there.
    Different from a preceding plan, drawing c. the reign of Henry VIII.

------------------. I.i.69. Plan of a fortress drawn by S. de Haschenberg and subscribed: "Sic visu
    apparet per regionem Per me Stephanum de Hassenperg etc." It consists of a square tower
    flanked by two round towers of greater breadth and connected with them by a high wall
    which also runs on further on either side.

------------------.I Supplement 3. A rough plan of some works proposed on the Drypool side of
    the river Hull; drawn probably by John Rogers in about 1542.

------------------.I.ii.3. "Plan of the siege of San Damiano dAsti (Piedmont) 1553" This one has a
    hand pointing to where a gap ("lacuna") in a moat was where three armies broke a siege.
    All these plans are drawn with multiple points of view in a single image.

------------------. I.ii.11. Groundplot of King Henry VIII's manor-house at Kingston upon Hull,
    probably drawn by John rogers circa 1542-3.

------------------. I.ii.19. Josias Bodley's map of Ulster made for Queen Elizabeth in the second
    half of the 16th century. British Library,

------------------.I.ii.32. Robert Cotton's own plan of the fort at the Blackwater (co. Armagh).
    Signed and dated: "R. Cotton, 1601."

------------------. I.ii.69. A plan of part of the marches of Calais, divided into allotments, with the

admeasurements on each, and with roads and forts marked out, apparently the scheme of a proposed settlement; drawn about 1541.

------------------. I.ii.79. A colored drawing, representing the castle of Salce, about four leagues N.N.E. of Perpignan, before and after a siege, probably taken in 1640, after the two sieges of July and Sept. 1639, the first by the Prince of Condé, the second by the Spaniards. Contains a flip up flap at the center depicting the ruined and whole fort.

Cotton MS. Otho. E. VIII, art. 16. John Dee's directions for a voyage to Cathay via the northern seas dated May 15th, 1580.

Cotton MS. Titus C.XII.fol.79. "The plan of Karlaverock," being a colored bird's-eye view of Karlaverock Castle, taken at the early part of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Harleain MS. 374, art ii. Letter from John Dee to John Stow dated December 4th, 1592.

Harley Ms 6288. "The plot of Sherifhutton Park."

Lansdowne MS. 39, art 58. Letter from John Dee to Burghley about Jesuit activity in Prague and the situation in the Low Countries.

Lansdowne MS 122. Lord Burghley's prognostication, in Italian.

Lansdowne MS 147. Notes on John Dee's "Cathay Voyage."

Landsowne Charter 18. Floor plan of Queen Elizabeth's palace of Haveryng Bower, in Essex; it is endorsed in the handwriting of Lord Burghley, "1578. The platt of Haveryng;" drawn on a scale of 12 feet to one inch; underneath the scale is the monogram of the draughtsman, composed of the letters I.S.

Maps 186.h.1.9. Manuscript ground plan of the Royal Exchange, drawn c. 1580. Endorsed: Royall exchange.

Maps 188. F.2.6. "The trewe platt of the newe byldyng upon fyve pyllers of stoun, betwixt the Church styles of kyngsbrydge 1586.

Maps K.Top.24.11.i. Inside View of the Royal Exchange.

Sloane MS. 15. John Dee's annotations of Euclid's *Elements*.

Oxford:

Bodleian Library

Additional MS. C. 194. Copy of John Dee's library catalogue

Ashmole MS. 179. Copy of John Dee's work on calendar reform.

Ashmole MS. 242, arts. 43, 44, 45. "Arithmatical solution of the paradoxical compass,' a "Treatise on Fractions," and "On draining and embanking fens."

Ashmore MS. 337. Horoscopes.

Ashmole MS. 422, art 2. Ashmole's notes on Dee's "Book of Mysteries" the *Liber Mysterorium*. Depicts Dee's gridlike alphabetical table of prediction.

Ashmole MS. 487. Ephemerides (astrological calendars) with Dee's notes in the margins.

Ashmole. MS. 488. Another ephemerides with a more developed diary in the margins.

Ashmole, 1788, arts 1-18. Several discussions about John Dee's angelic conferences as well as horoscopes of Dee's medium Edward Kelley.

Ashmole MS. 1789, I-V. Letters and poems on calendar reform by John Dee. Dee's manuscript of *General and Rare Memorials*.

E Mus 173. List of experiments and spells.

Rawlinson MS. 241. Diary by Dee on chemical experiments.

The Queen's College

MS. 32. Antiquarian notes on Tudor military campaigns in Ireland and the North of France with supply lists and campaign notes.

MS. 280. *Cogitata* et *Visa.* (Precursor to the first book of *Novum Organum*)