“Strange Times”: English Renaissance Literature and the Erotics of the Clock

By

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DEDICATION

To Dylan

Love's not Time's fool…

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Early modern authors often referred to their writings as babes they had birthed, babes they were sending forth into the strange new world betimes to find their own ways. I birthed two human babies and one textual one during the last three years. Most of the time, I felt like I had to abandon two of the three. Thankfully, there were a number of nurses, including Amazonian ones, in my village, who cared for my two foundlings in my absences. My debts of gratitude to those nurses are many and profound.

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EDITORIAL NOTE

In quoting early modern texts, I have generally preserved original spelling. I have, however silently modernized some aspects of orthography that may be most problematic to modern readers. For example, I have transposed i/j, u/v, replaced the long s with a short s, and omitted ligatures and swash letters.

INTRODUCTION: THE DESIRING BODY OF TIME

ROSALIND: I pray you, what is‘t a’ clock?

ORLANDO: You should ask me what time o’ day; there’s no clock in the forest.

ROSALIND: Then there is no true lover in the forest, else sighing every minute and groaning every hour would detect the lazy foot of Time as well as a clock.

-Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* 3.2.299–305

Indeed it is a difficult business—this time-keeping; nothing more quickly disorders it than contact with the arts; and it may have been her love of poetry that was to blame for making Orlando lose her shopping list and start home without the sardines, the bath salts, or the boots. Now as she stood with her hand on the door of her motor car, the present again struck her on the head. Eleven times she was violently assaulted.

“Confound it all!” she cried, for it is a great shock to the nervous system, hearing a clock strike—so much so that for some time now there is nothing to be said of her save that she frowned slightly, changed her gears admirably, and cried out […] while the motor car shot […] straight on, to the right, straight on again…

-Virginia Woolf, *Orlando*

I. Erotic Time

Rosalind’s assertion, midway through Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*, that the sighs and groans

of a true lover would tell time as well as the clock evidences a larger phenomenon in early modern literature: there are erotic means of keeping time, and these erotic means are often provoked by, as Woolf's Orlando realizes, poetry.[1] This erotic feeling of time makes us throw out our shopping lists and pause before opening our car doors. It strikes us. It is something we feel in our bodies, as does Woolf's Orlando, whose body here transmogrifies into a clock: with its own "gears," its own jerky rhythms—"straight on, to the right, straight on again." My primary aim in this project is to dwell in and enable my readers to dwell in this erotic mode of timekeeping, which offers a refreshing alternative to the standardized, mechanized, digitized, and commercialized modes of timekeeping most prevalent today. Each of my chapters describes what it looks like, in its endlessly varied guises, its gloriously polymorphic perversities. Though each of the early modern authors I study in this dissertation associate erotic feeling with timekeeping practice, each is turned on by something slightly different—each one's clock ticks according to a different drive—and each has a different attitude toward that which compels it.

I choose the word "erotic" advisedly, because, and not despite, its slipperiness. "Erotic" equivocates. As that which provokes sexual desire, it does not commit to sex nor even necessarily to physical pleasure, but, unlike its less-sexually-charged kindred "sensuous," it strongly hints at the possibility of both. That which is erotic may—but need not necessarily—lead to sexual pleasure**.** To be erotic something need not be physical at all. Erotic feeling can be derived from fantasy and imagination. The "erotic" therefore inhabits the spaces between psychology and physiology. It is a source of the *jouissance* Jacques Lacan described as a "superabundant vitality," a "backhanded enjoyment" that does not necessarily serve the pleasure

[1] Epigraphs: William Shakespeare, *As You Like It,* in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed., G. Blakemore Evans, gen. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997). Further references to Shakespeare's works are to this edition (unless otherwise noted) and are cited parenthetically. Virginia Woolf, *Orlando* (First published 1928, reprint Austin, TX: Harcourt, 2006), 72.

principle.[2] Like that *jouissance*, the erotic can include teleological action without serving teleologies. However, it is too capacious to be a source of only that *jouissance*, no matter how abundant. Distinct from desire—for Lacan, associated with absence, the failure of communication, with lack of recognition—the erotic connotes presence, expressivity, and fullness. It is a wellspring of repletion, of multiplicity rather than singularity, of communication. I desire the thing I do not have. I may eroticize whatever I want.

My argument that there is an erotics of timekeeping in early modern literature participates in some much larger trends that I will limn momentarily, but it primarily intervenes in the field of early modern studies in two ways. First, it extends scholarship's increasingly frequent insight, helped along by phenomenological approaches to time, that early modern writers have a tendency to embody time. I explore this tendency's near-literalization in the body/clock similitude, the comparisons between bodies and clocks that became increasingly frequent from the Renaissance through the Enlightenment. Additionally, I consider what it means for those bodies in which time is often located to feel erotic impulses, to occasionally be motivated by them, and to provoke them. This seems particularly necessary because—while there are certainly exceptions—studies of temporality in the period tend to treat sexuality as an ancillary concern, if treating it at all.[3] An ample number of statements like Rosalind's from early modern texts, however, inflect timekeeping sexually (especially with "groaning," in her case).

Second, this project seeks to correct a misperception that the clock usually represented order

[2] Jacques Lacan, *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis, 1959–1960* (Seminar VII), trans. Dennis Porter (New York: Norton, 1997), 18th May 1960; *Anxiety , 1962–1963* (Seminar X), ed. and trans. Jacques-Alain Miller (Cambridge Malden, MA: Polity, 2014), 23rd January 1963.

[3] Recent studies of early modern time and temporality that rely heavily on phenomenology include Angus Fletcher, *Time, Space and Motion in the Age of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Matthew D. Wagner, *Shakespeare, Theatre, and Time* (New York: Routledge, 2012); David Houston Wood, *Time, Narrative, and Emotion in Early Modern England* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009). Exploring time's role in forming gender is part of Wood's aim.

in the period, when clocks were proverbially inconsistent and nearly perpetually in error, characteristics on which, as I shall show, the writers I study here seize. (Woolf's observation that timekeeping is "disordered" by "contact with the arts" is therefore apropos.) John Scattergood makes one such assertion about the clock's use as a model of regularity when he writes: "The mechanical clock, with its division of time into regular pulses so that every moment was the same as the last and the next, became a model for the logical arrangement of things, for unerroneous constancy, for temperance, for the properly ordered life. It gave writers an instrument which served as a religious, social, and moral measure."[4] I would add that the clock also became a model of how inconstancy, intemperance, and disorder might triumph nonetheless. Even proverbs about clocks demonstrate this characterization of the clock as a representation of the way the threat of disorder perpetually haunts the machine: according to Tilley's *Proverbs*, "They agree like the clocks of London" was proverbial, but it meant, in effect, "they do not agree at all." Tilley cites Thomas Nashe: "The Preachers of England begin to strike and agree like the Clocks of England, that never meete jumpe on a point together."[5] The prospect of the clock—or clocks—working properly is always met with the reality of their inconsistency, their wild dance.

Other timekeeping devices, too, also pointed toward the potential for user error, though not so much toward the device's own. I am thinking specifically of the dial, or sundial. One of Tilley's proverbs on the dial is the simile "[t]o move as does the dial hand, which is not seen to

[4] John Scattergood, "A Pocketful of Death: Horology and Literature in Renaissance England" in Philip Coleman, ed., *On Literature and Science: Essays, Reflections, Provocations* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2007), 47.

[5] Morris Palmer Tilley, *Dictionary of the Proverbs of England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1950), C426. Citing Thomas Nashe, *The returne of the renowned Caualiero Pasquill of England from the other side the seas, and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon the Royall Exchange where they encounter with a little houshold talke of Martin and Martinisme, discouering the scabbe that is bredde in England, and conferring together about the speedie dispersing of the golden legende of the liues of saints* (London, 1589), B4r.

move."[6] If the sun is out and the dialer is apt, the dial may indeed give an accurate measure, but even then, that measure presents the user with her own perceptual limitations, reminding her of what she cannot see. I consider dials in part because the words dial, clock, and watch were used nearly interchangeably in the period, which evidences an intimacy between the devices that is still made apparent by the use of the word "dial" to refer to the face of a watch or clock today. All of these timekeeping devices were accessible to varying degrees to the authors in this study, who worked during the period in which the portable pocketwatch was becoming increasingly popular in the British Isles, from approximately the middle of Queen Elizabeth I's reign to the publication of *Paradise Lost* in 1667. I have chosen "clock" as a synecdoche to refer to all of these devices in this dissertation's title, but I consider them all because my primary interest is in any timekeeping device that represents the possibility of marking time in ways that no longer dominate thinking about time and timekeeping today.

The misperception—perhaps an oversimplification—that clocks are mere paragons of order in early modern literature is worth correcting, I believe, because of the clock's centrality to the writings of the mechanical philosophers who shaped the Enlightenment. As Otto Mayr notes, "[t]o mechanical philosophers, finally, as to most of their contemporaries, the archetypal machine was the clock."[7] The centrality of the clock as metaphor for this movement is, for instance, evidenced by a similitude between the clock, the human body, and the properly governed body politic in the first pages of the mechanist Thomas Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651):

> NATURE (the Art whereby God hath made and governes the World) is by the *Art* of man, as in many other things, so in this also imitated, that it can make an Artificial Animal. For

[6] Tilley, *Proverbs,* D321.

[7] Otto Mayr, *Authority, Liberty, & Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe* Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology, new ser., no. 8. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 58.

> seeing life is but a motion of Limbs, the begining whereof is in some principall part within; why may we not say, that all *Automata* (Engines that move themselves by springs and wheeles as doth a watch) have an artificiall life? For what is the *Heart*, but a *Spring;* and the *Nerves*, but so many *Strings;* and the *joynts*, but so many *Wheeles*, giving motion to the whole Body, such as was intended by the Artificer? *Art* goes yet further, imitating that Rationall and most excellent worke of Nature, *Man.* For by Art is created that great LEVIATHAN called a COMMONWEALTH, or STATE, (in latine CIVITAS) which is but an Artificiall Man; though of greater stature and strength than the Naturall, for whose protection and defence it was intended; and in which, the *Soveraignty* is an Artificiall *Soul*, as giving life and motion to the whole body [...].[8]

In Hobbes's account, all parts of the biological body move according to the intentions of the "Artificer." Yet the state is needed to protect the man, to ensure that he does operate according to the artificer's intentions. Order is haunted—tyrannized even—by the temptation toward disorder. Hobbes of course shared precedents and some beliefs with the mechanists who would develop the scientific method, including Robert Boyle, whom I discuss briefly at the end of Chapter 3. And, as Catherine Wilson writes, "While the dogmatic atheist Hobbes and the pious experimentalist Boyle differed in ways significant for many interpretive purposes, the similarity of their individual images of corporeal nature is better explained by their reference to a common literary tradition than by their experimental endeavors."[9] This literary tradition, I am arguing, figures for them an erotic time, a time told by impulse and feeling, one that is not objective and

[8] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or, The matter, forme, and power of a common wealth, ecclesiasticall and civil* (London: 1651), A4r, p.1.

[9] Catherine Wilson, *Epicureanism at the Origins of Modernity* (Oxford : New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 2008), 52

is thoroughly relative, and one that is yet nonetheless, as Isaac Newton would call "mathematical" time (*tempus absolutum verum & Mathematicum*) in the beginning of his *Principia* (1687), still "absolute" and "true."[10]

II. Strange Time

My argument that there is an erotics of timekeeping in early modern literature—poetry and what early moderns often called dramatic-poetry—and my exploration of that erotics arises from a much larger academic trend. Since the beginning of this century, some scholars in the humanities and social sciences have argued that their fields either are or should be experiencing a "temporal turn." Like its precursors the linguistic and spatial turns, this temporal turn focuses on the role its namesake, time, plays in constituting particular lived realities. Unlike ontological inquiries into time, which tend to induce the Augustinian aporia—"What, then, is time? If no one ask of me, I know; but, if I want to explain it to a questioner, I do not know"[11]—these thinkers approach time within varied situational contexts. They ask, for instance, how hope about the future is leveraged in debates about sexual equality or reproductive rights; how the extended time span during which global climate change is occurring impacts the ability to combat it; how the effects of the digital revolution on the experience of time will enable or disable certain systems of wealth accretion and the gender- and race-based imbalances that have persisted within them.[12] They acknowledge, in other words, that time must be situated and considered in regard to a particular problem. As Elizabeth Grosz writes, echoing Augustine, "time cannot be present or

[10] Isaac Newton, *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (London, 1687), 5.

[11] Augustine of Hippo, *Confessions,* trans. Vernon J. Burke (Baltimore: Catholic University of America Press, 1953), Book XI, Ch. 14, Sec. 17.

[12] See, for instance, Robert Hassan, *The Chronoscopic Society: Globalization, Time, and Knowledge in the Network Economy* (New York: P. Lang, 2003); Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).

present itself, [...] we cannot look at it directly."[13]

Instead, we may be better off considering what David Wood calls "temporal economies" or "temporal engagements," a move that Wood proposes as a step forward from Jacques Derrida's assertion that "there can be no nonmetaphysical concept of time":

> Just as Derrida's answer to the methodological challenge of writing philosophy in such a way as to avoid the unthinking repetition of metaphysical thematics was to develop new *strategies* of writing (such as writing under erasure), so the answer to how to think nonmetaphysically about time in the face of the intrinsic complicity of conceptuality and time is to draw out the way our fundamental temporal engagements (mourning, death, messianic hope) cannot be reduced to the metaphysical economies of restitution, return to the same, identity, and so on.[14]

The particular temporal engagements he examines are mourning, death, and messianic hope, which he chooses because they are situations "in which our traditional models of time trap us" (xxii). These situations, it might be noted, overlap much with some of those above, especially global warming.

While the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries may seem like a strange time period in which to look for insight into modern problems, there are ways in which this period offers parallels with our own situation that may be productive, even if as histories more than as prescriptions, for thinkers today. Clocks' increasing commonality and portability throughout the seventeenth century was accompanied by other changes in methods of timekeeping—like the

[13] Elizabeth A. Grosz, *The Nick of Time: Politics, Evolution, and the Untimely* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 5.

[14] David Wood, *The Deconstruction of Time* (Northwestern University Press, 1989, repub. with a new preface, 2001), xvi.

movement under Elizabeth I and James I to a national calendar, the increasing acceptance of Copernican cosmological time, and the renewed focus on objective measures of time like the one Newton would call mathematical time. These changes accompanied and even ushered in other political, religious, economic, and literary changes.[15] Ricardo Quinones' decision to call what was happening during this period "the Renaissance discovery of time" in his book of that name forty years ago may overstate the novelty of time in the period, but it does at least signal the extent to which time's passage felt strange to many of its authors.[16] As the country approached the Civil War, authors increasingly registered the effects of political and religious discord in their descriptions of the time, as does Charles I in his answer to Parliament's remonstrance: "What a strange time are We in, That a few Impudent, Malicious (to give them no worse term) men should cast such a strange mist of errour before the eyes of both Houses of Parliament, as that they either cannot, or will not see how manifestly they injure themselves, by maintaining these visible untruths?"[17] These changes may perhaps be likened to those induced by the ubiquity of portable computing devices, smart phones and smart watches, a change currently being theorized widely in fields like sociology and literary studies. Likewise, parallels can be drawn between the ways in which residues and vestiges of older timekeeping methods, together with preferences for them, persist rather tenaciously alongside the newer technologies and tastes in both periods, and

[15] For a cultural materialist account of early modern English timekeeping, see *Time, the Greatest Innovator: Timekeeping and Time Consciousness in Early Modern Europe,* eds. Rachel Doggett, Susan Jaskot, and Robert Rand (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1986). For respectively anthropological, historical, sociological, and literary formalist accounts, see Carlo M. Cipolla, *Clocks and Culture, 1300-1700* (W. W. Norton & Company, 1977); David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England*, 1st U.S. ed (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Jacques Le Goff, *Time, Work, and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1980); Stuart Sherman, *Telling Time: Clocks, Diaries, and English Diurnal Form, 1660-1785* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1997).

[16] Ricardo J. Quinones, *The Renaissance Discovery of Time* (Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press, 1972).

[17] Charles I, *His Majesties answer to a book, intituled, The declaration, or remonstrance of the Lords and Commons, the 19 of May, 1642* (Cambridge, 1642), 19.

between what some have argued is increasing wealth disparity and increasing political polarization within nation-states.

In addition to the parallels between the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries and our own historical moment, there are also differences that can be inspiring and instructive. The exploitative attitude toward time that characterizes capitalism (i.e. the idea that time is money and must be invested in a way that turns the most profit) may be a dominant paradigm for thinking about time today, but the question as to whether or not this was the case in the seventeenth century is still open. For example, the recent work literary scholar J.K. Barrett has identified entire categories of time in the Renaissance that are unfamiliar to us today and that seem to convey an understanding of time as something other than commodity.[18] And if scholars do accept, as Richard Halpern has reminded us that Karl Marx believed, that the Renaissance was a period of "primitive accumulation" predating the mature market economy, then this period offers us an interesting peek into the incubator for the political and economic systems that now motivate many scholars' inquiries into the problems associated with representing time.[19]

While I am aware that some readers will see explicitly stated parallels between early modernity and the present day in a study of early modern literature as a radical act of anachronism, I would contend that only tacitly treating early modern studies' potential relevance to the present does a disservice to the field. Casting an eye toward areas in which these readings may illuminate contemporary debates does not have to be an imposition of one's own "anachronistic" concerns and beliefs onto the literature of the period. It can also be an acknowledgement that readers' affective and political interests already affect the meanings they

[18] See J.K. Barret, "Vacant Time in the Faerie Queene," *ELH* 81, no. 1 (2014): 1–27.

[19] Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1991).

make. Although recovery— acknowledging that there are ways in which the Renaissance is "other" to those of us living in a late stage of global capitalism and believing that the study of it should be kept alive partially because of the potential benefits of rediscovering that strangeness—is important, so is rejecting the illusion that the past remains comfortably in the past. To evoke the simultaneous temporal distance and nearness of the period, as well as to make this text more friendly to a non-specialist audience and to encourage critical reflection on nomenclature, I use both "Renaissance" and "early modern" to refer to the period in question: the former when I wish to emphasize the classical influence, the latter when I wish to emphasize its temporal continuity with our own. That the past does not often remain past is an insight persistently revisited in psychoanalysis and queer theory, and for that reason, I occasionally find their idioms useful for explaining the recurrences that the re-naissance experienced and induced.[20]

III. The Body/Clock Similitude

I use the term "similitude" throughout this dissertation, as I did describing Hobbes's reference to the clock, more often than its close kindreds analogy and metaphor because of its capaciousness. I also use it because it can get naked. Or "bare," as George Puttenham puts it in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589). Lauding the use of similitude, Puttenham explains that its bareness means that it can put on various guises, that it is versatile:

> As well to a good maker and Poet as to an excellent perswader in prose, the figure of *Similitude* is very necessary, by which we not onely bewtifie our tale, but also very much inforce & inlarge it. I say inforce because no one thing more preuaileth with all ordinary iudgements than perswasion by *similitude.* Now because there are sundry sorts of them,

[20] For more on the designation "early modern" and the use of psychoanalysis and queer theory in early modern studies, see Carla Freccero, *Queer/Early/Modern* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006).

> which also do worke after diverse fashions in the hearers conceits, I will set them all foorth by a triple division, exempting the generall *Similitude* as their common Auncestour, and I will cal him by the name of *Resemblance* without any addition, from which I derive three other sorts: and give every one his particular name, as *Resemblance* by Pourtrait or Imagery, which the Greeks call *Icon, Resemblance* morall or misticall, which they call *Parabola*, & *Resemblance* by example, which they call *Paradigma,* and first we will speake of the generall *resemblance,* or bare *similitude,* which may be thus spoken[…][21]

A similitude is a "resemblance" which can take many forms: the form of icon, or symbol, or the form of a paradigm, or parable. It can therefore operate on many levels: the level of the word, like metonymy, or the level of the phrase or sentence, as metaphor and simile tend to do, or the level of passage or narrative, as in conceit and allegory.[22] The examples I typically focus on here tend to operate on the last two levels, though there are certainly instances of the first as well.

The body-clock similitude long pre-dates mechanical philosophy. As I shall demonstrate throughout, the Renaissance authors who employ it draw from a tradition at least as old as the clock itself. Fourteenth-century Christian mystic Christine de Pisan, for instance, likens the body to a clock when she writes:

> because our human body is made up of many parts and should be regulated by reason, it may be represented as a clock in which there are several wheels and measures. And just

[21] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London, 1589)*,* 201.

[22] Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorike* (London, 1553) agrees with Puttenham's assertions about the usefulness of "similitude," which he describes as "a likeness when two things, or moe than two, are so compared and resembled together that they both in some one property seem like" (213). Similitudes are useful, he goes on to explain using a telling example, in a certain type of situation:

> In comparing a thing from the less to the greater, similitudes help well to set out the matter. That if we purpose to dilate our cause hereby with poesies and sentences, we may with ease talk at large. This shall serve for an example. 'The more precious a thing is, the more diligently should it be kept and better heed taken to it. Therefore time (considering nothing is more precious) should warely be used, and good care taken that no time be lost without some profit gotten.' (214)

as the clock is worth nothing unless it is regulated, so our human body does not work unless Temperance orders it.[23]

Here the clock resembles the body not because it is innately orderly, but because it needs regulation to order it. During the fourteenth century in England as well, Chaucer had named the parts of the astrolabe, a mechanical timekeeping device that preceded the watch, using words that corresponded to human anatomy. He called, for instance, the astrolabe's main cavity its "womb," as I discuss at more length in Chapter 4.

Neither is the clock's attachment to erotic feeling new. In his *Divine Comedy*, Dante Aligheri uses the clock to describe his own seduction by the dance of the twelve principal teachers of Christianity in Paradise:

Then as a horologe [clock] which calls us

At the hour when the Bride of God [the Church] rises

To sing matins to her Spouse that He may love her,

Which pulls one part and thrusts another,

Sounding "tin, tin" with such sweet notes

That the well-disposed spirit swells with love,

So I saw the glorious wheel move,

And voice answer voice in a harmony

And sweetness that cannot be known

[23] Translation from Amy Boesky, "Giving Time to Women: the Eternizing Project in Early Modern England" in *'This Double Voice': Gendered Writing in Early Modern England,* Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke, eds. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000): 123–141, 134. For a transcription of the French and a helpful discussion of the passage, which is from de Pisan's *Epitre d'Othéa,* see Charity Cannon Willard, "Christine de Pisan's "Clock of Temperance" *L'Esprit Créateur* 2.3, Didactic Literature of the Middle Ages (Fall 1962), 149-154, esp 151. Also relevant here is Jean Froissart's 1368 poem "L'Horloge Amoureux." On the body/clock similitude's use in early modern France, see Cathy M. Yandell, *Carpe Corpus: Time and Gender in Early Modern France* (Newark; London; Cranbury, NJ: University of Delaware Press; Associated University Presses, 2000).

Except there, where joy becomes eternal[24]

For Dante, the clock's rhythmic motion, its pulling and thrusting, evokes an erotic, ecstatic, and yet thoroughly religious response. The spirit "swells" toward the "wheel" of the teachers' dance, drawing him in to Heaven.

At the time when Dante and de Pisan were writing, the clock was a not uncommon, but still relatively new, feature of the city. Private timepieces were, until roughly the middle of the seventeenth century, more valued for form than function: their dials indicating the hour were in fact often merely hidden, nestled inconspicuously amongst ornately carved painted panels on four-sided table clocks, for instance. Some of these panels, like some early pocketwatches, featured depictions of eroticized nudes; Eve, Venus, and Christ in his agony were common images. While in a clearly visible way, there was something erotic about the clocks, by the time Laurence Sterne wrote the first pages of *Tristam Shandy* in the mid-eighteenth century, timekeeping devices had assumed a typically plain and functional appearance. They became flattened—more or less two dimensional dial faces meant to be set on walls rather than the three-dimensional display pieces that were meant to be set in the middle of desks or tables as they had been in centuries prior. This flattening was accompanied by a shuttering of the sexually evocative scenes that had been more openly displayed on such timepieces throughout the Renaissance. The opening pages of Sterne's rambling, time-obsessed novel registers this shift by making the clock the symbol not of erotic desire, but of coitus interruptus. When his titular character recounts his conception, he laments that his father's pleasure was thwarted by his mother's ill-timed inquiry, "Pray, my Dear […] have you not forgot to wind up the clock?"[25]

[24] Dante Aligheri, *Divine Comedy,* trans. H.R. Huse (New York: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1954), *Paradiso* X, 139–48.

[2525] Laurence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristam Shandy, Gentleman* (Franklin Center, PA: The Franklin Library, 1981), 3.

What the poets and dramatists I here study imagine is a clock that does not interrupt sexual pleasure, but one that winds and is wound by it.

IV. Text Selection Rationale & Chapter Descriptions

Each of the texts I study here—texts by William Shakespeare, Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, John Donne, and John Milton—engages with this larger erotics of timekeeping in the period, reflecting and shaping it. These texts are selected in part for the range of erotic predilections they express within the not-quite one-hundred year time span during which they were written. Timekeeping's relation to *eros* in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost* is not quite the same as its relation to *eros* in Donne's *The Anniversaries*, for instance. Not only is *eros* different across texts, but so is each author's attitude toward its imbrication in time measurement. Occasionally, I call this attitude a "temporal orientation" for shorthand, a phrase meant to evoke the term "sexual orientation," and therefore one meant to imply mutability.

Though I often discuss several texts by the same author in a single chapter and identify broader tendencies in one author's work, this is not meant to argue that the author in question maintains the same attitude consistently across all of his works or throughout his life. Such an argument might force the very kind of conformity to identitarian norms that I in fact argue erotic timekeeping in these texts often resists. The range of *eros*'s guises, what I earlier called the clock's drives or compulsions, I take as proof of Pat Califia's claim that "Nobody comes out looking normal once you know the whole truth about how they fuck and what they think about when they jerk off" (16). To put Califia's insight into slightly more politically-correct parlance, the very idea of a norm becomes ludicrous in the erotic context, which chafes against it. Rarely is normal sexy.

While I would not call these texts "normal," they are written by largely canonical authors

and have gained a broad readership, and their canonicity is helpful to this project's attempt to build a history of the body/clock similitude's vicissitudes. I do not wish to make any claims about these authors' exceptionality, nor to justify the place they have occupied within the canon, and I place them in conversation with mostly queer feminist critics because I believe these more recent voices offer a necessary perspective, an insight that goes from the margins to the center of what Audre Lorde calls the current moment's "anti-erotic society."[26] They help raise questions about what elements of an erotics of timekeeping in early modernity might be worth recovering in post-capitalist modernity, and they each pose different answers.

I am also interested in the way the particular texts I have selected enact what Joshua Clover in his poem "Spring Georgic" calls "the poetic thought":

> To say it is a new era is to say
> it has discovered a new style of time
> we do
> not do this in language
> first but in terrain we have not chosen and do not yet
> understand
> language meets us there and must be cajoled
> into open air
> by dangling the old forms
> in their wrack and wreckage
> this is the poetic thought[27]

Each of these texts does dangle an old form in its "wrack and wreckage" as bait to lure language to the place where a new style of time has been discovered. They challenge not only sexual but formal norms when they invite words to wrap around the jagged corners and voluptuous curves

[26] Audre Lorde, "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power" in *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press, 1984), 59.

[27] Joshua Clover, *Red Epic* (Oakland, CA: Commune Editions, 2015), 21.

of what prior scholars have argued are new shapes of time in the Renaissance.[28] Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost,* for instance, is, in Madhavi Menon's words, "a comedy in drag," one that parodies generic conventions in part by refusing not only to marry its pairs at its conclusion, but refusing even to betroth them.[29] Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl,* featuring a cross-dressing heroine based on the first woman to perform English stage, not only dents the norm of the all-male stage, but also constantly tears down what we would now call the fourth wall between audience and playgoers, and the line between dramatic fiction and historical fact. Donne's *Anniversaries* inaugurated, Barabara Lewalski has argued, a new Protestant poetics to which his *Devotions* also contribute. [30] Milton's *Paradise Lost* frees itself from the "modern bondage" of rhyming by returning to the "ancient liberty" of blank verse, placing more emphasis on the "delight" of rhythm throughout the line than on the sounds made by the lines' endings.[31] I do not mean to imply that these texts stand alone as formal innovations. Certainly there is an argument to be made that all good art attempts to exceed its own form. However, these authors' willingness to explore, to "cajole," is one means of embracing the broader notion that something associated with enjoyment and experimentation can measure the time.

Although my chapters are arranged roughly chronologically, they are not meant to imply any kind of unidirectional development, as I discuss in my conclusion. The relationship between chapters, from first to last, is less the relationship between an arrow's place in a bow and its place in a target, less a progression from point A to point B, than it is the relationship between a

[28] Although temporal novelty is Quinones's claim, on the shapes of time in the Renaissance, see David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Shapes of Time* (Hanover, N.H: University Press of New England, 1982).

[29] Madhavi Menon, "*Love's Labour's Lost:* The L Words" in *Shakesqueer: A Queer Companion to the Complete Works of Shakespeare,* ed. Madhavi Menon, (Duke University Press Books, 2011), 185–193, esp. 187.

[30] See Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Donne's "Anniversaries" and the Poetry of Praise: The Creation of a Symbolic Mode* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1973).

[31] John Milton, "The Verse," *Paradise Lost* (London, 1668), a4r.

kiln explored primarily in the first chapter on Shakespeare and the products that various authors, including Shakespeare, fired within it. While the first chapter describes an educational *habitus* that lent time measurement to erotic feeling, the other chapters further explore how the traffic between the two occurred outside of the educational environment and the multiple and varied results of it.

In Chapter 1, "Missing the Mark in *Love's Labour's Lost*: Shakespeare and the Kairotics of Education," I identify a potential source of the erotics of timekeeping in Tudor educational practices. My first section considers how Tudor pedagogues harnessed both *eros* and time in the service of education, increasingly focusing on temporal discipline instead of corporal punishment. They sought to make use of *kairos,* the opportune moment, but *kairos* often slid into *eros,* a desire that exceeded that moment or rendered it inopportune. Turning to Shakespeare's early comedy *Love's Labour's Lost* (1594–95) in the second section, I consider how the play stages this slippage. It dramatizes an educational experiment in temporal control that goes awry because of desire. The specific form of desire that I argue threatens the educational experiment in this play is pederastic. Reading Berowne's pivotal soliloquy in which he declares his desire to pursue "A woman like a German clock" in context of its framing by his subjugation to Cupid, the boy-god Eros, I suggest that the play associates the clock with the disorder and the hope for the ordering of this forbidden desire. I therefore present Shakespeare's play as an exploration of the sexual dynamics surrounding punishment in grammar schooling and as his way of looking forward, guardedly, toward an Enlightenment future less reliant upon corporal punishment, one in which desires will be—it skeptically hopes—perhaps more restrained.

Chapter 2, "Hanging the Watch: Erotic Timekeeping and Temporal Cynicism in *The Roaring Girl*," takes as its centerpiece a slightly later play by Shakespeare's contemporaries and

successors Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker. Moll, the cross-dressing titular heroine of *The Roaring Girl* (1611), has her honesty tested by the temptation to steal a watch in a climactic scene in the play. I argue that her refusal of the watch both alludes to and critiques what I call temporal cynicism, an orientation toward timekeeping that finds a precedent in Ancient Cynicism, to which schoolboys would likely have been briefly introduced. Diogenes of Sinope, typically seen as the central figure of Cynicism, scorned technologies of timekeeping in favor of a fantasy of time told naturally through the body. This chapter therefore illuminates aspects of Cynicism that Foucault's late lectures and the current field's depictions of it do not—its anti-technological, anti-theatrical, and misogynistic expressions. My intent in so doing is not only to call attention to these aspects of the philosophy, but also to demonstrate how the play offers erotic timekeeping as a salve to them. The play's erotic timekeeping functions, as Audre Lorde argues does eroticism writ large, to do "that which is female and self-affirming in the face of a racist, patriarchal, and anti-erotic society."[32] Asserting her independence from the clock, Moll articulates not a Cynical commitment to natural time, which would leave untouched the identitarian constructs undergirding these forms of oppression, but she articulates rather a performative and relational erotic time that calls those identities into question. Unlike Shakespeare's play, which suggests that the theatre is a place to exorcise or ridicule this mode of timekeeping, *The Roaring Girl* celebrates erotic time, which it aligns with the theatre itself.

Instead of seeing the erotics of timekeeping as a source of shame or community, as do *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Roaring Girl*, respectively, I argue in Chapter 3, "'The Sundred Clocke': Anatomizing Time in the Work of John Donne," that Donne leverages them as a motivator, though one that works in unruly ways. This chapter identifies a tendency in Donne's

[32] Lorde, "Uses of the Erotic," 59.

works to tear apart the clock, one that runs parallel to Donne's fascination with the bareness of the naked or anatomized human body. That last slippage, from naked to torn open, indicates a tendency toward sadomasochism that has not gone unnoticed in Donne's works; as I demonstrate in preliminary discussion of some of Donne's shorter poems, Donne "thinks time," in the words of Elizabeth Grosz, through what she calls "ruptures, nicks, cuts," which for Donne are associated with both sexual and religious feeling.[33] Turning to the *Anniversaries*, his 1611 and 1612 poems mourning the death of the fourteen-year-old Elizabeth Drury, daughter of the nobleman Sir Robert Drury, I consider the tension between thinking and feeling within them, showing how, over the course of the three Drury poems (the two *Anniversaries* and the briefer "A Funerall Elegie," which I discuss in my introduction), Donne attempts to move from the painful feeling he associates with the clock to a more meditative thinking. Paradoxically, I argue, this striving to dissociate from the feeling of pain represented by the clock perversely incentivizes empiricism, which, though it sought to install an objective, thinking observer who was similarly dissociated from feeling, also relied upon the senses. Turning to Donne's sermons and his *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624), I demonstrate the body/clock similitude's persistent use and appeal for him in later works, where the similitude still motivates the attempt at to achieve knowledge beyond the senses, including knowledge of time, through those very senses. In the end, I turn briefly to the *Occasional Reflections Upon Several Subjects* (1665) of Robert Boyle to suggest that Donne indeed found an audience among the scientists and innovators that would immediately follow him.

Chapter 4, "Eating Time in *Paradise Lost:* Milton and the Boundaries of Man," conveys Milton's drastically different attitude toward the technology of the clock than Donne's. In this

[33] Grosz, *The Nick of Time*, 5.

chapter I most directly address the role of gender in the body/clock similitude. Beginning with Milton's brief lyric poem written to be set on a clock case entitled "On Time," I explore Milton's depiction of the clock as a figure of revulsion, specifically associating it with cannibalism. Drawing from Julia Kristeva's re-thinking of Sigmund Freud's *Totem and Taboo* and her theorization of the abject as that which challenges the boundaries of identity in *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection,* I argue that Milton's works present the clock as such in order to explore the destruction of those boundaries. Moving through some of Milton's classical precedents for his depiction of the clock—especially Hesiod and his familicidal Cronus myth, which is cited or alluded to in several of Milton's texts, including *Of Education* and *Naturam non pati senium,* as well as "On Time" and *Paradise* Lost—I consider how the author's allusions to these and other precedents unsettle gender distinctions and identity more broadly in *Paradise Lost*. Specifically, though some criticism of the epic has taken up the assertions that women were seen as primarily responsible for time writ large as a result of the Fall, or that they were associated with a particular fallen temporality,[34] I argue that there is no such thing as women's time in *Paradise Lost* because of this profound ambivalence about individual identity in the poem. When Milton's Eve consumes the forbidden fruit, I claim, she is likened to Cronus, the figure for devouring time who also devours his own offspring. The poem associates her not only with a feminine, maternal, fecund Earth, but also with a masculine, familicidal, devouring Cronus, and it indeed demonstrates competing tendencies regarding not only the separation of male from female, but also the individuation of one person from a collective group.

A coda concludes the dissertation by speculating, through primarily the lenses of the work of trans- and lesbian writer of erotic fiction Pat Califia and the work of Milton, about the

[34] Julia Kristeva, "Women's Time," trans. Alice Jardine and Harry Blake, *Signs* 7.1 (Autumn 1981): 13-35, 17.

role that capitalist notions of the fungibility of time have played in constructing gender binaries and eroticizing time.

CHAPTER 1

MISSING THE MARK IN *LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*: SHAKESPEARE AND THE KAIROTICS OF EDUCATION

The proposition that there is an erotics of timekeeping in early modern literature may seem oddly familiar because of Shakespeare's memorably bawdy puns linking timekeeping devices with penises. Most scholars can recall, for instance, Mercutio's comment that "the bawdy hand of the dial is now upon the prick of noon" in *Romeo and Juliet*, where the hour markers, or "pricks," on the timepiece's face, "the dial," become phallic symbols. They may also point to the "dial" drawn from Jacques's "poke," or pocket, in *As You Like It*, whose rising and falling hand comes to represent a flaccid penis (a "hang[ing] tale").[1] These Shakespearean phallic clock jokes rather straightforwardly imbue timekeeping devices with sexual meaning by likening physical aspects of the devices to male anatomy for comic effect. Rather than dismissing such well-known remarks as mere schoolboy humor, I want to seriously consider them precisely as such, examining Tudor schooling as a way of thinking about the sources of timekeeping's broader eroticization in the period.

In this chapter I suggest that Shakespeare persistently eroticizes timekeeping as a result of his education. In the Renaissance schoolroom, temporal markers were weighted with erotic significance: Renaissance pedagogues attempted to marshal *eros* toward the service of education in a variety of ways, increasingly among them, temporal control. Carefully timing all aspects of

[1] G. Blakemore Evans, gen. ed., *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997). Further references to Shakespeare are to this edition (unless otherwise noted) and are cited parenthetically. *Romeo and Juliet,* 2.4.112-13; *As You Like It,* 2.7.20, 28. On Jacques's bawdy puns, which hinge on the homophonics of "hour" and "whore" in Shakespeare's dialect, see David Crystal, *The Oxford Dictionary of Original Shakespearean Pronunciation* (Oxford University Press, 2016), xxvi.

education would help pupils willingly to love the master, the theory went, and therefore to work diligently toward his aims: transforming them into apt and loyal subjects for God, king, and country.[2] Sexual desire would be sublimated into desire for education via temporal means, like careful scheduling that allowed ample time for play and took the boys' development into account. Practice, of course, often did not go according to theory. Temporal means were not always enough, and physical punishment was often used in addition to them. In actuality, one of the events that grammar schools scheduled to the hour was beating. As Lynn Enterline writes of accounts from two different schools, "A student could, in fact, look forward to the exact hour of potential punishment on a daily basis," when a bell would toll to "signa[l] that the master would arrive within the hour to punish students."[3] These scheduled beatings occurred despite the fact that, as Rebecca Bushnell notes, many humanist masters "saw the flogging master's infliction of pain as demonstrating his own lack of erotic self-control," and that, as Enterline writes, "the connection between sex and flogging was at best an open secret."[4] Although early modern pedagogues increasingly condemned corporal punishment and promoted better use of the time table, in reality, both were used, sometimes in concert, to channel *eros*, which in turn marked both of them. The bell and the clock, therefore, must have been attached to drastically different sentiments at once: feelings of fear, excitement, and relief, the prospect of being out of time to work, or of having time to play, or of seeing someone whipped or being whipped.

Beyond scheduling beatings, finding the opportune moment—in Greek, the *kairos*

[2] The end of this sentence closely paraphrases Roger Ashcham, *The Scholemaster* (London: 1570), *fol.* 11: "In the end the good or ill bringing up of children doth as much serve to the good or ill service of God, our prince and our whole country as any one thing doth beside."

[3] Lynn Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 35.

[4] Rebecca W. Bushnell, *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), 30; Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom,* 52.

(*καιρός*)—was a means of humanist education as well as one of its aims. Early modern educational theorists actively debated when the proper moment was to begin schooling, for instance, as well as how slowly or rapidly study should progress and when which texts should be read or which activities undertaken. These "kairotic" concerns—concerns with the qualitative character of a segment of time, its ripeness, as opposed to its measurable quantity, for which the Greeks used the word *chronos*—were also an aim of Tudor education given the rhetorical situations for which pupils were being prepared. Students were taught to suit their rhetoric to the moment, as well as to consider the moment's ripeness for the causes to which they spoke. Recent scholarship has dilated upon the concept's centrality to both rhetorical and political theory in early modernity.[5] Joanne Paul, for instance, remarks of the latter: "it would be difficult to overemphasize how widespread [the] use of kairotic language […] was in the later sixteenth century."[6] Most literate early moderns would also have understood the etymology of the word, Paul argues, including "its roots in archery, where it denoted a 'penetrable opening, an aperture' through which Greek archers aimed…and through which an arrow must pass to reach its target."[7] *Kairos* is the moment of dilation during which hitting the mark is possible.

To consider the vicissitudes of early modern education's attempts to use time to

[5] On *kairos* in rhetoric, see Phillip Sipiora and James S. Baumlin, eds., *Rhetoric and Kairos: Essays in History, Theory and Praxis* (New York: SUNY Press, 2002). On *kairos* in Shakespeare's work specifically, see for instance, Sharon A. Beehler, "Confederate Season: Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Understanding of *Kairos*" in *Shakespeare Matters: History, Teaching, Performance,* Lloyd Davis, ed. (University of Delaware Press, 2003): 74–88; Cummings, "The New World Kairos in The Tempest," *Upstart Crow* (1992); Maurice Hunt, "Kairos and the Ripeness of Time in *As You Like It*" *MLQ* 52.2 (1991): 113–36; Donn Ervin Taylor, "Time and Occasion in *As You Like It*" *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 24.2 (1982): 121-136 ; Gary F. Waller, *The Strong Necessity of Time: The Philosophy of Time in Shakespeare and Elizabethan Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976).

[6] Joanne Paul, "The Use of *Kairos* in Renaissance Political Philosophy" *Renaissance Quarterly* 67.1 (2014): 43-78, 67. For calling my attention to Paul and much of the work cited here on the distinction and use of the two terms, I am grateful to Thomas P. Carroll, "*Kairos* and Milton's 'Nativity Ode': A Time to Every Purpose Under Heaven," The Conference on John Milton, University of Alabama-Birmingham, 15 October 2017.

[7] Paul, "Use of *Kairos," 45*.

sublimate *eros* toward the target of education, this chapter turns primarily to Shakespeare's *Love's Labour's Lost,* the comedy Virgil K. Whitaker calls "virtually a memorial to [Shakespeare's] schooldays."[8] In *Love's Labour's Lost,* the master of the moment, of *kairos*, of archery, is Cupid, also known as Eros, the god of attraction and sexual desire.[9] This boy-god is mentioned in *Love's Labour's Lost* some ten times, more than in any of Shakespeare's other works.[10] Characters usually describe themselves as subject to him, under his command: Don Adriano de Armado claims to have been "subdued" by him (1.2.180-81); Berowne becomes commanded by him, merely "a corporal" in his field of battle (3.1.187); the King and the Princess refer to him as a "Saint" (4.3.363, 5.2.87). Just as the modern reader's mind may slip between "kairotic" and "erotic" simply on the basis of sonic likeness, early modern readers' minds, *Love's Labour's Lost* suggests, may have slipped between considerations of the moment and of desire on the basis of this mythology. Cupid figured both insouciant lust and temporal precision: he could aim his mischief-making arrows through the smallest of openings in time. Both "mark" and "kairotic" in my title therefore are meant to double-signify: the "mark" is the target of education and the physical lines or "marks" on the face of a watch or dial, both of which are missed in some way in *Love's Labour's Lost*; "kairotic" signifies the intimate connection between "*kairos*," the time of the moment, and the "erotic," that which is provocative of desire,

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[8] Virgil K. Whitaker, *Shakespeare's Use of Learning: An Inquiry into the Growth of His Mind and Art* (San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 1969), 39.

[9] *OED*, "Eros" n.1a: "Love, the god of love, or a representation of him: = Cupid" First use given is in Chaucer's Knight's Tale, composed according to the *OED* c. 1385, and the next use cited is 1671, E. Phillips *New World of Words* (new ed.), "Eros, according to the Ethnic Poets the God of Love, who in Latin is commonly called Cupido also […] the word in Greek signifying Love."

[10] Shakespeare approaches this number of references to Cupid only in *Much Ado About Nothing* and *A Midsummer Night's* dream. Jane Kingsley-Smith argues that Elizabeth I's encounters with Cupid helped shape her image in *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

and it encapsulates the elision of one into the other that happened in the schoolroom and that happens in the play.

In focusing on early modern education's missed marks, I enter into a conversation about the effects of Tudor educational methods. The scholarship I wish to contribute to responds primarily to Richard Halpern's vision of humanist education as largely successful at its ideological function of producing obedient subjects who would become the bourgeoisie. In his vision, the schoolmaster successfully represented the monarch in the classroom. The master was the monarch's proxy authority. Via means of what Halpern calls "the imposition of certain productive and disciplinary practices," among which are the time management practices Foucault associates with modernity, the master compelled the boys' obedience.[11] However, like a number of scholars challenging Halpern,[12] I do not see Foucault's vision as yet fully realized in early modernity because of the way texts like Shakespeare's explore the unintended effects and the failures of these productive and disciplinary practices. One might think here of *Love's Labour's Lost*'s monarch-cum-failed-pedagogue, whose project in "spite of cormorant devouring Time" is doomed from the start (1.1.4). Through the play, I place Shakespeare in the middle of a spectrum from the birch that was used for beatings—the tool of corporal punishment in Tudor schools—to the bell, the time table, the hour glass, and the clock—the disciplinary tools that, as early modernity progressed, increasingly but never completely took the birch's place. The first section of this chapter traces that progression. *Love's Labour's Lost*, I argue in the second section, emphasizes the appeal of the educational time-management that would increasingly dominate

[11] Richard Halpern, *The Poetics of Primitive Accumulation: English Renaissance Culture and the Genealogy of Capital* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), 26.

[12] In addition to Bushnell and Enterline, see also Jeffrey Andrew Dolven, *Scenes of Instruction in Renaissance Romance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and Alan Stewart, *Close Readers: Humanism and Sodomy in Early Modern England* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Enlightenment pedagogy even as it insists that the unruliness of *eros* means this educational strategy will likely go awry. While Shakespeare does look forward to an educational future in which time management will supplant physical punishment, he also remains profoundly aware of the ways in which eros can make time measurement tools, like the physical punishments that preceded and accompanied them, miss their marks. The errancy that this play, with its obeisance to the boy-god of love, features most prominently is the man becoming subject to the boy: the attractions of boys and boyhood get in the way of the most sovereign attempts to harness time in the service of education. Regression ends up running the clock.

I. From Birch to Bell

Although physical punishment was still a normal occurrence in schools throughout Shakespeare's lifetime, Tudor pedagogues invested a great deal in generating Platonic love for the master, which they hoped would minimize the need for beating. Most educational theorists echoed Quintillian's advice, as summarized by Thomas Elyot in *The Boke Named the Governour* (1531), that masters should not make pupils "enforced by violence to learn," but should instead ensure that they are "sweetly allured thereto with praises and such pretty gifts as children delight in."[13] Elyot implies that this allurement was meant to be Platonic when he writes of the importance of choosing schoolmasters "of sober and virtuous disposition, specially chaste of living and of much affability and patience" because of children's proneness to be "corrupted by that which in acts or words is wantonly expressed."[14] His very insistence on this virtue and chastity also implies that the lack of it was an issue. Nevertheless, "allurement" still remains the primary strategy promoted forty years later, when Roger Ascham in *The Scholemaster* (1570)

[13] Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour* (London, 1531). H.H.S. Croft ed. (1883; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1967], vol. I, p. 32.)

[14] Elyot, *The Boke Named the Governour.* Excerpted in Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England,* 60.

expresses a sentiment similar to Elyot's discouraging corporal punishment: the schoolhouse should be "the house of play and pleasure and not fear and bondage," he writes, and boys should be "soner allured by love, than driven by beating, to atteyne good learning."[15] Ascham was Elizabeth I's tutor in Greek and Latin and is therefore an especially relevant figure in the context of *Love's Labour's Lost,* which was performed before the monarch during the Christmas revels of 1597 or 1598.

Like many other Tudor pedagogues, Ascham not only encouraged masters to allure their students to education via praise and presents, but also to direct them there via exercises in physical discipline. Before *The Scholemaster,* Ascham's work *Toxophilus* (1545), "Lover of the Bow," which was dedicated to Elizabeth's father, King Henry VIII, gained considerable popularity.[16] The text sought to teach archery—which Ascham worried was falling out of favor as the firearm gained popularity[17]—and simultaneously to develop English vernacular vocabulary. These aims could seem disparate, but they are linked by Ascham's commitment to his country—archery is good for the country, as is having its own language—and by the rhetorical and athletic significance of *kairos*—one must fit one's writing and speech to the moment that one learns to seize in archery. The importance Ascham attributed to the physical exercise of archery in educational establishments may explain the presence of archery in the statutes of a number of Elizabethan schools; *Toxophilus* in fact briefly describes how the physical and rhetorical are related: how the health of the body is important for study (*fol.* 8–9). Indeed it seems as though later in the period skill at archery became associated with skillful

[15] Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, Biir.

[16] Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus the schole of shootinge contayned in two books* (London, 1545).

[17] I will leave aside the question of whether or not Ascham's fears were well-founded. On this question, see Steven Gunn, "Archery Practice in Early Tudor England" *Past & Present* 209 (2010): 53–81. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40960933.

teaching. In the conclusion to *Of Education* (1644), John Milton writes of the difficulty of the plan he details: "this is not a bow for every man to shoot in that counts himself a teacher, but will require sinews almost equal to those which Homer gave Ulysses."[18] The exceptional teacher is an exceptional archer. Certainly *Love's Labour's Lost* seems to echo this association, since its most effective teacher, the Princess, played by a boy-actor, is also its most effective archer. Despite her glib pronouncement to the King—"Pardon me / to teach a teacher ill beseemeth me" (2.1.107–108), a comment which has the effect of making her seem even more conspicuously like the pedagogue—she is the bowhunter who successfully fells the play's deer.

Tudor education also paid particular attention to *kairos* outside of the context of archery when debating the proper moment at which to begin a young man's education. Bushnell, identifying the horticultural metaphors often employed in debates about the proper time to commence a boy's education, writes about the pressure time was seen to exert on scheduling:

> the teacher/gardener must make much of time. Gardeners quarreled over whether art could alter natural seasons or the times of flowering and fruiting […] Just as the early modern teachers fluctuated between their call for play and their drive to work, they also tried to combine their respect for the child's development with their anxiety about time's passing. They worried that the teacher might miss the critical point to intervene in the child's growth before the green sapling stiffened to hard wood.[19]

Bushnell's language here calls attention to the erotic undertones of such debates. Masters were proposing taking boys before puberty from their "mother school" or "petty school" and swapping their parents' love for the masters', something perhaps most effectively done before they

[18] John Milton, *Of Education* in the *Complete Poems and Major Prose,* Merritt Yerkes Hughes, ed. (Indianapolis: Hackett Pub, 2003), 639.

[19] Bushnell, *Cultures of Teaching,* 108–9.

"stiffened," when their erotic attachments were still rapidly developing.

Perhaps foremost among the early modern pedagogues' arguments on which Bushnell draws is the argument of Richard Mulcaster, who was headmaster of the Merchant Taylor's school 1561–1586 and of St. Paul's 1596–1608.[20] Using the same language of hardening or stiffening, Mulcaster argues in his *Positions* that no certain age should be set for children to begin school, "because ripeness in children is not tied to one time, no more than all corn is ripe for one reaping […] Some be hastings and will on, some be hardings and draw back; some be willing when their parents will, some but willing when they will themselves."[21] Proper timing regarding the beginning of studies was significant enough, Mulcaster's agricultural similitude implies, for painstaking, case-by-case attention to be devoted to the time when, in the course of a boy's life, he was most emotionally, intellectually, and physically receptive to the master's harvest.

Once the boy had begun school, sustaining the bond between student and master was enabled partly by pacing studies carefully. The epistle "To the Reader" of Lily's Latin Grammar, the standard text for Shakespearean grammar school boys, argues for modest speed and for recursivity. "The first and chiefest point," Lily asserts:

> is that the diligent master make not the scholar haste too much […] For this posting haste, overthroweth and hurteth a great sort of wits, and casteth them into an amazedness, when they know not, how they shall either go forward or backward, but sticketh fast as one pludged, that cannot tell what to do, or which ways to turn him, and then the master thinketh the scholar to be a dullard, and the scholar thinketh the thing to be uneasy and

[20] Inclusive dates of Mulcaster's headmastery are given in Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England,* 18.

[21] Richard Mulcaster, *Positions* (London: 1581). Excerpted in Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England,* 71.

too hard for his wit, and the one hath an ill opinion of the other, when oftentimes it is in neither, but in the kind of teaching.[22]

Lily hammers the point home again in the epistle's conclusion. Although the students should never be idle, he writes, they should not move swiftly; instead they should be "always occupied in a continual rehearsing and looking back again to those things they had learned, and be more bound to keep well their old, than to take forth any new."[23] They should repeat, return to prior content rather than progressing, and this should foster a relationship of reciprocal regard between the scholar and the master, a mutual affection between them.

While many of these texts promised that boys would learn Latin "in shorte tyme, and with small pains,"[24] the slowness that Lily promotes actually characterized education during Shakespeare's boyhood. The humanist commitment to repetition and memorization necessitated a snail's pace. Learning became disparaged as "plodding," the word Berowne uses in *Love's Labour's Lost* as an epithet for study (4.3.301).[25] Milton also confirms this later, in *Of Education*: "Hence appear the many mistakes which have made learning generally so unpleasing and so unsuccessful; first, we do amiss to spend seven or eight years merely in scrapping together so much miserable Latin and Greek as might be learned otherwise easily and delightfully in one year."[26] Milton is perhaps conservative with this estimate, if at all inaccurate. Whitaker writes that "[i]t is no exaggeration to say that any adult who possessed the competence

[22] John Lily, "A Shorte Introduction of Grammar, generally to be used in the kynges Majesties dominions, for the bryngynge up of all those that entende to atteyne the knowlege of the Latine tongue" (London: 1548–49), Aiir.

[23] Ibid, Aiiir.

[24] Ascham, *The Scholemaster,* Air.

[25] Berowne also characterizes scholars as "plodders" (1.1.86).

[26] Milton, *Of Education,* 631.

in Latin that Shakespeare must have had before he left school could read in two months all the books that Shakespeare studied [over the seven or eight years of his grammar schooling]."[27] *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Of Education* suggest that this slowness was more an impediment to the student's love of learning than an enticement toward it.

Larger changes in education responded to this slowness during the Enlightenment, when pedagogues invested ever more effort and ever more faith in the promise of time-management. In his nineteenth-century "Introduction—Historical" to his translation of John Amos Comenius's *The Great Didactic* (c. 1632), M.W. Keatinge notes that part of the motive for a transition to the increasingly vernacularized education that Comenius advocated was temporal. Some parents objected to Latin's centrality in the curriculum (which Ascham, like Erasmus and Lily, had advocated) because it made education slow. Keatinge writes:

> the plea of lack of time, had already begun to make itself heard. Merchants wanted to give their sons a good education, but, as they needed their assistance at an early age, grudged the inordinate length of time that had to be spent before good scholarship could be attained [with methods where Latin was at the center of the curriculum].[28]

Educational slowness was not only bad for Platonic love between master and student, but also bad for business.

Keatinge's translation of *The Great Didactic*'s title page shows Comenius making many of the same claims as Ascham to try to address the very problems imputed to curricula like Ascham's. The title page proclaims the text: "The Great Didactic: Setting forth The whole Art of Teaching all Things to all Men […] that the entire Youth of both Sexes, none being excepted,

[27] Whitaker, *Shakespeare's Use of Learning,* 36.

[28] M.W. Keatinge, "Introduction" to John Amos Comenius, *The Great Didactic,* Keatinge trans. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896), 118.

shall Quickly, Pleasantly, & Thoroughly Become learned in the Sciences, pure in Morals, trained to Piety, and in this manner instructed in all things necessary for the present and for the future life, in which, with respect to everything that is suggested, […] ITS TRUTH is proved by examples from the several mechanical arts, ITS ORDER is clearly set forth in years, months, days, and hours, and, finally, AN EASY AND SURE METHOD is shown, by which it can be pleasantly brought into existence."[29] "Easy and sure," like Ascham's "in short tyme and with small pains," promises that the method will properly harmonize body and mind to prevent the need for punishment and to make education more marketable.

Preventing the need for punishment was important, as beating was increasingly seen as a disciplinary means that was abused. In 1663, Marchamount Nedham, in his *A Discourse Concerning Schools*, for instance, strongly discourages whipping, advising that it "might be if not totally laid aside, at least very sparingly used, and that upon moral transgressions as swearing, thieving, etc. and then too by the hand of some servant, the beadle or *lector* of the school, as an office in itself servile not at all beseeming either gentleman or divine to execute." This is in part because whipping has become too thoroughly imbued with sexual overtone, because of what he calls the "ill use some have made [of whipping] to lewdness (of which instances are not wanting) it being a kind of uncovering nakedness." *Eros* could and did go awry in beating to such an extent that it would be best to lay it aside altogether, he argues, looking to other disciplinary means.[30]

Comenius, who was best known as a pioneer of universal education and a staunch advocate of education for women (though only at basic levels), became a leader in not only the

[29] Comenius, *The Great Didactic,* Keatinge trans., 155.

[30] Marchamount Nedham, *A Discourse Concerning Schools* (London: 1663), 14.

movement toward time-table discipline as opposed to physical punishment, but also in the pansophic or encyclopedic educational project seeking to further Francis Bacon's attempt to organize all human knowledge. In his *Outline of the Pansophic School* (c. 1641), Comenius includes a detailed schedule of the academic calendar and the daily schedule in his prescribed educational institution. The schedule he writes provides students time to sleep from 8pm till 4am and thirty minutes of play for each hour's work. The six to seven o'clock hour in the morning is to be devoted to hymns, bible-reading, and prayers. After a thirty minute break, from 7:30 to 8:30 students are to study the principal subject, theoretically treated. From nine to ten o'clock, after another half-hour break, they are to study the same subject again, treated practically, etc.[31] Comenius's theories would be immensely influential: in the years preceding the English Civil War, Comenius would be called upon to help reform the system of public education in the British Isles.[32] In 1642, Samuel Hartlib's translation of his work would be published in English as "A Reformation of Schools," and Comenius's ultimate mark would be so indelible that historian Otto Mayr is not alone in calling him "the pioneer of modern education."[33]

Comenius treats the role of the time table that he lays out in such great practical detail in the *Outline* more theoretically in *The Great Didactic*, which includes a passage that is practically a paean to the clock. Because this passage so clearly articulates the future toward which education after Shakespeare was headed, I will quote it at length. It comes from the chapter called "The Basis of School Reform Must Be Exact Order in All Things," in which Comenius makes a series of familiar mechanist moves to demonstrate the importance of order. He draws

[31] Keatinge, 138.

[32] M. Greengrass, "Comenius, Johannes Amos [Jan Amos Komenský] (1592–1670)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, revised October 4, 2007 .

[33] Otto Mayr, *Authority, Liberty, & Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 42.

out an analogical chain linking various systems: nature to the human body to political bodies to devices including artillery, printing presses, carriages, ships, and finally, the clock. He marvels:

> […] how is it that the machine for measuring time, the clock, which is nothing but a well-arranged and well-devised disposition of iron parts, moves harmoniously and evenly, and marks of minutes, hours, days, months, and sometimes years?
>
> What is the hidden power that brings this to pass? Nothing but the all-ruling force of order; that is to say, the force derived from arranging all the parts concerned according to their number, size, and importance, and in such a manner that each one shall perform its own proper function as well as work harmoniously with and assist the other parts whose action is necessary to produce the desired result; […] But if any part get out of position, crack, break, become loose or bent, though it be the smallest wheel, the most insignificant axle, or the tiniest screw, the whole machine stops still or at least goes wrong, and thus shows us plainly that everything depends on the harmonious working of the parts.
>
> The art of teaching, therefore, demands nothing more than the skillful arrangement of time, of the subjects taught, and of the method. As soon as we have succeeded in finding the proper method it will be no harder to teach school-boys, in any number desired, than with the help of the printing-press to cover a thousand sheets daily with the neatest writing, […] or to cross the ocean in a ship, and journey to the New World. The whole process, too, will be as free from friction as is the movement of a clock whose motive power is supplied by the weights. It will be as pleasant to see education carried out on my plan as to look at an automatic machine of this kind, and the process will be as free from failure as are these mechanical contrivances, when skillfully made.

> Let us therefore endeavor, in the name of the Almighty, to organize schools in such a way that in these points they may bear the greatest resemblance to a clock which is put together with the greatest skill, and is cunningly chased with the most delicate tools.
>
> (Keatinge trans., 247–48)

Here Comenius's high regard for the watch evidences an incredible optimism about the efficacy of temporal controls in education. The clock epitomizes the order that the schools should strive to achieve and the means by which they can achieve it. Despite the overall promise the clock represents, however, Comenius does hedge his bets. Not only does he note that "if any part get out of position…" the device (i.e. the teaching) will not work, but he also remarks that this type of education will be pleasant to watch only "when skillfully made." Watch the clock *Love's Labour's Lost* does, but unlike Comenius, it hedges more than it bets.

II. From Bell to Boy

Love's Labour's Lost is a decidedly extra-canonical Shakespearean play. Although it has enjoyed and continues to enjoy a robust performance history, its place in the author's canon is far below that of other plays which are seen as commenting meaningfully on education: not just *Hamlet*, with its rarified university discourse, but also other roughly contemporary comedies like *The Taming of the Shrew*.[34] Part of this neglect has been chalked up to *Love's Labour's Lost*'s

[34] On education in *Hamlet,* see, for instance, Jonathan Gil Harris, "From the Editor: surviving *Hamlet* (Editorial)," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 62.2 (June 2011): 145–47; Ross Knecht, "'Shapes of Grief': Hamlet's Grammar School Passions," *ELH* 82.1 (2015): 35–58; Rhodri Lewis, *Hamlet and the Vision of Darkness* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017). On education in *The Taming of the Shrew,* see, for instance, Dennis S. Brooks, "'To Show Scorn Her Own Image': The Varieties of Education in The Taming of the Shrew," *Rocky Mountain Review of Language and Literature* 48.1 (January 1994): 7–32; Enterline, "Chapter 4: The Cruelties of Character in *The Taming of the Shew*" in S*hakespeare's Schoolroom,* 95–119; Elizabeth Hutcheon, "From Shrew to Subject: Petruchio's Humanist Education of Katherine in *The Taming of the Shrew*," *Comparative Drama* 45.4 (Winter 2011): 315–337; Leah Marcus, "The Editor as Tamer: *A Shrew* and *The Shrew*" in *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London, 1996), 108; Patricia Parker, "Construing Gender: Mastering Bianca in The Taming of the Shrew" in *The Impact of Feminism in English Renaissance Studies*, ed. Dympna Callaghan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

immaturity, with that word understood in a variety of senses. The play is persistently regarded as Shakespearean juvenilia, the work of an immature author. For instance, in his 1710 "Critical Remarks" in Rowe's edition of *The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare*, Charles Gildon pronounces the play "defective" and surmises that "since [*Love's Labour's Lost*] is one of the worst of *Shakespear*'s Plays, nay I think I may say the very worst, I cannot but think that it is his first."[35] Yet chronology within Shakespeare's canon hardly correlates with canonicity at present; attribution to Shakespeare's youth has not condemned Shakespeare's other roughly contemporaneous works—*The Rape of Lucrece,* for instance, which may have been written in the same year, 1594. Whereas *Lucrece* has been deemed fertile ground for weighty considerations of Shakespearean temporality and eroticism, *Love's Labour's Lost* has not.[36] The play has instead been condemned as slight or trivial, a light comedy that is all style and no substance. It is too Euphuistic, "savour[ing] more," in the words of William Hazlitt, "of the pedantic spirit of Shakespear's time than of his own genius" and imitating "but too faithfully" the "tone of polite conversation then prevailing among the fair, the witty, and the learned."[37]

As scholars have increasingly pointed out, however, critics like Gildon and Hazlitt seem to

[35] Charles Gildon, "Remarks on the Plays of Shakespear" (1710). Reprinted in Felicia Hardison Londré, ed., *Love's Labour's Lost: Critical Essays* (New York: Garland Pub, 1997), 45–48, esp. 45. In his *Notes on Shakespeare's Plays*, Samuel Johnson likewise remarks "In this play, which all the editors have concurred to censure, and some have rejected as unworthy of our poet, it must be confessed that there are many passages mean, childish, and vulgar; and some which ought not to have been exhibited, as we are told they were, to a maiden queen" (Londré, *Critical Essays,* 52). In his notes on Coleridge's lectures, J. Tomalin writes that Coleridge asserted that the play contains a warning for parents not to create "so many miserable little beings taught to think before they had the means of thinking" and instead to exercise patience in "listening to their natural infantile prattle" (Londré, *Critical Essays,* 57).

[36] See especially Joel Fineman, "Shakespeare's *Will*: The Temporality of Rape," *Representations* 20 (1987): 25–76; and Alison A. Chapman, "Lucrece's Time," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 64, no. 2 (July 25, 2013): 165–87.

[37] William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespear's Plays* (1817). Reprinted in Londré, *Critical Essays,* 61.

have been beaten to the punch by the play itself.[38] Hazlitt's comment, for instance, could be taken as saying of the play what the pedant Holofernes says of Don Adriano: "He draweth out the thread of his verbosity finer than the staple of his argument" (5.1.16-17). It also sees a problem in its own inconclusive conclusion: rather than ending with engagements, it ends with the ladies postponing their responses to the men's marriage proposals. The Princess and Rosaline require the King and Berowne to reprise their educational experiment for another year in different contexts: the Princess sends the King to "some forlorn and naked hermitage" (5.2.795) to test whether "the frosts and fasts, hard lodging and thin weeds / Nip not the gaudy blossoms of [his] love" (801-802), while Rosaline sends Berowne to "jest a twelvemonth in a hospital" (870) to attempt to "enforce the pained impotent to smile" (854). Thereupon Berowne remarks, "Our wooing doth not end like an old play: / Jack hath not Gill" (874-6) and complains that the year-long interval during which the lords will be tested will be "too long for a play" (878).

This complaint about slow resolution goes hand-in-hand with Berowne's complaints about the "plodding" pace of education, and these are only a few among many other ways in which the play hints at the potential perils of length. Maria complains about a letter that is "too long by half a mile," a complaint which makes one of multiple puns on the name of Longaville, the letter's sender (5.2.54). At the play's conclusion, the Princess remarks that all the letters sent to the ladies by the lords in fact seemed frivolous and long-winded: "We have receiv'd your letters full of love" she remarks, "and in our maiden council rated them / At courtship, pleasant jest, and courtesy, / As bombast and as lining to the time" (5.2.777-81). The men's verbosity has been more transparent than their love. That verbosity, the unnecessary length of speech, writing, or

[38] See especially Thomas M. Greene, "*Love's Labour's Lost*: The Grace of Society," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 22 (Autumn 1971): 315–328. Reprinted in Londré, *Critical Essays,* 225–242; and Madhavi Menon, "*Love's Labour's Lost:* The L Words" in *Shakesqueer: A Queer Companion to the Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2011), 185–193.

words, is a subject of entertainment throughout the play (e.g. "honorificabilitudinitatibus," 5.1.41). The play also contains an unusually long soliloquy (Berowne's at 4.3.285-362, if all lines from the quarto are kept intact) and what is, in the folio, the longest scene (5.2, the final scene).

When the Princess judges the letters unnecessary filler, she shows that she has been in exactly the position that she remarks earlier in the play that she should not be occupying: the position of teacher. She and the other women—or rather boy-actors—"mark," or grade, the men's letters and their performances throughout the play, and they find the schoolboy productions of the "book-men" (2.1.227, 4.2.33)—the letters, imitations, and play—to have missed the mark.[39] In pronouncing the inadequacy of such attempts, the Princess is not so much a lipstick lesbian[40] as she is a saucy schoolboy who has usurped the master's authority. As such her power—or the power of the boy playing her—over the older male characters is manifold, profoundly titillating, and threatening to education. This interpretation goes some way toward explaining why the play checks itself so thoroughly: in addition to having single character "internal auditors," to borrow Harry Berger's term, and single characters who serve as their own "*monitor monitorum,*" as Enterline is observed was often the case in drama, *Love's Labour's Lost* becomes its own self-censoring subject.[41] This may be because the play dallies with the possibility of pederasty—of *eros* failing to be sublimated into education and becoming sexual action despite the best of attempts at a temporally-controlled homoerotic bond. This threat

[39] Both letter-writing and play-acting were, of course, also primary tasks for early modern students. It is apropos here that Ovid's *Heroides* (The Heroines), or *Epistulae Heroidum* (Letters of Heroines), epistolary poems in which heroines of Greek and Roman mythology address heroic lovers who have in some way mistreated, neglected, or abandoned them, were often studied by young men who were then asked to imitate them, as Shakespeare likely was, in order to learn to versify. Certainly this was an incidental training in the ways desire could go awry.

[40] See Menon, "The L Words," 187–92 passim.

[41] Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom,* 40.

requires a thoroughgoing repression. Even if not about pederasty per se, certainly *Love's Labour's Lost* says something about the seductions of boyhood, of looping back in time rather than marching steadily along toward maturity.

Although the boy-actors playing the women serve as the play's most effective masters, *Love's Labour's Lost* features many scenarios where the boy wins over the master. The most central of these is the plot regarding the educational project of Ferdinand, the King, who assumes the role of master rather than the master being a proxy for the monarch. The educational project that the master/King introduces at the beginning of the play is a disciplinary one that entails both temporal and erotic controls. Over its three year course, Ferdinand wants to compel himself and his loyal subjects, Berowne, Dumaine, and Longaville, to "spite cormorant devouring Time" and to become "heirs of all eternity," in part through time-management provisions described in his "schedule" (1.1.4, 7, 18)[42]—sleeping only three hours per night, for instance—and fasting one day per week and eating only one meal per day. Alongside these proactive disciplinary measures for turning the his court into "a little academe, / Still and contemplative in living art," the King also employs a prohibition against seeing women for the full three-year duration of study, and he appeals to the lords' fidelity to their promises to "live with [him]" during that time (1.1.13–14, 16).

Certainly this seems like the shoring up of a homoerotic bond. Even before the wit Berowne subscribes to the oath, its foolhardiness is apparent, and the reasons why he signs nonetheless—and therefore agrees to perjure himself—seem most likely to be the "shame" the King mentions

[42] The *OED* says that "schedule" is not used to mean "time-table" until 1863, but there are usages contemporary with Shakespeare's in this play that do suggest that the word refers to a plan: for instance, "a bond or promissory note" (5b) and "a separate paper or slip of parchment accompanying or appended to a document, and containing explanatory or supplementary matter; in 16–17th cent. sometimes used for a codicil to a will. (2a.)" (1631). B. Jonson, *Staple of Newes* i. vi. 34 in Wks. II Your father..Left it in writing in a Schedule here, To be annexed to his Will; that you..Should take [etc.].)

he would experience were he not to sign and his own realization that he will quite easily be able to justify breaking the letter of the oath because of "mere necessity," as the spirit of it seems rather more important (1.1.118, 1.1.154). The King is creating for himself an environment of exclusively adult male companionship under the guise, Berowne suggests, of educational achievement. It is not so much to be oath-breaking that would warrant punishment from the King—any "necessity" could excuse that—as betrayal of the bond between the men. Perhaps this is why, at the play's end, the Princess thinks a "forlorn and naked hermitage" would be an appropriately tempting place for Ferdinand to test his love for her (5.2.795).

The King's commitment to his own disciplinary regime is immediately tested when, in the play's first scene, he is forced to sentence Costard, "that unlettered small knowing soul" (1.1.250-51), for violating the provision not to be seen with a woman. Armado, whose letter reports Costard's offense, calls for "the meed of punishment" to flow from the King (1.1.266-67). Costard, like a schoolboy, tries to escape this punishment by amusing the King with clever wordplay. He insists that it was not a "wench" he was caught with but a "damsel" or a "virgin" or a "maid," quibbling with the king's noun choice (1.1.290, 293, 297). Then he takes the king's mildly stern response implying that his wordplay has been ineffective—"This maid will not serve your turn, sir" (1.1.298)—and repeats it, highlighting how it could be taken as a ribald innuendo—"This maid will serve my turn, sir" (1.1.299). Here, Costard's evasion tactics resemble those of schoolboys about to receive beatings who purportedly jested, sometimes effectively, to save their hides. Mulcaster, for instance, is said to have abstained from punishing a boy whose naked backside he was about to whip because another of the boys wittily responded to the master's conceit about "Lady Burch" marrying the miscreant boy's buttocks by protesting

that "all partyes are not agreed."[43] The King responds to Costard's attempted wit by lessening the expected punishment of a year's imprisonment. Instead he merely requires Costard to "fast a week with bran and water" (1.1.301). Costard's verbal acrobatics do not work completely, but there will be no birch here. Perhaps this is because his dalliance with Jacquenetta has not threatened the loyalty of the King's book-men to him: Costard's resolutely heterosexual joke involving a woman not of interest to the lords shows that he poses no threat to their homoerotic bond.

While it may seem anachronistic to align Ferdinand's project with educational experiments in temporal discipline that took hold during the Enlightenment, these strategies were not new to that period. They developed in continuity with Renaissance humanistic thought, where they were already being tested and often found wanting in the face of erotic duress. Ferdinand's edict, for instance, may have been suggested to Shakespeare by proto-Enlightenment educational experiments like the one outlined in Pierre de la Primaudaye's *L'Académie française*. La Primaudaye's text is often associated with the same pansophic movement that Comenius also sought to further. This encyclopedic work was translated into English in three volumes appearing in eight printings over the years 1583–1604. Arden *Love's Labor's Lost* editor H.R. Wouldhuysen describes it as a "a bulky compilation of political and moral thought" and writes that it "provides an analogy rather than a source for Shakespeare's play," though he also notes that it was "popular" and "an important influence on English political thinking" (66). In the text, four young French courtiers withdraw from the world to engage in philosophical discussion.

[43] Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom,* 49.

These four lords live plainly, supplementing their learning with hunting but little else.[44] Like the lords in *Love's Labour's Lost*, the course of study they undertake attempts to use time management to achieve education's aims. Each chapter of the many chapters in *The French Academie* is classified under a "daie," so this encyclopedic volume purports to organize the learner's time as well as prescribe the content of study. Unlike in *Love's Labour's Lost*, however, in *The French Academie* women are not specifically banned. Shakespeare is patently interested in the point that this prohibition makes, and the threat that women—here of course played by cross-dressed boys—represent to the King's idea of educational progress. Perhaps this is because he was more than familiar with what Nedham called "the ill use some [masters] have made [of whipping] to lewdness," a situation in which the homoerotic bond between master and student threatens to become homosexual action.[45]

Like Tudor pedagogues, *Love's Labour's Lost* makes much of the difficulty of finding the proper moment for the King's homoerotic project. In a number of instances, Berowne points out that it is ill-timed. In some sense Shakespeare's implication of this is apparent from the play's very beginning, buried in an ironic pun: the King refers to his own decree as his "late edict," using an adjective that at this time meant both recent and overdue. A perverse reader, like Berowne, might interpret the adjective as meaning that the King's order is "late," or dead, on arrival. Indeed, when in Act One, Scene One, the King gently reproaches Berowne for being a

[44] The translator, Thomas Bowes, in his dedicatory epistle also enjoins his readers to consider the very relation between learning and life that Shakespeare's play confronts when the King cites his desire for Navarre to be "a little academe, / Still and contemplative in living art" (1.1.13–14). Bowes writes:

> as many as are desirous to bee bettered by the reading of this booke, they must thinke seriously vpon the end vnto which this Authour had regard when he penned it […] namely, The practise of vertue in life, and not the bare knowledge and contemplation thereof in braine.

La Primaudaye's text also comments that "Love," or desire for good, may also be called "*Cupiditie*, *Lusting,* or *Coveting"* but "because this affection is so out of square in this our corrupt nature, these names are commonly taken more in the evill then in the good part" (quoted in Kingsley-Smith, *Cupid in Early Modern Literature and Culture,* 3).

[45] See my note 24.

late adopter, the rain on his academic parade, one who is "like an envious sneaping frost / That bites the first-born infants of the spring" (1.1.100–101), Berowne responds by saying that the King's educational project is itself late, improperly timed given the lords' ages:

> Well, say I am, why should proud summer boast
> Before the birds have any cause to sing?
> Why should I joy in any abortive birth?
> At Christmas I no more desire a rose
> Than wish a snow in May's new-fangled shows;
> But like of each thing that in season grows.
> So you, to study now it is too late,
> Climb o'er the house to unlock the little gate.
>
> (1.1.105-108)

The lords are too old, "too late," to absorb the plan's benefits, he argues. They are not in the springs of their lives, are not "infants"—a word that Don Armado also uses to refer to his boy, Moth (1.1.94), and that also means, in Latin, "without speech." Instead their ages make them closer to Christmas, the season when this play was performed for Queen Elizabeth I's court in 1597 or 1598, a holiday at the beginning of winter, the season emblematic of old age. They have missed the proper moment, perhaps already stiffened to hard wood. They have missed the season for the purpose of education, to loosely paraphrase Ecclesiastes 3.1, a verse that, along with its seven subsequent verses, is especially notable in Greek for using the word *kairos* some 29 times.

The Christmas season was also the time when mid-sixteenth century schoolboys enacted the "barring-out," a ritual of rebellion during which they shut the master out of the school and

refused to admit him until their demands were met.[46] It was the moment in the school year when "youth" did indeed seem "kingly," as Berowne refers to it during one of the many instances when he is justifying breaking his oath to Ferdinand, when he calls the oath "flat treason 'gainst the kingly state of youth" (4.3.289). Since the schoolmaster was often viewed as the king's proxy, rituals like the barring-out during the Christmas season momentarily place youth above the king's command. There were other related rituals as well—the election of the boy bishop on December 6, the Feast of Saint Nicholas, for instance[47]—that also made the "youth" kingly during the season.

Youths, in fact, command in this play nearly whenever they appear. Moth, whose name is pronounced by his Spanish-accented master Don Armado as "mote," or tiny thing, and who is listed in the dramatis personae as Armado's "page, a boy," intellectually bests his master at every turn. This is especially apropos considering that "Don" is not only a title in Spanish appropriate to someone older than oneself, as Armado clearly is supposed to be here, but also the colloquial name for the head, fellow, or tutor at a college.[48] Yet Moth is continually teaching his master, Don Armado, even lording over him, as when he censures Armado for forgetting about Jacquenetta: "Negligent student! Learn her by heart" (3.1.35). Clearly Armado is, at the least, charmed by Moth. Moth baits him about it when Armado remarks that Moth's wordplay responding to his appellation "tender juvenal" is "pretty and apt" and Moth replies, "How mean you, sir? I pretty and my saying apt, or I apt and my saying pretty?" (1.2.19-20). Boyet, too, the

[46] See Keith Thomas, *Rule and Misrule in the Schools of Early Modern England*, The Stenton Lecture; 1975 (Reading: University of Reading, 1976), 21.

[47] Elizabeth I ultimately outlawed the ecclesiastical custom of electing a boy bishop on the Feast of Saint Nicholas to serve throughout the Christmas season. While both the barring out and the boy bishop find echoes in the selection of a Lord of Misrule, the Lord of Misrule was usually a peasant adult male, not a boy, and he therefore represents an inversion of economic rather than age-based hierarchies. On these customs, see Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year, 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 10–11.

[48] *OED*, "don," n.1a, 4.

lord attending the French Princess, has his name punned on several times, as when Maria calls him “an old love-monger” (2.1.254) and when Longaville effectively tells him to grow up: “God’s blessing on your beard” (2.1.203). Despite his nominal association with childhood, he is one of the most witty and perceptive characters in the play. He, for instance, brings the ladies’ attention to the men’s interest in them. Meanwhile the actual schoolmaster, Holofernes, reaches the lowest depths of shame in the play. The Princess finally seems to take pity on him after the performance of the pageant of the Nine Worthies, during which the men spend all their time as Moth notes the ladies have done during the men’s self-presentation as Russians: not “mark[ing],” or paying attention to, him (5.2.173). The pupil has the power to disregard the master. In addition to the exchanges between the lords and the boy/ladies, the play in other exchanges as well also emphasizes boyhood’s superiority over manhood.

Shakespeare ties the life season of youthful ripeness to lust using Mulcaster’s agronomic metaphor for pupils at the time of readiness: corn. Longaville echoes Mulcaster when he remarks that Berowne, in arguing against the King’s educational plan, “weeds the corn, and still lets grow the weeding” (1.1.96). Berowne, Longaville says, makes a case against study and for growing lust. Shakespeare’s use of the same vehicles, corn and weeds, in *The Rape of Lucrece* also very explicitly associates them with childishness and lust. Immediately after Tarquin’s schoolboy oratory fails him and he decides to give way to his desire, the narrator remarks: “As corn o’ergrown by weeds, so heedful fear / Is almost chok’d by unresisted lust” (281-82). Corn represents the prudent fear of the ready and willing pupil—at the beginning of the prior stanza it is called “childish fear” (274)—and this fear is choked by the weeds of lust. Leaving behind childish things, Tarquin, perhaps like the lords in *Love’s Labour’s Lost,* becomes guided by Eros, which does not always shoot at a target he ought to strike.

Tarquin's lust also dictates how he interprets the clock, which he reads as inviting him to sexual activity. He allows "his servile powers" to "Stuff up his lust, as minutes fill up hours" (295, 297). The repetition of "up" here seem to suggest a dial that points to 12 o'clock, as does Mercutio's, and is therefore one that is erect. Here time measurement both conveys and inflames feeling: lust becomes his way of telling the time. He also mis-"consters"—a verb associated with Latin lessons—the items that delay him on his journey to Lucrece's chamber: instead of seeing them as portents of ill, he views them like the markings on a clock, "as those bars which stop the hourly dial, / Who with ling'ring stay his course doth let,/ Till every minute pays the hour his debt" (327-29). The word "let" here means both an obstruction and an access point. The jarring—or the tremulous ticking of the clock that is caused by the device's internal "lets" or obstructions—is supposed to elicit Tarquin's childish fear, but it actually stimulates his desire. These "lets" he compares to "little frosts that sometimes threat the spring, / To add a more rejoicing to the prime, / And give the sneaped birds more cause to sing" (331-33). They are a sign, in his reading, that his pleasure will be maximized when he rapes Lucrece, not a sign that he should not do so.[49]

[49] Here my reading builds on Fineman, who interprets the stasis of indecision as "what thrusts [Tarquin] into the directed duration of erotic time," and who reads in Shakespeare's chiasmus a trope for that dynamic, a "general model for the motivating and consummating *friction* of heterosexual desire per se" ("Shakespeare's Will," 41–42). I am suggesting that a similar dynamic is at work in this play regarding homosexual desire. Given my argument about the play's upending of educational hierarchies, it is also apropos to note that in *Lucrece,* Lucrece's plea to Tarquin not to rape her in fact construes him as both a failing schoolmaster and a failing monarch because of lust's control over him:

> This deed will make thee only lov'd for fear,
> But happy monarchs still are fear'd for love;
> With foul offenders thou perforce must bear,
> When they in thee the like offenses prove.
> If but for fear of this, thy will remove;
> For princes are the glass, the school, the book,
> Where subjects' eyes do learn, do read, do look.
> And wilt thou be the school where Lust shall learn?
> Must he in thee read lectures of such shame?

If he fails to control his desire, if it is successful at ruling his time, Tarquin will be a poor exemplar and therefore a model for disobedient subjects.

In *Love's Labour's Lost,* Berowne is the let, the obstacle, the unseasonly sneaping frost of the King's homoerotic academic plan. This is to say that he is both what makes it stop and what makes it go. The last character to subscribe to the plan, he is also the first to confess his attraction to one of the women/boy-actors, and the character to qualify most heavily the King's temporal disciplinary optimism. This becomes most apparent in his confession soliloquy midway through the play. In Act 3, Scene 1, he explains that, seemingly in spite of himself, he plans to forswear his oath in order to pursue Rosaline. He marvels at his own feelings as he assumes both the faultiness of the clock and the power of *eros*:

> What! I love, I sue, I seek a wife—
> A woman, that is like a German [clock],
> Still a-repairing, ever out of frame,
> And never going aright, being a watch,
> But being watch'd that it may still go right!
> Nay, to be perjur'd, which is worst of all;
> And among three to love the worst of all,
> A whitely wanton with a velvet brow,
> With two pitch-balls stuck in her face for eyes;
> Ay, and, by heaven, one that will do the deed
> Though Argus were her eunuch and her guard.
> And I to sigh for her, to watch for her,
> To pray for her, go to! It is a plague
> That Cupid will impose for my neglect
> Of his almighty dreadful little might.

Much more than Comenius did, Berowne emphasizes here the likelihood that the clock will fail. This all-too-attractive clock is bound to realize the pedagogue's worst fears, Berowne thinks: to tick according to its own perhaps improperly assembled parts, to be improperly weighted, and therefore to have its own frictions. It will need persistent correction—"repairing," which could signify any of a range of related but distinct actions, for instance: winding, mending, sprucing up, or returning.[50]

Women were frequently likened to faulty clocks as Rosaline is to the clock here: other examples can be found, for instance, in Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *Westward Hoe* (1607), where Mistress Birdlime remarks: "no German Clock no Mathematicall Ingin: whatsoeuer requires so much reparation as a womans face," and Thomas Middleton's *A Mad World, my Masters* (1608), where Master Penitent Brothel issues a misogynistic statement wrapped in self-reprobation that is similar to Berowne's:

> To dote on weakness, slime, corruption, woman?
> What is she, took asunder from her clothes?
> Being ready, she consists of hundred pieces,
> Much like your German clock, and near allied:
> Both are so nice they cannot go for pride.
> Beside a greater fault, but too well known,

[50] "Repair" *OED* v.1a. *Intr.* "to return to or from a specified place or person; to come back again. (1600 Shakespeare *Midsummer Night's Dream* 4.1.66 "May all to Athens backe again repaire." 1b. *Intr.* To return, come back (Shakespeare a1616 *Timon of Athens* 3.4.68 "If I might beseech you Gentlemen, to repayre some other houre." 3a. *intr.* To go habitually or frequently to a place or (occasionally) a person" *v.2,* 1a. *trans.* To restore (a damaged, worn, or faulty object or structure) to good or proper condition by replacing or fixing parts; to mend, fix. (also to put countries and cities in order (1b and 1c) 1d. *trans.* (*refl.*) To put oneself in order; *esp.* to give oneself a neat and tidy appearance, spruce oneself up."

They'll strike to ten when they should stop at one.[51]

Berowne's use of the similitude shares much with each of these. Like Penitent, he seems horrified at Rosaline's sexuality, her willingness to "do the deed" despite being watched by Argus, a monster with one with a hundred eyes, as Penitent's woman wants more sexual pleasure (to "strike to ten" meaning something like "to screw ten men") than she should have. Like Mistress Birdlime, Berowne also seems to use a form of "repair" to mean "spruce oneself up," given how much the subsequent part of the soliloquy, perhaps the most puzzling part, dwells on her physical appearance. The comparison between the woman and the clock seems a stock misogynistic comparison and therefore does not necessarily make Berowne's attraction to Rosaline seem puzzling, given that his attraction to any woman would be likewise foolhardy. However, his soliloquy becomes more degrading of Rosaline specifically when he asserts that she is "among three" "the worst of all," and when he insults her dark complexion. Why indeed, if he finds her not only lacking in modesty, but also the least attractive of the three ladies, most in need of "reparation," or makeup, is she his sexual object choice?

Here the play calls conspicuous attention to what is already another one of what Gildon might have called its defects: the lords' attraction to the ladies seems utterly unmotivated, and their feelings for each other do not seem particularly convincing as the sort of feelings that might lead to the happy marriages with which a comedy is supposed to end. Berowne and Rosaline actually speak to each other very little in the play. He mistakes the Princess for Rosaline because

[51] For these citations I am indebted to the notes in William Rolfe's edition of *Love's Labour's Lost* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899). Accessed on *Shakespeare Online* (10 August 2013) < http://www.shakespeare-online.com/plays/LLL_3_1.html >. Thomas Dekker and John Webster, *West-ward Hoe* (London: 1607), A3r; Thomas Middleton, *A Mad World, My Masters* in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works,* Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino, et. al., 4.1.18–24; For a later reference, see Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Early Forms of Liability: Lecture 1" in *The Common Law* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1881): "servants sometimes say 'she' of a clock, but everyone gives a gender to vessels" (26).

the masked Princess possesses a favor he sent to Rosaline,[52] which does not suggest that Berowne and Rosaline are adequately familiar to be in love, much less intimately known to each other. The backstory of their relationship is also thin, like all the backstories the ladies provide for their prior meetings with the lords: Rosaline says she once spent an hour in "sweet and voluable" witty "discourse" with Berowne (2.1.76). One of their few possible direct exchanges comically and utterly fails, even if the speech prefixes in the quarto are wrong and the lines are actually between Berowne and Rosaline, as the folio attributes them, and not Berowne and Katherine, as does the quarto:

Ber. What time a' day?

(Ros./)Kath. The hour that fools should ask. (2.1.121–22)

This question seems, Katherine/Rosaline implies, like a lame pick-up line. It is not the stuff that marriages are made on. Nor does Rosaline seem particularly eager to jump into bed with Berowne, judging by the play's ending.

However, if the audience remains aware that Rosaline is played by a boy dressed a woman, Berowne's response to his attraction to the boy-in-drag who looks worst as a woman begins to make a good deal more sense. In a society where sodomy was a sin, the ending of the play then becomes a welcome relief: pederasty is avoided! The men have escaped being seduced by boys! A meditation on the power of boyhood in the form of Cupid in fact frames the woman/clock similitude in which Berowne expresses his undeniable attraction to Rosaline/the boy:

O, and I, forsooth, in love! I, that have been love's whip,

A very beadle to a humourous sigh, 175

[52] Contributing to the ridiculous thinness of these disguises is that the favor that seems to demark the Princess as Rosaline is a picture of Rosaline, which invites comparison between itself and whatever of the Princess's face Berowne may be able to discern.

A critic, nay, a night-watch constable,
A domineering pedant o'er the boy,
Than whom no mortal magnificent!
This wimpled, whining, purblind, wayward boy,
This senior[-junior], giant-dwarf, Dan Cupid,
Regent of love-rhymes, lord of folded arms,
Th' anointed sovereign of sighs and groans,
Liege of all loiterers and malcontents,
[…]
And I to be a corporal of his field,
And wear his colors like a tumbler's hoop!

Berowne recognizes that he is reversing roles with Cupid: until this point, he had been the master, the "domineering pedant" over the child-god Eros, or even the enforcer of corporal punishment, the "beadle." Now Cupid, expert in kairotic action, is master of him. To watch the woman-clock is to obey the boy-god desire, not to obey the imperatives of master, crown, and country. To watch the clock is to let the boy—both Cupid and the boy playing Rosaline—win over the man.

This upending of the traditional man-boy hierarchy spells out the end of education in the play. As soon as the men confess their attraction to the boys/women, they not only agree to abandon the proto-Enlightenment educational disciplinary project, but also become ineffective rhetoricians because ineffective kairoticians. Berowne and the other men struggle increasingly to understand how to speak at which time: they repeatedly try and fail to suit their rhetoric aimed at wooing the women to the moment. This is perhaps most obvious when, at the play's end, the

court receives news of the Princess's father's death. The King respond to the Princess's abrupt farewell in a way that acknowledges not his own ability to spite or defeat time, but its ability to exert pressure on him. Yet he does so in language still too abstruse for her, in her time of grief, to interpret. He says:

> The extreme parts of time extremely forms
> All causes to the purpose of his speed,
> And often at his very loose decides
> That which long process could not arbitrate.
>
> (5.2.740-43)

Time here is personified as a male archer—think of the commands "knock" and "loose"—and his arrow is elided with Cupid's. "At his very loose," or in a mere moment, Eros as personified Time can make even the most ambitious projects conform to it, rather than it being triumphed over by those projects. Here the King acknowledges the limitations of the slow study to which he had previously devoted his court. That the Princess, whom he is hoping to woo with this statement, cannot make heads or tails of it proves that he has certainly not mastered *kairos*. Berowne must attempt to translate the King's statement into the "honest plain words" that will "best pierce the ear of grief," though even he is still met with only moderate success. He must translate the master's words into words that the women, with their "mother tongue," can understand, and he must do so because the master himself, despite his attempt to master time, has failed to find the aperture.

In *Love's Labour's Lost,* it is not an education in obedience to the monarch/master that finds ways to enter *chronos,* or historical time, through *kairos,* the time of the moment; it is *eros* that penetrates the aperture, even if it still misses the mark. To the extent that *kairos* and *eros* can

be parsed out of their elision with each other, *Love's Labour's Lost* suggests that it is most often desire—especially in its most taboo forms—that controls time. The far-reachingness of Shakespeare's recognition that this could be the case within his dramatic canon is perhaps why so many recent studies of Shakespearean time take a phenomenological approach to his work[53]: he suggests repeatedly that one's desires shape one's experience of time, and that time therefore goes, in another Rosaline's words, "at divers paces with divers persons."[54] And yet, although polymorphous perversities often metamorphose the experience of time in these works, very few of these scholars attend at all to their powers. *Love's Labour's Lost*'s insistence upon them—on and above the powers of institutional discipline—is perhaps what leaves critics like Gildon and many other academic audiences with the sense that we have wasted time, and it has wasted us.[55]

[53] See especially Matthew D. Wagner, *Shakespeare, Theatre, and Time* (New York: Routledge, 2011) and David Houston Wood, *Time, Narrative, and Emotion in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009). There are too many articles suggesting that Shakespeare presents a phenomenological perspective on time to recount here, but perhaps foremost among them are Chapman's on *The Rape of Lucrece* (see above) and Scott Maisano, "Now," in *Oxford Twenty-First Century Approaches to Literature: Early Modern Theatricality* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 368–85. Also see Adam Max Cohen, *Shakespeare and Technology: Dramatizing Early Modern Technological Revolutions*, 1st ed (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), although Cohen argues not necessarily for a phenomenological approach but rather for a Shakespearean proto-theory of relativity.

[54] *As You Like It,* 3.2.308–9. As further evidence of the extent to which desire shapes the experience of time in Shakespeare, see also her lines preceding these. After Orlando remarks, "there's no clock in the forest," she responds "Then there is no true lover in the forest, else sighing every minute and groaning every hour would detect the lazy foot of Time as well as a clock" (3.2.301–305).

[55] *Richard II,* 5.5.49–50. Also roughly contemporary with *Love's Labour's Lost.*

CHAPTER 2

HANGING THE WATCH:
EROTIC TIMEKEEPING AND TEMPORAL CYNICISM IN *THE ROARING GIRL*

In the prior chapter, I have focused on the erotics of timekeeping as an effect of Tudor schooling that is made visible by Shakespeare's drama. In this chapter,[90] I consider drama more as source than outcome, exploring the erotics of timekeeping as a theatrical production, as something I argue is cultivated by performance in Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker's 1611 play *The Roaring Girl*. I am still interested in precedents for the erotics of timekeeping, which always occupies more than one time at a time, so here I turn to ancient Cynicism as a philosophy that offers an illustrative contrast: the philosophy is associated with a particular mode of fantasizing about the relationship between time and bodies, a fantasy of naturalness. I claim that Middleton and Dekker's play does not so much reuse as recycle this fantasy, transforming key features of it and putting them to new, theatrical purposes. In *The Roaring Girl*, the *eros* of timekeeping resides less in the persistent past than in present relations. Timekeeping hangs in the balance between parties in the play; time is kept not so much through negotiation between these parties—between character and character, and between actor and audience—as it is kept through flux among them, like blood circulating the collective body of the playhouse.[91] Time is the lifeblood of the theatre, and titillation, a form of keeping it, helps pulse it into different members.

[90] Much of this chapter will be published under the same title in *Modern Philology* 116.2 (November 2018).

[91] Some readers may view my simile as anachronistic given that William Harvey published his discoveries on the circulatory system in Latin in 1628 as *De motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* and in English in 1653 as *The Anatomical Exercises of Doctor William Harvey Professor of Physic and Physician to the King's Majesty, Concerning the Motion of the Heart and Blood.* However, the awareness that blood circulated within the body dates back at least to Galen (b. 129 CE), and I am not arguing that the author or audience had this anatomical process in mind, but rather using it as an apt analogy for modern readers who wish to understand the play's temporal economy.

Whereas Berowne, like many of Shakespeare's protagonists, desires to manage time and finds time ever sexier because it ultimately succeeds in managing him, *The Roaring Girl*'s protagonist, Moll Cutpurse, wants very little to do with time management in the horological sense. She turns to a paradigm for timekeeping—keeping time through musical rhythm—that relies more on the space between notes than on the cycles of the clock or on the natural urges to which Cynicism was attuned. *The Roaring Girl* likens this musical time to theatrical time, a similitude that rests on the shared property that both are kept through play with the space between parties within relationships.

I. Temporal Cynicism

The Cynical philosopher Diogenes of Sinope was not impressed by the newfangled timekeeping devices of his day. In the *Apophthegmes,* Englished by Nicholas Udall in 1542, Erasmus includes the following anecdote about the philosopher's disdain for the sundial. Diogenes is presented a dial that his contemporaries regard as innovative and ingenious, likely a hemispherum or hemicycle.[92] Upon seeing it, he dismisses it: "A gaye instrumente," he quips, "to save us from beeyng deceived of oure supper." Lest this be construed as a compliment, Erasmus explains: "Menyng the arte of geometrie, with all other the sciencies Mathematicall, to bee to veraye litle use or purpose."[93] Erasmus is diligent to make his reader understand that Diogenes saw the sundial, which relies upon geometrical and mathematical calculations, as but another innovation of little use. In the philosopher's opinion, there is no cause for mechanical timekeeping when the growl of a hungry belly does the same job naturally. The human body

[92] A portable form of the sundial called the hemispherium or hemicycle was purportedly developed by Berosus during Diogenes's lifetime. See R. Newton Mayall and Margaret L. Mayall, *Sundials: How to Know, Use, and Make Them* (Boston: Charles T. Branford, 1938), 7–8, and Winthrop W. Dolan, *A Choice of Sundials* (Battleboro, VT: Stephen Greene Press, 1975), 34–35.

[93] Erasmus, *Apophthegmes*, trans. Nicholas Udall (London, 1542), 158v. Hereafter cited in text as *A.*

provides the only necessary measure of the time.

In Elizabethan texts, Diogenes is often presented as a champion of various forms of unconstraint. In the *Apophthegmes*, where he plays a prominent role, he preaches that "libertee" is the "principall best thing" in life, and he tries to achieve it, according to Erasmus's approving moralization, through living without need of "many soondrie thynges" (*A*, 152r). This "frugalitee" became a hallmark of the philosopher, who was notorious for eschewing a house and household goods by living in a tub in the marketplace (*A*, 90r). A different, though related, kind of liberty is associated with the philosopher in Thomas Wilson's *The Art of Rhetoric* (1553), where Diogenes is the second-most frequently quoted philosopher. There he exemplifies what Wilson calls "*liberavox*" or "freenesse of speache" and defines as "when wee speake boldely, & without feare, euen to the proudest of them, whatsoeuer we please, or haue list to speake."[94] Both of these differing forms of freedom are also part of John Lyly's dramatic representation of Diogenes in *A moste excellent comedie of Alexander, Campaspe, and Diogenes* (1584). Lyly's character counsels Alexander the Great, his most famous foil, to "unlearne to covet."[95] This lesson frees both the ruler and his subjects from the fetters of Alexander's own lust for his captive, Campaspe, enabling her to marry the painter, Apelles, with whom she is in love. Combined, Erasumus, Wilson, and Lyly—three influential sources for subsequent Diogeneana—present the philosopher as representative of liberty from things, from authoritative restrictions on speech, and from lust.

Recent scholarship on Cynicism has brought increasing attention to the philosophy's

[94] Quotation from Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London, 1553), 107v. On Wilson's use of Diogenes, see Hugh Roberts, *Dogs' Tales: Representations of Ancient Cynicism in French Renaissance Texts* (New York: Rodopi, 2006), 15.

[95] John Lyly, *A moste excellent comedie of Alexander, Campaspe, and Diogenes* (London, 1584), C2v. Lyly's play was printed in four editions in the space of one year and performed both at court before Queen Elizabeth and in the Blackfriars. It was also reprinted again in his *Sixe Court Comedies* (London, 1632).

associations with these liberties. In Michel Foucault's late lectures, the Cynics serve as both exemplary *parrhésiastes* ("free speakers") and as paragons for the philosopher who wishes to teach through a style of life rather than through written doctrine.[96] One aspect of the Cynical lifestyle that interests Foucault is its sexual practice: Diogenes is said to have masturbated in public, which he purportedly compared to banishing hunger by rubbing his belly, and to have solicited prostitutes at his tub, on one occasion masturbating rather than waiting for one to arrive.[97] This immediate satisfaction of sexual impulses helped the philosopher minimize desire, which he saw as tyrannous. As Diogenes Laertius, whose *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* remains the primary source for students of Cynicism, explains, Diogenes attempted to train himself to "derive more pleasure from despising pleasure than from the pleasures themselves" (73), and "claimed that to fortune he could oppose courage, to convention nature, to passion reason" (39, 41). Rather than provoking passion, he aimed to purge it. Foucault describes and praises this aspect of Cynicism in *The Use of Pleasure*, where he interprets Diogenes's masturbation as a means of preventing domination by lust:

> The strategy made possible an equilibrium in the dynamics of pleasure and desire: it kept this dynamics from 'running away,' from becoming excessive, by setting the satisfaction of a need as its internal limit; and it prevented this natural force from revolting, from usurpinga place that was not its own, because it provided only for what was necessary to

[96] Michel Foucault, *Fearless Speech,* ed. Joseph Pearson (Los Angeles, CA: Semiotexte; distributed by MIT Press, 2001), and *The Courage of Truth (the Government of Self and Others II): Lectures at the Collège de France, 1983-1984,* trans. Graham Burchell, ed. Frédéric Gros (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011). Apropos this "style of life" means of teaching and my prior chapter, Cynical educational practice seems to have included a fair measure of violence, with Antisthenes, whom Diogenes followed, having initially beaten his would-be pupil away with a staff rather than educating him (see *LEP,* 25). The work of Ansgar Allen dilates upon this. See *Benign Violence: Education in and Beyond the Age of Reason* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) and *The Cynical Educator* (Leicester: Mayfly, 2017).

[97] See Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers,* trans. R.D. Hicks (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972), 47, 71; hereafter cited in text as *LEP* with reference to English translation page number.

the body and was intended by nature, and nothing more.[98]

Though Foucault cites Galen and other sources that were known to early modern readers,[99] this sexual liberty of Cynicism—meaning both its free engagement in sex acts and its freedom from unbridled lust—has been less taken up by scholars of the philosophy's reception in early modernity. Instead, engaging with the philosopher's late lectures, scholars including David Mazella and David Hershinow have shown how Shakespeare in particular used the philosophy to explore problems with both free speech and freedom from things.[100] However, as Foucault's commentary makes clear, underpinning these liberties is the same notion that is at the heart of Diogenes's confrontation with the dial: to become self-sufficient, one need only follow one's natural, bodily needs.[101]

II. Erotic Timekeeping

Diogenes would have been a familiar and notorious figure to early modern playgoers. Wilson's rhetorical manual was widely read. The Elizabethan man-of-letters Gabriel Harvey called it the "daily bread of our common pleaders and discoursers"—the legal community that constituted a significant part of the audience for early modern plays in both performance and in

[98] Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure: The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 2, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1988), 54, 56.

[99] Foucault, *The Care of the Self: The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 3, trans. Robert Hurley, (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 139.

[100] On Diogenes and free speech in early modern England, see David Mazella, *The Making of Modern Cynicism* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2007), esp. chap. 2, and David Hershinow, "Diogenes the Cynic and Shakespeare's Bitter Fool: The Politics and Aesthetics of Free Speech," *Criticism* 56 (2014): 807–35. On Diogenes's use as an exemplar of freedom from material things, see David Hershinow, "Cash Is King: Timon, Diogenes, and the Search for Sovereign Freedom," *Modern Philology* 115, no. 1 (2017): 53–79.

[101] Diogenes was commemorated after his death with the following verse: "Time makes even bronze grow old: but thy glory, Diogenes, all eternity will never destroy. Since thou alone didst point out to mortals the lesson of self-sufficingness and the easiest path of life" (*LEP,* 81).

print.[102] The epistle to the reader in the 1611 print edition of Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker's play *The Roaring Girl* acknowledges this legal contingent when it advertises the play as "fit for the times and the termers," meaning suitable for those who come to London for legal business during periods when the courts are in session.[103] For this literate segment of the play's audience, as well as for those who took their cues and derived their understanding from it, Diogenes was an increasingly recognizable figure.[104] Cynicism was therefore likely to have been an available philosophy with which to think through problems presented by the inventive but expensive early modern counterpart to the sundial: the portable pocket watch.[105] Diogenes's comments offered a strong account of the relation between the time such devices kept and the bodies on which they were carried. But of course one needed neither the watch itself nor prior familiarity with Diogenes to be plagued by the recognition that time—whether told by mechanical devices and market hours or conveyed naturally—could chip away at the sense that one's body could provide self-sufficiency.

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[102] Peter E. Medine, Introduction to *The Art of Rhetoric*, by Thomas Wilson (University Park, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994), 178, 9. Andrew Gurr writes that "the chief buyers of playbooks were courtiers and law students" (*Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987], 72). These two groups likely constituted a significant segment of even the audience at the Fortune, the public theatre where the play was performed in 1611. Although private theatres became increasingly favored by upper classes beginning in approximately 1599, Alexander Leggatt writes that "Philip Henslowe would not have built 'gentlemen's rooms' at the Fortune if he did not expect them to be occupied" and quotes Gurr in arguing that "a bifurcation of the audience […] 'was gradual and intricate'" (*Jacobean Public Theatre*, Theatre Production Studies [London ; New York: Routledge, 1992], 29, 31; citing Gurr, *Playgoing,* 79).

[103] Thomas Middleton and Thomas Dekker, *The Roaring Girl,* ed. Coppélia Kahn, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, ed. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), 0.9. Except where otherwise noted, further citations of *The Roaring Girl* refer to this edition, which creates no act divisions, with scene and line numbers given parenthetically. References to other Middleton works are also to this edition.

[104] By 1648, attorney William Austin refers to "*Diogenes* the Cynick Philosopher" whose "witty and satyricall learning, are known of most men" (Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Cato major, or, The book of old age*, trans. William Austin [London: 1648], D2v).

[105] On the expense of seventeenth-century watches, see Silvio A. Bendini, "A Map of Time" in *Time, the Greatest Innovator: Timekeeping and Time Consciousness in Early Modern Europe,* eds. Rachel Doggett, Susan Jaskot, and Robert Rand (Washington, D.C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1986), 17.

The pocket watch makes an appearance in one of *The Roaring Girl*'s most climactic scenes: the trial or honesty test of its titular heroine, Moll Cutpurse. Moll is based on the historical woman Mary Frith, a London celebrity who was imprisoned for appearing publicly in men's clothing.[106] Her centrality to the play has made generations of scholarship turn to *The Roaring Girl* as a touchstone for thinking about sexuality and gender in the period.[107] In the play too, she is a locus for trying and testing competing concepts of early modern femininity. Accused of being "thief-whorish" by the greedy patriarch Sir Alexander, who shares a name with Diogenes's most famous foil (8.17), Moll is set up to steal his watch. In the vein of the men who question Diogenes about the sundial, Alexander and his servant Trapdoor think the timepiece will be irresistible bait: "Here, take my German watch" he tells Trapdoor, "hang't up in sight / That I may see her hang in English for't" (8.7–8).

Moll's response to the device, however, resembles Diogenes's. After playing music on a

[106] See Gustav Ungerer, "Mary Frith, Alias Moll Cutpurse, in Life and Literature," *Shakespeare Studies* (2000): 42–84.

[107] On gender and sexuality in the play, in addition to selected other critical works cited elsewhere in this essay, also see Jane Baston, "Rehabilitating Moll's Subversion in The Roaring Girl," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 37 (1997), 317–35; Patrick Cheney, "Moll Cutpurse as Hermaphrodite in Dekker and Middleton's *The Roaring Girl,*" *Renaissance and Reformation* 19 (1983): 120–34; Mario DiGangi, "Sexual Slander and Working Women in *The Roaring Girl" Renaissance Drama* 32 (2003): 147–76; Jonathan Dollimore, "Subjectivity, Sexuality, and Transgression: The Jacobean Connection," *Renaissance Drama* 17 (1986): 53-81; Marjorie Garber, "The Logic of the Transvestite: *The Roaring Girl*" in *Staging the Renaissance: Reinterpretations of Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama,* eds. David Scott Kastan and Peter Stallybrass (New York: Routledge, 1991), 221-34; Heather Hirshfeld, "What Do Women Know?: 'The Roaring Girl' and the Wisdom of Tiresias," *Renaissance Drama* 32 (2003): 123– 46; Jean Howard, "Crossdressing, the Theatre, and Gender Struggle in Early Modern England," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39 (1988): 418–40; Natasha Korda, "The Case of Moll Frith: Women's Work and the 'All-Male Stage'" *Early Modern Culture* (2004); Susan E. Krantz, "The Sexual Identities of Moll Cutpurse in Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl* and in London," *Renaissance and Reformation* 19 (1995): 5-20; Fiona McNeill, "Gynocentric London Spaces: (Re)Locating Masterless Women in Early Stuart Drama" *Renaissance Drama* 28 (1997): 195-244; Jo E. Miller, "Women and the Market in the Age of *The Roaring Girl,*" *Rennaissance and Reformation* 14 (1991): 11– 23; Stephen Orgel, "The Subtexts of The Roaring Girl," in *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage,* ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York: Routledge, 1992), 12–26; Nicole Roman, "Issues of Gender and Sexuality in Middleton and Dekker's *The Roaring Girl," Bridges: A Senegalese Journal of English Studies* 6 (1995): 67-78; Mary Beth Rose, "Women in Men's Clothing: Apparel and Social Stability in *The Roaring Girl,*" *English Literary Renaissance* 14 (1984): 367–91.

viol placed between her legs, an act that Jean Howard has influentially read as evocative of masturbation and a display of the character's "erotic subjectivity,"[108] Moll summarily rejects the watch, stating "nay then, I care not. A watch and a musician are cousin-germans in one thing: they must both keep time well or there's no goodness in 'em" (8.131–33). Like Diogenes, she gestures toward the object's superfluity in light of her own just-demonstrated ability to keep musical time. However, unlike Diogenes, she does not locate this ability in an inward state of nature. Nor does she rush toward physical climax, instead preferring to conclude her autoerotic song with the resolution: "awake, I keep my legs together" (8.128–29). She locates the ability to keep time pleasurably in the midst of performance. Along with her indifference to the expensive things laid out for her to steal, her musical timekeeping conveys her integrity to the audience, preserving her from Sir Alexander's threat of an English hanging.

I read this scene as the centerpiece among several allusions to Diogenes in *The Roaring Girl.* Recognizing these allusions sheds light on little-studied aspects of Cynicism's reception in early modern England, especially the philosophy's attitudes toward sex, gender, and technology. More importantly, it helps bring into focus three broader fantasies about the relationship between bodies and time that the play brings into conflict. The first, and the most familiar of the three, is a fantasy of disciplinary timekeeping. It is represented by Sir Alexander's belief that the watch, with its mechanically-kept time, will serve to regulate Moll, who transgresses prescribed boundaries of sex, gender, and class. This fantasy sees the watch as something that has the capacity to force bodies and sexual behaviors into compliance with social norms.[109] The second,

[108] Jean E. Howard, "Sex and Social Conflict: The Erotics of *The Roaring Girl*" in *Erotic Politics*: 180.

[109] For evidence that the fantasy of disciplinary time is familiar to the play's readers, see Nina S. Levine's interpretation of the watch confrontation as a potential conflict over "a cyclical, pastoral time" associated with Moll and "a calculated, future-directed merchant's time," and her argument that the play does not promote one over the other but instead demonstrates how both "function within the regulating sphere of the commercial city"

a less familiar fantasy that I here call temporal cynicism, is evoked through allusion to Diogenes's dismissal of the sundial. This second fantasy often arises in opposition to the first, and it maintains that mechanical or technologically-mediated time is not irresistibly regulatory at all, but in fact utterly superfluous given the human body's natural biological self-sufficiency. The third, which I call a fantasy of erotic timekeeping, is Dekker and Middleton's ingenuity, and central to Moll's charismatic theatricality. This fantasy holds that time and the bodies by which it is kept are best measured through performances—whether musical or theatrical—that provoke pleasure. By suborning as a feature of theatrical performance this third version of time, the play shows how, especially for certain marginalized groups, the fantasy of temporal cynicism looks less like a means of achieving liberty than like the disciplinary fantasy it seeks to refute.

I choose the word "erotic" advisedly, because, and not despite, its anachronism and its slipperiness. "Erotic" equivocates. It does not commit to sex nor even necessarily to physical pleasure, but, unlike its less-sexually-charged kindred "sensuous," it conveys the possibility of both. That which is erotic is that which may—but need not necessarily—lead to sexual jouissance. Unlike the "bodied" time that Matthew S. Wagner attributes to the Shakespearean stage,[110] "erotic" time dwells in the spaces between psychology and physiology. Fantasies and physical sensations can be equally erotic. *The Roaring Girl* demonstrates how this erotic can be charged with an electricity that leads to catalysis. It anticipates Audre Lorde's ambitious and decidedly un-cynical formulation in "The Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power": the erotic

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(*Practicing the City: Early Modern London on Stage* [New York: Fordham University Press, 2016], 164). Also see Valerie Forman's interpretation: "The watch is better than a hundred constables because, rather than using force, it relies on the subject's own desires that then work in conjunction with the law. This scene of entrapment makes visible how the law produces the very desires it sets out to regulate" ("Marked Angels: Counterfeits, Commodities, and *The Roaring Girl*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 [2001]: 1548).

[110] Matthew D. Wagner, *Shakespeare, Theatre, and Time* (New York: Routledge, 2011), passim.

can do "that which is female and self-affirming in the face of a racist, patriarchal, and anti-erotic society."[111]

III. Hanging the Watch

By the time Moll is subjected to the watch test, the audience has been primed to recognize the object as symbolic of conflict over the regulation of bodies, and to notice the way that different attitudes toward timekeeping accompany different attitudes toward governance. This groundwork is laid within the play in an argument between the Wengraves—Sir Alexander and his son, Sebastian—that heightens the conflict introduced in the play's first scene over Sebastian's marriage. Sir Alexander wants Sebastian to be governed by him and wait for a more profitable match than the one with Sebastian's previously betrothed, Mary Fitzallard. As Mary notes, this would amount to a violation of their pre-contract: "I thought me once your bride," she tells Sebastian, "Our fathers did agree on the time when" (1.78–79). Sebastian, however, wishes to go ahead with the match, to honor the agreement and "to lose no time" during which he might be Mary's "bedfellow" (1.82, 80). While keeping to a lexicon that is simultaneously temporal ("a *time* when") and potentially sexual ("bedfellow") he argues his case according to the complex negative conceit of a watch set to match the time of a "rusty clock":

SEBASTIAN: I have examined the best part of man—
Reason and judgment—and in love, they tell me,—
They leave me uncontrolled. He that is swayed
By an unfeeling blood, past heat of love,
His springtime must needs err: his watch ne'er goes right
That sets his dial by a rusty clock.

[111] Audre Lorde, "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power" in *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Freedom, CA: The Crossing Press, 1984), 59.

ALEXANDER: So—and which is that rusty clock, sir, you?

SEBASTIAN: The clock at Ludgate, sir, it ne'er goes true.

ALEXANDER: But thou goest falser. Not thy father's cares

Can keep thee right, when that insensible work

Obeys the workman's art, lets off the hour,

And stops again when time is satisfied;

But thou run'st on, and judgment, thy main wheel,

Beats by all stops, as if the work would break

Begun with long pains for a minute's ruin.

(4. 109–23)

Sebastian sees his father's hesitation about the marriage as dictated by financial interests—by the clock at Ludgate, near the debtors' prison, the standard by which his father "trues," or sets, his metaphorical watch. He argues by implication that "heat of love" and "feeling blood," things associated with those who are not old and rusty but young and in their own well-oiled "springtime"—time of youthful fecundity or time told by a spring-loaded device[112]—should instead be the basis of decisions about the time for marriage. Sir Alexander's philosophy, of course, differs. His crescendo of innuendo-laden timekeeping terms emphasizes the perceived disastrousness of what he sees as the sexually dictated timekeeping Sebastian is proposing: it would turn his son into a clock speeding along so fast that the cogs would fly off; he would "le[t] off the hour," or orgasm, only to end in the "long pains" evocative of childbirth and parenting,

[112] See *OED*, s.v. "springtime, n.," 2a., 2b., While the watch association is not given in the *OED*, and the hairspring, or balance spring, was not invented by Christian Huygens until 1657, mainspring-driven clocks were by this time widespread; Dohrn-van Rossum cites the "Burgundy clock" in the Germanische Nationalmuseum in Nuremburg as evidence that the "spring-drive cum fuse had been perfected by around 1430" (*History of the Hour,* 121).

for "a minute's ruin," a mere moment of sexual pleasure.[113] Sir Alexander insists that this sort of rash timekeeping requires authoritative correction, *i.e.* his "cares" to set his son "right" through the beneficial fetters of his "judgment."

The argument's conceit might seem to align Sebastian with temporal cynicism—to suggest, in other words, that he spurns his father's first-fantasy of authoritatively-established temporal standards in favor of the second fantasy of natural, bodily time. Certainly Sebastian seems to be interested in the fulfillment of his desires in a time that is not dictated by an authoritative Alexander. In this he is indeed like Diogenes, who condemned as "ill fortune" a situation in which one "breakfasts and dines when Alexander thinks fit" (*LEP*, 47). Yet Sebastian's methods and aims both differ from the Cynic's. Whereas temporal cynicism fantasizes a notion of time that counteracts the effects of endlessly acquisitive mentalities like Sir Alexander's by obeying nature and reducing desire, Sebastian seeks to curb the repressive effects of both greed and of austerity through a performance of desire that enables further desire. Sebastian's erotic timekeeping leverages sexual feeling, which can be maximized by delay, rather than squelching it with immediacy. What is more, although temporal cynicism would counter Sir Alexander's first fantasy with a fantasy of time that is naturally regulated by the body, Sebastian's fantasy of erotic timekeeping counters both with an appeal to a desire that is not natural, but feigned. In the first scene, Sebastian explains that until he wins over his father to his first match, he will be enacting a "counterfeit passion" for Moll that is meant to convince Sir Alexander that Mary is a more suitable choice for marriage (1.104). Consequently, instead of choosing Diogenes's "nature" in opposition to the "convention" of obeying his father, he chooses performance. He wagers that spending time acting out a desire for Moll will ultimately enable him to keep time and use his body in his marriage in the most pleasurable way.

[113] See Fineman, "Shakespeare's *Will,*" 41–43.

The temporarily forbidden pleasures that this fantasy of erotically kept time ultimately allow Sebastian in marriage may seem rather normative, but the pleasures it affords the audience are considerably less so. This is because the primary desire that the playgoers witness is not Sebastian's desire for Mary, but his and other characters' desires for Moll. She is, Sir Alexander tells his male dinner guests:

> '[a] creature […] nature hath brought forth
> To mock the sex of woman.' It is a thing
> One knows not how to name: her birth began
> Ere she was all made. 'Tis woman more than man,
> Man more than woman, and which to none can hap,
> The sun gives her two shadows to one shape.
>
> (2.129-30)

Neither of the first two fantasies can account for the relation between bodies and time that Moll proposes. One might assume, as did the Cynics, that nature would dictate a certain temporal standard—a standard time of completion for generation that according to Galenic and Aristotelian models would create recognizable sexual distinctions.[114] But Moll, being born prematurely, confounds such schemes. Sir Alexander hopes that the confusion she provokes will necessitate authoritative action: because nature can mock (a form of expression that is not straightforward), he would be needed to supply an interpretation. But, as he acknowledges here, even attempts to "name" Moll or to read the time she conveys remain ineffective. She is as confusing to behold as would be a sundial whose gnomon, or erect point, casts shadows at more than one hour. She embodies a time measured by myriad possible experiences of pleasure, while

[114] See Ian Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 8, 30.

the playgoers may arrive with a notion of time measured according to the standard of productivity.

Like the phallic puns linking timekeeping devices and sexual organs in Shakespeare's canon,[115] Sir Alexander's depiction of Moll joins timekeeping and sex via the dial's likeness to male anatomy, and it does so for what seems like comic effect. However, the horological-conflict-as-sexual-conflict trope also extends to tragic scenarios where it relies on non-anatomical likenesses. In Middleton's tragedy *Women Beware Women*, for instance, a timekeeping dispute serves as the venue for what is at least in part a sexual disagreement. The argument between Bianca, newly taken as mistress into the household of the Duke of Florence, and her two waiting ladies uses differences in timekeeping standards to demonstrate differing sexual loyalties. Bianca and her two waiting ladies quibble over whose watch is correctly set. Bianca states her intent to set her watch by the sun— generally regarded as the "true" standard, and in this case a reference to the Duke[116]— and not by the two parish clocks, St. Mark's and St. Anthony's, by which the other ladies' timepieces are set. She argues:

> If I should set my watch, as some girls do
> By every clock i'th'town, 'twould ne'er go true;
> And too much turning of the dial's point,
> Or tamp'ring with the spring, might in small time
> Spoil the whole work too.
>
> (4.1.11–15)

These differing timekeeping standards allude to different sexual alliances, making the Second

[115] See above, p. XXX.

[116] On the exchange between Bianca and her waiting women, see John Scattergood, "A Pocketful of Death: Horology and Literature in Renaissance England" in Philip Coleman, ed., *On Literature and Science: Essays, Reflections, Provocations* (Dublin; Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 2007), 46.

Lady's avowal of St. Anthony's accuracy, as the First Lady notes, a sign of her devotion to "a gentleman o'th'name" (4.1.5). This scene employs an analogy between body and clock that relies upon not just physical resemblance, but on a characteristic ambiguity of both sexuality and time. In early modern England, where the sun is often clouded and public clocks routinely fall out of sync, it is difficult to prove that the time on one's watch is the "true" time. It is likewise difficult to prove by any external indices that one is sexually "true" to his or her spouse. These are difficulties less alleviated than embraced by theatrical performance, in which both temporal and sexual standards of truth are more transparently fictional. Sir Alexander's description of Moll's sexual ambiguousness links her with the theatre itself.

A well-known anecdote about the relationship between Diogenes and Alexander helps illustrate the Cynic's stance on such ambiguity: Alexander approaches Diogenes at his tub and offers to grant him anything he wishes; "Do not make shadoe betwene the sonne and me," the philosopher replies (*A*, 54v). The Cynic wants unmediated access to the source of "truth": the source provided by nature, the sun. Diogenes wants to be the sundial rather than to have Alexander tell him the time. This suspicion of mediation arises as a suspicion of technology, broadly construed, in a variety of anecdotes about the philosopher. Diogenes scorned nearly everything that required an instrument: eating or drinking with a bowl or cup when one could eat with one's hands, for instance, and writing when one could memorize.[117] His disdain extended to both music and the theatre—he called "the performances at the Dionysia great peep-shows for

[117] Diogenes contended that "we should neglect music, geometry, astronomy, and the like studies," all of which employ instrumentation, "as useless and unnecessary" and found even basic implements like a cup and bowl to be unnecessary contrivances considering that one could eat and drink with one's hands (*LEP,* 75, 39). On Cynicism's possible opposition to the technology of writing, see Julie Piering, "Diogenes of Sinope" in *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* para. 1. As evidence, Piering cites the lack of surviving texts by Diogenes as well as the anecdote in which "Hegesias having asked [Diogenes] to lend him one of his writings, he said, 'You are a simpleton, Hegesias; you do not choose painted figs, but real ones; and yet you pass over the true training and would apply yourself to written rules'" (*LEP,* 51). He required his own students to memorize passages (*LEP,* 33).

fools" (*LEP*, 27). He seems to have thought that anything that required instrumentation and artifice obscured the natural simplicity with which one could live. Nature's intents were plain, easily readable, and theatrical and musical performances clouded the vision through which they could be seen.

However, *The Roaring Girl*'s protagonist, a musician who performs in the theatre, questions the very legibility of nature. Her mysterious ambiguity is also emphasized in the honesty test. Immediately before she proclaims that she "cares not" about the watch, she reads the time from it: "Between one and two" (8.131). In another sexual-as-temporal dispute on the early modern stage, one o'clock and two o'clock evoke singleness and coupledom, fidelity and duplicity, and union and division. In Dekker's *The Honest Whore Part II,* when Infelice cannot tell her husband Hippolito the true reason for her anger at an Irish footman, whom she believes have been carrying tokens of affection from Hippolito to a harlot, he asks about her discontented mood. She replies:

INFELICE: If you'll needs know, it was about the clocke:
How workes the day, my Lord, (pray) by your watch?
HIPPOLITO: Lest you cuffe me, Ile tell you presently: I am neere two.
INFELICE: How, two? I am scarce at one.
HIPPOLITO: One of us then goes false.
INFELICE: Then sure 'tis you,
Mine goes by heavens Diall, (the Sunne) and it goes true[118]

Unlike Infelice, who insists that near one, the number of marital union, is the "true" time, Moll in the honesty test scene does not appeal to a natural standard of truth. She does not reject the watch

[118] Thomas Dekker, *The Honest Whore, Part II* in Fredson Bowers, ed., *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (Cambridge University Press, 1955), 3.1.107–13.

by pointing out that it is "untrue"—which it does indeed seem to be, since the time in the dramatic narrative when she refuses to steal the watch is, if we can trust Trapdoor, not supposed to be "[b]etween one and two" at all, but "three" (7.36). Instead, Moll appeals to her performance: as a musician, she does not care about the clock's time nor about the sun's, but about rhythm, a relative measure. Her interest is in the space between notes rather than their reference to an external standard of truth.

Cynicism's strong faith in nature's transparency as an unquestionable standard of truth justified not only its antipathy toward timekeeping and theatrical technologies but also its scorn for femininity. Although there are exceptions,[119] both Tudor and Stuart Diogeneana overwhelmingly depict Diogenes as a misogynist. The most obvious example is William Goddard's erotic text, *A Satirycall Dialogue: Or, A Sharplye-Invective Conference Betweene Allexander the Great and That Truely Woman-Hater Diogynes* (London, 1616). Goddard's dialogue features a Diogenes who both hates and fears women's sexuality, which he ironically explores by dressing as a woman and spying on women privately. Other examples of a similar Diogenes portrayal may include but are not limited to Lyly's play, which includes the following exchange between the ruler and the philosopher:

> ALEXANDER: What dost thou dislike chiefly in a woman?
>
> DIOGENES: One thing.
>
> ALEXANDER: What?
>
> DIOGENES: That she is a woman.
>
> (F3v)

I say "may include" because Lyly's Diogenes balances this patently misogynistic statement with

[119] For an exception where Diogenes is not presented as a misogynist, see Marcus Tullius Cicero, *A panoplie of epistles, or, a looking glasse for the vnlearned*, trans. Abraham Flemming (London: 1576), which includes a letter from Diogenes to Hipparcha in which Diogenes encourages Hipparcha to continue practicing philosophy (*fol.* 293).

the advice he gives Alexander, advice which effectively frees Campaspe from a nonconsensual relationship. Arguably Middleton's own *Microcynicon* (1599) falls into this category as well. Its narrator, something like Goddard's, seems terrified of women's sexuality. He expresses a predilection instead for "ingling Pyander," a male prostitute dressed as a woman, of whom he says, "No lady with a fairer face more graced, / But that Pyander's self himself defaced" (68-69).[120] "Defaced," here meaning "made to look ugly in comparison," may nod to another of the well-known anecdotes about Cynicism that is relevant to this play: Diogenes's first act recorded in Laertius was to "deface" or "adulterate" the currency, perhaps a fitting act given that the philosopher would become a figurehead for minimalism and asceticism.[121] As Aaron Kitch and Valerie Forman have discussed, *The Roaring Girl* also prominently features counterfeit coin, the "marked angels" that Sir Alexander attempts to use to ensnare Moll.[122]

Perhaps Cynicism's putative misogyny in early modernity owed to Udall's marginal notation in the influential *Apophthegmes*, which does not mince words in claiming that Diogenes "loved women in no sauce, but hated women to the deiuill of helle."[123] Most grotesque among the anecdotes that illustrate this hatred, however, is one found in Wilson: Diogenes, coming across a woman hanged from a tree, requests that a man "geue [him] some slippes of that tree, that [he] might set them in some orcharde" to further "dispatche noughtye womenne."[124] He also

[120] Middleton's satire also includes a sketch of the female character Superbia, his figure for pride, in which the cynical satirist claims that "Hell is stark blind; so blind most women be, / Blind, and yet no so blind when they should see" (*Microcynicon,* 87-88).

[121] On Diogenes's "adulteration of the coinage" (παραχαράξαντος τὸ νόμισμα) see Laertius, *LEP,* p. 23, p. 73.

[122] See Forman, "Marked Angels," *passim*; and Aaron Kitch, "The Character of Credit and the Problem of Belief in Middleton's City Comedies," *SEL* 47 (2007): 403–26.

[123] *A,* 121r, mislabeled as 101.

[124] Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique*, 8v. This anecdote may be a variation of the one given in Erasmus: Diogenes, upon seeing "women hangyng vpon an oliue tree, and there strangleed to death with the halters," responded, "would

appealed to natural standards for regulating effeminate men's behavior, as illustrated by another anecdote in which Erasmus recounts that Diogenes, "[b]eholdyng a young man, bothe of apparell & of demeanure, nothyng comely ne conueniente for one that should bee a manne: Art thou not ashamed, {quod} [Diogenes], to bee more backe frende to thyself then the mynde or wille of nature self hath been? For she created and made the a manne and thou dooest diguyse and reforge thyn owneself into a woman" (*A,* 144r–45v).[125] For a man to act womanly, the philosopher says, is for that man to debase himself and to obscure nature's intentions for his own superiority. Such comments seem to have been repeated in early modern sources, leading Diogenes to be received as, in Mazella's words, "the Greek philosopher who most successfully infused his philosophy with the quality of masculine independence, fighting off the temptations of a corrupt and feminizing society."[126] Cynicism belittled women and society, as well as the dial, at the behest of nature.

It seems notable, therefore, that the play not only spurns the watch by hanging it, but also refuses to supply the hanging fruit Diogenes sought. In its honesty test scene, Moll, whose historical counterpart was "noughtye" enough to have been imprisoned, escapes the hanging that the watch receives. And though *The Roaring Girl* does reproach effeminate men, it objects to their assertion of masculine power, not to their relinquishing of it. This is most obvious in the subplot, which features several "labour[ing]" gallants (7.193-94), "men- midwives" (7.194) and "apron husbands" (6.35) on whom Moll blames women's dissatisfaction, including the

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god […] that the other trees too had like fruite hangyng on theim" (*A,* 81v). Erasmus seems to derive it from Diogenes Laertius, "Seeing some women hanged from an olive-tree, [Diogenes] said, "Would that every tree bore similar fruit" (*LEP,* p. 53).

[125] Also see, "When a youth effeminately attired put a question to him, he declined to answer unless he pulled up his robe and showed whether he was man or woman" (*LEP,* p. 49).

[126] Mazella, *Making of Modern Cynicism*, 13.

testicularly-challenged gallant Laxton ("lack-stone"). Moll duels with Laxton immediately after the Wengraves' argument, a placement that may heighten the audience's attention to the language of time in the scene. She challenges him in defense of "distressed needlewomen and trade-fallen wives," "hungry things" who "must needs bite or themselves be bitten" (5.92–95). As she recognizes, he habitually exploits these women's desires for financial gain, in this instance extorting the tobacconist's wife, Mistress Gallipot, by promising her sexual favors that he does not intend to confer. To teach him a lesson, Moll agrees to what he believes will be a lovers' tryst. At his request she sets a time for them to meet: three o'clock, several hours later. Laxton pays comically fastidious attention to the time of this appointment. When he arrives he observes that "'tis now about the hour;" then he counts, or tells, the hours as they strike; he notes that he is marking these hours according to the correct clock, "One, two, three by the clock at the Savoy. This is the hour;" and he wishes Moll would "make haste" to be there (5.27–28, 5.29–30, 5.36). When Moll arrives, to duel with Laxton rather than to dally with him, her aside condemns his temporal exactitude as a common hypocrisy: "O here's my gentleman! If they would keep their days as well with their mercers as their hours with their harlots, no bankrupt would give sevenscore pound for a sergeant's place" (5.38–40). She notes that Laxton holds himself to higher standards of punctuality in sexual liaisons than in financial ones.

While it might seem like Laxton indulges the first fantasy, believing that Moll's sexual behavior can be regulated by the clock, and even assuming that Moll will choose to impose this regulation on herself, she recognizes that the second fantasy is more operative in his comments: Laxton tries to mark time in accordance with the immediate satisfaction of his sexual urges. As one of the play's emasculated men, he promotes the same fantasy that the Cynic, the adversary of effeminization, also endorses: that nature makes him superior to her and that time should be kept

in accordance with his own urges. Laxton could seem ridiculous in this scene with Moll not only because his temporal fastidiousness contrasts with his moral laxity, but also because he seems unaware that performed fiction, not nature, is the standard by which time here is kept. The bell that has tolled when he is supposed to meet with Moll is not a public clock telling extratheatrical time, but a stage clock or bell, one set by someone within the theatre.[127] He confuses the aural signals on which time telling relied in the early modern period, when it was easier to hear a clock bell than to see its face, insisting that the stage bell must be treated as real.[128] This confusion parallels a reverse confusion that the audience itself may have experienced: the sound of clock bells on stage could have induced something like a Brechtian alienation effect, making the playgoers in an outdoor theatre wonder if they were being called to other things by their parish clock bell, or perhaps making them think guiltily about accusations that theatergoing was a waste of time.

Moll calls the audience back to attention not by ignoring this dissonance, as Laxton does, but by leveraging it. To seduce playgoers back to the dramatic fiction, her aside ("O here's my gentleman! If they would keep their days as well with their mercers as their hours with their harlots, no bankrupt would give sevenscore pound for a sergeant's place," 5.38–40) gestures toward her own status as an actor on the stage obeying a fictional marker of the time. This aside breaks the illusion of the dramatic narrative's immediacy. Moll uses the technique of metatheatrical reference again immediately after she defeats Laxton. She proclaims:

Base is the mind that kneels unto her body

[127] Bells ring in the stage direction found in *The Roaringe Girle. OR Moll Cut-purse* (London, 1611), E3r.

[128] The primarily aural method of early modern timekeeping is discussed in Tiffany Stern, '"The Two Hours' Traffic of Our Stage': Time for Shakespeare" (lecture, British Academy, Sam Wanamaker Playhouse, Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, London, 21 May 2014). Also see Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (University of Chicago Press, 1999), esp. 52–53.

As if a husband stood in awe on's wife;

My spirit shall be mistress of this house

As long as I have time in't.

(5.138–41)

Here she situates herself within the context of the theatre. Rather than asserting a Cynical belief in her own self-sufficiency, she gestures toward that body's theatrical, and therefore social, constitution.[129] The "house" in which Moll "ha[s] time" is metonymically her physical body, but metatheatrically the entire playhouse in which she performs.[130]

Moll is mistress of the playhouse, or star of the show, in part because she knows the erotic power of delay. She promises to infinitely delay Laxton, to "lay [him] up till doomsday," and by doing so to teach him a lesson about rushing toward a pleasure that would be more satisfying given time (5.70). Throughout the play she embraces such deferrals. Her response to Lord Noland's question about marriage evidences it. Rather than depicting her as Sir Alexander's description would suggest, as premature, the play depicts her as delaying. When Lord Noland, in the final scene, asks her, "when wilt marry?" (11.214–15), she replies:

When you shall hear

Gallants void from sergeants' fear,

Honesty and truth unslandered,

Woman manned but never pandered,

[129] *Pace* James M. Bromley, who argues that throughout the play Moll appeals to a "normative" mode of "interiorized embodiment" that obscures more radical object-oriented configurations of selfhood; see "'Quilted with Mighty Words to Lean Purpose': Clothing and Queer Style in The Roaring Girl," *Renaissance Drama* 43 (2015), 147.

[130] For observations about this play's insistent metatheatricality and figurations of its audience, I am indebted to Ellen Mackay, "Swimming Thoughts on Early Modern English Performance" (lecture given at the Robert Penn Warren Center for the Humanities Group for Pre-Modern Cultural Studies meeting, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN, September 29, 2015).

Cheaters booted but not coached,

Vessels older ere they're broached;

If my mind be then not varied,

Next day following, I'll be married

(11.217–24)

As Lord Noland's response—"This sounds like doomsday!" (11.225)—makes clear, her deferral seems indefinite. No one knows when the harsh forms of regulation and exploitation it references will cease: when gallants like young Jack Dapper will no longer fear debt collectors; when those who are honest, especially those women who are honest, will no longer have their names wrongly smeared; when women will be looked after, perhaps sexually, by men, but not pimped or exploited by them; when those who cheat at cards will be allowed to keep some wealth but not an excessive amount;[131] when vessels (which are usually gendered feminine) are allowed more time before being despoiled. Even should these events occur, Moll suggests further delay by reserving the possibility of mind-changing ("if my mind be then not varied / Next day following, I'll be married"). Likewise, when Sebastian proposes to her, she responds by encouraging him to "But sleep upon this once more, sir; you may chance shift a mind tomorrow" (4.57–58), and when proposed to again, she punningly tells him not to rush into marriage: "you make as much haste as if you were a-going upon a sturgeon voyage. Take deliberation, sir, never choose a wife as if you were going to Virginia" (4.70–73). As Sir Alexander notes, she is stalling—"she puts him off still […] She is but cunning; gives him longer time in't" (4.68–69, 4.75–76). This tactic ostensibly gives Sebastian time to reconsider his choices. It also gives Sir Alexander more time

[131] I adopt Swapan Chakravarty's reading: "when cheaters are allowed the expense of a horse (or simply footwear), but not the extravagance of a coach" ("'Cheaters Booted:' a note on *The Roaring Girl,*" *Notes and Queries* 44 [1997]: 72).

to reconsider his opposition to his son's match. Like Diogenes, she is doing what she calls "simple service" to her Alexander in this play (11.206), and in ways that effectively challenge his first-fantasy acquisitive tendencies. But she is doing so not through frank speech, but through performance. And in the process, she is generating theatrical effects, trading in a delay that leaves the audience in pleasurable suspense.

Moll's responses to questions about marriage echo the early modern Diogenes legacy in more than their ultimate service to Alexander, though they do not endorse his temporal cynicism. As Erasmus explains, Diogenes praised men who changed their minds about major decisions, particularly marriage: "He allowed theim that wer towarde wiuyng, & yet wiued not: y^{t} wer in a readynesse to saille on the sea, and yet tooke no shippe," because, as he explains regarding the former, "Whoso hath ones marryed a wife, is not now from thensforthe all together his owne manne but in maner half maisterfast" (*A,* 78r–79v). A reply "To one demaundyng when best season wer to wedde a wife," is much in the same vein: "for a young manne […] it is to soone, and for an olde manne ouer late" (*A,* 125v). The questioner, as Erasmus explains, was expecting Diogenes to give a response like one that other philosophers like Aristotle had given, one that specified an age range or particularly auspicious months. Diogenes, like Moll with Lord Noland, refuses to oblige, instead implying that the perfect age to marry is impossible to locate with any temporal precision. However, Moll's responses aim to multiply pleasure rather than to minimize it. Though she, like Diogenes, leaves room for mind-changing (in sea voyages and in marriage), she does so to preserve self-enjoyment more than self-mastery. She wants not only to avoid having a "worse" head in place of her maidenhead (4.46), but also to revel in the pleasure of her own double-bodiedness. She likes, she tells Sebastian, "to lie o' both sides o'th'bed [her]self; and again o'th'other side" (4.38–39). Moll's erotic timekeeping leaves potential for the

maximization of pleasure in forms not limited to marriage but including it, while Diogenes rejects the institution of marriage more categorically.[132]

Moll's willingness to assist in the marriage of the play's two "ring-doves" (8.73), or love birds, opens up performative pleasures even within marriage. For instance, while impersonating the role of Sebastian's beloved, she sets in motion a scenario that has Mary appear dressed as a page. This occasion leads to Sebastian's realization that Mary's cross-dressed performance gives him even greater pleasure than unfettered and immediate access to her in her women's clothes: "As some have a conceit their drink tastes better/ in an outlandish cup than in our own, / So methinks every kiss she gives me now / in this strange form is worth a pair of two" (8.53–56). Moll's entertainment of Sebastian's proposal spurs on not only these non-normative pleasures, but also gives her more time to experience the ones she enjoys, Sir Alexander more time to reconsider his objection to the match, and the audience more time to enjoy the performance. Her delays create suspense, opening up a time of erotic irresolution that generates not only sexual effects (leading Laxton, for instance, to await his lecherous voyage with her even more eagerly) but also theatrical ones. She becomes a Chekhovian gun we wait to see fire.

Finally, when Moll employs the temporalities of performance to expose Laxton's or Sir Alexander's lax morals, she shows how the theatre's erotic timekeeping can not only be enjoyable, but also bring social ills to light. Instead of dismissing all deceit as categorically useless, she demonstrates its use for selectively illuminating the truth. She plays at being a bride, but unveils herself to help events come to optimal conclusions. She cants, for instance, but she stops short of the sexual dalliance and criminal activity that the language invites her to. This canting parallels theatrical performance; as Will West has written of the canting scene, "the

[132] Erasmus notes that Diogenes's response to the question about the best season to wed implies "that best were utterly to absteine from matrimonie" (*A,* 125v).

antithetical relation of cant to work and society allows it to serve as a synecdoche or metonymy for professional playing," and both "could be represented as existing on a continuum […] as forms of deceit." [133] Moll's playing and her canting both evidence some separation between her and nature, some commitment to artifice and imitation, but in this play neither is successfully used to harmful purposes.

In demonstrating how artifice can be used honestly, Moll and the play are therefore much like the Elizabethan watchmen who walked about the streets of London at night with lanterns tolling the hours on a bell and who, in cony-catching pamphlets like Dekker's *Lantern and Candlelight* (1608), exposed common forms of vice. Viviana Comensoli, following Arthur F. Kinney, notes that the figure of Diogenes carrying his lantern became "the classical prototype" of the watchmen to such an extent that woodcuts of Diogenes on title pages of Cynical texts are "analogues" to those on Dekker's. She also notes that Robert Greene began *A Notable Discovery* (1591), often regarded as the first cony-catching pamphlet, by alluding to Diogenes in the dedicatory epistle.[134] The association between Cynicism and the watchman was facilitated by the visual symbol of the lantern, which Diogenes is said to have held up in broad daylight in search of "an honest man." It may also have come from Epictetus, whose depiction of the Cynic Foucault paraphrases succinctly and glosses in gender-exclusive terms:

> As a universal night-watchman, he [the Cynic] must keep watch over all the others, over all those who are married, over all those who have children. He has to observe who treats his wife well and who treats her badly, to see 'which people quarrel among themselves, which household enjoys peace, and which does not.' He must 'make his rounds like a

[133] Will West, "Talking the Talk: Cant on the Jacobean Stage," *English Literary Renaissance* 33 (2003): 231.

[134] Viviana Comensoli, ed., Introduction to *Lantern and Candlelight,* by Thomas Dekker, (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2007): 52-53.

> physician and feel everyone's pulse' […] the Cynic mission is a mission of combat. There are women, the others who must return home to their weaving; and then there are 'some,' the soldiers who will have to fight and accomplish their mission of war. The Cynic is a philosopher at war. He is someone who wages philosophical war for others.[135]

Unlike Foucault's Cynic, Middleton and Dekker's Moll, herself a watchman figure, does not stay relegated to a domestic sphere. Like Dekker's bellman, she uses technologies purposefully, to do the work Foucault argues that the male Cynic is meant to do.

Moll's selective embrace of artifice means that she and the play profoundly differ both from Sir Alexander's fantasy, in which the artifice of timekeeping technologies serve only to expose the vices that authority wants them to expose, and from temporal cynicism, which rejects technology's use altogether. They suggest that timekeeping technologies including the theatre can shape relationships toward mutual benefit. Like Moll's musical performance, in which she uses an instrument to produce pleasure by playing with the relationships between notes, theatrical performance also thrives on relationality: on a mutual contract between playgoers and actors, one that can be manipulated to reciprocally enjoyable ends.

In the early modern period, the theatre itself was often seen as a technology of deceit and feminization, but the play responds to such charges by suggesting that the very thing perceived as feminizing society—theatrical pleasure[136]—might also be liberating it. Anti-theatrical literature overflowed with first-fantasy and second-fantasy accusations that the theatre is a waste of time, or—in the words of John Northbrooke, who cites Diogenes as an example of classical

[135] Foucault, *Courage of Truth,* 299, 170.

[136] See Laura Levine, *Men in Women's Clothing : Anti-Theatricality and Effeminization, 1579-1642* (Cambridge University Press, 1994).

opposition to the theatre—"the beginning of whoredome."[137] This charge shows how a reverence for Cynicism and a suspicion of bodily and theatrical pleasure accompanied each other, and how the two could be marshaled in service of a productivity-loving, leisure-hating vision of the commonwealth. The fantasy of erotic timekeeping, on the other hand, depicts playing as a technology for less austere modes of social betterment. Like Lorde's anti-racist, anti-patriarchal erotic, Moll's erotic timekeeping in the play breeds the fantasy that it is not without its own social use. The play calls attention to the unbridled potential of the erotic time that playgoers spend in the theatre—potential to make connections and to advance critiques. It contends that, like Moll, the theatre and its erotic timekeeping are not merely *not* instigations to whoredom; they act instead as forces that spark honesty and sustain pleasure.

In the next chapter, I turn to John Donne, the early modern author who most responds Lorde's call to fight whatever would "separate the spiritual and the erotic, thereby reducing the spiritual to a world of flattened affect, a world of the ascetic who aspires to feel nothing."[138] As is by now a (warranted) commonplace, Donne blurs the line between sense(ation) and spirit, depicting spiritual union as erotic union and vice versa. His poetry not only calls for intensely physical sensations—battering, bending, burning—but also does so in spondees and caesuras that make the very experience of breathing those poetic calls an erotic one. His works allow us to envision erotic timekeeping outside of the theatre, in the pulpit and on the page.

[137] John Northbrooke, *Spiritus est vicarious Chrisi in terra. A treatise wherein dicing, dauncing, vaine playes or enterluds with other idle pastimes [et]c. commonly used on the Sabboth day, are reproued by the authoritie of the word of God and auntient writers* (London, 1577), 62.

[138] Lorde, "Uses of the Erotic," 56.

CHAPTER 3

'THE SUNDRED CLOCKE': ANATOMIZING TIME IN THE WORK OF JOHN DONNE

> We can think [time] only in passing moments, through ruptures, nicks, cuts, in instances of dislocation, though it contains no moments or ruptures and has no being or presence, functioning only as continuous becoming.
>
> -Elizabeth Grosz, *The Nick of Time: Politics, Evolution, and the Untimely*

John Donne liked clocks. He liked to dismember them. Doing so seems to have reminded him of the human body, stripped bare. In his *Epithalamion, Upon Frederick Count Palatine and the Lady Elizabeth marryed on St. Valentines day* (1613), he figures the clock's dismantling as the bride's disrobing for the wedding night coital visit:

> What meane these Ladyes, which, as though
> They were to take a Clock in peeces, goe
> So nicely about the Bride?
> A Bride, before a Good night could bee say'd,
> Should vanish from her clothes, into her bed[139]

[139] *The Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne*, ed. Gary A. Stringer and Paul A. Parish (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1995), Vol. 8, p. 110, ll.71-78. All references to the Anniversaries, Obsequies, Elegies, and "A Funerall Elegie" are to the Variorium edition and are cited parenthetically by line number. My implication that the clock's dismemberment figures the bride's disrobing may be rejected by John Shawcross, who suggests

Appropriately enough, this dismantling amounts to a delay for the young Count, one which likely serves only to increase his anticipation to see what is revealed. This same association between the clock and the unclothed body also appears again in Donne's "Elegy 8. To his Mistress going to bed." This erotic poem is perhaps best known for its terribly politically incorrect lines, "Licence my roving hands, and let them goe, / Behind, before, above, between, below. / O my America, my new founde lande, / My kingdom, safeliest when with one man man'd".[140] In this poem, the speaker imagines that the sound of the mistress's corset stays unlacing transforms her into a clock chiming him to bed: "Unlace your selfe, for that harmonious chime / Tells me from you, that now 'tis your bed time" (9–10). It is a harbinger that he cannot currently hear, but one that, in an anticipatory fantasy, he finds an irresistible siren's song. It leads him to places he has never seen.

Donne's "A Funerall Elegie" (1611) has a much different purpose and tone than the prior two poems, but in it, the clock retains its appeal. Likely written on the death of the fourteen-year-old Elizabeth Drury,[141] daughter of nobleman Sir Robert Drury, this poem precipitated the *Anniversaries*, yearly commemorations of Drury's death that were Donne's most public poetic

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that each of the women are "talking to the bride a minute or two" in his edition of *The Complete Poetry of John Donne* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967), 176. However, it is likely that the bride would have been undressed, not merely chatted up, by her waiting women. This is implied by the poem's use of the passive voice: "But now she is laid," and it accords with David Cressy's argument about the historical practice of wedding night disrobing in *Birth, Marriage, and Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life-Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 375.

[140] My transcription of this poem and texts of all poems that appeared in Donne's *Songs and Sonets* is, unless otherwise noted, from *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets*, ed. Helen Gardner (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), ll.25–28. (Although this poem has an even more complex manuscript and print history than most of Donne's verse, no variants invalidate this reading.)

[141] On the matter of Elizabeth Drury's age, I follow Donne's own reporting, in "A Funerall Elegie" that she was "not fifteene" when she died (86).

works and his most sustained exercises in elegiac verse.[142] In "A Funerall Elegie," the "sundred clock" comes to represent the body stripped bare in another way: the body ruined by death and awaiting reconfiguration at the clockmaker's hand. Donne writes:

> But must we say shee's dead? May't not be said
> That as a sundred Clocke is peece-meale laid,
> Not to be lost, but by the makers hand
> Repolish'd, without error then to stand,
> Or as the Affrique Niger streame enwombs
> It selfe into the earth, and after comes
> (Having first made a natural bridge, to passe
> For many leagues,) farre greater then it was,
> May't not be said, that her grave shall restore
> Her, greater, purer, firmer, than before?
> Heaven may say this, and joy in't, but can wee
> Who live, and lacke her, here this vantage see?
>
> ("FE," 37–48)

Here again, Donne's thinking about the dismantled clock as Drury's body, and vice versa, leads him to imagine what he, both empirically and spiritually, cannot yet sense. He tests the similitude's representational capacity by framing it within successive interrogatives. Then, after

[142] There has been some debate about the order in which the poems occasioned by Elizabeth Drury's death are meant to be read, as "A Funerall Elegie" was first printed after *An Anatomie of the World* in the first print edition of 1611. I accept the Variorum's assertion that "A Funerall Elegie" was probably written first, shortly after Drury's death, while *An Anatomie of the World* was likely written several months later ("Textual Introduction," *Var.,* 8.38). My grounds are that this order would have followed typical practice for the writing of funeral elegies and anniversary poems, and on the grounds of the dilation upon tropes and themes from "A Funerall Elegie" that I trace here happening in the *Anniversaries*.

so doing, he imagines that the promise of post-reckoning spiritual purity might offer consolation to one who could "see" perfectly—that is, one who could see events unfolding throughout eternity, and therefore one who could see that the watch is eventually going to be "repollish'd," as he or she also could see that the Niger continues underground eventually to re-emerge. Such perfect vision would reveal what, in a 1622 sermon preached before the nobility, Donne punningly calls the "ingraving" God has put on His, the watchmaker's, world: His "*Me fecit*, such a man made me."[143] Donne is clear in the case of "A Funerall Elegie," though, that those who are looking see imperfectly and are not consoled. In the instance of grief upon an untimely death, it is not so easy to discern God's *Me fecit* on the watch of the world. And yet, Donne paraleptically reminds us, we should still look. God "ingraves" us—makes us mortal—to give us a return address label to our Heavenly home. Even the flawed among us, those who run in error, too fast or too slow, are marvelous and delicate feats of divine engineering, whether or not we can see that this is the case. The similitude conveys the mystery of his faith.

In this chapter, I explore how Donne uses similitudes between bodies and clocks to kindle his audience's desire to sense the insensible: to visualize what normally remains hidden, for instance, as in the epithalamion and the funeral elegy, or to hear what has not yet been sounded, as in the elegy to his mistress. As promises that something much more enticing lies

[143] *The Sermons of John Donne,* ed. George Potter and Evelyn Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), Vol. 4, Sermon No. 6: "Preached at Hanworth, to my Lord of Carlisle, and his company, being the Earles of Northumberland, and Buckingham, August 25, 1622," 167–68. All citations of Donne's sermons refer to Potter and Simpson's edition and are hereafter cited in short form by volume and page number. Apropos my points here to come about sensory perception and the distinction between feeling and thinking, this reference to the watch's *me fecit* comes in a sermon on seeing and beholding, immediately after Donne bids his listeners, "let thy selfe be locked up in a close prison, that thou canst not see thy selfe, and doe but feel thy *pulse*; let thy pulse be intermitted, or stupefied, that thou feel not that, and doe but think, and a *worme*, a *weed*, thy *selfe*, thy *pulse*, thy *thought*, are all testimonies, that *All*, this *All*, and all the parts thereof, are *Opus,* a *work made*, and *opus ejus, his work*, made by *God*" (167). The same pun on "ingrave" appears in "A Valediction: of my name, in the window" where he likens his "engrav'd" name (1), his "scratch'd name" (20), his "ragged bony name" (23), to a "deaths head" (21), a *memento mori* of "lovers mortalitie" (22), and to his own "ruinous Anatomie" (23).

beneath, clock and body in Donne's works pique the desire to cut things open to bring them to light. This eroticism of the unknown comfortably cohabitates with, even copulates with, the erotics of Christian suffering that other scholars of Donne have elaborated in his works.[144] It also, as I want to propose here, stands in a similarly copulatory relation to empiricism and the mechanist philosophy associated with the clock.[145]

In making this proposition, I take cues from recent work that seeks to examine the intertextual relationship between literature and science in Donne's time. This body of scholarship has generally moved away from the unidirectional science-to-literature model of influence that was followed by early literature and science studies of Donne's works in first half of the twentieth century.[146] This more recent work considers how poetry worked to cultivate habits of mind that paved the way for Enlightenment empiricism, as does, for instance, Elizabeth Harvey

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[144] See Lisa S. Starks, "Batter My [Flaming] Heart': Male Masochism in the Religious Lyrics of Donne and Crashaw" *Enculturation* 1. 2, Fall 1997. Starks draws, as I do here, on Julia Kristeva's observation that "a whole ascetic, martyrizing, and sacrificial Christian tradition has magnified the victimized aspect of that offering [Christ's death] by eroticizing both pain and suffering, physical as well as mental, as much as possible" (*Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*, Leon S. Roudiez, trans. [New York: Columbia UP, 1989], 131. In contrast to Starks, for a derogatory reading of Donne's sado-masochism that portrays it as staunchly heterosexual, see Stanley Fish, "Masculine Persuasive Force: Donne and Verbal Power" in *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry*, Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Eisaman Maus, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 223-52.

[145] Otto Mayr: "[t]o mechanical philosophers, finally, as to most of their contemporaries, the archetypal machine was the clock" (*Authority, Liberty, & Automatic Machinery in Early Modern Europe* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986], 58). To briefly cite two examples, Hobbes would famously use the clock as the image of the properly functioning body politic in the opening pages of his *Leviathan* (1651), and Descartes, in his *Passions of the Soul* (1646, pub. 1649), would employ the body/clock similitude as well:

> Death never occurs through the absence of the soul, but only because one of the principal parts of the body decays. And let us recognize that the difference between the body of a living man and that of a dead man is just like the difference between, on the one hand, a watch or other automaton (that is, a self-moving machine) when it is wound up and contains in itself the corporeal principle of the movements for which it is designed […] ; and, on the other hand, the same watch or machine when it is broken and the principle of its movement ceases to be active. (John Cottingham, trans. [Cambridge University Press, 1985], 1:329 – 30).

[146] See especially Charles Monroe Coffin, *John Donne and the New Philosophy,* Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature ; 126 (New York: Columbia university press, 1937); Marjorie Hope Nicholson, *The Breaking of the Circle: Studies in the Effect of the New Science Upon Seventeenth Century Poetry* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1950).

and Timothy Harrison's argument that Donne's *Anniversaries* work to create transhistorical resonances between old and new sciences, easing the transition from one to the other.[147] Harvey and Harrison's insightful work more or less presumes that Donne's poetry is working in the way he wants it to. Here I want to challenge that presumption by entertaining the notion that Donne's poetry's frustrated efforts to uncover what was hidden beneath the body/clock perversely incentivized empirical inquiry. I want to suggest that his hint may have been more tantalizing than a full reveal.

Donne's work fosters hope that the results of pain—what Elizabeth Grosz in my epigraph above calls "ruptures, nicks, cuts"[148]—might enable us to "think time," the principle that might indeed make all things comprehensible, and it also shows how this thinking will always be imbricated in the feeling of becoming. This sounds a great deal like what T.S. Eliot famously suggested when he implied that Donne "feels his thought as immediately as the odour of a rose" and depicted Donne as escaping the "dissociation of sensibility"—the separating out of sensory feeling and emotion from logic and reason.[149] However, Donne's *Anniversaries*, sermons, and *Devotions*, his most public and therefore most immediately influential works, tell a slightly different story. These works do not so much escape as invite that dissociation by demonstrating

[147] Elizabeth D. Harvey and Timothy M. Harrison, "Embodied Resonances: Early Modern Science and Tropologies of Connection in Donne's Anniversaries," *ELH* 80, no. 4 (Winter 2013): 981–1008. It is certainly not always the case that critics interested in Donne and science posit his harmonious relation to it. Catherine Gimelli Martin, for instance, argues that *The First Anniversarie* critiques the scientific progressivism of Bacon's *The Advancement of Learning* by revitalizing the ancient belief in the world's decay. Theresa DiPasquale also argues that "the clock passage in the 1614 'Obsequyes vpon the Lord Harrington' turns a dubious lens on the technological progressivism enthusiastically embraced at Prince Henry's court" ("A Clock So True": The Chronometry of Virtue in Donne's "Obsequyes vpon the Lord Harrington," *ELR* [2014]: 129–50, 135).

[148] E. A. Grosz, *The Nick of Time: Politics, Evolution, and the Untimely* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 5.

[149] T. S. Eliot, "Review of *Metaphysical Lyrics and Poems of the Seventeenth Century: Donne to Butler.* Selected and edited, with an Essay, by Herbert J. C. Grierson (Oxford: Clarendon Press. London; Milford)" *TLS* (October 1921). Accessed on http://www.uwyo.edu/numimage/eliot_metaphysical_poets.htm.

its impossibility: focusing on moments of hurt—moments of powerful feeling—they strive toward a thinking without feeling. This desire for detachment prefigures both scientific objectivity and the Cartesian *cogito,* the consciousness distinct from the senses. In privileging painful feeling over thinking, however, Donne's works show how attempts at unfeeling objectivity, at separation between mind and body, will go wrong, but they also elevate those attempts. My point here is not so much to offer a positive reception history of Donne's use of the eroticized similitude in the writing of mechanical philosophers as to demonstrate his poetry's potential to excite a passion for reason. To that purpose, I begin by showing how Donne's *Anniversaries* trace that path whereby feeling passes through a point (which in early modern English could be called a "punctuall") to thinking. I make this transition visible in part by tracking the "sundred clock" similitude's alterations: where in the *First Anniversarie* Drury is the magnetic force that would unite the clock from "A Funerall Elegie," in this *Second Anniversarie,* she herself is the unity, the unity of the line formed by the point, or the history brought together from moments. These poems dilate toward the now, the "this minute" that Donne stresses later in his *Devotions,* which I turn to alongside his sermons to show the persistence of the similitude's appeal and its pervasiveness in Donne's work. A brief fourth concluding section suggests potential points of contact between Donne's corpus and a mechanistic audience.

I. Feeling Torn

The first item Donne bequeathed in his will was his pocketwatch, "that Strykinge clocke wch I ordinarilye weare."[150] While it is possible that Donne actually dismantled his own timepiece regularly, it seems unlikely. Personal maintenance of such items was usually limited to

[150] R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 563.

winding,[151] so his experiments with anatomizing the clock were probably only imaginative. What is likely, however, is that Donne often saw clocks being or lying dismembered. For most of his life he lived in a part of London where he would have come into regular contact with clock makers, seeing their workshops if not visiting them himself. By 1608, writes Adam Max Cohen in *Shakespeare and Technology*, the liberties of Blackfriars and St. Martin le Grand were populated with foreign clockmakers and watchmakers, while the areas between St. Clement and St. Dunstan's parish housed shops of both foreign and English instrument makers.[152] Much of this was Donne's territory not only in the first decade of the 1600s, when he primarily resided in London on the Strand, but also throughout his life, when the shops were regularly in walking distance from Donne's lodgings and places of work. Donne, for instance, was entered in the St. Clement's parish registry from 1613 through approximately 1621, when his family was in residence at Drury House. He also was named Vicar of St. Dunstan's in the West in 1624, after his family had taken up residence in the Deanery to the southwest of St. Paul's Cathedral, itself not an unreasonable walk from any of these locales. Perhaps watchmakers were among the parishioners to whom he preached. Perhaps he passed by their shops, stopping in occasionally to have his own watch maintained, on the walks that Bald speculates he took regularly from Drury House to Lincoln's Inn from 1616 to 1621.[153] Perhaps the dismembered, dysfunctional watches lying passively on the makers' benches sobered him, figuring the scattered human remains he

[151] As John Smith explains in his *Horological Dialogues* (London: 1675), which was the first manual in English addressing the maintenance of clocks and watches, issues with clocks' regularity that could not be fixed by proper winding and weighting should be referred to a clock maker or workman. Not even moving a clock required dismantling it in the ways Donne's poetry seems to suggest, though it did require placing it in what Smith calls a "coffin," shrouding it to secure it for transport, and perhaps rehanging.

[152] Adam Max Cohen, *Shakespeare and Technology: Dramatizing Early Modern Technological Revolutions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 31.

[153] Bald, *John Donne,* 320.

imagines throughout in his works. Perhaps they also excited him, making him anxiously imagine the resurrection that would join them back together.

The time of the broken human body also faced Donne on a daily basis. A depiction of the body disjointed by time and vulnerable to disease appeared, for instance, in the first pages of almanacs, the best-selling printed books throughout the entirety of the seventeenth century.[154] This decidedly ephemeral print genre graphically literalizes the proverbial saying that time is a destroyer, mapping it onto the human body: the cosmological signs commonly inscribed on sundials in the period are instead, in the first pages of almanacs, used to dissect the human figure in the illustration of the Zodiac Man, sometimes also referred to as the "anatomy of man" (Fig. 1). These anatomies were apparently so popular that the almanac author Richard Allestree laments in the late seventeenth-century that he cannot omit the Zodiac Man lest his customer "with contempt would straight refuse to buy."[155] In the process of making the body a time-telling device, the Zodiac Man carves that body apart: each zone or sign, which the sun passes through for approximately a month, points to a particular bodily region that will register astrological changes in its zone through proneness to disease.[156] This anatomy of man is a visual illustration of the human body's vulnerability to cosmological fluctuations, of the body as a biological clock torn apart and awaiting repair. With its spread legs and genitally-suggestive viscera, it also seems

[154] Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 161; Donne conveys his familiarity with them through a derogatory reference in *Ignatius, His Conclave* (London, 1611): Ignatius insults Machiavelli by comparing *The Prince* to an almanac, saying Machiavelli's text is only good for "short use in some certain place." Ignatius bids Machiavelli, "be content that his booke be had in such reputation, as the world affords to an Ephemerides, or yearely Almanacks, which being accommodated to certain places, & certain times, may be of some short use in some certain place" (89).

[155] Quoted in Louise Hill Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology, and Popular Medicine: 1550-1700* (New York: Palgrave, 2007), 120.

[156] According to Curth, since each sign of the zodiac was believed to govern a particular part of the body, it was thought that if a malevolent planet entered the astrological realm of that sign, the corresponding body part would become ill (*English Almanacs*, 120).

to welcome this tearing.

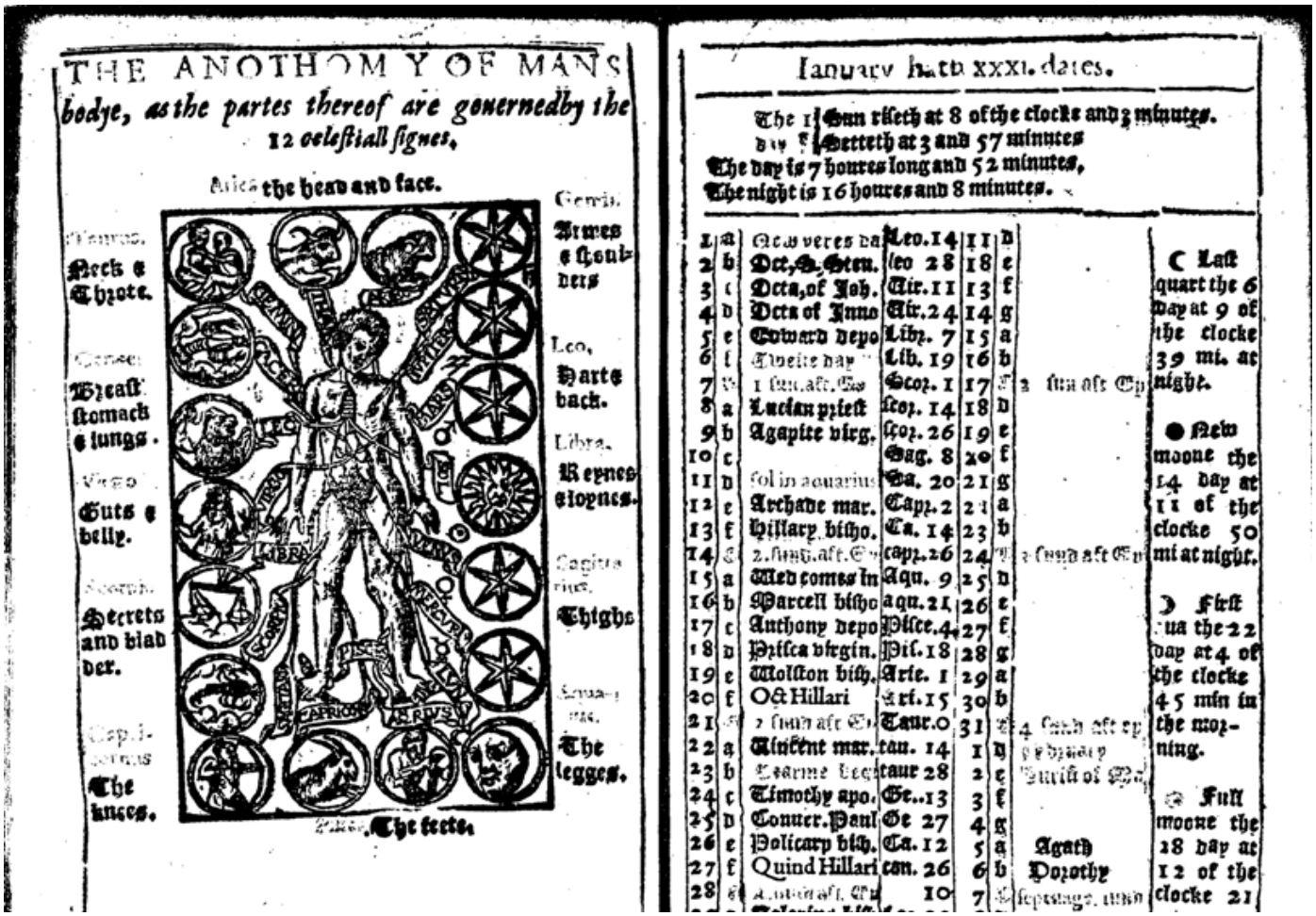

Figure 1: The Anatomy of Man's Body, Alleyn's 1610 Almanac

None of Donne's poems issues an open invitation to open wounds more than *The First Anniversarie. An Anatomie of the World.* The very genre of the elegiac anniversary poem is itself somewhat masochistic: a reminder of a painful loss on the anniversary of that event, though of course this type of pain could be its own balm. *The First Anniversarie* hyperbolically laments the loss of "sense" and "memorie" in the world since Elizabeth Drury's premature death (28), a change that it argues coincides with the death of the world—at least as the poet and his readers know it. The poet laments that the "new philosophy"—here as elsewhere Donne's moniker for

Copernican astronomy[157]:

> And new Philosophy cals all in doubt,
>
> The Element of fire is quite put out;
>
> The Sunne is lost, and th'earth, and no mans wit
>
> Can well direct him, where to look for it.

(*FA*, 205–8)

(In *Ignatius, His Conclave*, Donne places Copernicus in hell, with the Jesuits. This must have made for an awkward meeting between the poet and Copernican-worldview proponent Johannes Kepler, if said meeting did indeed occur, as Jeremy Bernstein argues.[158]) The poet/anatomist's overriding conceit in *The First Anniversary* is that he now plans to dissect or anatomize this dead world:

> But though it be too late to succour thee,
>
> Sicke world, yea dead, yea putrified, […]
>
> I (since no man can make thee live) will trie,
>
> What we may gaine by thy Anatomy

(*FA*, 55–60)

He therefore exchanges the Drury/"sundred clock" similitude from "A Funerall Elegie" for the

[157] In "To the Countess of Bedford," for instance, the poet laments that the "new Philosophy arrests the Sunne, / And bids the passive earth about it runne" (205–6).

[158] On the purported meeting between Donne and Kepler, see Jeremy Bernstein "Heaven's Net: The Meeting of John Donne and Johannes Kepler," *The American Scholar* 66, no. 2 (1997): 175–95. I think it is apropos here to note that heliocentrism is usually seen as having been popularized in England by the 1567 edition of Leonard Digges' almanac, *A Prognostication Everlasting*, a text which depicted the Zodiac man on the title page of every one of its eleven editions between 1556 and 1605. Mary Thomas Crane, however, has shown that Digges did not necessarily introduce heliocentrism, but rather that Robert Recorde's *Castle of Knowledge* (1556)—an astronomy text framed as a dialogue between a Master and a Scholar—"contains the first reference to Copernican theory in English" (*Losing Touch with Nature: Literature and the New Science in Sixteenth-Century England* [Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014], 61).

world/Zodiac Man similitude, making the collective "we" to whom he so often speaks into the almanac's gutted biological clock. *The First Anniversarie* makes the wounds on Drury's individual "sundred" body in "A Funerall Elegie" into giant, gaping, communal wounds.[159]

The First Anniversarie in particular fetishizes cutting and tearing as means of stilling the passage of time. This is not to say that the poems consciously elevate destruction, but that they return compulsively to it, thereby demonstrating its appeal. Drawing again upon models of planetary motion and Zodiac charting, for instance, *The First Anniversarie* presents the "general illness" Donne sees in the world evidenced in that astronomy, an illness that "teares/ The Firmament in eight and forty sheires" (257–8), Ptolemy's forty-eight constellations. Astrologers have:

> […] impal'd within a Zodiacke
> The free-borne Sun, and keepe twelve Signes awake
> To watch his steps; the Goat and Crab controule,
> And fright him backe, who else to either Pole
> (Did not these Tropiques fetter him) might runne
>
> (*FA*, 263–67)

The Goat and Crab, which Louis Martz calls "ugly symbols of sensuality," control the sun, the true measure of the time, as they do in much of Donne's erotic verse.[160] Unlike God in the Book of Joshua using words to bid the sun to "stand still," these sensual symbols physically pierce it,

[159] "Donne's efforts to perceive time in the *Devotions* are, I argue, new. He locates felt temporality not in the soul, as his philosophical and theological predecessors (Saint Augustine foremost among them) would have it, but rather in the body itself. If Augustine's *Confessions* (c.397) placed the ancient Greek physics of time on an experiential axis and sought to turn an abstraction into a phenomenon, Donne sought, in turn, to loosen the psyche's grip on phenomenal temporality so that felt time might be placed deep within his own viscera"

[160] Louis L. Martz, "John Donne in Meditation: The *Anniversaries" ELH* 14 (1947):247–73, 261.

puncturing the heavens like the poet punctures the corpse of the world that is "all in pieces" with "all cohaerence gone" (213). Even as the poem focuses intently on such tears and punctures, it shows that they will not actually work to still time's passage, which will somehow continue even with the sun "impal'd" by the Copernican worldview.

The poem also locates time not just inside this torn up world, but also inside the dissected and quickly decaying human body. "Alas we scarse live long enough to trie," the poet repines, for instance, "Whether a new made clocke runne right, or lie" (129–30). Instead of complaining about the inaccuracy of clocks, here Donne complains about the insufficiency of humans for testing that accuracy. This is because, the poet thinks, we, like Drury, are all on a tight schedule. Her death, the title page proclaims, was "untimely," here ostensibly meaning "early" or "too soon." However the word also leaves open a variety of other interpretations: to draw on Jonathan Gil Harris's formulation, it can signify both polychronicity, being from multiple moments, periods, or ages, and multitemporality, understanding the temporal relations among past, present, and future in different ways.[161] *The First Anniversarie*'s title page therefore construes Drury's death as not just early, but also as strange in ways that challenge our very understandings of both history and of time. The poet not only emphasizes life's brevity, but also places this shortness of lifespan within a long history of civilizational decay. Our lives are shorter than our forbears'—"Where is this mankind now? Who lives to age, / Fit to be *Methusalem* his page?" he queries (127–28)—and we reflect this shortness in our very stature: we used to be in size "equall" to the "Elephant, or Whale" but now may be mistaken for "Fayries" or "Pigmies" (139, 142). These two complaints are abutted and put into an analogous relation by the poet—"And as in lasting, so in length is man / Contracted to an inch, who was a span" (134–35). Here he makes the

[161] Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 3.

diminutive body index historical (rather than horoscopic) time, and he suggests that our stage in history is apparent in our changing human form.[162] He also, at the poem's beginning, makes clear that time is measured by feeling. Measures are, therefore, different for the dead and the living. For the dead, Donne says at the outset of *The First Anniversarie*, "measures of time are all determined," or "ended" (40). But for the living, the "some months" elapsed since Drury's death seem "long, long" (39, 41). A calendrical measure given in the poem's iambic meter gives way to a subjective and durative one stated with emphasis through the repetition of words in a spondee.

In addition to locating time within the vulnerable human body and its perceptual faculties, the poet also calls into question the accuracy of thought in *The First Anniversarie,* privileging feeling instead throughout. Nearly every time that someone "thinkes" in this poem, they are mistaken. The poet in fact associates the activity with delusions of grandeur early in the poem, where one of his examples of the world's corruption is that "every man alone thinkes he hath got / To be a Phoenix, and that there can bee / None of that kinde, of which he is, but hee" (216–18). This imputation against self-satisfied thinking comes to a head later in the poem in his injunction to his reader to "learne" that "Tis now but wicked vanity to thinke / Or with bought colors to illude mens sense" (374–75). Here thinking is associated not with "sense," but with attempts to "illude" it: presumably the poet imagines a natural color that "sense," such as sight, could see were it not obscured with the "bought" color, and he associates this obfuscation with

[162] Donne engages with the almanac's figuration of historical time in his love lyric "The Computation," which riffs on a feature in most almanacs called "The Computation of Time." The Computation accounted for the time that had elapsed between the year of the almanac's publication and various events. The computation always began with the creation, and it generally included events like the destruction of Troy, Christ's birth, and the Norman conquest. "The Computation" heretically counts up from the lover's leaving instead of from the Creation of the world. It also hyperbolically expands the hours since the lover's departure into thousands of years. On the body as a shape of historical time, see Marjorie Garber, "Descanting on Deformity: *Richard III* and the Shape of History" in *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers: Literature as Uncanny Causality* (New York: Routledge, 1987), 28-51.

thinking. The poet also casts one last aspersion at thinking when he uses "thinke" as the verb for those who doubt that Drury is best commemorated in verse (458). By contrast, nearly every time someone or something "feels" in *The First Anniversarie*, by the poet's account the feeling is correct: "mankind feel[s] a generall thaw" (47), a lowering of standards, for instance, which he argues at the poem's beginning has indeed been induced by Drury's death. He also remarks later that "[t]he worlds subtilst immaterial parts / Feele this consuming wound" (*FA,* 247–48) of Drury's death.

While the poet imputes thinking, he also undertakes a didactic project that asks his to learn from feeling, but one that, he recognizes, falls short. As a narrator he repeatedly enjoins his readers to "learne" from his anatomy, a word that he includes in his refrain throughout the poem: "Shee, shee is dead; shee's dead; when thou knowst this / Thou knowst […] / And learnst thus much by our Anatomee / […]."[163] However, despite assuming the position of authority as a teacher, at the conclusion of this poem, the seam of it and *The Second Anniversarie*, the poet/lecturer/anatomist seems to feel the need to justify his poem's own quite literal shortcoming: its brevity.[164] He writes:

> But as in cutting up a man that's dead,
> The body will not last out to have read
> On every part, and therefore men direct
> Their speech to parts, that are of most effect;

[163] The refrain is included in lines 183–85, 237–39, 325–27 , 369–71 , 427–29.

[164] Here I draw from Zailig Pollock, who refers to this passage as Donne's "perverse apology" for the poem's shortness ("'The Object, and the Wit': The Smell of Donne's *First Anniversary," English Literary Renaissance* 13.3 [1973]: 301–318, 316) and Judith Anderson who calls the ending "somewhat abrupt and perfunctory" yet also "[…] a little too much like an add-on," and says that the speaker "still seems to be stuck in the past" and is "tiring of" his own "rant" (*Light and Death: Figuration in Spenser, Kepler, Donne*, *Milton* [New York: Fordham University Press, 2017], 174).

So the worlds carcasse would not last, if I

Were punctuall in this Anatomy.

Nor smels it well to hearers, if one tell

Them their disease, who faine would think they're wel.

(*FA*, 435–442)

The poet cannot be "punctuall," a word that warrants further thought because it constitutes a point on which the next poem dilates and one which illuminates the poet's privileging of painful feeling over thought throughout *The First Anniversarie*. This privileging of painful feeling and the failure of the didacticism that thrives on that pain within *The First Anniversarie* necessitates the attempt to renew thinking in *The Second Anniversarie*.

II. Puncturing Punctuality

A whole host of meanings falls into the "punctuall" in the *Anniversaries,* like crumbs settling into a button on a mattress or dirt drawn into an open wound. Most modern editors gloss the word as "point-by-point," "detailed," or "thorough." These are reasonable glosses based on an awareness of the word's etymology, contemporary use, and context within the poem. "Point-by-point" derives from the Latin *punctualis,* which means: "of or relating to a point in space," "producing or consisting of small pricks or punctures," or "of, relating to, or made by, a point or dot."[165] The adjective is derived from the infinitive *pungere,* meaning "to prick or stab." Glossing the word as "point-by-point" or "thorough" does make sense given the syntax and the situation in the poem. Being "punctual in this anatomy" could certainly mean being "detailed," saying everything one wants to say about the world's disease, and Donne would certainly run out of time before doing that.

[165] *OED,* "punctuall," adj. 7 offers this very passage is the first example of the word's use as "dealing with a matter point by point; minute, detailed."

Editors who gloss the word in this way are presumably attempting to foreclose a presentist reading of "punctual," which, in modernity, has become more referential of a shared time frame than it was in early modern English. The typical usage now defines "punctual" as "characteristically on time," as in the phrase, "he was punctual," meaning, for instance, "he generally came to class on time." The *OED* renders this usage anachronistic here, since it records the first use of "punctual" in this manner more than twenty years after the *First Anniversarie* was published. When the word was used in this way, in 1632, the *OED* notes that it was generally accompanied by "*to* followed by an expression of time," as in the example from Shackerley Marmion's 1632 play *Hollands Leaguer*: "You are punctuall to your hour," or William Congreve's 1694 *Double-dealer*, where a character proclaims, "I will be punctual to the Minute."[166] The need for this specification could have arisen because in the seventeenth century, punctual more often meant punctilious or ceremonious. So the words "to his hour" in "punctual to his hour" were needed because it was necessary to specify which principle, which social convention—for instance, the convention of marking hours or minutes—the punctual person was observing. "Punctual" implied shared social conventions: "he was punctual" usually meant "he follows the rules carefully," and "hour" had to be included if it was the convention being observed because it was only one of many conventions that could be referred to, and because measurements of time could have been in a variety of units: most watches in fact did not yet have minute hands. Now, however, the way we generally use "punctual" implies that the shared experience is *temporal* experience—one does not specify punctuality to an hour or minute because we assume both that temporal observation is the convention and that we shared the same way of measuring time. The current usage does not become dominant until the early-eighteenth

[166] Both quotations from *OED,* "punctuall," adj.

century at soonest.

In modern English, "punctual" is also less derogatory than it was in early modern use, where it could also have to do with scale. The *OED* has "Of the nature of or resembling a point or speck; small, minute." It gives an example from *Paradise Lost*, when Milton has Adam call the earth this "punctuall spot," which he does not mean as a compliment: Adam is wondering how all the magnificent stars that have a "vast survey" and "rowle through spaces incomprehensible" could "merely" "officiate" light on the tiny, dark speck dirt that is the earth. Why would God allow such "disproportion" in his universal plan, Adam is wondering? Why would he allow humankind's habitation to be so small?[167] The *OED* also gives an example from Thomas Fuller's *The History of the Holy Warre* (1639) in which Fuller refers to "The infinitenesse of punctuall occurrences," presumably meaning the innumerability of tiny happenings.[168] The connotations of "punctual" in either instance are certainly not the complimentary ones associated with "he is punctual to class," and this "punctual" certainly does not make much literal sense in the context of Donne's poem. However, his line "If I were *small* in this anatomy," could make sense if taken more figuratively, as a statement in which the poet apologizes for the grandiosity of his conceit by saying that the world, the carcass, would not be preserved by anything "punctuall," by anything smaller and less ambitious.

A third definition of "punctuall" offers another possible apology for the poem's shortcomings. This third definition is the only of the seventeenth-century meanings of the word that currently survives, though the *OED* notes that it is "now rare": "Of, relating to, or indicated

[167] John Milton, *Paradise Lost* (London: 1667), viii. 23: " This Earth a spot, a graine, An Atom, with the Firmament compar'd And all her numberd Starrs, that seem to rowle Spaces incomprehensible..meerly to officiate light Round this opacous Earth, this punctual spot."

[168] Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Holy Warre* (London: 1639), iii. xxiv. 154.

by a point or dot; of or relating to punctuation." Donne is listed as an example of this use, and here he explains what has driven his editors mad for the last four hundred years: he thinks, at least in the context of his anti-Catholic prose tract *Pseudo-martyr* (1610), that "literall and punctuall Errors," errors of punctuation, "doe not much endanger the sense." Perhaps he is apologizing here for not being "punctuall" in the sense of attentiveness to punctuation, though of course he is quite punctual in the sense that he is puncturing the corpse of the world.

This "punctuall" at the center of the *Anniversaries* becomes a point with a weight that creates three dimensions: a vertex of a cone, if not a singularity, into which all the historical meanings of the word pile.[169] The poems become the flesh around its scalpel's point, and the physicality of this "punctual," indeed the physicality of timekeeping itself, becomes a fulcrum for sense-making in these poems. The "punctuall" becomes a point at which thought and feeling, each associated with a different kind of "sense," converge.

That these different senses of sense should converge around a point—and a point in time—finds precedent in Aristotle's *De Anima*, where the geometrical point cryptically represents both the sensitive soul—the sensing soul which both animals and humans possess, the soul which has the capacity for movement and perception—and, though runs counter to Aristotle's own principles for it to do both, that "common sense," the awareness that one was sensing—an awareness he ascribed to the rational soul proper only to humans. Certainly these notions of the soul are at stake in both of the *Anniversaries.* In the *Second Anniversarie*, for example, he explains the relation between the three by saying that to his rational soul that it

[169] Donne also makes much of the multivalence of the "Period" in his "Elegie on the untimely Death of the incomparable Prince, Henry": "Look to me, *Faith;* and look to my *Faith*, GOD: / For, both my *Centres* feel This *Period.* / Of Waight, one Centre; one, of Greatness is: / And REASON is That *Centre*; FAITH is This. […] For, *Reason,* put t'her best *Extension,* / Almost meets *Faith,* and makes both *Centres* one: / And nothing ever came so neer to This, / As *Contemplation* of the Prince wee misse" (1–4, 15–17). Here the period is the event of the Prince's death, which pierces Donne's reason and faith, but which also pins them together at this centers.

"fedst upon, And drewest into thee, both / My second soule of sence, and first of growth" (161–62).[170] He also goes on to ruminate on how that elevated rational soul was born in the "sinke," or sewer, of his "curdled milke," "unlettered whelpe" "body," which admitted corruption through the vegetable (lowest) into the rational (highest) soul (157, 165, 166). In Aristotle, the enigmatic point was supposed to represent both the second soul and the third simultaneously. But how could it represent both feeling and the thought that would make sense of that feeling? How could it be both code and cipher? These are questions that Donne, too, struggles with. Like many of Donne's didacts,[171] the anatomy lecturer in *The First Anniversarie* confuses *verba* and *res*, signifier and signified, sensation and sense. Depicting this confusion has been at the heart of *The First Anniversarie.*

Many who puzzled over Aristotle's use of the point to represent the relation of bodily sensation to the "common sense"—what Descartes would revise and call "consciousness"—eventually turned to time for an answer. As Daniel Heller-Roazen explains: they posited that the "root of the unity of the senses"—the unity of the sensory perception and of the sense that one was sensing— in Aristotelian doctrine lay in "the concept of time and, more precisely, the determination of the element of time as the strictly indivisible moment in which sensation comes to pass."[172] That indivisible moment, the "now," gained a central importance. Indeed, as soon as Donne meditates on punctuality, he turns to the subject of poetry, a medium intensely concerned

[170] Donne also depicts the rational soul as cannibalizing the sensible and vegetable souls in *Sermons*, 2:358, 3:85.

[171] I am thinking especially of the speaker in "A Lecture Upon a Shadow," who begins by proposing to read a lecture to his "Love" on "love's philosophy" (2) and then never says exactly what he wants because his direct meaning is obscured by his representation of "love" as the sun, the light it produces, and the thing it illuminates. His persona as a rational, measured, platonic lecturer is also pierced by his interjection before the final couplet, "But oh, love's day is short…" (24).

[172] Daniel Heller-Roazen, *The Inner Touch: Archaeology of a Sensation* (New York : Cambridge, Mass: Zone Books ; Distributed by the MIT Press, 2007), 51.

with its own temporality. Answering someone who might object that Drury's praises were "a matter fit for Chronicle, not verse," or for prose history rather than poetry, Donne writes (460):

> Vouchsafe to call to minde that God did make
> At last, and lasting'st peece a song. He spake
> To *Moses* to deliver unto all,
> That song, because he knew they would let fall
> The Law, the Prophets, and the History,
> But keepe the song still in their memory
>
> (*FA*, 461–7)

Poetry is the medium that perhaps struggles most, every "measure," which Donne will reference in the next line, with time—with rhythm, with the pacing of breath. This poetic vantage best cultivates attention to the way our bodies issue forth ideas into time.[173]

This turn toward acknowledging the importance of embodied time, specifically of the present instant, continues into the *Second Anniversarie.* Instead of framing Drury's death as "untimely," and therefore polychromic or multitemporal, as something that calls multiple historical moments into relation, this poem's title page presents her death as "Religious," as part of an eternity that it will figure in the dilated singular now. Time, especially the time of the instant, becomes a subject for attention rather than a problem of perception, as it was when, in *The First Anniversaries,* the aggrieved simply saw it as "long, long" since Drury had died. In *The Second Anniversarie,* as Timothy Harrison has argued, Donne begins to fill this instant, the now, rather than to see it as a void of nothingness as Harrison argues he had in prior work.[174] He also

[173] On the resonances of breath in the *Anniversaries,* see Michael Ursell, "The Pneumatics of Inspiration in the Anniversary Poems," *Connotations* 25.1 (2015/2016): 46-59.

[174] Timothy Harrison, "John Donne, the Instant of Change, and the Time of the Body" *ELH* (forthcoming).

begins to replace the injunction to "learne," which characterized his *The First Anniversarie*, with a litany of biddances to "thinke," a word that appears some twenty-one times in the thirty-six lines following *The Second Anniversarie'*s first and only interrupted and never completed refrain ("Shee, shee is gone; shee is gone; when thou knowest this, / What fragmentary rubbidge this world is / Thou knowest, and that it is not worth a thought…" 81–83).[175] Instead of bidding the reader to "learne," the poet repeatedly directs the reader to "thinke," or meditate, on things that are worth thought. Abandoning his lecturer persona, he instead turns meditation coach, or speculative geometer.[176]

The poet's movement away from anatomizing or examining is also marked by further disparagement of sensory perception. In the *Second Anniversarie*, Donne tells the "soule" to "shake of this Pedantery / Of being taught by sense, and Fantasy" (291–92):

> Thou look'st through spectacles; small things seeme great,
>
> Below; But up unto the watch-towre get,
>
> And see all things despoyld of fallacies:
>
> Thou shalt not peepe through lattices of eies,
>
> Nor heare through Laberinths of eares, nor learne

[175] Ryan Netzley remarks that "On the one hand, these refrains occur with increasing frequency in *The Second Anniversarie*, implying acceleration, Drury's or our ever-quickening approach to heaven. On the other hand, the expansion of apposite modifications between "shee" and "is gone" implies deferral. Together, these elements—the increasing frequency of an ever-expanding refrain—appear less like a static bulwark against decay than as an attempt to incorporate, inside of repetition itself, precisely these moments of expansive subordination" ("Learning from Anniversaries: Progress, Particularity, and Radical Empiricism in John Donne's The Second Anniversarie," *Connotations* 25.1 [2015/2016]: 19–45, 36–37).

[176] Although the label "meditation coach" is admittedly glib, I here implicitly endorse Louis L. Martz's argument in *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954) that the *Anniversaries* borrow much from the tradition of Ignatian meditative practice and wish to meld it with Courtney Weiss Smith's theorization of a meditative empiricism in which "science and Protestant meditation informed one another" (*Empiricist Devotions: Science, Religion, and Poetry in Early Eighteenth-Century England* [Charlottesville ; London: University of Virginia Press, 2016], 67).

By circuit, or collections to discerne.

In Heaven thou straight know'st all, concerning it,

And what concerns it not, shall straight forget.

(*SA*, 293–300)

Knowledge of "it"—"thy selfe" (255) and "thy body," (263) the workings of which Donne contemplates in painstaking detail ("Knowst thou but how the stone doth enter in / The bladders Cave, and never breake the skin?" 269-70 "And for the putrid stuffe, which thou dost spit, / Knowst thou how thy lungs have attracted it?" 273–74)— will be instantaneous in heaven.[177] One will need neither empirical sensation (peering through "the lattices of eies" and "Laberinths of ears", nor learning by analogy or induction ("by circuit"), nor Aristotelian classification ("collections") to learn. Instead of seeing through glasses, darkly, all will be revealed without the help of prosthetic sight.[178] Heaven will not be a peep show, but a full show.

What is, in *The First Anniversarie*, an attention to the sundred biological clock of the world here in *The Second Anniversarie. of the Progress of the Soule*, becomes attention to an abstract figure evocative of the clock, a dilation on the point or "punctuall" at the end of the first.

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[177] In lines 185-8, Donne describes a drastic temporal adjustment, asking the reader to "thinke this slow-pac'd soule, which late did cleave, / To'a body, and went but by the body's leave, / Twenty, perchance, or thirty mile a day/ Dispatches in a minute all the way." (That is the way travelled between Heaven and earth.) This eventually leads in to the analogized motion of her ascent, lines 207-210:

> And as these stars were but so many beades
> Strung on one string, speed undistinguish'd leades
> Her through those spheares, as through the beades, a string,
> Whose quicke succession makes it still one thing
> (207-210)

Harrison and Harvey read this astral spine passage as exemplifying the tropology of connection Donne uses to create transhistorical resonances linking old and new modes of inquiry in the poem.
The speed with which the soul flies toward heaven is a common motif of Donne's elegies. In "An Elegie upon the death of the Ladie Marckam," he says of her soul that "As Moyses Cherubins, whose nature doe / Surpasse all speed, by him are winged too. / Soe would her soule alreadie in heav'n seeme then / To clyme by teares (the common staires of men)" (49-52).

[178] I am suggesting that Donne may be echoing 1 Corinthians 12:13–14.

Anatomy or biology, proper subjects for the vegetable soul of "growth" that also experiences corruption, is strongly correlated with the first poem, while the second poem concerns itself with geometry, a subject for the soul of "sense" associated with motion (associated in classical philosophy with the line, for example in Zeno's paradox) and with perception and correlated more strongly with this second poem. In the first instance where the *Second Anniversarie* poet turns geometer, he compares the superb balance of humors and elements in Drury, her "even constitution" (137), to "lines or quantities" (133) that, although they "from Points arise" (132) can nevertheless not be disjointed. . In the second instance where he waxes geometric, the poet bids his readers to be, like Drury, this line, specifically a line bisecting a circle:

> Know that all lines which circles doe containe,
> For once that they the center touch, do touch
> Twice the circumference; and be thou such.
> Double on Heaven, thy thoughts on Earth emploid;
> All will not serve; Onely who have enjoyd
> The sight of God, in fulnesse, can thinke it;
> For it is both the object, and the wit.
>
> (*SA*, 436–42)

Donne's figure is evocative of the clock, whose hands originate at the center and reach twice toward the circumference. Yet these are not the line broken into two divided hands (what Donne calls, in his "To the Countess of Bedford" "mix'd engines" because they can point both earthward and to Heaven). Instead they are a single unbroken unit that reaches twice toward the circle of Heaven. The end of this passage suggests the frustration of logic because subject and object are erased in contemplation of God, who is both means and aims of that contemplation—

both cipher and code. Nevertheless, it is important to note that Donne does not dismiss earthly "thoughts," but instead encourages them.[179] As Frank Manley notes on this passage, the speaker's biddance is not clearly an injunction to stop thinking earthly thoughts and to think twice as much about Heaven, but could suggest that earthly thoughts should be doubled by "extend[ing them] outward both ways to [their] logical conclusion in the circumference, for God is everywhere, the beginning and the end."[180] Dramatizing the failures of thinking is also staging its seductions, its ability to touch twice more than its own center.

III. Getting Raw

Although Donne's *Anniversaries* are an exercise in leaving the clock behind, he returns to the clock persistently throughout his work as a figure for both the brokenness of humans and the resultant futility of the empirical search for universal laws.[181] For example, in a 1628 sermon preached at St. Paul's, the pulpit with the broadest reach in the country, Donne remarks:

> If a man saw a *Clock* or a *Picture* of his *Princes making*, (as some Princes have delighted themselves with such manufactures) hee would not, he durst not say, it was a disorderly Clock, or a disproportioned picture. Wise Fathers have foolish children, and beautifull, deformed; yet we doe not oppresse, nor despise those children, if we loved

[179] What I am saying here about Donne's attitude toward thinking very much parallels Ben Saunders argument about Donne's attitude toward reason in *Essays on Divinity* from Saunders' chapter comparing Lacan and Donne. Saunders writes, "'Reason,' we should note, is not something that Donne simply rejects here. Nor does he merely insist, with any number of theologians, that the greatest knowledge lies beyond reason's reach; reason *does* provide access to 'that which all men can *say* of all Good," to knowledge that can be verbalized. The point is not so much that reason fails, then, but that its most positive value is, paradoxically, negative. It is only in the *failure* of reason that we are afforded a glimpse of Divine totality; moreover, it is only in knowing that we *don't* know that we come to know ourselves for what we are" (Ben Saunders, *Desiring Donne: Poetry, Sexuality, Interpretation* [Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006], 155).

[180] Frank Manley, ed., *John Donne: The Anniversaries* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1963), 197

[181] On the latter, see Netzley, "Learning from Anniversaries."

> their parents; nor will we any poor man, if we truly love that God, that made him poor; And, if his poverty be not of Gods making, but of the Devils, induced by his riot and wastfulnesse, howsoever the *poverty* may be the *Devils,* still the *Man* is of *Gods* making.[182]

Donne uses the clock/watch metaphor to articulate a paradoxical fallenness and praiseworthiness in humanity. Humans warrant affection because of qualities that our fallenness disables us from sensing. We may not be able to see a pattern, a direct line of descent from F/father to S/son. We may not even be able to discern what broke the line of transmission. Instead of following these sensible signs, however, we should "love," trusting that there is an imperceptible Godliness within all humankind

In another sermon arguing not for loving the neighbor who may revel in "riot and wastfulnesse" but in restraining oneself from becoming that neighbor, Donne again emphasizes the clock's disorderliness and likeness to the human body. He asks:

> wouldest thou consecrate a Chalice to God that is broken? no man would present a lame horse, a disordered clock, a torn book to the King. *Caro jumentum,* thy body is thy beast; and wilt thou present that to God, when it is lam'd and tir'd with excesse of wantonness? when thy clock, (the whole course of thy time) is disordered with passions, and perturbations[183]

"Passions and perturbations" were often synonyms for feeling, for what is now called emotion, and here Donne takes for granted that the human body, like the clock, will be broken by them.

Donne shows closer familiarity with the workings of the watch and again parallels its

[182] *Sermons,* 8.284.

[183] *Sermons,* 8.244.

actions with devotional ones in his sermon on the Psalms, 6.8-10, in which he argues for structuring prayer according to the model of the watch:

> As a Clock gives a warning before it strikes, and then there remains a sound, and a tingling of the bell after it hath stricken: so a precedent meditation, and a subsequent rumination, make the prayer a prayer; I must think before, what I will aske, and consider againe, what I have askt.[184]

The clock's order of operations is like the proper order of operations for prayer. The clock can therefore represent an ordering principle or disorder itself.

These paradoxical characteristics of the clock coalesce in Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions* (1624), which are themselves structured according to the order—meditation, rumination (here the expostulation), then prayer[185]—that Donne aligns with the clock in his Psalms sermon. Expostulation 1 is clearly where Donne is doing some of his most explicit thinking about the relation between body and soul. Immediately after the first meditation, upon the suddenness of his sickness, the abruptness with which the edifice of his health can be destroyed by a momentary blow, he wonders why God does not give the soul as much "apprehension" as the body, why he does not give it an ability to sense sin as perceptively as the body perceives sickness. But, he says, God does:

> Thou hast imprinted a *pulse* in our *Soule,* but we do not examine it; a voice in our conscience, but wee doe not hearken unto it. We talk it out, we jest it out, we drink it out, we sleep it out; and when we wake, we doe not say with *Jacob*, *Surely the Lord is in this*

[184] *Sermons,* 6.52.

[185] John Donne, *Devotions vpon emergent occasions and seuerall steps in my sicknes digested into I. Meditations vpon our humane condition, 2. Expostulations, and debatements with God, 3. Prayers, vpon the seuerall occasions, to Him* (London, 1624). All further references to the *Devotions* are to the page numbers in this 1624 edition.

> *place, and I knew it not:* but though wee might know it, we do not, we wil not. But wil *God* pretend to make a *Watch,* and leave out the springe? to make so many various wheeles in the faculties of the Soule, and in the organs of the body, and leave out *Grace,* that should move them? or will God make a *springe* and not winde it up? Infuse his first grace, and not second it with more...? (12–14)

Indeed not, Donne concludes. It is not that God has not given our souls this ability; it is that we, "all *prodigal sonnes*," have misspent it (14). And he ends this expostulation by returning to the repetition of time units with which he begins the meditation, (this minute I am well…this minute I am sick): "*Every minute hee renewes his mercy, but wee wil not understand, lest that we should be converted, and he should heale us"* (15). In the subsequent prayer, he also asks God for spiritual discipline in an unexpected form: "that tendernesse, that rawnesse, that scrupulousness, to feare every *concupiscence,* every offer of *Sinne,* that this suspitious, and jelous diligence will turne to an inordinate dejection of spirit" (18). Donne is asking for a foreknowledge of sin that would take the form of increased sensitivity to physical pain, even though his physical perception does not enable him to see grace.

Later in the *Devotions,* Donne again ruminates on the clock in Meditation 15, this time on the occasion of his insomnia. At first he sees telling time from the clock while one cannot sleep in the face of the eternal sleep as futile: it is just a measure of earthly time when one is bound to operate according to Heaven's clock. Eventually, though, he sees it as a kind of preparation for the eternal waking. He writes:

> oh, if I be entring now into *Eternitie,* where there shall bee no more distinction of *houres,* why is it al my businesse now *to tell Clocks?* why is none of the *heavinesse* of my *heart,* dispensed into mine *Eie-lids,* that they might fall as my heart doth? And why, since I

> haue lost my delight in all *obiects*, cannot I discontinue the facultie of seeing them, by closing mine *Eis* in *sleepe?* But why rather being entring into that presence, where I shall wake continually and neuer sleepe more, doe I not interpret my continuall waking here, to bee a *prasceve*, and a *preparation* to that? (371–73)

Donne wonders why his body does not operate in better harmony: why his emotional feeling (the "heaviness of [his] heart") does not dictate his physical sensory capacity (the closing of his eyelids resulting in the end of his sense of sight). Ultimately, however, he adopts the perspective that such waking will be a beneficial masochism, one that enables him to prepare for the Heaven he cannot yet see.

IV. Testing Time

I have been suggesting throughout this chapter that Donne's works dramatize a struggle to think through the feeling of time, a drama represented by the body/clock similitude and one that might have tantalized others into a similar attempt. Here I want to conclude by suggesting one potential piece of evidence that indeed it did. Like Donne's sermons, which were widely heard and read, his *Devotions* were also quite popular. Barbara Lewalski asserts that their influence reached to Robert Boyle, experimentalist extraordinaire, whose sequence on his ague in his *Occasional Reflections Upon Several Subjects* (1665) "obviously owes […] much to Donne's *Devotions*."[186] Boyle was thoroughly invested in the possibility of objective observation.[187] He believed, moreover, that such observations could help illuminate religious

[186] Lewalski, *The Anniversaries,* 95–96, n.66.

[187] See Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and The Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985) and Donna J. Haraway, *Modest_Witness@Second_Millennium. FemaleMan©_Meets_OncoMouse™: Feminism and Technoscience* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997).

matters.[188] These scientific positions are not often associated with the Doctor of Divinity. However, the traffic between Boyle's and Donne's thought becomes obvious in Boyle's eighth meditation. In it, Boyle finds himself in the same position as Donne in Meditation 15, a state of a very specific kind of pain: insomnia. Like Donne, in this moment Boyle also turns to the clock:

> The same Violence of my Fit, that made me very much need Sleep, allow'd me so little of it, that I think I miss'd not hearing one stroke of the Clock all the Night long […] Of this uncertain going of the Clock, I never had occasion to take so much notice as the last Night, when, lying too constantly awak'd, I began to observe, that though all the hours were so tedious, as to seem every one of them extraordinary long, yet they manifestly appear'd to me not to be equally so; and therefore, when the Clock struck Eleven, to satisfie my self whether it did not mis-inform me, I call'd to one that sat up by me for the Watch I use to measure the time with in nice Experiments, and found it to want but very little of Midnight; and not much above an hour after, when by my Watch it was but about one, those that kept the Clock, whether out of Negligence, or Design, or to make amends for past Slowness, made it strike two, which seem'd to me to hint a not unusefull Rule in estimating the length or shortness of Discourses: For there are Cases, where the difficulty or importance of the Subject is such, that though it cost a Man many words, yet, if what he says be not sufficiently fitted to the Exigency of the Occasion, and the Theam, he may speak much, without saying enough. But on the other hand, if (as it often happens) a Man speak either Unseasonably, Erroneously, or Impertinently, he may, though he say little, talk too much; The paucity or number of Words, is not, as many think it, that which is in such cases to be chiefly consider'd; for 'tis not many, or few, that are requir'd, but enough.

[188] See Michael Hunter, *Robert Boyle (1627–91): Scrupulosity and Science* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000) and Hunter, *Boyle: Between God and Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

> And, As our Clock struck not so often as it should have done, when it struck Eleven, and yet struck a while after too often when it struck but two, because the first time it was Mid-night, and the second time it was but one of the Clock; so to estimate whether what is said have its due length, we are not so much to look whether it be little, or much, as whether a Man speak in the right time, and say neither more nor less than he should.[189]

Boyle uses his continual wakeful watching of the clock to practice not for the eternal waking, but to practice his experimental method in order to draw conclusions about decorum on earth. But even he, perhaps unexpectedly for one writing after the "dissociation of sensibility," recognizes that objectivity can slide, that feeling can dictate the proper moment, that the measure of whether or not man has said enough can be whether or not he has said more or less than he should. Such meditations would be far less occasioned by the clock when the pendulum regulator became more widely found in the devices. Incidentally, it was invented by Christiaan Huygens, of whose father, Constantjin, Paul R. Sellin writes: "Donne seems to have exercised a special attraction for an outspokenly orthodox Calvinist like Constantijn Huygens, whose *Heilighe Daghen* –not to mention his translations from the *Elegies*, the *Songs and Sonets* and the *Divine Poems*—forms perhaps a supreme moment of poetic homage unequalled among contemporaries in England."[190] Perhaps the elder Huygens's poetic attraction unknowingly begot his son's desire to regulate the clock.

[189] Robert Boyle, *Occasional Reflections Upon Several Subjects. Whereto is premis'd a Discourse about such kind of Thoughts* (London, 1665), 214–16. Also see Meditation 9, "Upon comparing the Clock and his Watch," 219.

[190] See Paul R. Sellin, *John Donne and "Calvinist" Views of Grace* (Amsterdam: VU Boekhandel, 1983), 49.

CHAPTER 4

EATING TIME IN *PARADISE LOST*: MILTON AND THE BOUNDARIES OF MAN

> From its very beginning, the biblical text insists on maintaining the distance between man and God by means of a dietary differentiation. […] it is a feminine and animal temptation that is concealed under the first dietary trespass.
>
> -Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*

> So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
> Forth reaching to the Fruit she pluck'd, she eat:
> […] Intent now wholly on her taste, naught else
> Regarded, such delight till then, as seem'd,
> In Fruit she never tasted, whether true
> Or fancied so, through expectation high
> Of knowledge, nor was God-head from her thought.
> Greedily she ingorg'd without restraint,
> And knew not eating Death.
>
> -*Paradise Lost,* 9.780–92

Milton's marriage to his third and final wife was predicated on food.[191] According to a deposition during the contesting of the poet's will, Milton entered into a pre-marital contract

[191] Epigraphs: Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection,* trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 95–96. All citations of Milton refer to *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y.

stating that, should his intended wife Elizabeth Minshull, the cousin to a trusted physician of Milton's, prepare food to his instructions, she would inherit his estate.[192] Milton's emphasis on this particular domestic duty makes a good deal of sense when one considers that, as William Kerrigan has argued, Milton believed that his blindness was the result of an improper diet, specifically of his retention of the gaseous fumes that afflicted him after the noontime meal (202–203). Eating felt like an exercise in peril for Milton, an exercise that placed him at the mercy of a benevolent woman.

Kerrigan and other scholars have conjectured that Milton transferred this fear of eating to his gustatory writing in *Paradise Lost* and speculated that the poet was drawn to the story of Eden in particular because of Eve's food-service role in Adam's fall. Here I want to argue that Milton's poetry transfers this fear to the clock, and to hourly time, which he likewise depicts, alongside many early moderns, as consumptive or devouring. In contrast to Donne's seductive clocks, Milton's clock is threatening, a depiction of the danger that what one eats might eat one back. Milton does not celebrate clock, or leverage its attractions to religious purposes. He reviles it. This may seem like a counter-argument to my claim that there is an erotics of timekeeping more broadly in early modernity. It may seem like a case in which the clock is decidedly un-erotic. However, in actuality it illustrates eroticism's vicissitude. Drawing on the work of Julia Kristeva in *Powers of Horror: An Essay in Abjection*, I argue that Milton's revolting clock opens up an exploration into profound and troubling feelings of ambivalence about sexual difference and individuation. Something like revulsion that might be experienced upon seeing a particular

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Hughes (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2003) and are hereafter cited parenthetically by line number for poetry and by page number for prose.

[192] William Kerrigan, *The Sacred Complex: On the Psychogenesis of Paradise Lost* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1983), 205. For the deposition, see Joseph Milton French, *The Life Records of John Milton*, Vol. 5 (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949), 220.

sex act or offensive pornography, Milton's terrifyingly erotic clock points to an ambivalence about the permeability of one's own boundaries. To put this another way: for Milton, thinking about the clock and about clock time abuts thinking about identity, the consciousness of which he sees as dependent upon the temporal awareness that the clock represents. Far from being un-erotic, then, the clock in Milton's poetry stands in for an exciting and horrifying element of the erotic: it represents the merger of self—physically and/or psychologically— into other.

I. "On Time," Women's Time, and the Cronus Myth

Milton's brief, and likely early, lyric poem "On Time" (c. 1633), which follows in full, is the clearest example of his work's cultivation of disgust with the clock. In the poem, which was written to be affixed to a clock case, Milton associates the device with the worst kind of feasting: Thyestian banquets and self-cannibalism, the over-consumptive "glut[ting]" of the "womb," a noun usually understood in Early Modern English to mean the "stomach." Perhaps it goes without saying that this disgusting picture is quite far from Mercutio's bawdy penis-dial or Donne's epithalamion's naked-bride-as-clock analogy. Drawing in the poem on the Hesiodic myth of Cronus, the titan father of Zeus, who had become associated with time in early modernity, Milton baits Time to cannibalize itself:

> Fly envious *Time*, till thou run out thy race,
> Call on the lazy leaden-stepping hours,
> Whose speed is but the heavy Plummet's pace;
> And glut thyself with what thy womb devours,
> Which is no more then what is false and vain,
> And merely mortal dross;
> So little is our loss,

So little is thy gain.

For when as each thing bad thou hast entomb'd,

And, last of all, thy greedy self consum'd,

Then long Eternity shall greet our bliss

With an individual kiss;

And Joy shall overtake us as a flood,

When everything that is sincerely good

And perfectly divine,

With Truth, and Peace, and Love shall ever shine

About the supreme Throne

Of him, t' whose happy-making sight alone,

When once our heav'nly-guided soul shall climb,

Then all this Earthy grossness quit,

Attir'd with Stars, we shall for ever sit,

Triumphing over Death, and Chance, and thee

O Time.

The poet's use of the trope of devouring time, like his overarching message, is rather conventional: Christian eternity will defeat mortal temporality.[193] Elsewhere, in *The Art of Logic*, Milton expresses it thus: the name of Fortune (or Chance) "should be changed and it should be

[193] On the poem's Christian theme, see O. B. Hardison, "Milton's 'On Time' and Its Scholastic Background" *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 3.1 (1961), 107–122; and *A Variorum Commentary on the Poems of John Milton,* Arthur S. P. Woodhouse, Douglas Bush, and Merritt Yerkes Hughes, eds., *Vol. 2 Pt. 1: The Minor English Poems [...]* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1972), who comment on the poem's final line: "Along with the general premise of eternal freedom from mortal insecurity, we remember that in Renaissance literature 'Chance' was the hallmark of Epicurean, libertine, atheistic thought" (169). Hereafter cited as *Var.*

called 'divine providence.'"[194] Yet there remains something both startling and captivating about Milton's lyric's fusion of bodily function with mechanical form. The poem's depiction of the clock toes the line between fascination and revulsion, dramatizing the poet's scorn for the object. His poem is an exploration of the abject as Kristeva describes it: "the jettisoned object, [which] is radically excluded and draws me toward a place where meaning collapses […] is […] what disturbs identity, system, order."[195] This poem, as I argue here, paves the way for *Paradise Lost* in that it is an exercise in abjection, in challenging boundaries, including those demarcating the human body, the individual, and sexual difference. One of the most profound ways in which the poem does so is through recourse to allusion, some of the same allusions that the poet will use in similar ways in *Paradise Lost.*

For instance, like Kristeva in her watershed essay "Women's Time," Milton also makes recourse to Hesiod's myth of Cronus, a figure who had, by the seventeenth century, become associated with time. In her essay, Kristeva uses Hesiod to illustrate what she means by "monumental time," a phrase she borrows from Friedrich Nietzsche. She calls "monumental time," which she writes has historically been associated with women, "all-encompassing and infinite like imaginary space," citing "Kronos in Hesiod's mythology, the incestuous son whose massive presence covered all of Gea (or "Gaia," the Earth) in order to separate her from Ouranos, the father (and the Sky)."[196] Here Kristeva uses the myth to cross genders, associating a masculine figure with what she argues has become a feminine conceptualization of time. Her narrative also differs significantly from Hesiod's. The "massive presence" she attributes to

[194] Hiltner 124, quoting Milton *Art of Logic*, in *Complete Prose Works of John Milton,* ed. John M. Wolfe, et. al. 8.229.

[195] Kristeva, *Powers of Horror*, 2–4.

[196] "Women's Time," *The Kristeva Reader*, ed. Toril Moi (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1991), 191.

Cronus, the son, is instead in Hesiod attributed to his father, the Sky, and to the Earth herself. Here is Hesiod's account:

> She [the Earth] placed him [Cronus] in ambush, concealing him from sight, and put into his hands the jagged-toothed sickle, and she explained the whole trick to him. And great Sky came, bringing night with him; and spreading himself out around Earth in his desire for love he lay outstretched in all directions. Then his son reached out from his ambush with his left hand, and with his right hand he grasped the genitals from his dear father and threw them to be born away.[197]

Not Cronus's, but the Sky's massive presence is what covers the earth. Hesiod has actually *localized* rather than monumentalized Cronus, hiding him inside the Earth, the "all-encompassing" figure that Hesiod tells us earlier in the myth has given birth, without insemination, to "her equal" in the encompassing Sky (17). (Milton's First Prolusion cites from this passage of Hesiod, in which the Earth, born only of the Chasm, literally of "Chaos," gives birth to her "equal," the Sky, *sans* insemination.[198]) Thus, Hesiod's Cronus neither necessarily engages in an incestuous relation with his mother at this moment nor "separates" her from the sky. What he does do, however, is graphically grapple with his father's soon-to-be-severed genitals. So in effect, Kristeva's appropriation of this account actually dissociates women from monumental time, as it heterosexually, incestuously misremembers the myth. However, although what counts as incest or intercourse in the primordial family becomes fuzzy, Cronus still could be rightly called an "incestuous son," to use Kristeva's words, in the sense that he is a son born

[197] Hesiod, *Theogony*, trans. Glenn W. Most, The Loeb Classical Library 57 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 17. Hereafter cited parenthetically.

[198] For the First Prolusion's reference to Hesiod, see Hughes, 597. Translations of Hesiod by Brown, Most, and West all note that though a literal translation of the word they have translated "chasm" (Χάεος) is "chaos," the latter has an association in English with disorder that would be misleading.

of an incestuous union: the relation between the Earth and her own son, the Sky. What even her remembering of the myth in another writing points to its evocation of challenged boundaries.

Milton drew not just on the proverbial figure of devouring time, but also on the Hesiod myth including its castration aspect, throughout his writings. His association of Cronus with time becomes obvious in *Naturam Non Pati Senium* ("That Nature is Not Subject to Old Age"), an exercise intended to be read during an educational rite of passage, at a Master's defense. Here he opens by invoking a figure of "devouring time" much like Hesiod's Cronus to illustrate the folly of the belief that nature can be measured by man's concept of time:

> Alas! How persistent are the errors by which the wandering mind of man is pursued and overwearied, and how profound is the darkness of the Oedipean night in [man's] breast! His insane mind dare make its own acts the measure of those of the gods and compare its own laws to those that are written upon eternal adamant; and it binds the eternally immutable plan of fate to the perishing hours.
>
> Shall the face of Nature, then, be overspread with wrinkles and shall the common mother contract her all-generating womb and become sterile? […] Shall insatiable Time devour the heavens and gorge the vitals of his own father? (32-3)

As the title of the exercise implies, Milton concludes in the negative: "the righteous sequence of all things shall go on perpetually, until the final fire shall destroy all the world" (35). Milton metaphorically illustrates the epistemological folly of human narcissism—man's misguided audacity in believing his own laws apply to nature—as monstrous ingestion: as insatiable Time, which, like the figure of Cronus, "gorges" or "devours" the "vital" organs of his own father. In "On Time," Milton transfers this narcissism to the clock, which likewise attempts to devour its own kind, an act horrific in part because, as Kristeva's formulations of the abject suggests, it

threatens to erase self and species.

In this exercise as throughout his canon, Milton also picks up on Hesiod's emphasis on the Earth's discomfort with "bearing." After a litany of the entities to which she gives birth, Hesiod's narrative supplies the motive for her Cronus-exacted revenge against the Sky: he has stuffed some of the Earth's most powerful children back into her womb, "while the huge Earth was tight-pressed inside, and groaned" (161). It is for this action—because she has been made to bear or yield too much—that she offers her children the sickle that Cronus accepts. This sickle becomes part of visual iconography of Time. Milton's awareness of the earth's vitality and mutability in response to human taxation—another form of being made to bear too much—is of course obvious in *Paradise Lost,* where humankind's connection to the earth is so profound that Adam and Eve's fall viscerally affects the earth, which feels the wound. In the epic it is, in fact, difficult to know where earth and self begin and end, as the fall apparently wounds both, as in "On Time," it is difficult to know where the clock ends and the human, whose body may be distinct from the Heaven-bound "soul" and counted amongst the "earthly grossness" presumably incorporated by Time/the clock, begins (19–20). For Milton, the trope of devouring time called up the human body's complete imbrication in nature, its biologically shared properties with the inhuman.

Hesiod's Cronus myth also works to call attention to the permeable boundaries between not just humans and earth/matter, but also between male and female. In the *Theogony*, it is not only the feminized Earth who bears too much, but also Cronus himself. In this second proto-Oedipal scene in Hesiod's version of the myth, Cronus, who rules the earth and has heard that one of his children might overtake him, takes the preventative measure of devouring each of the children, including Zeus, as they fall from their mothers' wombs (39, 41). After bearing them in

his womb (his stomach) for a year after Zeus's birth, Cronus "brings his offspring up again," vomiting them in reverse order: last swallowed to first. It is a monstrous spell of indigestion that effectively reverses the forward motion of time (43).[199] This is where Cronus, eventually associated with the figure of time, gains his reputation as devouring.

The Cronus story found a variety of footholds into early modernity. Devouring time was, as commentators on *Shakespeare's Sonnets* often note, perpetuated by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* as *tempus eadax rerum*, "time, the glutton of all things."[200] Ovid also recounts a briefer version of the Cronus myth specifically in the *Fasti*, and there are additional accounts of

[199] The concern with the exploitation of the earth accords with Hesiod's general interest in husbandry. At the beginning of the invocation to the *Theogony,* the poet depicts himself as a shepherd who was divinely inspired to sing. Hesiod also gives land management advice—much of it almanac-like and regarding appropriate timing for planting, setting sail, marriage, etc.—in his *Works and Days*, echoed by Juan Luis Vives and others in the early modern period. In "Of Education," Milton cites Hesiod, likely referring to the *Works and Days,* as an author to be read in the curriculum immediately before boys begin studying ethics, when they should be reading texts related to husbandry. His proscriptions are fixated on both timing and digestion: prematurely difficult reading he likens to "pure authors digested, which [the boys] scarce taste" and prematurely sophisticated writing assignments he calls "the plucking of untimely fruit" (631). These interests in digestion, cultivation, and proper timing will, of course, persist in Milton's work throughout his life, making their way into his story of the fall. That *Paradise Lost* conveys a preoccupation with ecology has interested ecocritics and literature and science scholars alike, and that he retains aspects of Hesiod's poetic persona-building strategies has not escaped classicists. All three devote attention to the poem's first etiology of the earth, contained in the invocation at the beginning of Book 1:

> Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
> Of *Oreb,* or of *Sinai,* didst inspire
> That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen Seed,
> In the Beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
> Rose out of *Chaos* […]
> Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first
> Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread
> Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss
> And mad'st it pregnant […] (1.6-10, 19-22)

There are clear parallels here between Milton's poetic persona and Hesiod's, including the shepherding and divine inspiration claims, and there are also echoes of Hesiod's creation myth in Milton's primarily Biblical one. Ecocritic Diane McColley focuses on this passage and the passages about the earth's creation in Books 2 and 7 in "Milton's Environmental Epic: Creature Kinship and the Language of *Paradise Lost*," in Karla Armbruster and Kathleen R. Wallace, eds., *Beyond Nature Writing: Expanding the Boundaries of Ecocriticism* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 2001), pp. 57-74; Jeffrey Theis relates that consciousness to an environment ethic rooted in Christianity in "The Environmental Ethics of *Paradise Lost*: Milton's Exegesis of Genesis I-III," *Milton Studies* 34 (1996): 61-81.

[200] See Arthur Golding's translation of *Metamorphoses* (London, 1565), 15.258-60: "Thou tyme, the eater up of things, and age of spytghtfull teene,/ Destroy all things. And when that long continuance hath them bit,/ You leisurely by lingering death consume them every whit."

Cronus eating his children in Plato, Strabo, and other classical sources including Plutarch.[201] By the early modern period, "devouring time" had also become proverbial.[202] Hesiod's is simply the oldest and most detailed depiction of the figure that would become the proverb, and Milton was clearly familiar with it, as his use of the trope in "On Time" suggests.

That Cronus bears his children in his womb subsequent to their mother bearing them in hers makes the permeability of these gender distinctions most apparent. As the *OED* explains, there were three definitions of "womb" widely in use at the time Milton was writing: 1) "the belly, the paunch," which is, of course, neither very anatomically specific nor gender-specific; 2) "the human stomach considered as the seat of hunger and satiety or of gluttony," more anatomically exact but again, not gender-specific; and 3) "the uterus," exclusive to women and now the usual sense of the word. In Milton's poem it seems most logical to assume that the devouring "womb" is the stomach and not the uterus. Yet the "devouring womb" is frequently associated with feminine entities in print sources contemporary with Milton. In Charles Pierse's 1618 *Vertues Anatomy*, for instance, "earth," referred to with feminine pronouns, has an "all-deuouring wombe" that is, as in Milton's poem, aligned with personified "Time." Earth's devouring womb in Pierse's poem is as fecund as bereft, evoking both uterus and stomach rather than one or the other.[203] In the 1633 *Workes* of Fulke Greville, the womb is attributed to death

[201] Of these references to Cronus as a "devouring" figure, the most detailed is Ovid's in *Fasti*, "Saturnus [Cronus] received this oracle: 'Best of kings, you shall be knocked from power by a son.' Jabbed by fear, he devours his offspring as each was born, and entombs them in his bowels. Rhea often complained of much pregnancy and no motherhood, and mourned her fertility. Jove [Zeus] was born (trust antiquity's testimony, do not disturb inherited belief): a stone, concealed in cloth, settled in the god's gullet; so the father was fated to be tricked," trans. Anthony J. Boyle and R.D. Woodard (London: Penguin, 2000), 4.197. Other instances occur in Plato, *Euthyphro*; Strabo, *Geography* 10.3.11.

[202] See Morris Palmer Tilley, "TIME devours (consumes, wears out) all things" in *A Dictionary of The Proverbs in England and in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1950), p.670.

[203] Charles Pierse, *Vertues anatomie. Or A compendious description of that late right honorable, memorable, and renowned Bedfordshire lady, the Lady Cheany, of Tuddington* (London: William Jones, 1618), B8r.

rather than to the earth, but to death emboweled in the feminized Ocean. Greville writes that "the *Ocean,* […] Vnder her smooth face, doth in secret keepe/ The vast content of deaths deuouring wombe," using feminized pronouns and secretiveness to evoke feminine reproductive capacity. [204] These contemporary references demonstrate that the "womb" of the mortal Time for which the clock is a metaphor in Milton's poem was proverbial. They also show that it usually named something simultaneously consumptive and reproductive, not exclusively female but evocative of femininity.

Of course, none of these contemporary usages attributes a womb to both Time and the clock, as does Milton's "On Time." What does, however, use "womb" in reference to a timekeeping device is Chaucer's *A Treatise on the Astrolabe,* dated to the early 1390s.[205] The astrolabe was a predecessor to the pocket watch, and, as the second part of Chaucer's *Treatise* on the device explains, it could be used to determine not only time of day, but also myriad other calculations like sunrise and sunset times, the sun's altitude, the degrees of the stars, and the ascension of signs of the zodiac.[206] The first part of Chaucer's treatise is a simple description of the instrument's parts. It employs anatomical language including gendered pronouns, namely in its description of the "moder" or "mother" plate: "The moder of thin Astrelabye is thikkest plate,

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[204] Fulke Greville, *Learned and elegant vvorkes of the Right Honorable Fulke Lord Brooke written in his youth, and familiar exercise with Sir Philip Sidney. The seuerall names of which workes the following page doth declare* (London: Printed by E[lizabeth] P[urslowe] for Henry Seyle, 1633), p. 97. The ocean's devouring womb is also referenced in Joseph Hall, *The discouery of a new world or A description of the South Indies Hetherto vnknowne by an English Mercury,* (London: for Ed: Blount. and W. Barrett, 1613), N1r; and T. I., *A miracle, of miracles As fearefull as euer was seene or heard of in the memorie of man […]* (1614), D3v.

[205] For dating I rely on the discussion by *Treatise* editor John Reidy in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 1092.

[206] On the astrolabe see Edgar Laird, "Astrolabes and the Construction of Time in the Late Middle Ages" in *Constructions of Time in the Late Middle Ages*, Carol Poster and Richard Utz, eds. (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1997), 51–69.

perced with a large hool, that resceiveth in hir wombe the thynne plates compowned for diverse clymates" ("clymates" here referring to "terrestrial latitudes").[207] The womb of Chaucer's astrolabe does indeed seem uterine—as the feminine pronoun "hir," the moniker "mother," and the "perc[ing]" and "resceiv[ing]" verbs seem to imply— and it is possible that Milton evokes this gender-specific use in his poem on the clock case.

But did Milton even read Chaucer, and could he have been familiar with the *Treatise?* Certainly the answer to the first question is yes: Milton references Chaucer and his works explicitly several times in his own writings. Donald R. Howard offers evidence that he likely read the earlier author mostly in the 1602 edition of Speght, which includes the *Treatise* under the title *The Conclusion of the Astrolaby*.[208] Milton's well-known admiration for John Selden may have encouraged him to consult the *Treatise* specifically.[209] Selden, in his introduction to Michael Drayton's *Poly-olbion* (1612), was the first to point out that Chaucer's primary source for it was the Arab astronomer Messahala's (Māshā Allah, c. 730 – 815).[210] Milton not only

[207] *Riverside Chaucer,* I.3.1–4. In this part of the *Treatise,* Chaucer repeatedly uses "wombe" as the opposite of "bak": "Tak this rewle generall, as wel on the bak as on the wombe syde" (I.6.7–8), "The wombe syde of thyn Astrelabie is also divided with a longe cros in 4 quarters from est to west, fro southe to northe, fro right syde to left side, as is the bakside" (I.15).

[208] Donald R. Howard, "Flying Through Space: Chaucer and Milton," in Joseph Anthony Wittreich, ed., *Milton and the Line of Vision* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), 3–23; esp. 8–9.

[209] Milton hails Selden in *Areopagitica* (1644) as "the chief of learned men reputed in this land." On Milton and Selden as print interlocutors in especially the 1640s, see Jason P. Rosenblatt, *Renaissance England's Chief Rabbi: John Selden* (Oxford University Press, 2008).

[210] "How many of Noble *Chaucers* Readers neuer so much as suspect this his short essay of knowledge, transcending the common Rode? and by his Treatise of the *Astrolabe* (which, I dare sweare, was chiefly learned out of *Messahalah*) it is plaine hee was much acquainted with the Mathematiques, and amongst their Authors had it" (Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* [London: Humphrey Lownes, 1612], A4v). Chaucer does seem to have read Messahala's *Compositio et operatio astrolabii* closely, though he only cites Alchabitius (I.8.13). On his reading of Messahala, Reidy notes that some thirty of the forty propositions Chaucer makes in Part II of his Treatise are borrowed from Messahala (1092). However, also see Edgar Laird, "Astrolabes and the Construction of Time in the Late Middle Ages," in *Constructions of Time in the Late Middle Ages,* Carol Poster and Richard J. Utz, eds. (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1997): "the number of usages in Messahalla and Chaucer varies from manuscript to manuscript, with some additions evidently being due to scribes or compilers" (55).

admired Selden, but also consulted *Poly-olbion* specifically, Cedric C. Brown argues, when drafting *Comus*, which he did within no more than a few years—likely no more than one year—of writing "On Time."[211] Milton's familiarity with Chaucer's description of a mechanical timekeeping device as feminine, therefore, and as something that had a womb in the uterine sense, may indeed have found a precedent in the Chaucer treatise that scholars have called the first technical writing in the English language, and those sources, far from being irrelevant to his depictions of gender, may actually have shaped it.

When Milton, like his contemporaries Pierse and Greville, references the womb and melds Death, Chance, and the Time of the clock, he makes them allies that are defeated by Christian Eternity, and thereby subordinates the clock to Christian grace. While Eternity's victory over Death, Chance, and Time is a conventional poetic message, Milton uses this poem to raise a specific and contentious question about the method of this victory. He draws the reader's attention to a crux nested in the poem's center: the word "individual." O.B. Hardison argues that Milton uses the word here to mean what it generally means in modern English, "distinguished from others by attributes of its own; marked by a peculiar or striking character."[212] This argument opposes the glosses offered by scholars prior to Hardison, who have contended that Milton is transliterating this word from Latin and intends for it to signify, as it does in its language of origin, "un-subdividable," which Hardison points out would evoke discussions about atomism, as Cicero had called atoms *corpora individua* and called a single atom an *individuum*, and the word was often used in seventeenth-century philosophical

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[211] Cedric C. Brown, *John Milton's Aristocratic Entertainments* (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 124. *Comus* was first performed in September 1634, and most scholars date "On Time" to 1633.

[212] Hardison, "Milton's 'On Time,'" 108.

writing.[213] Against Hardison's reading, I would submit that when Milton uses the word "individual" in *Paradise Lost,* he does indeed mean "unified," or "non-subdividable." God uses the word when he announces the Son as one under whom "All knees in Heav'n" will abide "United as one *individual* Soul / For ever happy" (*PL* 5.608, 610-11, emphasis mine). Eternity's "individual" kiss is therefore a uniting kiss, not a kiss that would separate out one unique person's bliss from another's. Additionally, in *Paradise Lost,* Milton describes the moon as holding her "Reign" with "thousand lesser lights *dividual*" (7.382, emphasis mine), which suggests that he did indeed think about the word in terms of its Latin meaning, "divided," and that he might think about its opposite, "individual," in similarly literal translation. Eternity in "On Time" greets the "individual" as the unitary. One of the questions *Paradise Lost* poses is whether or not time can issue a similar greeting. This prospect that what is individual may also be unified in time, not just in eternity, is a dizzying one that threatens notions of individual sanctity.

The destruction of individual identity, like the echoes of the Hesiodic myth and the gender ambiguity of "womb," also undermines the boundaries between male and female and renders flawed the question of women's culpability for time. As I have shown in prior chapters, in early modernity, women were often associated with clocks.[214] They were also often accused of inaugurating mortal time at the moment of Eve's fall. Timekeeping devices which depicted eroticized nudes of Eve visually impugned her for the watch's necessity. Commenting upon a watch owned by Mary, Queen of Scots, for instance, Amy Boesky writes:

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[213] Hardison, 108. For more on Milton's own philosophy's relation to and distinction from atomism, see Stephen M. Fallon, *Milton among the Philosophers: Poetry and Materialism in Seventeenth-Century England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), and Kevin Joseph Donovan and Thomas Festa, eds., *Milton, Materialism, and Embodiment: One First Matter All* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 2017).

[214] See p. 50 above.

> Eve in this image is […] closely allied with Death […] Like all *memento mori*, this watch was intended to warn and to remind. But it also implied an accusation. For the skull watch's trope of devouring, borne out on its innermost dial, where Saturn is pictured consuming his children, originates in Eve's crime of intemperance, her greed, her insatiability. Eve, the watch reminds its recipient, was to blame for Time.[215]

Does *Paradise Lost*, like the watch, depict Eve as responsible for sundering humans from divine eternity, for catapulting humans into time? And if women were blamed for the fall into mortal time, as Boesky argues, were they then more or differently marked by temporality than men, as Boesky argues was indeed the case, identifying an "erotics of delay" particularly associated with Milton's Eve?[216]

In what follows, I turn to the epic's echoes of both Cronus and the devouring clock to show how Milton aligns Eve not exclusively with a feminine, maternal, fecund and self-generating Earth, but with a masculine, familicidal, devouring Cronus as well. Considering the question of whether or not *Paradise Lost* depicts women as responsible for sundering humans from divine eternity, for reinstituting the deadly chaos to which Milton weds the clock, I bear in mind the slippery gender associations of the devouring "womb" in "On Time." The gender instability of such terms enables us to see how there extends throughout Milton's canon what Leah Marcus identifies as a "pervasive dismantling of sex-gender binaries and hierarchies in favor of a polymorphous array of fleeting gender identifications" in *Paradise Lost*.[217] Like "On

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[215] Amy Boesky, "Giving Time to Women: the Eternizing Project in Early Modern England" in *'This Double Voice': Gendered Writing in Early Modern England,* Danielle Clarke and Elizabeth Clarke, eds. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000): 123–141, 127–28.

[216] Amy Boesky, "*Paradise Lost* and the Multiplicity of Time" in *A Companion to Milton*, Thomas N. Corns, ed. (New York: Blackwell Publishing, 2003). Blackwell Reference Online. 16 June 2017, n.p.

[217] Leah Marcus, "Milton Among Women," *Milton Studies* 51 (2010): 45–62, esp. 46.

Time," I shall argue, *Paradise Lost* alludes to precedents that upset easy assignations of certain temporalities to certain gender categories, making it impossible to say that there is one specific women's time, making it indeed difficult to articulate the difference between man and woman, self and other, at all. What is erotic in *Paradise Lost,* and what is both terrifying and terrific, is this potential for loss of distinct self, for immersion in another, that the abjection of the clock calls the reader to ponder.

II. Time, Sexual Difference, and Individuation in *Paradise Lost*

There is no such thing as women's time in *Paradise Lost.* What I mean by this is that, contra Boesky, there is no one characteristic temporality—no one quality or type of time—with which Milton associates women in his epic. Especially seen in light of its reiterations of classical precedents and mechanical timekeeping discourse, *Paradise Lost*'s gender identifications are too multiplicitous and fleeting, as a growing body of queer Milton scholarship has shown, for this to be the case. Eve can be taken neither to represent all women nor to represent only women. Additionally, time stands in a profoundly ambiguous relation to identity and individuation in the poem. Time does not seem to shore up individuation nor to break it down, but rather to be part of Milton's monist "one first matter all" from which all things alike derive (*PL,* 5.472). Time in the poem, therefore, does not serve gender identity, which is constantly being formed and reformed, navigated and inverted throughout it. My second epigraph to this chapter, for instance, the passage in which Eve consumes the Fruit, creates a nauseating number of inversions: eating, required for the nourishment of life, becomes an act of death. Eve—who is supposed to be the one who feeds others, who formerly "[m]inister'd" the table of Raphael and Adam naked (5.444), "greedily" "ingorge[s]" the forbidden fruit at the "evil hour" of noon (9.791, 780)—instead here feeds on the fruit, evocative of Cronus trying to consume his own futurity. Eating,

formerly the province of Time, now becomes the province of a woman. And when Eve feeds Adam again, he, too, is consumed by the timely meal. That consumption is precisely what is erotic about time.

A profound gender ambiguity surrounds Eve throughout the poem as a result of the allusions on which she is palimpsested. This ambiguity is apparent not just in her titanic fall, but also in both her and Adam's accounts of her creation. Her depiction of her own awakening likens her to the beautiful boy Narcissus—she saw herself in the water and then "pin'd with vain desire" until God's "voice" told her it was herself she was viewing (4.466). If this vanity, and the dalliance in which it results, is unique to femininity, then why the reflection in the water, evocative of a story that demonstrates the same traits in a man? Later, when Adam describes his memories of her creation, he similarly reminds us of the difficulty of clearly separating out male from female, describing Eve as "Manlike, but different sex" (8.465). If Eve is supposed to represent a time that is distinctively womanly, why does Milton so emphasize her "manlike"-ness?

In his account of the moment of the Fall as well, Milton's diction and the allusions it suggests also cross-gender-identify Eve. The verb he uses for her ingestion of the fruit is "ingorg'd" (9.791). Chiefly, to "ingorge" meant to stuff or overfeed.[218] Randle Cotgrave gives a list of synonyms for its noun form in his *Dictionary of French & English Tongues* (1611): "*Engorgement*, a glutting, rauening, deuouring, ingorging" (HHiiiv). Two of these synonyms, "glut" and "devour," of course surface in "On Time" as words for what Milton bids Time to do. "Gorge" is also how he describes Time's action in "That Nature Is Not Subject to Old Age"—"Shall insatiable Time devour the heavens and *gorge* the vitals of his own father?" (32-3). This

[218] On the use of "ingorge" and Eucharistic discourse in the poem, see Christopher Baker, "'Greedily She Ingorg'd': Eve and the Bread of Life," *Milton Studies* 52 (2011): 95–110.

statement collapses Time and the masculine-gendered Cronus, who by this association masculinizes Eve. "Gorge" also appears repeatedly in *Paradise Lost* itself, usually to describe the actions of Sin and Death. God explains to his Son, for instance, that he has "call'd and drew them [Sin and Death] thither […] till cramm'd and *gorg'd*, nigh burst / With suckt and *glutted* offal, at one sling / Of thy victorious Arm" they should be "Through *Chaos* hurl'd" (10.629–36, emphasis mine). This likens Eve with Sin and Death, but since these entities are respectively gendered female and male in the poem, "gorge" again does not associate Eve with any specific gender, but in fact with both. In addition to alluding to a male figure in a myth and evoking resonances with female and male characters in the poem itself, "ingorge" also had a pathological meaning that was in use at the time, "To be filled to excess, crammed. Chiefly […] of animal tissues or organs: To be congested with blood."[219] The word's conspicuous relevance to a certain male sex organ mean, it perhaps goes without saying, mean that Eve's eating is therefore erotically inflected in ways that suggest her masculinity.

"Ingorge" is also inflected in ways that suggest that Eve's mistake in eating the apple has to do with her belief in her own self-sufficiency, her thinking about her potential "God-head" (9.790). Sin and Death are also mistaken in this way when God invites them to become "cramm'd and gorg'd" in his service*:* they believe they are planning to consume humankind of their own accord, but God's commentary to the Son explains that he has pre-ordained it. They are not self-motivated after all. Their mistake is something like the mistake of thinking the earth born without divine impregnation, of Satan's enamoredness with his self-generated "perfect image" in Sin (2.764), of Eve's captivation with her own image in the lake, of Adam's angry complaint in which he wishes for men to be able to reproduce without women, of believing it can

[219] *OED,* "engorge," v., 1b

govern itself. There is not much in this catalog of examples to suggest that Milton believes self-sufficiency to be unproblematic, and much to suggest that he realizes it often leads to schism where a unified multiplicity would be preferred.

Still, Eve's striving for self-sufficiency is neither a striving for time nor an entry into it, as Boesky's statement about women being blamed for time might suggest Milton would make it out to be. It could not be, because Milton is quite clear in *Paradise Lost* that time, like sex, pre-dates the fall. A measure of time in fact motivates Eve to eat the fruit. About forty lines before she eats, the poet explains:

> Meanwhile the the hour of Noon drew on, and wak'd
> An eager appetite, rais'd by the smell
> So savory of that Fruit, which with desire,
> Inclinable now grown to touch or taste,
> Solicited her longing eye
>
> (9.739–43)

If we are being quite literal here, perhaps the hour casts sun on the fruit that warms it, making it smell ripe. But grammatically it is the hour that, along with the smell, stirs Eve's appetite. She cannot be the cause of the hours if they pre-exist her.

Measures and discussions of time are not solely limited to the Fall scene, either. In the pre-lapsarian portion of the poem, when Uriel unknowingly gives Satan directions to Paradise, he does so by describing and instructing Satan in earth's diurnal and monthly cycles:

> That place is Earth the seat of Man, that light
> His day, which else as th' other Hemisphere
> Night would invade, but there the neighboring Moon

(So call that opposite fair star) her aid

Timely interposes, and her monthly round

Still ending, still renewing through mid Heav'n

(3.724–29)

This is perhaps necessary because Satan's disregard for and lack of knowledge of time seem to be part of what damn him. When rallying his fallen angels, he remarks, "we know no time where we were not as we are now" (6.860), and in the first book, we are told that he brings "A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time" (1.253). Ayelet Langer reads these moments as indications that Satan "remains forever captured within the partial structure of the now, incapable of conceiving time" and argues that Adam and Eve, by contrast, become increasingly aware of sequential time and are therefore capable of grace.[220] Satan's lack of regard for time is contrasted by its valuation in Heaven, where,

[…] There is a Cave

Within the Mount of God, fast by his Throne,

Where light and darkness in perpetual round

Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through Heav'n

[220] Ayelet Langer, "Milton's Aristotelian Now," *Milton Studies* 57 (2016): 95–117, 96. See also Ayelet Langer, '"Pardon may be Found in Time Besought": Time Structures of the Mind in *Paradise Lost*', in *Milton Studies* 52 (2011), 169-83. Langer takes inspiration from E. W. Tayler's consideration of time as an indispensable component for our understanding of the relationship between time and eternity in *Paradise Lost* in *Milton's Poetry*: *Its Development in Time* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1979), 123–47. Recent considerations of time in the poem include, for example, Judith Scherer Herz, "Meanwhile: (Un)Making Time in Paradise Lost," in *The New Milton Criticism*, ed. Peter C. Herman and Elizabeth Sauer (Cambridge, 2012), 85–101; Blair Hoxby, "Milton's Steps in Time" *SEL* 38.1 (1998): 149–72; Langer, "Milton's Aevum: The Time Structure of Prevenient Grace in Paradise Lost," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 17 (2014): 1–21; Catherine Gimelli Martin, 'The Enclosed Garden and the Apocalypse: Immanent versus Transcendent Time in Milton and Marvell', in *Milton and the Ends of Time*, ed. Juliet Cummins (Cambridge University Press, 2003), 144–68; Sherry Lutz Zivley, 'The Thirty-Three Days of *Paradise Lost*,' *Milton Quarterly* 34 (2000), 117–27; and Anthony Welch, 'Reconsidering Chronology in *Paradise Lost*, in *Milton Studies* vol. 41, ed. by Albert C. Labriola (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2002), 1–17. The time-scheme of *Paradise Lost* is delineated in the introduction to John Milton*, Paradise Lost.* ed. by Alastair Fowler, 2nd edn. (New York: Longman, 1998), 29–33.

Grateful vicissitude, like Day and Night;

(6.4–8)

Although day and night do not apparently exist in Heaven *per se*, they are mimicked because of the pleasure they bring.[221] And while Satan may attempt himself to be timeless, we are told that he is subject to and pays attention to temporal measures: the sun and the stars "compute / Days, months, and years" during his flight to earth, and Uriel reports that Satan visited him at noon (4.564). Adam and Eve, too, before the Fall also seem to have some sense of sequential, seasonal and hourly time. Adam, for instance, is told by Raphael that

> […] time may come when men
> With Angels may participate, and fine
> No inconvenient Diet, nor too light Fare:
> And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
> Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
> Improv'd by tract of time

(5.493–98)

Adam also expresses thanks that Raphael has come "to forewarn / Us timely of what might else have been our loss" (7.73–74), though of course this timely warning is not enough to prevent them from transgressing. So, if it is patently not the case that Eve inaugurates time, broadly construed, in the epic, what about her association with a particular temporality or quality of time, like the one Boesky calls an "erotics of delay"?[222]

Boesky's argument is problematized by other characters' delays in the poem, as well as

[221] See *OED,* "grateful, adj.1.: pleasing to the mind or senses, agreeable, acceptable, welcome"

[222] Boesky, "*Paradise Lost* and Multiplicity," n.p.

by Eve's own profession and enactment of readiness and haste, temporal engagements that stand in tension with delay. As Boesky briefly acknowledges, Adam and Raphael's meal and conversation are themselves marked by delay. Raphael's visit is supposed to last half a day, but Adam tries to devise ways to "detain," or delay, him (5.229, 8.207). Michael also explains to Adam and Eve near the poem's end that the Israelites shall "gain by their delay / In the wide Wilderness" the laws and their leadership (12.223), with the Israelites clearly being both male and female. Eve's association with delay is therefore certainly unexclusive. Her other temporal engagements also confuse any clear association between her and delay specifically. Upon Raphael's arrival Adam also bids Eve "haste" to him and then "speed" to gather food, which she does (5.308, 313). Likewise, even after the fall, she proclaims her readiness and resolve to venture east of Eden with Adam by remarking, "In mee is no delay" (12.615). If Milton calls attention to Eve's delay moreso than other characters', then, it is with a wavering voice.

Certainly time is regarded differently after Eve eats the forbidden fruit, however. Tayler's careful study argues that after it, *kairos*—time weighted with meaning—is replaced by *chronos*—empty time more like a void to be filled.[223] In *Milton and Ecology*, Ken Hiltner links this change to Eve's unseasonal eating of the fruit. He argues that Eve's crime is not eating the fruit, but eating the fruit when it is unripe, writing, "the poet clarifies that Eve's tragic quest for heaven was actually the proper pursuit, though improperly timed."[224] This failure of timing disrupts a pre-lapsarian confidence about nature's sufficiency, according to Hiltner: "Prior to the fall, Adam and Eve do not use technology to harvest, nor do they worry about provisions in the future; instead they live according to the admonition in Matthew 6:26, 6:31: 'they sow not,

[223] Tayler, *Milton's Poetry,* passim.

[224] Ken Hiltner, *Milton and Ecology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 117.

neither do they reap, nor gather into barns…[nor take anxious]…thought, saying, 'What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?'"[225]

I find Hiltner's observation helpful on two accounts. First, it registers a general hostility toward technology in the poem that is not unrelated to Milton's anti-erotics of the clock in "On Time." In the pre-lapsarian world, Adam and Eve need only "such Gard'ning Tools as Art yet rude, / Guiltless of fire had form'd" (9.391–92) and Milton joins the word "engine," or "mechanical device," with the adjective "devilish" twice (4.17, 6.553).[226] In general, technological contrivances are of the devil's party in the epic, and time kept by natural fluctuations and read without the use of technological mediation seems preferred: noon is the only specific hour like those told by the clock that is given, and it is of course the hour of the fall, though it need not be told by a clock and can be told by shadows as well.

Second, Hiltner's emphasis on Adam and Eve's lack of worry and anxiety names, I think, the change that takes place at the fall, which is not a fundamental change in time itself, but a change in temporal orientation: Adam and Eve grow more anxious about time, about what will happen in the future and about the time that is passing now, as a result of the fall. Their post-lapsarian divisions are in part imposed by temporal discord. It is after they both eat the fruit that they begin to spend "fruitless hours" in discord (9.1188), whereas before, Eve conversing with Adam can "forget all time" (4.639). Prior to the fall, there were moments when Adam and Eve

[225] Ibid, 121.

[226] Given the link between experimentalism and technological developments (e.g. the telescope, the microscope), this claim about Milton's anti-technological bias might be put into conversation with Shannon Miller's argument that "Eve takes on the role of an experimental philosopher, ultimately relying on the 'senses' and thus overriding reason. Milton may be suggesting that experimental philosophy, which its emphasis on sense over reason, is partly the cause of the Fall" (*Engendering the Fall* [Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008], 165). Miller's view shares much territory with Joanna Picciotto's claim that Milton portrays Eve as "a zealous but incompetent natural philosopher" (*Labors of Innocence in Early Modern England* [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010], 475).

hasted or delayed, and there were hours appointed and allotted for various events, but after the fall, such temporal matters become more persistently a source of worry.

This newly anxious temporal orientation—worry about time's passage and about providing for futurity—becomes a source of disconsolation not merely for Eve after the Fall, but for Adam as well. This anxiety unites them even as it divides them. Their discussion about the future of the species evidences their shared concern. Eve proposes that she and Adam mitigate their transgression by ending humanity, whom Eve knows will be "devour'd / by Death at last" unless, by she and Adam's remaining childless, Death "Shall be deceiv'd his glut, and with us two / Be forc'd to satisfy his Rav'nous Maw" (10.980–81, 990–91). Not only does she propose not to reproduce, but she also proposes to kill herself if she has conceived. Cronus-like, she intends to destroy her child in her womb, though she specifies that it will entail her own destruction as well. Adam's response contradicting her shows his own, shared, care for their future children: "Remember with what mild / And gracious temper [God] both heard and judg'd / […] to thee / Pains only in Child-bearing were foretold, / And bringing forth, soon recompens't with joy" (10.1046–47, 1050–52). He sees their offspring as compensatory "joy," and he demonstrates a concern for them equal to her own. By continuing the race Adam and Eve ensure that Death, like Time, will not be deceived its "glut," but rather permitted to feed until it has eaten itself to its own demise. In the meantime, it may also eat away at what divides them.

As much as the notion of Time's devouring womb brings women into discussions about the mechanics of a universe often represented by the clock, it offers little to validate or to condemn flesh and blood women. Instead it suggests that men and women alike come from "one first matter all" (*PL*, 5.472), each having a womb, each sharing powers of destruction and regeneration, each having the capability to possess "a paradise within thee, happier far" (12.587)

than the geographical one from which Adam and Eve are expelled. Perhaps this is an obvious conclusion to make regarding a poet who was referred to as "the Lady of Cambridge," who in his youth had a friendship that was platonically homoerotic at the least, and who, later in life, sat to dictate his poem claiming that he needed to be "milked."[227] But it is nonetheless one that Milton studies has been slow to make, despite ample evidence in *Paradise Lost* that the poet both fantasized and feared a non-gender-binary wholeness.[228]

* * *

In *Powers of Horror*, Kristeva writes that "all literature is probably a version of the

[227] The first and last of these claims are cited *ibid,* 62. Writing on earlier scholars' speculations about the homoerotics of Milton's relationship with Charles Diodati, John Rumrich first quotes Christopher Hill's biography of Milton. Rumrich writes: "'Milton clearly adored [Charles Diodati] more than he ever adored any human being except possibly his second wife.' That 'possibly' is needed" (John P. Rumrich, "The Erotic Milton," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 41.2 [1999]: 128–41, 130). Rumrich likens the conversations between Raphael, the physician-angel, to the conversations between Milton and the physician Diodati as Milton describes them in "The eroticism is […] mediated in terms of a sharp, as if physical, appetite for mutual intellectual sustenance – 'feasts of reason,' as the editor of The Complete Prose Works suggests (1:336), thereby obliquely invoking Plato's Symposium, both its setting and Socrates's mythological account of eros as the child of Need and Resource - or Penury and Plenty as Milton would have it. Thus allegorized, eros bears the character of an endlessly inventive wanting, akin to hunger." (Rumrich, 132) "The Diodati-like Raphael converses with Adam over lunch, in a desultory manner reminiscent of Plato's *Symposium* or *Phaedrus*, and the enraptured Adam, like Milton, finds his appetite for such rational feasting to be insatiate" (8.210-16, Rumrich, 135).

[228] That this field of scholarship is growing is perhaps signaled by "Queer Milton," a special issue of *Early Modern Culture: An Electronic Seminar*, ed. Will Stockton and David L. Orvis, (2014), which was awarded the Milton Society of America's Irene Samuel Award for a distinguished multiauthor collection. The most obvious example of this fantasy and fear is perhaps Milton's miraculous angels, who "when they please / Can either sex assume, or both" (1.423–24). This flexibility is also a consummation devoutly to be wished by Adam in his post-lapsarian and misogynistic complaint:

> [...] O why did God,
> Creator wise, that peopl'd highest Heav'n
> With Spirits Masculine, create at last
> This novelty on Earth, this fair defect
> Of Nature, and not fill the World at once
> With Men as Angels without Feminine,
> Or find some other way to generate
> Mankind?
> (10.888–93)

The phrase "as Angels" introduces a profound ambiguity about Adam's aims. He is suggesting that he desires to be able to assume either sex, but out of desire to exorcise femininity from the world or to be capable of it himself? The preposition "without" also seems ambiguous: it which could mean either "exclusive of" (i.e. there are no feminine angels) or "ostensibly" (i.e. the angels look feminine on the outside).

apocalypse that seems to me rooted […] on the fragile border […] where identities (subject/object, etc.) do not exist or only barely so" (207). Milton, poet of the end of things—if not the apocalypse, or even the millennium, then at least the end of a dream of a commonwealth, the end of Paradise[229]—was not included in her study of Joyce, Dostoyevsky, Proust, etc. But perhaps Milton has been more postmodern than heretofore acknowledged. The time of his epic is the time of the abject: as Kristeva writes, "double: a time of oblivion and thunder, of veiled infinity and the moment when revelation bursts forth" (9). It is an epic that calls attention to what is beyond the permissible limits of erotic experience, to the abject that always exists, always threatens to indulge in an instantaneous feast on the subject who both fears and desires it.

[229] For articles on this theme, see Cummins, ed., *Milton and the Ends of Time.*

CODA: DOMESTIC EVE, DOMESTIC ADAM

> The whore does not sell her body. She sells her time. So she has time that is not for sale, that belongs to no one but herself. Domesticated women don't dare put a price on their time. They wind up with no demarcation between business and pleasure, public and private, so they have no time and space of their own.
>
> -Pat Califia, *Macho Sluts: Erotic Fiction*

Throughout my final chapter, I have been demonstrating that timekeeping in the monist Milton's poetry tends toward a paradoxical plural union of gender: it proposes to unify characters' gender identities, male or female, at least as much as it works to divide them.[230] As I wrote in my introduction, this is the story of erotic timekeeping as a whole, which is a plural mode of temporality that can appear in many different guises and go under one name without losing its texture. This project has meant not only to advance the argument that this erotics of timekeeping exists more broadly in early modernity, but also to render that eroticism's variety through considerations of different works. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, the time of academic schedules is imbued with pederastic and sadistic desire, which the play expresses a wish to move away from them even as it demonstrates those desires' persistence. In *The Roaring Girl*, erotic time figures a relational and communal theatrical promise, an alternative to the potential solipsism of autoeroticism and a lens through which the exclusionary consequences of biological essentialism can be made visible. Donne's *Anniversaries*, *Sermons*, and *Devotions* mobilize the appeal of the clock's invisible operations, paradoxically, as a religious salve to the

[230] Pat Califia, *Macho Sluts: Erotic Fiction* (Boston: Alyson Publications, 1988), 20.

sadomasochistic tendencies of empiricism, and Milton's works convey his revulsion toward the clock, opening up an exploration into the profound ambivalence surrounding not just sexual difference, but also independence and individuation. Each of these authors finds something quite different erotic about timekeeping, and each orients himself differently toward that erotic feeling. For them, timekeeping and its companion eroticism are, respectfully, reminders of a shameful past, means of fuller intimacy in the moment, promises of a glorious future, and a specters of division's erasure.

In closing, I want to consider—via primarily the tendency toward union in Milton's works, a tendency this dissertation itself demonstrates through the its use of erotic timekeeping as an umbrella term—that early modern erotic timekeeping has a great deal to say to modern theorizations of time and gender like Pat Califia's above. I suspect that no one yet has proposed a transhistorical dialogue in which Califia and Milton would say to one another, "With thee conversing I forget all time," as does Milton's Eve to his Adam (4.639). But as I have hoped to suggest, Milton may have more affinities with a transgendered author of erotic fictions than has heretofore been recognized.

Califia's statement turns heads because it inverts a classic dichotomous hierarchy when it elevates "whores" over "domestic women." Although domestic women are typically seen as more enfranchised, Califia depicts the opposite as the case. Precisely through selling their time, whores, unlike domestic women, retain, Califia implies, some "time and space of their own." Califia's formulation also surprises because it refutes a commonplace about prostitution—that women sell their bodies. And it does so not by continuing to make recourse to the body—*e.g.* by saying that instead of selling their bodies they choose to use them—but by swapping the bodily measure for a temporal one. Short of lopping off arms and legs, Califia suggests, one cannot

literally sell one's body, but one can sell one's time.

The interchangeability of bodies and time on which Califia draws has a long history that stretches through early modernity, as my discussions of the body/clock similitude throughout this dissertation's authors' works have suggested, and so Califia's move to swap the two would likely have seemed familiar to early moderns. Califia's whore/domestic woman dichotomy may also have been recognizable, as it resembles the distinction between whores and wives. However, Califia's assertion also makes a number of assumptions that the authors in this study do not necessarily make. Among these are the other binary pairs Califia introduces: business and pleasure, public and private.

While the similitude I have traced—the likeness between the timekeeping device and the body—embodied time before even the earliest works here studied, the equivalence between time and money instead of time and the body seemingly did not become proverbial until the Jacobean period, during the years of *The Roaring Girl* and the *Anniversaries*. Tilley's *Dictionary of Proverbs* first cites the equation coming from the pen of Francis Bacon in 1612, "[…] time is the measure of business, as money is of wares," though Tilley also cites the more direct formulation, "Remember that time is money," coming from Ben Franklin not until more than a hundred years later, in 1748.[231] I have therefore treated the "whore/domestic," "business/pleasure," and "public/private" dichotomies that structure Califia's logic of being able to "sell," or to have one's "own," time, as products of capitalism that largely post-date the works I study here.

Ending with Milton, who was writing after Bacon's formulation, offers me the opportunity to address briefly some of the bigger questions of Western history, specifically of the pre-history of capitalism that Karl Marx and scholars like Richard Halpern see in the early modern period: is there a chronological development to the erotics of timekeeping throughout

[231] Tilley, *Dictionary of Proverbs,* 670.

early modernity? Does the clock become, for instance, progressively less sexy, as *Tristam Shandy*'s *coitus interruptus* might imply, as the period transpires? And if so, is that development necessarily tied to the development of a capitalist logic? Certainly this would be a pat narrative. But structuring this project as an answer to this question might ascribe inevitability to what was actually tentative and malleable, up for debate. It might also oversimply complex transitional processes, where residual timekeeping systems and attitudes toward them exist alongside emergent ones for centuries. Worse, it might run the risk of flattening the erotic mode of timekeeping, misconstruing it as lacking its own its fullness, liveliness, nimbleness. In actuality this mode of timekeeping is not, as Moll and other of the characters and authors addressed here have demonstrated, necessarily tied to the clock.

Paradise Lost post-dates Bacon's formulation and certainly concerns itself with division of labor. "Let us divide our labors" Eve says to Adam before she falls (9.214), because, she says, their "looks" and "smiles" and "casual discourse" when they work together render their "day's work brought to little, though / Begun early, and th' hour of Supper comes unearn'd" (9.222–25). What this request makes clear is the erotic's powerful tendency to overgrow the productive: "work" in the garden is easily eclipsed, or ignored, in favor of their exchanges with a lover, the preferred pastime. Whereas Califia's statement assumes that women's lack of ownership is a problem to be remedied, and one that can be remedied by harnessing the erotic within a system of time's private ownership, Eve's statement suggests that the erotic is not so easily subjugated to such systems, that it is indeed profoundly nimble. Instead, it points to a different source problem than the problem of dispossession.

At some moments in the epic, it might be easy to think of Milton's Eve as exemplifying Califia's domestic woman, whose predicament is that she freely gives away her time—as she

does when, naked, she "[m]inister'd" the table of Raphael and Adam (5.444)—and so, in Califia's words "has no time and space of her own." However, when Eve tries to make time and space for herself by suggesting this division of labor, saying she wants to work for her supper, make her hours pay off, free herself from the leisurely, flirtatious exchange with Adam, she more resembles the whore in Califia's vision, trying to own time by commoditizing it. She tries to divide her labor from Adam's to make her time into currency, into something she can use to show that she has "earned" a dinner of her own. In so doing, she even suggests to Adam what tasks he might do when they are apart—"wind / the Woodbine round this Arbor, or direct / The clasping ivy where to climb, while I / In yonder Spring of Roses intermixt / With Myrtle, find what to redress till Noon" (9.215–19)—and Milton's diction in her description of these tasks conveys the pause he thinks the reader ought take at the notion of Adam and Eve's separation. All in the garden tends toward union: the roses are "intermixt," and the tasks Eve recommends involve joining plants together with guiding surfaces. Dividing man from woman is dividing what, like the plants, tends toward union. This division is the problem moreso than is the lack of ownership that takes individuation and division for granted: one cannot own something oneself without a distinct boundary between self and other, self and world.

The poem uses the tendency toward union in Eden to suggest, therefore, that the dilemma Califia outlines is not relegated to domestic womanhood, but is also at stake for he whom the poet, after Eve's request to work alone, calls "domestic Adam" (9.318). As Elisabeth Liebert has argued, the difference between Adam and Eve, and the separation of their problems, is far from clear-cut in the epic: "The paradox that *Paradise Lost* explores is the infinitesimal degree of hierarchical difference between husband and wife, the paradigm a balance of authority and

submission that honors and maintains that difference."[232] Given this infinitesimal difference, restraining the erotic within a system of exchange is a problem almost equally for both, as is the individuation that makes one into two.

As the end of *Paradise Lost* suggests when Adam and Eve "hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow, / Through Eden took thir solitary way," the problem is not the time or space that any individual has lost (12.648–49). Repentant Adam and Eve take "thir solitary way": the plural pronoun yoked to the singular adjective suggesting that they begin to repair the schisms of division, that they begin to see the path they will travel without others as shared by both of them. Rather than the work-time Eve wants when she suggests division of labor, post-lapsarian, repented Adam and Eve now set out in a slow time: to wander, to experience rather than to achieve, to explore rather than to conquer. They set out in a time that seeks to re-make space for the "casual discourse" their division of work left behind, to discover a time when one—both male and female—is capable of a "paradise within happier far" (12.587), when both she and he can carry the fullness of time inside their wombs. The problem, *Paradise Lost* suggests, is the very desire to have time and space of one's own.

Like the other works in this project, then, and in the face of Califia's provocation, what *Paradise Lost* offers is a dalliance, an erotic temporal mode, that might be worth recovering in the midst of rigid, alienated, objectified modes of timekeeping that prevail today. To have their own paradise within, Adam and Eve must mark time within and with feeling. As the lines of the poem avoid the crude end-payoff of rhyme and instead contain within them a rhythmic "delight," so does the experience of reading the works I have studied here frustrate the closure offered by pat narrative and offer something with its own provocative pleasures.

[232] "Domestic Adam" *Milton Studies* 53 (2012): 41-67, 43.

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