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We thank our reviewers

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EDITOR'S MESSAGE

Welcome to Vol. 3 issue 2 of *English Studies at NBU*.



We published three, seemingly unrelated works. However, there is this fine thread connecting John Milton and his revolutionary thought, the Anglophone African poet, Tanure Ojaide, who engaged in themes of political and environmental degradation, and a review of a collection of essays that look at how Englishness and ‘foreignness’ are entwined in a global world to define that English literature “has successfully itinerated from English literature to literatures in English”.

I wish you good reading.

On a more different note are the features we introduced in 2017.

ORCID iDs for name disambiguation is fast catching on among our authors. You can find out more and register for an ORCID iD at <https://orcid.org>.

We keep acknowledging our reviewers’ efforts on Publons.com. You can see our journal page on Publons here <https://publons.com/journal/34145/english-studies-at-nbu>.

Publishing the References in the abstract web page of each paper is ensuring greater visibility of the journal.

More reviewers now opt in for disclosing their names, which, we hope will invite discussion and post-publication reviews both on the web site and in the form of scholarly responses to already published articles.

As always, you are welcome to send us your comments or contact the authors or the editors for further dialogue. We look forward to getting feedback from you, and continue to welcome submissions for our upcoming issues. You can find out more about submitting a paper to ESNBU at our web site.

We keep posting news, updates and useful resources in the News section on the web site <http://www.esnbu.org>, so come back soon.

Finally, I would like to thank our authors, old and new reviewers and the entire editorial team for their help and support in the preparation of this issue.

Kind regards,

Stan Bogdanov, Managing Editor

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Call for submissions

English Studies at NBU invites contributions for Volume 4, 2018. Manuscripts are accepted in English. Translations of published articles are generally not accepted.

The Editors are open to suggestions for special issues of ESNBU devoted to particular topics. Recommendations for such issues may be forwarded to the Editors.

Subjects covered by this journal

Language & Linguistics; Language & Literature; Language & Communication; Literature & Culture; History & Cultural Studies; Language Learning & Teaching; Translation & Interpreting Studies; Creative Writing & Art History

Submissions

Please email your submissions to englishstudies@nbu.bg.

For more information on how to submit, please visit our *Submissions* page at <http://esnbu.org>.

Before submission, please also consult the *EASE Guidelines for Authors and Translators of Scientific Articles to be Published in English*, freely available in many languages at www.ease.org.uk/publications/author-guidelines. Adherence should increase the chances of acceptance of submitted manuscripts.

Submission of the manuscript represents that the manuscript has not been published previously, is not considered for publication elsewhere and will not be submitted elsewhere unless it is rejected or withdrawn.

Manuscripts written by authors whose mother language is not English should be checked by a native speaker or a professional language editing service before submission. Manuscripts submitted in poor English will be returned without review.

Every research manuscript submitted for publication to ESNBU is checked for plagiarism, duplicate publication and text recycling after submission and before being sent for initial editor screening and double-blind peer review. By submitting your manuscript to ESNBU you are agreeing to any necessary originality, duplicate publication and text recycling checks your manuscript may have to undergo during the peer-review and production processes.

TOLERANCE OR A WAR ON SHADOWS: JOHN MILTON'S PARADISE LOST, THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR, AND THE KALEIDOSCOPIIC EARLY MODERN FRONTIER

Tadd Graham Fernée
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Abstract

This article comprises two sections. The first analyses John Milton's *Paradise Lost* in terms of the frontier dividing Providence and Chaos. Chaos is represented in violent images of the colonial world, the English Civil War, and Scientific Revolution cosmology. Providence intends to justify the ways of God in history. Milton's retelling of the traditional Biblical Fall allegorises the 17th century Scientific Revolution, English society overwhelmed by market forces, and early modern nation-building wars. The second section analyses the English Civil War, focusing on Providence and Natural Rights. The Natural Rights defence of pluralism was the work of political refugees, attempting to curtail atrocities done in the name of Providence. Providence, meanwhile, was a political weapon, amidst new forces of capitalism, dynastic rivalry, and nationalism. This article examines Milton's poetic visions, and the institutions and actions that characterized his political life in the English Revolution, and their interconnection.

Key words: John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, English Civil War, Scientific Revolution, colonialism, religious wars, state building, Natural Rights, Providence, secularism, revolution.

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Providence and Chaos

John Milton (1608-1674) was chief propagandist during the English Civil War. He rode from triumph to defeat, with the heroic perseverance that characterized his lifelong belief in liberty (“he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself”), and struggle to know God’s ways in dealing with men, i.e. Providence (Milton, 2017, p. 6). *Paradise Lost* (1667) concerned “Eternal Providence”, intended to “justify the ways of God to men”, or the problem of theodicy (Milton, 2003, p. 3). By 1652, a tragic year, Milton went entirely blind. His wife died giving birth to his daughter, and his son died one month later. His wartime enemies declared this Divine Judgment, the work of Providence. The English Civil War (1642-1651), raging for nearly one decade, had recently ended. Charles I had been decapitated in 1649, a regicide that horrified Europe, but which Milton applauded as Providence. In the year of Oliver Cromwell’s (1599-1658) death, 1658, the fifty-year-old Milton started to write *Paradise Lost* completely blind. He completed it in 1663, writing it in hiding, after the 1660 royal Restoration, and in prison, threatened with being hung, drawn, and quartered, as the hangman publicly burned his seditious books. *Paradise Lost* was published, in 1667, one year after the Great Fire of London gutted the medieval City inside the old Roman city wall. Its deeply conflicted visions provide a unique window into those decades of monumental trial and error, of theocratic tyranny, parliamentary government, and military dictatorship (Jenkins, p. 151). A kaleidoscopic and polyvocal text, it problematizes the troubled 17th century reality-fiction boundary through the Providence-Chaos optic.

Born a scrivener’s son in Cheapside, London, in 1608, and educated at Cambridge, Milton committed mid-life to revolutionary Commonwealth politics, and was arrested during the Restoration. His experience of chaos, conflict, and revolution certainly informed *Paradise Lost*, whose central thematic is the decaying frontier dividing Providence and Chaos, or the inside/outside dynamic of invasion. The materialist universe of disorder and time invades the monotheist universe of eternity, which is lost. Thus, “exile has emptied heaven” (Milton, 2003, p. 19). His image of the “frame of Heaven falling” depicts the double collision of 17th century materialism, with interrelated epistemic and ethical aspects (Milton, 2003, p. 48). Despite Eve’s “gentle dreams”, in Book XII, with exile from Paradise eased by the Angel’s salvation prophecy, the historical-temporal promise of Providence is not sustained. The doubtful shadow

thrown by Chaos reveals Greek Atomist and Lucretian impact: "By convention coloured, by convention sweet, by convention bitter", but "only atoms and the void" (Bakewell, p.33). Milton's violent and alienated life fostered speculation, however reluctant, that Providence might be only convention, like colour or sweetness, and reality something quite other. In the secret imaginative background of *Paradise Lost*, this disturbs the fiction-reality boundary.

This scepticism is exposed, for instance, in moments of dialogue about God: "Whatever his wrath, which he calls justice." (Milton, 2003, p. 43). Is justice, then, merely a word, disguising a biased perspective? In this way, *Paradise Lost* is Kafkaesque. It depicts a trial, in which one lives for the struggle in everyday time, but larger metaphysical stakes are enslaved by perspective. Such scepticism is attributed to villains. They likely embody Milton's subverted feelings. As the author, Milton aspired passionately to believe in the transcendental unity of universal justice, "this universal frame" (Milton, 2003, p. 105).

Yet the "fixed laws of Heaven" are porous (Milton, 2003, p. 25). Milton's forbidden fruit of Eden symbolizes, beyond a mere pledge of obedience, a forbidden gateway to unknown knowledge and experience. Epistemologically, one may "attain to speech and reason", "till then void of both" (Milton, 2003, p. 185). Ethically, with the "veil" of "innocence" removed, their "minds are darkened" with "knowing ill" (Milton, 2003, p. 212). Satan's "thirst for knowledge", entailing death, initiates the transgressive act at the centre of *Paradise Lost* (Milton, 2003, pp. 167/169). Following the war in Heaven, and Satan's exile, Hell's divinely sealed prison explodes from within, splattering, to invade the New World of Man. It uses a "highway or bridge" built across the wasteland of Chaos (Milton, 2003, p. 217). Chaos is the "womb of Nature and perhaps her grave", filled with "pregnant causes mixed confusedly", and ever creating "more worlds" randomly (Milton, 2003, p. 48). The forbidden gate is "made of massy iron" or "solid rock", it can be opened – like Pandora's box - but not shut (Milton, 2003, p. 47). A small act of discovery has irreversibly world altering consequences, as when "the glass of Galileo" observes "regions in the moon" (Milton, 2003, p. 108).

This strange retelling of the traditional Biblical Fall – almost a prequel – evokes an allegory of the 17th century Scientific Revolution. It makes Chaos a border, or liminal

state, with this-worldly significance, and a recurrent “surging maze” (Milton, 2003, pp. 117/198/239/). Chaos is represented in violent images of the colonial world (“Europe with Asia joined”) and the English Civil War (“mangled and ghastly wounds”), and the cosmology of the Scientific Revolution (Milton, 2003, pp. 135/226). The border is fluid, a “watery labyrinth”, a “flood of deadly hate”, the “river of oblivion”, where “former state and being forgets”, and “armies whole have sunk” in “revolutions” that “feel by turns the bitter change” (Milton, 2003, p. 39). The social origin of the unsettled fiction-reality frontier is thus revealed.

We can recognize, in these images, the border of the early modern state-market matrix, rupturing the dynastic order of traditional cosmologies. From a localized horizon, where divinely ordained hierarchy was fixed, a global flux dynamic pervades experience, where the circle of moral consideration – and the very meaning of Man – must be radically re-evaluated. Milton therefore asks: “hath Man his fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none?” (Milton, 2003, p. 70). In the New World of market materialism, value is invested in commodities – “cedar, pine, and fir” – in a “nether empire”, which forgets that “God alone” can “value right the good before him” (Milton, 2003, pp. 77/79). It is a world “by centre, or eccentric, hard to tell” (Milton, 2003, pp. 67). Milton broaches the fundamental ontological question of value, anxiously crossing secular borders, which undermine the fiction-reality paradigm of post-Tudor England.

What are these fiery borders? Epistemically, unbridled medieval rationalism (the metaphysical “nature of things”) collides with the 17th century empirical revolt, favouring antecedents and consequences (history, causality, and time). Ethically, the swansong of Theodicy collides with the consequentialist ethics of the Scientific Revolution. For Milton – an amateur theologian, who called for revolution from below, against royal oppressors using the messianic fervour of Biblical prophecy – was deeply disappointed by the dark consequences of Cromwell’s failed divine mission. The disillusioning experience of “growing into a nation” plagued Milton with moral and existential questions about the “perverted world” (Milton, 2003, pp. 275/285). The English Revolution portended the levelling spirit of the modern age (organized underclass parties, demands for a constitution), despite the Cromwellian bid to restore a preordained order, i.e. “freedom by God’s blessing restored”, inscribed on the seal of 1651 (Arendt, p. 43). Milton unwittingly participated in the first modern revolution, the

template for centuries of upheaval, as in the 1640s English popular ballad, "A World Turned Upside Down" (Hill, 1991, p. 44).

Superficially, in *Paradise Lost*, Milton accepted Saint Augustine's argument that ethics is systemic prohibition (Augustine, p. 402). If ethics is obedience to divine will, good means simply what God approves. Yet the undermining of Providence by Chaos makes divine approval manifestly arbitrary. Of the multiple interpretations of divine will, for which so many were suffering and dying, who was right? This question, of the sacred and violence, figured centrally in destabilizing the fiction-reality frontier for Milton's generation of Stuart Period upstarts.

Milton was an early Enlightenment figure, an English radical, in days of religious and political ferment, who publicly reasoned to defend divorce, progressive education, regicide, and the revolutionary Commonwealth. He exemplified early modern citizen activism. Milton's *Areopagitica* was a monument to the free speech ideal. But Milton did not uphold the autonomy of reason. This reflects his vacillation between two dominant 17th century ways of defining the troubling Providence-Chaos boundary, i.e. renegotiating the reality-fiction optic, between modern scientific epistemology and dogmatic religious backlash.

Examples from *Paradise Lost* illustrate this ambiguity. When Milton urged, "answer thy desire Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abstain to ask", this compares plausibly to the 17th century Lockean anti-metaphysical principle (Milton, 2003, 274/153). John Locke's (1632-1704) proto-Enlightenment call urged avoidance of intellectual plunges "into the vast Ocean of *Being*" (Locke, 1997, p. 6). This invested the Providence-Chaos boundary with secular significance. Nobody knows with certainty who God is, and, thus, we should tolerate one another's conflicting views. We cannot, as mortals, differentiate reality from fiction at that level. Breaking with the Platonic absolute in Western tradition, it denied the right to "punish" (Locke, 2005, p. 135). An epistemic argument, it sought to curtail the contagion of political violence spawned from religious difference.

However, Milton held that blasphemy incurs a "fatal curse" upon "nations" (Milton, 2003, p. 274). This ethical argument reconnects politics and the eternal reality-

fiction boundary. From this perspective, Milton's same injunction compares to Locke's arch-rival, Robert Filmer (1588-1653), a Civil War royalist propagandist. He articulated an absolutist model of authority based on the Great Chain of Being, opposing the pure religious truth to the scourge of modern ideas: "a natural freedom of mankind cannot be supposed without the denial of the creation of Adam" (Wooten, p. 98). Freedom of thought implies the risk of sacrilege, and therefore should be repressed. Milton reproduces this view, hostile to modern secular knowledge, in an argument for divine omnipotence: "be lowly wise: Think only what concerns thee and thy being; Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there live" (Milton, 2003, p. 171). Other worlds might include marine biology, or life in outer space. It simply means, do not seek the secrets of nature through scientific enquiry.

This ambiguous fault line, in the polyvocal and kaleidoscopic structure of *Paradise Lost*, indicates how deeply Milton exemplifies the cultural split personality that Paul Hazard has named the 17th century "crisis of European consciousness" (Hazard, pp. 225-237). In Milton's case, the antinomy concerns human freedom of action, including scientific discovery, and the rights of God, as two possible but incommensurable ideals of human freedom. The political agent, according to the rights of God, must act upon the assumption of having full knowledge of God's will, and impose it as reality. By contrast, in the Lockean view, that full knowledge is a fiction, and reality is bounded by the parochial limits of human experience. This view does not deny God or the angels, of which Locke was a believer. It merely holds that human wars of religion are propelled by presumptuous ignorance, and not knowledge. They are wars on shadows, where fictions are tragically taken for reality.

Here, the war on shadows is reflected in Milton's writings. It is exemplified in the "red right hand", "exhorting glorious war" (Milton, 2003, p. 29). The politically objective issue of representation – i.e. institutional forms, power distribution – is linked to a second, existentially deeper – and internally conflicting – "ontological" problem of authenticity, or the enduring substance of religious identity in changing Stuart society. This crisis of inner experience is transferred to the public realm, epitomized in William Prynne's (1600-1669) attack on the 'unreality' of the theatre. Its fictions, he held, undermine authentic religious identity, through multiple falsely constructed selves, and delegitimize political authority (Agnew, p. 102). Prynne depicted theatre much as

Milton depicts Chaos: pluralism as a destabilizing threat to unified social order. Although a problem of the soul, or the hidden world of inner conscience, these issues point to the “foundation” crisis in early modernity, or the search for a new principle of authority, to secure lasting institutions amidst disorder. A political struggle explodes over the “true” meaning of inherited tradition in the English Revolution.

For the 17th century sceptic Pierre Bayle (1647-1706), a nation of atheists could live happily, and make morally right choices (Lilla, p. 125). Ethics are, by this account, social. Choice, for Milton, by contrast, concerned the reality of divine justice in the afterlife. He held that “what obeys reason is free”, and “reason is choice”, not chance (Milton, 2003, pp. 194/55). This was a pre-Hobbesian – and pre-modern - free will and rationality, centring the self-mastery of worldly and unbidden desires: hunger, lust, mood, illness, fear, impulses to conformity. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) – another English Civil War survivor, and author of the founding modern political text, *Leviathan* (1651) - believed that only quantifiable physical reality, i.e. matter, was at stake in political change, and mechanical solutions the only viable ones. Milton’s depiction of Chaos as the “illimitable ocean” of hyperactive atoms, where one might, nonetheless, undertake a “wandering quest” for “concurring signs”, suggests his inner struggle between prophetic imaginings, and Hobbesian free will as coincidentally colliding atoms (Milton, 2003, pp. 45-47). Milton wanders in the valley between Augustine and Hobbes, either the decaying earthly city, whose end-time is in eternity, and new secular belief in institutions, subject to birth, growth, and revolution, i.e. the natural law of reason, conscience, and history (Berman, p. 109).

At the Augustine-Hobbes crossroad, Providence and Chaos collide like a two-headed man strangling himself. Is ethics a social and imaginative creation, conditioned by spatio-temporal contingencies of physical environment? This question – in some form - could not but have crossed Milton’s mind, given the contemporary intellectual climate. He wrote: “Can hearts not free, be tried” (Milton, 2003, p. 115). This rings with doubt about the justice of Judgment Day. In Chaos, “chance, not choice, is the highest arbiter that governs all” (Milton, 2003, p. 47). Hell, the New World, and Man are “built” from “Chaos”, in an “eternal empire” (Milton, 2003, p. 152). It is “embryon atoms”, which “swarm populous”, “unnumbered as the sands”, in the “eternal anarchy” of “endless wars” and “confusion” (Milton, 2003, p. 47). Unlike the traditional view, where

Chaos was used up in Creation, for Milton, it continues to exist, ontologically challenging divine order (Milton, 2003, p. xviii).

This Chaos thematic is therefore a destabilizing force in Milton's universe. When Chaos permits Satan to invade the New World of Man, God's reflections upon this transgression, i.e. the Fall, render divine speech incoherent. God's most memorable passages in *Paradise Lost* betray an anxiety for self-acquittal. Accused of wicked ways, the speaker lapses into incoherence. This is the ultimate sense in which *Paradise Lost* is a Kafkaesque trial. In Milton's account, God allows Chaos to seep unseen into his discourse on "necessity", and thereby refutes both his own theodicy and omnipotence (Milton, 2003, pp. xxix/56). This was, of course, Milton's oversight. It comes dangerously close to suggesting that the traditional qualities attributed to God, as the "Author and end of all things", are untenable falsehoods (Milton, 2003, p. 165).

The dissociative fissure in *Paradise Lost* therefore widens. Milton harboured a vividly imagined millennial religious passion, in tension with his secularly conceived social reforms based on rational criticism. Despite boasting of a left hand which wrote prose, and a right hand for poetry, suggesting complementarity between reason and religious vision, the riveting tensions of *Paradise Lost* rest upon an absence of reconciliation. The "Eternal Providence", or endeavour to "justify the ways of God to men", the moral centre of *Paradise Lost*, was partly one Englishman's tortured confession (Milton, 2003, p. 3). This single road of Providence, the medieval ideal of a cosmically coherent opposite to chaos, in which "God's timeless perception and knowledge is made apparent to us as foreknowledge", is unknowable "from within time" (Pocock, p. 40). It is the modern experience of Machiavellian time - "citizenship and the risks of action in time", against "unchanging hierarchy" - that haunts *Paradise Lost* (Pocock, p. 66).

The uncertainty in applying Providence in the organized Puritan movement for political change, rather than preserving a static dynastic hierarchy, was resolved hermeneutically, with reference to progressive revelation, by which "the pulling down of the Bishops", "change of government, whatever it was - any of those things hath a remarkable point of providence set upon it, that he that runs may read" (Cromwell, p. 10-11). The image of "running" affirms the moment of pure action, or experiential

immediacy, i.e. the citizen activist, as deciding a transcendental meaning. From this precept, a Divine Will was to produce law, based on the interpretation of “signs” among “the elect”, and the sheer process itself became law, in an ontologically conceived voluntarist idea of the historical dynamic. Milton argued, in 1644, that truth consists in the “all concurrence of signs”, by which “God is decreeing to begin some new and great period” (Milton, 2017, p. 177).

The submerged autobiographical, i.e. temporal, current in *Paradise Lost* threatens the clearly ordered borders of Milton’s very identity as an Idea (Christian, English, centred), dissolved by the hidden and irrational states of a chaotic material unconscious (social breakdown, the earth, centreless). The traditional ideal of perfect Knowledge, a Platonic legacy, was harnessed to Providence as a political weapon amidst “the new secular forces” of “capitalism, dynastic rivalry, nationalism, and state sovereignty” (Dunn, pp. 11-12). *Paradise Lost* is shot through with the self-destructive tensions which subvert justification of these Machiavellian experiences in the traditional religious terms of a transcendental moral meaning.

Milton’s inadvertent confession of inner doubt emerges through the figure of Chaos. The poem’s underworld characters embody collapsing inside/outside conventions: “Spirits” can “either sex assume, or both” (Milton, 2003, p. 13). Only God in Heaven is pure and unmixed, but the Justice of Divine Will fails to prevail in conflicting modern nation making. While “God is proclaiming peace”, men “live in hatred, enmity, and strife”, and “levy cruel wars”, while “wasting the earth, and each other to destroy” (Milton, 2003, p. 37). The same holds for nature: “Chance rules all”, in a “wild abyss”, “without dimension, where length, breadth, and height”, “and time and place are lost” (Milton, 2003, p. 47).

Like an infectious abscess, the Chaos thematic is introduced in book II as “the eldest of things”, “chance”, a “darksome desert” pervading God’s “spacious empire up to light”. At the centre of *Paradise Lost* is a cosmic inversion of light and dark. By the time of its publication, the invention of the telescope had destroyed the traditional belief in celestial light, and turned the luminous heavens into the darkness of outer space. Milton alternately depicts the universe as light and dark, never resolving the contradiction (Milton, 2003, p. xxi). Occasionally he depicts darkness – traditionally - as a local

phenomenon, the “shadow of the earth”. At other times, Milton follows the modern Scientific Revolutionary cosmology, and day is a local phenomenon, where “total darkness should by night reign” (Milton, 2003, p. 91). Milton yields to the night of modern cosmology, even envisioning the possibility of infinite instances of alien life on unlimited planets. Among “innumerable stars”, there are “other worlds” (Milton, 2003, p. 67). Milton remotely approaches the recognition that human meaning is local and temporary. Unwittingly, he places the traditional anthropic principle in doubt, that the universe was waiting for human life to appear. It might be incidental, within an infinity of universes which follow varying laws of nature. Each “star” might be “other suns perhaps”, “with their attendant moons” (Milton, 2003, p. 171).

The dynamic Chaos metaphor – at once person and place, good and evil, submissive and subversive, a “formless infinite” - unravels repressed conflicts and liberates imaginative powers (Milton, 2003, p. 53). Without synthesis, it pluralizes the intended unitary truth of Milton’s Theodicy. His truth concept is complicated and various, mired in disturbing relativity, where “Heaven resembles Hell” (Milton, 2003, p. 31). Opposites collapse into one another dialectically, as logical antinomies. *Paradise Lost* tacitly – perhaps unwillingly? - anticipates the modern 18th century Kantian “antinomies”, slayers of the medieval dialectic, notably, determinism and free will (Kant, p. 405). Yet for Milton it spelled desolation, a sense of worldlessness, like the unity of God and Man might be fracturing, against the ever-changing cosmic hypotheses of modern science, or, worse, the New Jerusalem of his hopes might border on a dream.

Paradise Lost therefore belongs to the literature of exile. Thematically, it compares to Ovid’s (43 BC – 17 AD) poems of exile, which recount the spiritual pain of his exile from the Roman Empire. Ovid evokes exile in terms of the following horizon:

“a scatter of names in all but unknown waste: beyond that, nothing but frozen, uninhabitable tundra – alas, how close I stand to the world’s end! Remote from my homeland ... I can’t make physical contact with [loved ones], must imagine their presence.” (Ovid, p. 48)

Real people are reduced to mere names, in world of unintelligible disorder. One can neither live there biologically, nor feel at home spiritually. The loved one, retrievable only through the inner dream world, fragile like a soap bubble, is principally defined by painful absence. Each aspect applies to *Paradise Lost*. It evokes a similar

horizon: "Beyond this flood a frozen continent Lies dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms" (Milton, 2004, p. 39). Yet Milton depicts it through a double purview: man's religious exile from God, and Satan's quest for knowledge of the New World: "Let us bend all our thoughts, to learn what creatures there inhabit" (Milton, 2003, p. 33).

At this time "all the vital ideas, those of property, liberty, and justice, were brought newly into question by way of what was far away" (Hazard, p. 21). Geographically, we see the onset of population flows, goods, and money, not only between nations, but entire continents, with the emerging North Atlantic slave triangle, indentured labour, the Transatlantic and Puritan migrations, and the administration of the British East India Company in Surat (1608). Early globalisation aimed at commercial empires. Buttressed by state and military intervention, colonies represented one authoritarian face of modern violence, experienced by the world's majority. It received frequent theoretical justification, contradicting Natural Rights, by major Western Enlightenment figures as 'universal' systems (Serequeberhan, p. 30). These, too, contained elements of a secularized theodicy, notably in Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831). By the 16th century, guns, steel, and germs had conquered the "New World" (Diamond, p. 40). Voltaire (1694-1778) later used the discovery of India's profound past to belittle the exclusive claims of Christianity, and the contradictory limits of the Mosaic historical narrative (Sharma, p. 10). Although after Milton's time, the grains of these disruptive tensions were already subtly bursting in the antinomies of *Paradise Lost*.

Satan's bid to overcome infernal exile, through war on God, and man's exile from God, allegorise the disorder of 17th century English society, its traditional hierarchic order overwhelmed by new market forces. Jean-Christophe Agnew has written: "In the century preceding the English Civil War, ..., Britons could be described as feeling their way around a problematic of exchange; that is to say, they were putting forward a repeated pattern of problems or questions about the nature of social identity, intentionality, accountability, transparency, and reciprocity in commodity transactions" (Agnew, p. 9). This new experience of the global market interacted with older existing institutional tendencies, in "the struggle between the secular and the religious regarding the source of legitimacy" (Greif, p. 149).

Why does Satan so much resemble the scientific and democratic spirit of the Enlightenment? This question, for the historian of ideas and the imagination, implies a perspectival kaleidoscope. In Milton's *Hell*, there are "millions that stand in arms", against the "prison of tyranny" (Milton, 2003, p. 26). They prefer "hard liberty before the easy yoke" (Milton, 2003, p. 31). Satan declares to God, "inexplicable thy justice seems" (Milton, 2003, p. 237). *Paradise Lost* is a world of "revolted multitudes", and "conquest", where "universal reproach is worse to bear than violence" (Milton, 2003, p. 126). It is a vision of colonialism, where "Columbus found the American so girt", "naked and wild", and "India east or west", in a "wilderness of sweets" (Milton, 2003, pp. 214/110/109). It is "rich Mexico the seat of Motezume" (Milton, 2003, p. 257). It is a world of "mazes intricate", "most irregular they seem", but where "the secrets of another world" are "not lawful to reveal" (Milton, 2003, 117). Knowledge intersects with power and politics. There is "one first matter, all" (Milton, 2003, 113). It is a world where "military obedience" rises against "Heavens awful monarch" (Milton, 2003, 98). The "earth" is merely "a spot, a grain, An atom, with the firmament compared And all her numbered stars, that seem to roll spaces incomprehensible" (Milton, 2003, 167).

In these ways, 17th century violence, instability, and social upheaval – but also newly discovered scientific, cosmic, and geographic horizons - seep through the porous boundaries of *Paradise Lost* as a text. It is a unique revolutionary document, testament to the deep anxieties of uncontrollable and violent social change, and imaginative masterpiece of the revolutionized early modern worldview. The great Theodicy staggers under the weight of what it seeks to encompass, throwing into doubt the paradigmatic fiction-reality boundaries of the post-Tudor social imaginary.

Religious Wars and Natural Rights: Providence and Exile

The English Revolution confronted the central Machiavellian problem of hegemony, or consent among an often-resistant population, within a centralizing regime newly established through traumatic political violence. Cromwell saw Providence at work behind the curtain of history, linking violence and the sacred to England's national destiny. He opposed Providence to betrayal. To see the king's trial in terms of worldly calculations made one "the greatest traitor in the world", since "providence and necessity had cast (us) upon it" (Wedgwood, p. 80). Cromwell allied himself with

believers in millennium. That Christ and the saints might reign on earth for a thousand years, he initiated the first phase of godly rule in 1653. Moral reform, he believed, would secure national order, and godly dictatorship would speed the process. These were the millennially charged political events that Milton witnessed, and which found their way, through subverted allegories, into *Paradise Lost*. Milton, later reflecting upon these times, wrote: "(why) proclaim these deeds done by the people", when they "bear witness everywhere to the presence of God? ... he was the leader and we followed ... his divine footsteps" (Milton, 1991, p. 52).

The enabling framework of mass national participation was, in contrast with law-based institutions, the coercive and dynamic power of the newly national military institution. Institutions produced new values, thought modes, and power redistribution in the English Revolution. The New Model Army, a parliamentary creation of 1645, was unique in operating on a nationwide basis, as a professional (rather than mercenary) army, based on merit rather than birth. The revolutionary Commonwealth bid for hegemony, however, was undermined by widespread fury at Parliamentary and military rule (Barnard, p. 67). At stake was the conjoined double conundrum: defining state power limits, and managing religious diversity within the self-defining early modern nation. This concerned practical ethics. Yet it had explosive consequences for identity, as thousands were forced anonymously into exile because of religious belonging. Practical ethics and religious identity became tragically confused, between liberty and authenticity.

The English Puritans were colourfully creative, hermeneutically re-rendering received religious tradition, "with a literary backing ... strengthened by a whole battery of pamphlets" (Ashley, p. 41). The central Reformation injunction, of basing authority on the Divine Word, instead of received tradition, inevitably opened a hermeneutical labyrinth of formlessness, within a minimalist framework. If the Puritans looked back, it was to a past so creatively conceived, it could only be the future or the moment. Thus, Milton, in the Puritan tradition, defended Galileo against the Inquisition, and speculated about an infinite universe in the intellectual company of Giordano Bruno, while articulating an early discourse of Natural Rights. Within the same Puritan tradition, we find Parliamentarian Robert Harley (1579-1656) smashing the stained-glass windows of Westminster Abbey and St Margaret's Church, and burning the embroidered alter cloth of Canterbury Cathedral, driven by an inquisitorial morality (Ashley, p. 19).

How can we explain such a contradiction? The Puritan revolt against monarchy was hermeneutics based, for they rejected Divine Right, with “little in the Scriptures to support it, and much to contradict it” (Wedgwood, p. 12). In sum, the wide latitude of possible interpretation testifies to human imaginative power in engaging given texts, but hermeneutics provides no secure foundation for the respect and freedom of the person. Hence, Milton faced the fundamental Enlightenment conundrum of secular institutions and practical ethics in complex societies. The social reality of Chaos ruptured the porous outlines of Providence.

The religious conflagrations that bloodily drenched Europe, in which Milton participated, are suspected of ultimately being cyclically futile, a local power struggle in an indifferent universe. *Paradise Lost* testifies to the “dynamic power” of “new secular forces” transforming “Western civilization”, as competing religions, harnessed in “the service of God”, entered “the last medieval crusade”, and “the first modern war between nation-states” (Dunn, pp. 11-12). The temptation to link political violence and the sacred was a tragic certainty, not least for a revolution’s chief propagandist. The ideology of religious mission, or Providence linked to military violence, importantly effected the ‘Puritan turn’ in English revolutionary politics. Milton argued, in 1644, his optimistic heyday of revolutionary enthusiasm, that “Truth” consists in the “all concurrence of signs,” by which “God is decreeing to begin some new and great period” (Milton, 2017, p. 36). This portended the mobilising role of revolutionary Puritan discourse, linking sacred truth and violence, through the successful New Model Army in 1645. A germinal moment flowered, interweaving popular movements and military institutions, as a modern revolutionary agency mode (Gonzalez, p. 12). It also exhibits the formless identity flux sustaining modern radical religious fundamentalist movements as a mass phenomenon.

In broadly outlining the Providential nation-making politics in Milton’s time, we better understand the *Paradise Lost* conundrum. Its general European background was the post-Reformation religious wars, the French Wars of Religion (1562-98), the Netherlands Revolt (1568-1648), Philip II’s global Spanish empire, and the Thirty Years War (1618-1648), which saw the German population reduced by half, with famine, disease, roaming packs of wolves, witch trials, and mass migrations to America (Gombrich, pp. 194-196). The 1684 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and Philip II’s

Inquisition, exemplified Providence as a national religious homogenization program. This political instrument aimed to eliminate religious pluralism, and thus resolve conflicting political obligation, through a policy of violence based on Divine Right. For Philip II, the Inquisition in Spain, the Netherlands, and Latin America, beyond faith, was “an instrument of political consolidation”. The Catholic clergy, as his political arm, provoked revolts, and wars, which “forcibly resettled 80,000 Morisco survivors in other provinces of Spain”. Their “silk industry was obliterated”, and the “last remnants of Arabic scholarship for which Spain had once been famous were also destroyed” (Rothermund, pp. 9-27).

In the English context, Milton invested utopian expectation – fired by a brilliant literary imagination – in a variant of this politics, tempered by Natural Rights convictions. The English Puritans represented “a minority’s imposition of doctrinal and moral Puritanism by law not only on conservative and royalist Anglicans, but on dissenting religious minorities” (Roberts, p. 284). Yet their brief period of political ascendancy also contained the doctrinal seeds of the West European Enlightenment, in Natural Rights. In this sense, Milton’s political career presents a puzzle quite as intractable as *Paradise Lost* itself. Providence grounded Cromwell’s understanding of political power, as he spoke of “strange providences” having placed “the forces of this nation ... into the hands of men of other principles”, or the elect (Cromwell, pp. 9-10). The concept of “the elect” explained the transfer of political authority from the traditional monarch to the republic, through transcendental agency superseding Divine Right. Milton, in this vein, argued that “God shakes a kingdom with strong and healthful commotions to a general reforming”, and “then raises to His own work men of rare abilities” (Milton, 2017, p. 43).

The Providence ideology responded practically to institutional pressures. Cromwell vied to recreate the nation from disorder, appealing to “strangers ... coming from all parts”, and evoked the hegemony crisis by reference to “the people dissatisfied in every corner of the nation” (Cromwell, pp. 24/13). Throughout his life, Cromwell held dear the ideal of liberty of conscience, asserting that “the judgement of truth will teach you to be as just towards an unbeliever as towards a believer” (Cromwell, p. 21). Cromwell permitted the return of the Jews to England in 1655, after their expulsion at the end of the thirteenth century (Katz, p. 40). This outlook inherently, if unreflectingly,

clashed with Cromwell's ideal of the nation as vehicle for public salvation, as a "door to usher in things that God had promised and prophesied of" (Cromwell, p. 25). These two ideals clash at the uncertain frontier between power, violence, and the sacred, the volatile historical crucible of the Commonwealth.

The troubling question of violence was never far from Cromwell's reflections. He mused over the "strange windings and turnings of providence", those "great appearances of God in crossing and thwarting the designs of men", and marvelled that God might "raise up a poor and contemptible company of men" to power over the nation. He linked violence to the sacred, asserting that "God blessed them and all undertakings" by "that most improbable, despicable, contemptible means", i.e. violence. The "act of violence" finds its "justification" in "our hearts and consciences", based not on "vain imaginings", but "things that fell within the compass of certain knowledge", i.e. sacred signs (Cromwell, p. 14).

Milton, a true believer in the Puritan cause, championed Natural Rights doctrine, insisting that men "should be free ... openly to give opinions of (any doctrine)", and "to write about it, according to what each believes" (Hill, 1977, p. 154). He argued that "all men naturally were born free", and denied that either the church or the magistrate may "impose their own interpretations on us as laws, or as binding on the conscience" (Milton, 1991, pp. 8/126).

But Milton failed to differentiate soteriological concerns of salvation, and secular political liberty, and confused freedom and authenticity. Following the disappointments of the revolution, Milton affirmed "that a convergence of the human with the divine would be necessary before a good society could be built" (Hill, 1977, p. 336). This was the black mood pervading *Paradise Lost*. He argued, in 1670, that, "when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation", "all estates of government are unable to avoid it" (Hill, 1977, p. 349). Milton thus tacitly asserted that forms of political organisation are irrelevant, compared with public ontological proximity to God. Milton echoed this in *Paradise Lost*: "Since thy original lapse, true liberty is lost" (Milton, 2003, p. 273). True liberty, being not of this world, depends upon the appeasement of unknowable powers. Even so, God must show himself to man, and neither will nor reason are adequate for knowing him. This excludes practical ethics, where concrete social problems are

overcome through the analysis of causes. Ultimately, the “brow of God appeased”, Milton embraced a discourse of divine appeasement as the only effective mode of revolutionary social change (Milton, 2003, 270).

This fatalistic outlook contrasts with Milton’s activist stance in earlier years. The engulfing climate of violence, through the long religious wars, provided, as Milton argued, a “ready and easy way” to establish a republic (Milton, 1931-40, pp. 111-144). Yet, in *Paradise Lost*, he conceded, in the hidden language of antinomies, that “long is the way and hard” (Milton, 2003, p. 35). Did a contradiction of means and ends mar Milton’s embrace of the opportunity of violence to implement radical social reform, and his utopian call for “reconcilement; wrath shall be no more”? (Milton, 2003, p. 59). He hints at this very conclusion: “never can true reconcilement grow where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep” (Milton, 2003, p. 76). This contradiction was perhaps the poison in the machine of the early modern struggles with the problem of state collapse. For state collapse was the fundamental issue, as Hobbes mapped in *Leviathan*, based on a fixed and permanent order of mechanics gone awry, dismissing as irrelevant the ferment of new ideas on liberty. Between Hobbes’ conviction, that “the heart is but a spring”, the “nerves so many strings”, and the “imagination nothing but decaying sense”, and Milton’s ethics as divine obedience, there was hardly the space for a rational critique of the politics of violence in nation-making (Hobbes, 1985, pp. 81, 88). For such violence was either natural, as for Hobbes, or holy, as for Milton.

Finally, we should outline the wider European context for the Natural Rights discourse, to situate its proper place in relation to the politics of Providence. There was a curious dialectical relation. The question of secular conflict resolution, or managing the viral spread of religious violence, was central to Natural Rights, of which Milton was a pioneering voice. In tracing the European Enlightenment back to its 17th century intellectual roots – in Deism and Natural Rights – we are struck by how often the individuals who conceived them were political refugees, victims of religious wars. There were opposed parallel lines, between Natural Rights based on tolerance as ‘multiple ways’, and Providence as a ‘single way’. The ‘single way’ obsession – fusing religious dogma with new capitalist social power – in economics, the military, print media, and the state – produced disastrous bloodshed. This ethical conundrum pervades *Paradise Lost* in the encrypted language of the antinomies.

The dialectical tensions between Providence and Natural Rights expose the experience of exile haunting Milton's world. The Natural Rights defence of pluralism, the work of vulnerable political refugees, included: Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), founder of modern natural right theory, a Dutch refugee living in Paris in 1625 during the religious wars, urging that the supernatural and divine be substituted with the imminent order of nature. The "secret" designs of God, used to justify atrocities in the name of Providence, could thereby yield to an accessible and neutral Natural Law, through which human agency might abolish these atrocities (Hazard, p. 256). Pierre Bayle, a French Protestant refugee in Holland, argued, in 1686, that "concord in a state with ten religions" would follow, if "each religion adopted the spirit of tolerance", because it is "impossible in our present condition to know with certainty whether or not what appears to us to be the truth (of religions) is absolute truth" (Kramnick, p. 79). He thus introduced the epistemic grounds for non-violence, or sceptical reason, a secular and disenchanted space for understanding and law. The discourse of tolerance, very often articulated by the underdog, was obviously an attempt to present an alternative to political violence as a solution to problems of religious pluralism in the early modern state. It challenged the core notion of Providence, in denying political violence any sacred character.

In this spirit, as the most celebrated example, Benedict Spinoza (1632-77) argued: he "who loves God cannot strive that God should love him in return" (Beardsley, p. 19). A radical religious thinker of the Dutch Jewish community, whose family had escaped the Spanish Inquisition, his writings caused exile from the Jewish community in 1656, and later banishment from Amsterdam by the civil authorities. Rejecting Providence, Spinoza argued that citing "the will of God" to explain events was "the refuge for ignorance" (Beardsley, p. 233).

As a major voice in early Natural Rights discourse, where does Milton stand in relation to these individuals? For, although Milton also endured the plight of a political refugee for several dark years, he also briefly enjoyed the summits of state power and influence during the English Revolution. Ultimately, Milton was torn between Natural Right and Providence. He was unable to reconcile his warring selves, and this unresolved antinomy – not merely an intellectual, but personally existential source of suffering - explains the disturbing electricity of *Paradise Lost* as a quest to understand the supreme authorship of good and evil in the world.

Conclusion

What is *Paradise Lost* about? Doctor Samuel Barrow, Milton's friend, explained: "What do you read but the story of everything? The book includes all things, and the origin of all things, and their destinies and ends" (Milton, 2005, p. 2). In Peter Singer's interview with Bryan Magee, when asked what Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Spirit* is about, he similarly replies "everything" (Magee, p. 188). It is neither about individuals nor societies; it is about *Geist*, Mind, the Eternal, working itself out through history. Both Milton and Hegel (1770-1831) express nostalgia for the Absolute, while embracing important aspects of Enlightenment rationalism. Their arguments for Theodicy failed to convince. Once the violence of the colonial world rebounded upon Western Europe in the devastation of World War I, these arguments became still less fashionable. As temporal growth can scarcely be reconciled with the cold eternal, so Theodicy fails to justify the real-world consequences of appalling but preventable suffering.

Both Milton and Hegel wrote theodicies for the violent early modern interstate matrix. Few philosophers have changed the world as dramatically as Hegel, whether through remaking German nationalism, or viewing reality as a historical process, or his influence on Karl Marx. Powerful nostalgia fuelled feelings of cosmic inadequacy. Hegel wrote: "Virtue in the ancient world had its own definite sure meaning, for it had in the *spiritual substance* of the nation a foundation full of meaning" (Hegel, p. 234). Like Hegel, there is a strong dialectical current in *Paradise Lost*. But Milton lived the revolution, and lost it. Far closer to the action than Hegel, who was a relative spectator when Napoleon arrived at Jena, Milton eventually wrote: "What folly then To boast what arms can do" (Milton, 2003, p. 99). In this lucid moment, he articulated the futility of the violent politics of Providence. But this was not Milton's view when his imaginative universe is assessed on balance. What would it mean to understand the practical consequences of Milton's ideas, in the space between his political role in the English Civil War, and his visionary writing of *Paradise Lost*? This article has provided one answer to this question. It examined, firstly, the submerged world of Milton's visions and dreams in *Paradise Lost*, and, secondly, the visible side in the institutions, monuments, and actions that characterized his political life in the English Revolution. Milton's conundrum and his imaginary are very much alive today. The "red right hand" persists, where powers "subdue nations, and bring home spoils with infinite manslaughter", and "riches grow in hell" (Milton, 2003, p. 265/20).

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A PSYCHOANALYTIC READING OF TANURE OJAIDE'S POETRY

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Abstract

Psychoanalysis as a literary theory has helped to improve understanding about "human behaviour and human mental functioning." This is achieved through its perception of the human race as neurotic. However, with its application in poetic interpretation, poetry is perceived as an expression of displaced neurotic conflict: a consoling illusion, symptom, socially acceptable *phantasy* or substitute gratification. With the psychoanalytic reading of the poetry of Tanure Ojaide, an Anglophone African poet, poetry is understood as an expression of symptoms of the poet's personal and societal neurotic tendencies. Since our emphasis is on Jungian psychoanalysis, analyzing Ojaide's poetry through the orbits of the archetypes of Jungian psychoanalysis help to foreground the poetry as a consoling illusion or substitute gratification. Whereas the study reveals that Ojaide's poetry is dominated by the archetype of the "wounded healer" - a symbol of a wounded personality who also doubles as the needed messiah (the healer), it is depicted that the dominant nature of the archetype of the "wounded healer" is a result of the poet's experience which is at the centre of his poetic expression.

Keywords: Anglophone African poetry, Tanure Ojaide, Psychoanalytic Theory, archetypes

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Psychoanalysis has been defined as “a method of medical treatment for those suffering from nervous disorders” (Freud, 1952, p. 342). According to Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh, as a literary theory, psychoanalysis “offers a new account of representation.” They posit further that it is “a new theory of human subjectivity” (Rice & Waugh, 2001, p. 13). In affirmation of Rice and Waugh’s assertions, James Mann points out that “all that we know about mental functioning and human behaviour comes from psychoanalysis. Its lessons are equally applicable in the conduct of any kind of psychotherapy” (Mann, 1973, p. xi). Terry Eagleton explains that “the revelation of the human behaviour and human mental functioning is part of psychoanalytical practice” (Eagleton, 2008, p 159). In another part of the same book, Eagleton has attributed this to the fact that psychoanalysis represents the human race as neurotic. This is also the reason poetry is seen in psychoanalysis as an “expression of displaced neurotic conflict: a consoling illusion, symptom, socially acceptable *phantasy* or substitute gratification which compensates us for the inevitable renunciation of desire involved in the necessary accession to the ‘reality principle’” (Rice & Waugh, 2001, p. 13). This is also linked to the fact that, as James Strachey (1927, p. viii) reveals, psychoanalysis had its “origin in connection with the study of hysteria” hence it is referred to as “a dialogic and symbolic method of interpretation which works with a manifest narrative (talk, dream, *phantasy*) in order to uncover its latent and buried source of meaning”. It uncovers its latent source through such term as “talking cure” - a process through which “repressed and painful memories” and “negative energies” are unlocked or “cathartically released”.

However, scholars like Sigmund Freud, Lionel Trilling, and Martin Gross have argued in their different essays that there is a major link between psychoanalysis and poetry. While Sigmund Freud (1986, p. 419) describes poetry as a “substitute gratification”, Lionel Trilling says that psychoanalysis has helped to reveal that poetry “serves the purpose of a narcotic” (1973, p. 2805) and Martin Gross (1978) points out that the poet shares some attributes with the neurotic - somebody experiencing psychic disturbances as a result of his accumulated, either tyrannical or blissful experiences - and schizophrenia - a disorder of a type involving breakdown in the relation between thought, emotion, and behaviour and leading to faulty perception, inappropriate actions and feelings, withdrawal from reality and personal relationships into fantasy and delusion, and a sense of mental fragmentation. Carl Jung clarifies this link when he

posits that the poets' expressions "contain images and thought-associations" which they "do not create with conscious intent" but "[...] arise spontaneously without their assistance and are representatives of a psychic activity withdrawn from [their] arbitrary will" (1971, p. 75). With recourse to Anglophone African poetry of all generations, Senanu and Vincent (1976) share in Carl Jung's view of poetry, when they note that poetry is "a cumulative verbal entity through which the poet expresses a vision of life hidden to the less imaginative" (p. 5). Like all other poets from Europe and America who have been used to demonstrate these claims, the Anglophone African poets have shown evidence of these disturbances in their poetry. Through their poetry, the psychological states that condition their poetic production are revealed. According to Akporobaro (2005), there is usually a psychological connotation that underlines the poetry of the poets of the different generations of the Anglophone African poetry. While the first generation of poets led the way in their psychological light to prove Africa a developing civilization, the poetry of the second generation contains the psychological connotation that presented Africa as a continent of castrated hope.

This paper limits itself to the poetry of Tanure Ojaide. Since Ojaide's poetry shares a lot of characteristics with other poets of his contemporaries in terms of thematic focus and other ideological matters, Ojaide's poetry serves as a representative poetry of the poetry produced by the writers of his generation. This paper is divided into two subsections: Tanure Ojaide and his poetry; and psychoanalysis and the reading of Tanure Ojaide's Poetry.

Tanure Ojaide and His Poetry

Tanure Ojaide's poetry, like the poetry of his contemporaries is preoccupied with the themes of political and environmental degradation. According to Charles Bodunde, Tenure Ojaide's poetry is an "aesthetic in which images are deployed to emphasize the idea that human right struggle is imperative in seeking to restore the people's well-being" (2002, p 24). However, in his essay entitled "New Trends in Modern African Poetry", Ojaide sees this aesthetic as a dominant trend in contemporary African poetry and this emerges from the context in which "the generality of the populace had become economically and politically marginalized" (Ojaide, 1995, p. 4). In his book of essays,

Ojaide makes it clear that his poetry revolves around the Niger Delta politics and its environmental problem:

To me as a poet, Childhood is vital, because it is the repository of memory. [...] My Delta years have become the touch-stone with which I measure the rest of my life. The streams, the fauna, and the flora are symbols I continually tap. [...] Home remains for me the Delta, where I continue to anchor myself. (Ojaide, 1995, p. 122)

Uzoечи Nwagbara (2009) argues in his essay entitled "Aesthetic of Resistance and Sustainability: Tanure Ojaide and the Niger Delta Question" that ecocriticism is central in the poetry of Tanure Ojaide and that Ojaide's poetry negates ecological imperialism. He goes further to argue that since Ojaide's poetry intersects with the realities of ecological imperialism, it is therefore a dependable barometer to measure "Nigeria's environmental / ecological dissonance for sustainable development" (p. 32).

In another essay entitled "Poetics of Resistance: Ecocritical Reading of Ojaide's *Delta Blues & Home Songs and Daydream of Ants and Other Poems*," Uzoечи Nwagbara (2010) is of the view that Ojaide's poetry follows in the footsteps of the Nigerian mould of interdiction, which can be called resistance poetics. James Tar Tsaaior (2011) is of the view that exile constitutes a visible presence in Nigerian poetic afflatus and imagination hence it forms the core aspect of Ojaide poetics. Tar Tsaaior argues that Ojaide's poetic imagination and sensibility have generously benefited from the trope of exile which has been conditioned by Ojaide's reality of living and working away from home. Philip Onoriode Aghoghovwia (2013), in his essay entitled "Versifying the Environment and the Oil Encounter: Tanure Ojaide's *Delta Blues & Home Songs*," sees Ojaide's poetry as a worthy literary representation of the Niger Delta region hence it is used to interrogate the oil encounter and the exploration of its impact on social and environmental structures. Of interest in the essay is the poet's unique and alternative insight, a kind of insider/indigenous knowledge, he provides through his poetry.

Unlike these other scholars, we would interrogate Ojaide's poetry using Jungian archetypes and some aspects of Jungian psychoanalysis. Our focus would be on Tanure Ojaide's selected poems from two of his different collections: *The Fate of Vultures and Other Poems* and *Invoking the Warrior Spirit*.

Psychoanalysis and the Reading of Tanure Ojaide's Poetry

In *The Fate of Vultures and Other Poems*, a collection of fifty one poems all linked together by the theme of the precarious political and environmental condition of the persona's home country, Ojaide's persona expresses his pains towards the happenings in his home country. The effect of this pain is further expressed through the poet's persistent use of repetition. The repetition of words like "Listen", "cry", "song" and "communal" emphasizes the level of pains the situation in the persona's home country has cause him. As early as the second line of the poem entitled "The music of pain", the persona discloses the fact that though he expresses his pain, he does "[...] not cry in vain" (Ojaide, 1990, p. 2). In that line, there is an indirect comparison between the act of "crying" and the art of poetry. The impression that the persona creates in us is that through poetry, his pain is given expression. In line thirty four, the persona reveals that his poetry also means "the music of communal pain" (p. 3). This goes to reveal that the pain that is expressed is not very personal to him but communal. Apart from the fact that there is a comparison between "music" and "pain", there is also a comparison between "song" and "music", "cry" and "pain." Through these words, Ojaide's persona refers to both his response to personal worries and to communal troubles. His use of such word as "cry" depicts the gravity of the pain that his community has to bear. The "music" metaphor can also be said to represent a pointer to the extremity of the persona's pain.

The persona continues to play on the idea of pain. In line seventeen, he posits that his poetry "[...] took the cause of the country/ into its expanding heart" (p. 2). Here poetry is given the human attributes of being capable of absorbing pain and taking it into its "expanding heart". In line three and four, the persona says why he does "not cry in vain" with the use of another personification, thus: "For my song I sought/ the chorus of resistant cries" (ibid). In the poem, "cries", a word that refers to abstract human actions, is given the human ability of being able to put up resistance. What the persona simply means is that the pain in his heart about the condition of his country is so heavy on him. This is also as a result of the fact that the poet embodies a personality to whom his people's predicament conditions his happiness. This is evident in the persona's concentration on the pain of the marginalized and the deprived and thus linking it to his own trouble:

They have the bite of desperate ones!
 [...]

 Haunting robbers of the proud heritage!
 My song has captured the roar of lions (p. 2)

In the above lines, poetry takes the form of the communal voice hence it has the ability to “bite” and to haunt robbers. It is also elevated to a state of weaponry hence it is “the land’s infantry/ drawing into its veins/the strength of millions”. In line twenty five, poetry is described as the “fine-filed matchets” and in line twenty-seven, it is described as the “mystery bee” and possessing the capability to capture “the roar of lions/ and the jungle mortars of elephants”. In line thirty-two, Ojaide’s persona employs the popular African belief that a forty years old man cannot lie. Ojaide’s reference to age, in the poem, should be treated with some sense of importance, in that it provides a link between the persona’s “personal unconscious” and his “collective unconscious”. For instance, it is part of Africa’s collective belief that at forty a man starts to be very serious with life. This view is further fully expressed in the poem entitled “Now that I am forty”.

In the poem, with the use of lots of images, the persona concentrates his whole poetic energy contemplating the merit and the demerit of being forty years old. At the very first stanza of the poem, he juxtaposes the un-seriousness that trails his years before forty and with the use of the word “now” he emphasizes his seriousness with life after being forty of age. Having being forty years old, he is as a matter of fact standing “on a termite heap/gazing/at a cricket hole/in the horizon” (p. 98). What this implies is that, at forty years old he is resolute - he has learned to endure the heaps of problems around him. The word “now” is employed as a boarder word: it is used to depict the gap between the unserious past and the new and serious present. In the second stanza of the poem, the persona says that “now” that he is forty -

I will not abandon my road.
 I wield the matchet
 against adversaries;
 with it I fan myself
 when secure in dreams. (p. 98)

With the use of the word “road”, Ojaide’s persona refers to poetry and in the lines that follow he sends forth another message that this poetry of his is the means or the

channel through which he would “wield the matchet/against adversaries.” At the third stanza of the same poem, he reiterates the points he has made in the lines of the previous stanza. Hence helping to make the lines of the second stanza even clearer: “Whatever I hold firmly/can talk back to me and do my bidding./ Whatever I plant in my heart/will grow out/now that I am forty.” In this stanza and in other stanzas of the same poem, Jungian aspect of the psyche such as “persona” is invoked. In the poem, the poet employs his “persona” to do all his bidding for him. Even though in poetry, we are meant to believe that the personality of the “persona” is different from the personality of the poet, to Jung this is not so. Jung is of the view that the poet’s persona is the same person as the poet. This is therefore to say that Ojaide is not different from the person that we see acting out all his biddings. According to Jung, the reason why the poet does this is to completely purge himself of his acuminated pains and to get himself focused as to be able to face another round of problem that may soon come up after the previous has fully been dealt with.

As we meander through the lines of the fourth stanza, we are confronted with a very important rhetorical question: “But can it be this length/that takes the bee to the honey comb,/can it be this length alone/that the farmer covers to harvest,/can it be this very length/of patience, of vicissitudes/before the magic of sweet?” (p. 98) This rhetorical question helps to bring Jungian aspects of the psyche such as “archetype”, “personal unconscious”, “collective unconscious” and “individuation” to mind. In this stanza, for instance, the archetype of “the wise old man” which is part of the “collective unconscious” is invoked. At the age of forty, the persona sees himself as “the wise old man”. Hence, in the stanza, he asks himself whether this is how difficult it takes to arrive at this state of wisdom. “The magic of sweet” as used in the stanza represents wisdom. Hence, in the stanza, one can as well say that the Jungian concept of individuation is fully expressed. The Jungian concept of Individuation, as captured in the poem, emphasizes the persona’s age of “forty” years. “Now” in the poem is likened to “the magic sweet”, a time after a “length/ of patience” - a protracted time when an individual achieves the result he has so awaited.

In “When soldiers are diplomats” the persona paints a picture of deceit, problems and death that characterized the country under military leadership. The poem depicts that the military pretend to be good but are very dangerous. In the first stanza of the

poem, the persona is of the view that though the soldiers might look innocent, they are still dangerous. This is captured in the three major lines of the first stanza, thus: "you will never see the leopard's fangs in the dark/ you will never trace the rainflushed blood trail to a den/you will never catch the slayer by his invisible hand" (p. 4). The irony that dominates the poem is even expressed at the tail end of the first stanza, when he says, "The bedbug doesn't care/for the taste of your blood". We also see irony at work in the last stanza of the poem, where the persona tells us the consequences of putting a soldier in a diplomatic position:

But put a savage in a suit
 know him by his blood-tinted teeth
 you will always know the whore
 pacing the globe in a plaited gown
 selling smiles, lip-cheap wares.
 There is a heartless joke to learn
 from the fortune-seeking trade (pp. 4-5)

And like the lines that end the first stanza of the poem, the adjoining lines of the second stanza reveal that diplomatic soldiers are very dangerous. In the poem, he stresses the wickedness behind every of their activities with the use of a symbolic insect, "bedbug". At two different occasions in the poem, he laments: "The bedbug doesn't care / for the taste of your blood" (p. 4) and "[...] the bedbug, that smug cannibal, / doesn't care for the rank smell of blood" (p. 5). However, in the poem, the Jungian archetype that is evoked is the archetype of the "shadow." Just as Jung has rightly explained, the shadow is the side of our personality which we do not display in the public. The soldiers have very dangerous "shadow" which they do not display in the public. With reference to the shadow archetype, the poem becomes even clearer. The meaning this brings to the poem is that the look of things does not say how they really are. The poem that follows it contains rhetorical questions. In the poem, the persona wonders aloud: "What poets do our leaders read?" The "poet" that the poem refers to is symbolic. The "poet" represents sycophant. The rhetorical questions and the symbols in the poem give force to the poem and also reveal our leaders' foolish and dirty dealings. For instance, the first stanza of the poem captures our leaders' foolishness:

When the ostrich heard the kingfisher's song
 It swept to the stream to pick the blues
 To redeem its ugly head, but drowned;

The wind, bearer of tales, wasn't accused of murder
But settled to whistle a dire [...] (p. 6)

What Ojaide is saying through his persona is that even when the sycophant says the wrong thing, it is the leader who is unable to sieve the words of the sycophant that should be blamed. In the second stanza, the persona advises the leaders and as a result lays emphasis on what he expects of African leaders. In the heart of the third stanza, the persona asks even a more disturbing question: "what strings do top ones hold to/ that they always dangle sideways,/ never staying with the people?" (p. 6) As if in reaction to the question, he posits that the leaders are careless about the people, "they never ever want to be caught undressed" yet "you can see the cape in their mitred shave". "The cape in their mitred shave" as used in this line signifies their folly: they don't want to be seen as ordinary people yet we see their folly fully in display. In the fourth stanza of the poem, the persona describes the leaders with the use of derogatory words, thus:

When they hear a rib-relaxing sigh,
a grief-dispelling chant,
they kick the air, demon-possessed
and need blood to still their spasm (p. 6)

In the last stanza of the poem, he makes ridicule of their activities by even referring to it as "giant strides". The "giant strides" as used here is ironic and can be rewritten as "giant foolishness." In this stanza, he tells us that having seen their "giant strides" one would indeed see why "small heads are so full of themselves" (p. 7).

In this poem, the archetype of the "shadow" also comes to mind. Jung tells us in his essay that the fact that one has the shadow does not mean that one is conditioned to do the wrong thing. As a matter of fact, the shadow has its positive and negative qualities. A bad person only pushes the bad side to the public. This is what we have seen in the poem. African "leaders" push their dark sides to the public because they decided to be bad. This is the reason the suffering of the people meant nothing to them.

In another poem entitled "Song for my land", the persona tells us that every day that passes by his home country become a place of mockery. He implies that the situation he finds his "land" is a pitiable one. In line six, the persona posits that: "naked trees flaunt sterile bodies at me" (p. 41). In this line the human attributes of being

“naked” and to possess a “body” is ascribed to trees. A similar thing is seen in line eight, where “the winds” is given the human attribute of having the ability to “gossip”: “the winds gossip loud my dalliance”. To the persona these are only possible because the country is a pitiable state. This even gives credence to the first rhetorical question in the poem, thus: “Where are the evergreens of my palm;/ why is the sun of salvation eclipsed/ by coups and intolerable riots?” This rhetorical question is employed to emphasize the worry and pain that are central in the poem. Yet the second rhetorical question in the poem, thus: “And what celebrated union isn’t beset/by one trouble or another?” reinforces the connectivity between the “song” and the “land”. The “song” here represents all good activity that the “land” needs to develop.

In the second stanza and the third stanza of the poem, Ojaide uses personification to explain the pitiable state in which the land has been plunged. In the same stanza, where he says, “my blood is hot but not on heat,” he refers to lack of electric power supply. He goes further to posit thus: “Every step I take on the land/ is fraught with torments”. Here he implies that everywhere he goes he sees people suffering. In the lines that follow he depicts how the suffering now concerns him. The suffering in the land is also conditioned by tribal discrimination. This is made evident in the following lines of the stanza, “my clan no longer contains me; / where I am the adopted son/ I am asked for marks I don’t possess/ before I can be embraced”. In the poem, the Jungian archetype such as the “shadow” and the “wounded healer” is revealed on. Most Africans have pushed their good nourishing sides inside while their bad negative sides have been pushed to the public. In the poem we are made to know that what is responsible for this horrible situation is suffering. We have noted that Ojaide also employed the archetype of the “wounded healer” - a “wounded” persona, who is yet the hope of the people. The archetype of the “wounded healer” can also be found in the poem “Visiting Home.” Like the poem earlier mentioned, the persona recounts his experience during one of his homecoming. The home that is referred to in the poem is the persona’s home of the Delta. In the poem, his focus is on what used to be the beautiful “spring” in his “homestead” of the Delta. The persona allows us to share in his feeling of pain and anguish as he exposes the ruin that is left of his “homestead” and his beautiful “spring”. He does this by exposing how the only “spring” from where he goes “to half-quench my burning tongue” is now in ruins that “I can neither drink of its

present state” (p. 158). The spring is, though, not only literary, it is also figurative. The spring is a metaphor for farm land, environment, even the air they breathe at the Delta. Even though, the whole of these have been ruined, as the poem comes to its end, the persona did not resign to fate. He states, in line twenty three and twenty four, that all hope is not lost. This beautiful spring can still be made clean, thus: “I can neither drink of its present state/ nor will I throw away the calabash/I must fashion ways to drink of it/ without its dirt, drink it only clean”.

In the poem, Ojaide projects the archetype of the “wounded healer”. He has though been wounded by the ruin of the spring in his homestead yet he does not lose hope of it. Instead he thinks of ways to bring healing to it. However, this archetype also can be found in another poem of the collection entitled “No”.

In the poem, like the one before it, irony is dominantly put to use. Through some sort of play with the use of irony Ojaide’s persona encourages all good people to resist all bad people. This is done through juxtaposing the good with the bad. With the use of irony, the persona also enlightens us on the devastating effect of fear. This is done in order to encourage us to be brave. For instance, in stanza one, we are presented with probably what the persona perceives as one of man’s foremost fear: what our “enemies think” of us. In the second stanza, we are confronted with another of such fear: the fear of not wanting to be called a “hard-hearted” person. Hence, in attempting to avoid this, we put ourselves into very bad situation that may eventually make us “a murderer,” “a pauper,” or eventually have us “kill” (p. 43). Having said these in the fifth stanzas, in the sixth stanza, we are urged to stop the bad people who want to use our fears to their own advantage:

before they devour you
for their own reasons your own fears
stop them with an instant “NO”. (p. 43)

In the poem, the Jungian archetypes of “ego”, “shadow” and the “eternal child” are projected. As we have seen in the poem, it is our “ego” that makes us want to please everyone even to our own disadvantage. If one has control over his “ego” one would be able to say “no” under any situation, but if not one would have others lead one to a disastrous end. In this poem, “shadow” is also importantly projected. In the poem, the persona is saying that the majority of African people have now pushed their bad sides to the public. Hence, they now unconsciously act out what Jean-Paul Sartre describes as

“schadenfreude” - a situation where people derive joy in inflicting pain on others. In the poem, the archetype of the “eternal child” is also projected. The persona has to advise the people as if they are his children. As long as the poem is concerned, the people that are addressed are the children - just as the wordings of the poems are frozen, so also would the people spoken to in the poem would continue to be children.

In the poem “Delta Blues” we see a similar situation as above. As the poem begins with persona’s lament, thus: “the inheritance I sat on for centuries/ now crushes my body and soul” (p. 159). In the second stanza, which also contains two rhetorical questions, he makes it clear to us that the reason why this is so is because this so-called inheritance is being envied. As if remembering the calamity this envy has caused the land in recent past, he exclaimed: “my nativity gives immortal pain / masked in barrels of oil”. By this lines, he meant that the calamity upon the land is because of the “oil” that has been discovered in it.

At the fifth stanza, he reveals to us that “now we are called to banquets” by those who are the enemies of the land. In the stanza the persona tells us that they have conceded to the tricks of their “enemies” and end up describing their enemies with an exaggerated name, “baron robbers.” Because of this, in line twenty eight, the persona says it is “time to say goodbye to our birth/right” (p. 160). In line twenty nine, he says, as a matter of fact, their birthright is “now a boon cake for others”. At the second to the last stanza, he casts his mind back to the memory of those who lost their lives trying to “right chronic habits/of greed and every wrong of power” (p. 161). “Chronic habits”, as used here, is also an hyperbole. It is put to use to depict the level of greed among these persons. The whole of that memory is captured in the lines, thus:

And I am assaulted by visions of
the hang men on a hot Friday noon
the cries in the garden streets of the port
and the silence in homes that speak loud
of grief that deluged the land’s memory.
Those nine mounds woke
Into another world, ghostly kings
Scornful of their murderers. (p. 160)

After this remembering, he ends the poem with the same declaration with which the poem opens: "The inheritance I have been blessed with / now crushes my body and soul" (p. 161). However, in the poem, there is a focus on such archetype as the "shadow". In order to enrich themselves, people plunge other people's environment into a state of chaos. It is only when the bad side of the "shadow" is dangerously at work that this kind of thing happens.

Conclusion

We have come to see the archetypes that play themselves out in the poet persona's mind. Through these archetypes we are able to penetrate the poet persona's mind and share in his feeling of pain, worry and bliss. However, from our analysis of the poems, it is revealed that the dominate archetype in the persona's mind is the archetypes of the "wounded healer" and the "shadow". The reason for the presence of the archetype of the "wounded healer" in the persona's mind is because all through the poems there is this feeling of a wounded personality who is also the needed messiah (the healer) running through the collection; whereas the reason for the presence of the archetype of the "shadow" is because the poet persona finds himself in a country where a lot of people derive joy in doing the wrong things. It is because a lot of Africans enjoy projecting this bad side of theirs to the public that has created a platform where poetry of lamentation and wail now flourish in Africa.

Through the poems we do not only perceive how Ojaide see himself; we also see his unconscious importations of what Jung refers to as "primordial archetypes of human evolution" - which in other words are the windows through which we see the labyrinths of his past and his attempts at bringing his scattered past together. It is therefore important to note that it is in the manner in which the poet represents his "primordial archetypes" that distinguish him from the other poets of his generation and those before him.

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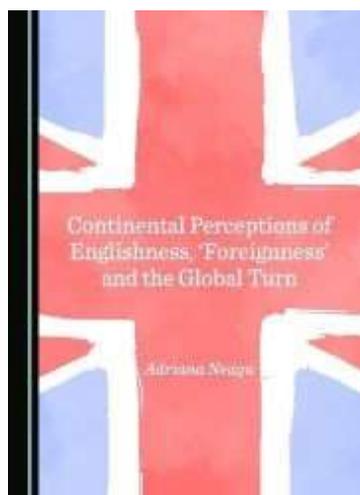
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CONTINENTAL PERCEPTIONS OF ENGLISHNESS, 'FOREIGNNESS' AND THE GLOBAL TURN — BOOK REVIEW

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Continental Perceptions of Englishness, 'Foreignness' and the Global Turn was published by Cambridge Scholars in 2017. The author Adriana Neagu is associate professor of Anglo-American Studies at the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca in Romania. She is an author of two earlier monographs devoted to Anglophone postmodernism and has also published a number of critical articles relating English culture as embedded in modern English literature. Since 1999 she has been Advisory Editor of the scientific journal *Academic Anglophone Society of Romania*.

The current book endeavours into various issues of the English identity presented in several major literary works of quite a few leading contemporary British authors.

The book consists of nine chapters each of which is a separate essay on a particular topic, while the last one addressing the topical theme of BREXIT and its aftermath for the English society, although not signified as a chapter, serves as a conclusion.

In the foreword Neagu points out that the book is a collection of critical essays, published in various journals before, each of which deals with a different facet of the multidimensional understanding of Englishness. As the author states the essays have been “written within the space of well over a decade” and this is why they engage with “different conceptual frameworks” and “do not form an organic whole” (Neagu, 2017, p. xi). However, as a whole they are united by constantly applying an integrative critical thinking framework in discussing the focal topic of each one.

The opening two chapters are devoted to the problems of translation in the global world. In both of them the author introduces the idea of Global English as a “third space” which allows erasing the opposition *we* versus *alien*. She claims that after 9/11 translation serves not only the exchange between the existing vernaculars but also between world Englishes and states that the translation process is doing “justice to both the Queen’s idiom and Pidgin” (p. 5). An important point that Neagu makes in the second chapter is that the traditional domestication of foreign culture texts when translated into English blurring the difference between Tolstoy and Dostoyevsky brings to the problems of the “interdisciplinarity of translation studies in current Anglo-American contexts” that establishes a new era of language imperialism (p. 10).

Chapter three brings to the fore the problem of Anglo-centric attitudes in the time of devolution, when numerous of books on Englishness are published and where the authors are trying to overcome the traditional taboo on investigating the English difference nurtured by the post-imperial sense of guilt, which she calls a “willed-amnesia syndrome”. The author makes an interesting link with what type of literature is studied in East-European Universities, mentioning that the discipline *English literature* “has successfully itinerated from English literature to literatures in English” to match the new trends in literary criticisms dealing with multicultural, multiracial England and immigrant writings.

The fourth essay explores the reception of English authors in Romanian academic circles before and after 1989. Neagu’s observations are sharp and persuasive and give food for thought for further comparative analysis. She states that before the revolution England was imagined and mainly placed in the past since there was quite limited first-hand knowledge of the country on the part of the university academics. In this way the image of Englishness was imaginary and quite bookish. In the years after the fall of the Iron Curtain the tendency moved towards what she names “textualist-tourist constructions of Englishness” (p. 30). She notes that after the Bologna process English departments have adopted language policies which are pluralistic, although English as a native language has remained the mainstream.

Chapter five is in essence an interview with Peter Ackroyd, one of the most compelling voices writing in the UK today”, as Neagu depicts him (p. 33). The interview is very informative and reveals Acroyd’s views on Englishness, looking for it in the history and explaining his, for the majority of critics, eccentric thoughts and unexpected arguments to support them. The interview is a prelude to the next-coming three chapters, devoted to a critical reading of Ackroyd’s ideas of Englishness embedded in his works.

Chapter six endeavours on P. Ackroyd’s *London: The Biography*, chapter seven is devoted to his ideas of Englishness in several of his works that are discussed from a continental perspective, and finally, chapter eight explores his cultural visions he shares in his novel *Thames – Sacred River*. In a nutshell, he opposes Englishness to foreignness, English indigenusness to internationality and defends the English idiosyncratic

“cultural difference” by searching for its roots in the historical past and the literary tradition thus opposing to the mainstream cultural universals. In all his works, Neagu states, he follows “a distinct, holistic approach, what he defines as the *genius loci* of the English imagination” (p. xii). She also points out that he builds a utopian picture of a Catholic constitutive of Englishness bare of any ideological or political influence (p. xii).

The last chapter is also book-based. The author explores the notion of Englishness as opposed to foreignness in the book of a non-native English author, namely *The Remains of the Day* by Kazuo Ishiguro, a seminal novel published in 1989. She notices that Ishiguro’s writing “is an experience of detachment, rather than that of identification” (p. 85), which, paradoxically, turns to be an “iconic ‘English’ piece”, “a quintessential expression of Englishness” for the non-native English readership (p. 85). However, in the author’s opinion a deeper reading would reveal that Ishiguro’s interpretation of Englishness as a cultural model is that of exclusion rather than inclusion, idiosyncrasy rather than collaboration.

The book ends up with a short essay wittily entitled *English Studies in the Chinese Century: An Afterthought*. Neagu opposes the newly developed Anglo centrism to Euro centrism in the light of the BREXIT process. She voices her opinion that Europe, and especially in European academy, the question of the British Euro scepticism should be rethought from the historical perspective of the British imperial past and cultural isolation (ibid: 94). The author proposes that a difference should be drawn between Englishness and Britishness. In the foreword, she determines that: “The crux of Britain leaving the EU lies in the difficult relationship between Britishness and internationalism and the new patterns of cultural identification ...” (p. xiii). This last essay gives a lot of food for thought and instigates advanced exploration in the matter. It seems that considering the Celtic inheritance on the British Isles and the attitude of Scotland, Northern Ireland and partly Wales to BREXIT and their Celtic identities as opposed to Englishness would be of immense interest for further comparative literary and cultural research.

With its remarkable informativity, eloquent language, sophisticated style and theoretical assumptions, the book is highly recommendable not only to all interested in English identities, but also to all who work in the area of comparative cultural studies.

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