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About *South Atlantic Review*

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Since its founding in 1935 as the newsletter for the South Atlantic Modern Language Association, *South Atlantic Review* has become a premier academic quarterly publishing research in the modern languages and literatures, as well as in associated fields such as film, cultural studies, and rhetoric/composition. The journal welcomes submissions of essays, maximum length 8,000 words, that are accessible, and of broad interest, to its diverse readership across a number of disciplines. Submissions may be made electronically directly to the managing editor at the address above. *SAR* also welcomes proposals for special issues and special focus sections.

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Preface

William E. Engel

There were never so many historians. It is ever good and profitable to hear them; for out of the magazine of their memory they store us with diverse good instructions and commendable documents. Verily a chief part, for the assistance of our life.

–Michel de Montaigne, *Essays*, III.8 (1603)

Memory keeps and hides, sayeth Aristotle, as it were a thing deposited, all sensible species judged, and thought one; that she may use them, when need requires.

–Miles Sandys, *Prudence* (1634)

The memory is a faculty whose nature is as obscure, and hath as much of riddle in it as any of the former. It seems to be an organical power, because bodily distempers often mar its ideas and cause a total oblivion.

– Joseph Glanvill, *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661)

The genesis of this special issue on memory and forgetting in early modern literary culture can be recalled with precision: November 4, 2016 at 11:45 AM in the St. John's Room of the Hyatt Regency Jacksonville Riverfront Hotel. It all happened—rather quickly—in the wake of the SAMLA 88 Presidential Address at the Opening Plenary. Ruth Sánchez Imizcoz presented an engaging illustrated lecture entitled "—and the World was Round: The Magellan Adventure" that adroitly set the pace and tone for the overarching conference theme "Utopia/Dystopia: Whose Paradise is it?" Immediately after the plenary (which included an appeal by Barton Palmer to submit articles to the *South Atlantic Review*), a small group gathered and discussed how refreshing it was to have an early modern topic as the springboard into our weekend of panels, roundtables, and workshops. Someone remarked how early modern topics often contain the seeds of key controversies and issues that inform studies of later periods and indeed contemporary multimodal cultural endeavors and critiques. Another suggested it would be a great idea to try to get more early modern articles in the journal than lately had been appearing. And then one of the group turned to me and said something like "Bill, you work in the Renaissance, could you solicit and guest edit six or seven articles for a special issue" (and here, it must be confessed, I cannot recall the exact words because my mind was reeling with an array of polite ways to decline, even though I knew in an instant that I was going to say yes, committed as I am to the advancement of SAMLA).

And because I know how much effort and time goes into organizing, coordinating, culling, and proofreading multiple contributions to a literary journal, the first thing I did (even before sending out inquires and a general call for articles), was to secure the assistance of George Core. He is well acquainted with what it takes to bring together a journal of the highest literary standards, having served for 42 years as editor of *The Sewanee Review*, the oldest continuously published literary quarterly in the country. As it happens Mr. Core had just announced his intention to retire and, as a long-standing friend of SAMLA, agreed to come on board. Knowing that we would be collaborating on this special issue buoyed my resolve, and in short order we had commitments from seven contributors working on different aspects of early modern memory and forgetting.

It was clear to me from the start that this special issue would involve memory and forgetting given my ongoing scholarly commitment to early modern applied emblematics and mnemonic culture. The heuristic benefit of selecting this theme is validated by the ubiquity and diversity of the memory arts in the period which, in several important ways, distinguish the Renaissance from modernity, and not just on the basis of kinds of technology but also on the grounds of values, beliefs, and modes of thought. These mental predispositions are part and parcel of the longue durée of pre-modernity and thus fit matter for this special issue. Moreover, owing to the generative aspects of the early modern mnemonic mentalité, as this volume demonstrates, thoughtful scholarship keeps challenging the boundaries and dimensions of the field.

Accordingly, our goal was to attract contributors whose work represented different national and regional literary traditions, so as to balance and round out the volume overall. Each of the contributors brings a fresh voice and an informed perspective to the profitably problematic and often contested nature of memory in early modern literary studies. The contributors responsibly clarify the terms of their approaches to memory and forgetting, and all of them reflectively theorize the methods used to unfold their argument. We also have kept in mind that not all of our readers would be familiar with the usual cache of early modern terms, commonplaces, images, and texts—some of which are considered canonical and others which are less well known outside the circle of specialists and therefore in need of being better known by a wider audience. As a result of our deliberate efforts in this regard, there is a sense of coherence to the whole, notwithstanding the topics ranging from the application of lessons learned from the classical art of memory in England's national epic, Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, to the practice of *damnatio memoriae* (literally the "condemnation of memory," legislating that a person not be remembered) as it is played out with respect to the Mestizo subject in sixteenth-century Mexico. From notions of sacred memory and monumental architecture as a means for explaining hitherto unaccounted-for elements in Shakespeare's Sonnet 73 to the ideal of the classical orator, for whom *memoria* was a principal component of his craft, in Donatello's Bronze Doors for San Lorenzo in Florence. From a critical examination of the rhetoric of amnesia as a way to disclose and understand the wider social and cultural implications of *King Lear* and indeed early modern history plays generally, to the decorum and the dignity of memory examined in terms of transformations of "the memorable" in Renaissance and Reformation France. And finally, rounding out the volume, an essay on the shaping of living memory through the literary idea of poetic friendship in seventeenth-century England. Indeed, as one of the epigraphs to this preface puts it, memory keeps and hides. Our goal, therefore, in each of the articles—each in its own way—has been to bring to presence what previously has tended to be occluded in early modern literary cultural studies, especially where memory and forgetting are concerned.

The order of the articles follows, more or less, a chronological trajectory; and, to provide a sense of variety for those who may be reading the whole volume from start to finish, those essays concerning English writers are interspersed between the ones addressing other languages and cultures. Also, it was by design that some of the contributors' institutional affiliations are outside the United States and that disciplines other than literary studies are represented here, as seemed appropriate given the many and diverse areas of research at any given SAMLA conference. Under the broadly inclusive Janus-like rubric of memory and forgetting, each essay, while firmly grounded in some particular aspect of early modern literary culture, offers an important critical pay off for readers working in other periods, literary traditions, and languages. The better to assist readers in identifying those topics that might provide the most fruitful crossover applications to their own research interests, a brief description of each article follows.

By way of introducing the collection, the first article (which I have written) provides an overview of how the art of memory grew from a branch of rhetoric in the classical world and came to inform a wide range of early modern cultural practices, including and especially humanist pedagogy. Early modern English translations and interpretations of the key treatises on the memory arts are provided and explained in context along with a detailed discussion of the centrality, in the early modern allegorical imagination, of *ekphrasis* (a term derived from classical rhetoric which involved the detailed, vivid, often dramatic, verbal description of a visual work of art, either real or imagined). This conduces to a critical analysis of one of the most famous ekphrastic texts ever composed, *The Table of Cebes*, attributed by Renaissance humanists to Plutarch, which served as a standard text for learning Greek and Latin and which was translated into all main European vernacular languages. Edmund Spenser's familiarity with and use of this book as a transitional model for his own literary exercises (most notably *The Faerie Queene*) is discussed with the aim of clarifying the particular aesthetic, didactic, and ethical ends to which he put lessons learned from *The Table of Cebes* in general and from the art of memory in particular.

Colt Segrest's "*Damnatio Memoriae* and the Mestizo Subject in Sixteenth-Century Mexico" considers the medieval ecclesiastical manifestation of *damnatio memoriae*, which consisted in the removal of a person's name from records following excommunication to erase the public memory of that person. In sixteenth-century Mexico, a similar punishment of damnation into oblivion was attempted by ecclesiastical authorities through the large-scale burning of painted manuscripts containing the genealogical, historical, and religious records of indigenous communities. This destruction of native religious and historical texts resulted in new forms of historiography in the colonial period. Segrest addresses in particular the mestizo subjects Juan Bautista Pomar and Diego Muñoz Camargo, who produced reports on their native towns of Texcoco and Tlaxcala in the framework of the geographical surveys commissioned in 1579 by Philip II. He then goes on to analyze not only their attempt to recover their ancestors from oblivion through the reconstitution of genealogies but also their attempts to improve the present conditions of native inhabitants by virtue of their history as meritorious subjects. Pomar's apologetic task involves an interpretive process by which he sets out to explain and justify the practices of his ancestors. Memory and forgetting, under these circumstances, conditioned the welfare of local indigenous communities.

Thomas Herron, in "Sacred Memory, Monumental Architecture, and Shakespeare's Sonnet 73," shows the extent to which Shakespeare's

Sonnets are meditations on decay, death, and poetic memory. Sonnet 73, in particular, promises eternal life to both its author and to its object, the beloved, through its status as a Christian monument—which is to say, verse written in memory of Christ. This article explores in depth, and with regard to careful philological analysis, how Sonnet 73 highlights its status as a monument by shaping itself akin to other Christian, nonliterary memorials, most notably those found in church architecture. Its famous comparison of the body of the speaker to "bare ruined choirs," or the stones of the church, is made more substantively and extensively throughout the poem than critics understand. The sonnet thereby gains greater spiritual depth through a memorial process that deepens the comparisons between the beloved young man addressed by the poem, the self-sacrificed body of the speaker, and the relics and stones of the church. Sonnet 73 figuratively blurs the boundaries of poem and sacred stone to highlight its character as a Christian monument, so as to emphasize the self-sacrificial love of the speaker.

Church architecture and memorial structures likewise are concerns of Maureen Pelta's "Figured Speech: The Ideal of the Classical Orator in Donatello's Bronze Doors for San Lorenzo," in which she makes a compelling case concerning the implications of the fact that Donatello's commission at San Lorenzo coincided with the rediscovery of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria.* Newly available to the avant-garde of Florentine humanists, this classical handbook on the training of the orator lent ancient authority to the role of physical movement and gesture for conveying meaning during speech-making. Correspondences between Quintilian's text, with its remarkably precise discussion of oratorical delivery, and Donatello's gesticulating figures suggest that the recovery of this manuscript allowed Donatello to cast his Christian preachers as ancient orators, thus placing the eloquence of classical oratory at the service of Christian piety. The 1980s restoration of Donatello's decorations in the Old Sacristy brought renewed attention to the function of this space as both sacristy and Medici memorial sepulchre. Donatello's extraordinary use of color, as well as his working methods in reviving the use of stucco as a relief medium for the first time since antiquity, at long last could be newly appreciated. In selecting Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, the undisputed repository of oratorical wisdom in his age, and emulating it properly in the Old Sacristy, Donatello demonstrates a new way in which literary discourse can be brought to bear on the visual arts. The appropriate use and translation of classical sources, both visual and literary, to formulate the sacristy's Christian imagery signaled Donatello's active involvement with the revival of classical rhetoric and its concomitant issues of style. Donatello's work also exemplifies the remarkable Renaissance facility for transforming the classical past seamlessly into a Christian present.

The overlapping of religious and rhetorical concerns also comes into play in Isabel Karremann's "*King Lear* and the Rhetoric of Amnesia," which begins with a critically informed survey of the reception history of *King Lear* as a play open to nihilistic interpretation with its plot of increasing violence, torture, and death that exposes human folly, greed, and corruption and which charts, as R. A Foakes put it in his introduction to the Arden edition of *King Lear* (as quoted by Karremann), "a progression towards despair or mere nothingness." Karremann demonstrates that this perceived "progression toward nothingness" in fact is inscribed in the early modern play-text itself and that it is motivated by specifically early modern concerns. To make this intrinsic structure visible, Karremann explores the linguistic and dramaturgic devices through which this play enacts a transformation of "something" into "nothing"—discussed in terms of the "rhetoric of amnesia"—and shows that the Reformation is the historical context with the greatest explanatory power for why such a sense of nothingness might have captured a contemporary audience with its imaginary and affective force. Rather than offering a compensating nostalgic fantasy for what was lost in the post-Reformation England, *King Lear* offers instead the very experience of loss itself. In enacting a radical loss that disavows the very possibility of restoring the past, it also explores the limits of the history play and of the theater as a medium of memory. *King Lear* (as indeed all of Shakespeare's history plays) presents remembering and forgetting as complementary forces through which cultural memory is being formed and transformed. Moreover, this play explores both remembering and forgetting as aspects of its own theatrical enterprise: while the early modern theater arguably is concerned with recreating or remembering something that is not there anymore, plays like *King Lear* also point to the possibility that the early modern stage can represent and indeed can enact nothing.

Andrea Frisch, "Decorum and the Dignity of Memory: Transformations of the Memorable in Renaissance and Reformation France," uses the story of Simonides as a springboard for exploring the hidden complexities of the very concept of the "memorable" in early modern Europe. Whereas medieval conceptions of the memorable tended to foreground material that has already been recorded, the polemical literature of the Reformation (here exemplified by Jean Crespin's martyrologies), amalgamated current events that exhibited features of artificial memory (such as blood and violence) with that which should be remembered. Robert Estienne's 1539 *Dictionnaire françois-latin*, for example, indicates the temporal scope of memory within traditional conceptions of the phrase "digne de mémoire," which he glosses as both *memorabilis* and *memorandus*, both unforgettable and not to be forgotten, in addition to that which has been in fact remembered. The term thus embraces several different temporalities as well as several different aspects of memory that entail distinct relationships between the rememberer and the remembered. The concern of this article, then, is to highlight three fundamental ambiguities within the discourse of the "memorable" inherited from classical and medieval discourses of memory in sixteenth-century France (and in early modern Europe more generally), to make visible important transformations in the status of the memorable under the constraints of both Humanist philology and Reformation polemics.

Elisabeth Chaghafi's "Shaping Living Memory: John Aubrey, Izaak Walton, and the Idea of Poetic Friendship" focuses on these two early modern biographers frequently criticized for lack of historical accuracy because their biographical writings feature anecdotes that are either highly implausible or demonstrably inaccurate. Yet the most important question regarding those biographical anecdotes is not whether they are true, but why they were included. This essay goes on to examine how Walton and Aubrey use anecdotes to connect the lives of poets who had died within living memory and create the impression of a "friendship" based on like-mindedness: in his literary lives of John Donne and George Herbert, Walton uses the episode of the anchor poems to suggest the two poets were particularly close friends, while Aubrey's brief lives of the four major poet figures of the late sixteenth century (Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson) record several anecdotes that serve to establish them as suitable pairs. Chaghafi concludes that in either case, the–largely imaginary–poetic friendships should not necessarily be regarded as an indication that the biographer believed in the existence of such a friendship. Instead they should be treated as a structural device used by the two biographers to highlight what they considered to be crucial characteristics of their subjects.

We offer this collection of essays as a casebook for future studies of memory and forgetting in early modern literary culture; for, after all, it is a collection of cogent and representative case studies. Taken as a whole, then, this volume is an open-ended itinerary pointing the way to further investigations that might take into account other voices from the period which we were not able to accommodate in this initial foray. At the same time, this special issue was designed with an eye towards inspiring and catalyzing researchers engaged in other periods of literary and comparativist study, before and beyond the Renaissance and Reformation, to take away with them a few of the ideas or themes presented here, and perhaps even to go on to incorporate into their own work some of the ways these seven contributors variously have framed fundamental questions about and responses to the augmentation of memory and the inevitability of forgetting.

> Otrosí fueron la pintura e la escriptura e las imágenes primeramente falladas por razón que la memoria del ome desleznadera es: esto dice el Decreto.
>
> (In a like manner painting and writing and effigies were first devised because human memory is slippery—so say the Decretals.)
>
> – Juan Ruiz, *El libro de buen amor* (c. 1343)

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Foakes, R. A. Introduction. *King Lear*. Arden Shakespeare, Third Series. Thomason Learning, 1997, pp. 1–151.

Tracing the Memory Arts in *The Table of Cebes* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*

William E. Engel

> Artificial memory is a disposing or placing of sensible things in the mind by imagination, whereunto the natural memory having respect is by them admonished that it may be able to call to mind more easily and distinctly such things as are to be remembered. And, as Cicero sayeth in his second [treatise] to Herennius, it consisteth of places, as it were of wax or tables, and of images, as of figures and letters. . . . The places themselves must be set in order, for if there be a confusion in them it followeth of necessity that all the rest must be disordered. And it behoveth also that there be many places that many things may be placed by the same exercise and practice. (Fulwood G6v)[1]

Place-system mnemonics were highly valued by Renaissance humanists. These schemes, once mastered, provided easy and ready ways to discipline and direct one's train of thought. Whether based on rooms in a mansion or recognizable places along a familiar street, order was the primary concern when setting up and using an artificial memory system. Classical rhetoricians had proposed imagining a stroll along a well-known location as a way of composing, organizing, recalling, and delivering a speech:

> The first thought is placed, as it were in the forecourt; the second, let us say, in the living-room; the remainder are placed in due order all round the impluvium [cistern in the center of an open-roofed atrium] and entrusted not merely to bedrooms and parlors, but even to the care of statues and the like. This done, as soon as the memory of the facts requires to be revived, all these places are visited in turn and the various deposits are demanded from their custodians, as the sight of each recalls the respective details. (Quintilian 223)

Consistent with this aspect of the rhetorical tradition, fundamental to the humanist curriculum, the Elizabethan miscellany writer Hugh Plat instructs his readers:

> you must make choice of some large edifice or building, whose chambers or galleries be of some reasonable receipt, and so familiar unto you, as that every part of each of them may present itself readily unto your mind when you call for them. In every of these rooms you must place ten several subjects at a reasonable distance one from the other, least the nearness of their placing should happen to confound your memory. (Plat N1[r])

And what can be done with the most common sort of memory plan, "a spacious house divided into a number of rooms," Quintilian relates, "can equally well be done in connexion with public buildings, a long journey, the ramparts of a city, or even pictures" (223). To use place-system mnemonics (or, as they were called, "local memory systems"), one invented backgrounds (*loci* or places) and then fixed and arranged a series of striking and lively images. This resulted in what amounts to a visual shorthand expressed as emblems and other symbolic images whose meanings were assigned to them, often idiosyncratically.

> Yet there is also an artificial help to memory, which is variously and obscurely delivered by many authors. The shortest and easiest is this: make use of a sufficient number of places best known to you: as of towns [on] the way to London, the streets of London, or the signs in one street, such in fine as are well known to you. Keep their order perfectly in mind, which first, which second, etc., and when any word is given you to remember, place it in the first town, street or sign, joining them together with some fancy, though never so extravagant, the calling to mind your known place will draw along with it the fancy, and that the word joined to it. And these you may repeat afterwards either in the same order as they were delivered, or backwards, or as you please. (Walker F7[r])

Rhetoric underwent a pedagogical revival coincident with the rediscovery of Cicero's and Quintilian's core texts on memory training by Renaissance humanists devoted to learning more about classical literature and culture. Students trained to read Latin using such methods developed their literacy—and, indeed, their sense of literary design—with short moral texts such as *The Table of Cebes*, as will be discussed further in what follows. From schoolroom grammar lessons to everyday practical uses by merchants, statesmen, and jurists, place system mnemonics during the Renaissance were essentially commonplace—and ubiquitous.

> The first kind of compound ideas is of them which consist partly of a direct idea [image or visual conceit], partly of a scriptile [written in words]. Of this sort are an history painted in a fair table with verses underneath explaining it; a libel or epigram made upon something done, supposed to be written in a paper and pasted upon the opposite wall, and the thing done expressed in action upon the stage: an armored knight bearing a scutcheon and imprese written therein, and the like. The second kind of compound idea is of them which consist partly of a relative idea and partly a scriptile. Of this sort are innumerable examples in emblems written by Beza, Alciato, Peacham, and others. For in all emblems, the picture occupying the upper part of the table is a relative idea, and that which is written underneath, a scriptile. (Willis C5v)[2]

As for the place of emblems as an aspect of the memory arts, Francis Bacon advocated using them judiciously in the service of advancing knowledge:

> This art of memory is but built upon two intentions; the one prenotion, the other emblem. Prenotion dischargeth the indefinite seeking of that we would remember, and directeth us to seek in a narrow compass, that is, somewhat that hath congruity with our place of memory. Emblem reduceth conceits intellectual to images sensible, which strike the memory more; out of which axioms may be drawn much better practice than that in use; and besides which axioms, there are divers more touching help of memory not inferior to them. But I did in the beginning distinguish, not to report those things deficient, which are but only ill managed. (Pp2v)

Edmund Spenser similarly was steeped in the memory training typical of Renaissance humanist pedagogy, although perhaps even more so than the average pupil because his headmaster was Richard Mulcaster at London's Merchant Taylors' School. Mulcaster's first educational treatise, *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children*, discloses an appreciation of using vivid memory places in conjunction with mnemonic backdrops within which they are situated: "If the nine muses and Apollo (their president) were painted upon the wall, he might talk to them without either laughing or lowering, they would serve him for places of memory, or for hieroglyphical partitions" (Aa2v). Spenser was at Merchant Taylors' School, perhaps at its inception in 1561 until 1569, the year in which he matriculated at Pembroke College, Cambridge

(Wallace 7). Mulcaster's ideas about education would have formed the basis of his rudimentary learning, thus preparing the ground for future practical and literary applications. A few key aspects of Mulcaster's progressive pedagogy need to be established before looking closer at Spenser's finely honed approach to mnemonic material and visuality more generally considered.

Richard Mulcaster (c. 1530-1611) spent time at both Oxford and Cambridge before becoming the first headmaster of the newly founded Merchant Taylors' School in London in 1561. Thomas Kyd, the noted Elizabethan playwright who was a friend of Marlowe, was also among Mulcaster's first pupils. In addition to introducing music and drama into the curriculum (his students performed masques and interludes at Queen Elizabeth's court), he saw value in athletics and is credited with the earliest reference to organizing team-football (soccer). Among his revolutionary ideas, including that the "student's submission to the teacher's rule was 'voluntary' as opposed to compulsory" (Bushnell 35), Mulcaster maintained that instruction in drawing was fundamental to a proper curriculum (Borris 5).

In his first treatise on education, *Positions Concerning the Training Up of Children*, Mulcaster explains that skill in "drawing is an assured rule for the sense to judge by, of the proportion and seemliness of all aspectable things. As he that knoweth best, how to keep that himself, which is comely in fashion, can also best judge, when comeliness of fashion is kept by another" (35). This notion of "comeliness of fashion," with reference to the cultivation of knowledge of what is fine, beautiful, and good so as to fashion oneself as a person of discernment and circumspection, was to have profound resonance in Spenser's calling as a poet. Consonant with Mulcaster's view of the role of drawing as both a metaphor for and a means of recognizing the virtuous in all "aspectable"—which is to say visible—things, Spenser uses the word fashion in the prefatory letter declaring the intention "and general end" of *The Faerie Queene* as being "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline" (15).[3] Further, in his second treatise on education, *The Elementarie*, Mulcaster explains more about his teaching method, and we can well imagine the young Spenser engaged in just such exercises during the course of his daily routine at Merchant Taylors': "I . . . pick out some certain figures" from architecture, embroidery, engraving, and statuary (among others), as "seem most fit to teach a child to draw, and withal I . . . show how they are to be dealt with even from their first point, to their last perfection" (58). Using passages such as this one, Kenneth Borris has argued that Spenser would "have received some considerable instruction in drawing during his long tutelage at Mulcaster's school, and could thus have readily produced detailed and effective sketches to guide the cutting of the blocks for the *Calender*'s illustrations" (5), referring to the set of pastoral poems, *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579), which made Spenser's name as a poet worthily associated with Sir Philip Sidney's literary circle. Such first-hand practice with making images gave Mulcaster's students insight into the subtleties of both graphic design and basic principles of visual composition.

The picture that emerges of Mulcaster is of an advocate and teacher of drawing along with, of course, reading, writing, and construing passages from classical texts. His culling of images, like his listing of 8,000 hard words at the end of *Elementarie* (which paved the way for future dictionaries of the English language), indicates he appreciated the pedagogical and mnemonic value of the orderly disposition of the matter to be managed, as does his innovative staging of plays, improvisational debates, and orations for his students. This practice of having students learn how to dispute propositions, as well as engaging in dialogues drawn from classical texts, was becoming increasingly popular in grammar schools throughout Europe, especially with the aid of standardized texts such as *Lily's Grammar* and the extremely popular *Cordier's Colloquies*, which contained hundreds of approved Latin conversations (Green 176-81). Typical of this approach, the teacher John Brinsley, also a promoter of the memory arts during the period, used a "mode of daily disputing and opposing," first peer to peer and then pupil to teacher to make sure knowledge was being advanced rather than puerile simplicities merely circulating among the students unchecked (Brinsley $Hh1^{r}$-$Hh2^{r}$). Another Tudor educator, William Kempe (1560-1601), clearly familiar with the writings of Ramus (whose work he had encountered while a student at Cambridge), was interested in the more practical ways in which memory is connected to pedagogy and behavior. As part of a step-based system conducing ultimately to original compositions, Kempe developed a lively way to help students memorize precepts and grammar consistent with the memory arts ($E3^{r}$–$E4^{v}$).

In light of these widespread dialogical and mnemotechnical practices, Mulcaster's reference to an imagined mural of the muses can be understood in terms of a developing attitude toward pedagogy designed to incite students to cultivate their own viable memory places, seen as both instrumental to the proper conducting of expository conversation as well as being a pathway to critical judgment and moral discernment. Such examples reflect the extent to which value was ascribed to collecting and engaging actively with one's own mnemonic treasury. From what can be gleaned in his instructional manuals grounded in years of classroom experience and practice, Mulcaster promoted using the memory arts to make the mind supple and fit, paralleling his view of physical exercise and competitive challenges (such as using only one's feet when striking the ball) to keep students healthy and alert, ready to return refreshed to their lessons in Latin and Greek.

Apropos of the latter, there is another important element in the training of young minds at Merchant Taylors' to be considered: Cebes's *Tabula* (the *Tablet* or *Table of Cebes*). The persistent presence and use of this book throughout the early modern period is well documented as a principal text for learning Greek with its facing-page Latin translation. John Milton, for example, commends it explicitly in "Of Education" as being foremost among the "easy and delightful books of Education . . . to win them early to the love of virtue and true labor" (982). It was translated into all main European vernacular languages, and its prominent place in the Renaissance allegorical imagination was the result of its being one "of the most famous ekphrastic texts ever composed" (Orgel 1). *Ekphrasis*, from classical rhetoric, is the detailed, vivid, often dramatic, verbal description of a visual work of art, either real or imagined. It also served in the early modern period as a standard rhetorical exercise assigned to students. The popularity of *The Table of Cebes*, both as a reading primer and *vade mecum* (a book one carried at all times in which key passages were annotated and copied out, thus further aiding the memory) led to its being reprinted with other short edifying works, such as Epictetus's *Manual* and Theophrastus's *Characters*, most notably in John Healey's best-selling pocket-sized edition.[4]

The Table, once attributed to Cebes (c.430-350 BCE), a Theban philosopher of Socrates's circle, more likely dates from the early second century CE, and often is linked to Plutarch (Trapp 159). The moral message conveyed by means of ekphrasis bears comparison to Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe* (also circa second century, and which will be discussed in what follows), where the story unfolds from the images on a panel found in an obscure grove, narrated by a wise old man. The literary design of *The Table of Cebes* involves a series of rings forming a linked and coherent background mnemonic against which various allegorical tableaux are placed and visited in turn. The inherent pedagogical value of such a plan was commented on by, among other continental humanists, Cosma Rosselli, most notably with respect to the graphic rendering of Dante's circles from *Inferno* (see fig. 1). Rosselli's mnemonically organized engraving of the terrain and the architecture of *Paradiso*, with the subtle details of the Mystic Rose concealed from sight within its center, features gates within this castellated circular wall that unmistakably recall the structure and decorum of a typical memory theatre (see fig. 2). The same holds for the entryways both to Spenser's House of Temperance in *The Faerie Queene* (II.9.21-26) and

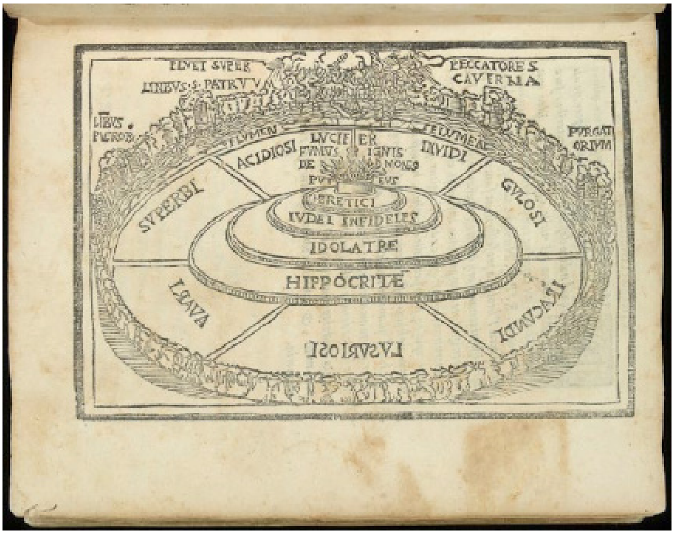

Fig. 1

Cosma Rosselli, *Theasurus artificiosae memoriae* (Venice, 1579), sig. C4ʳ, with kind permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

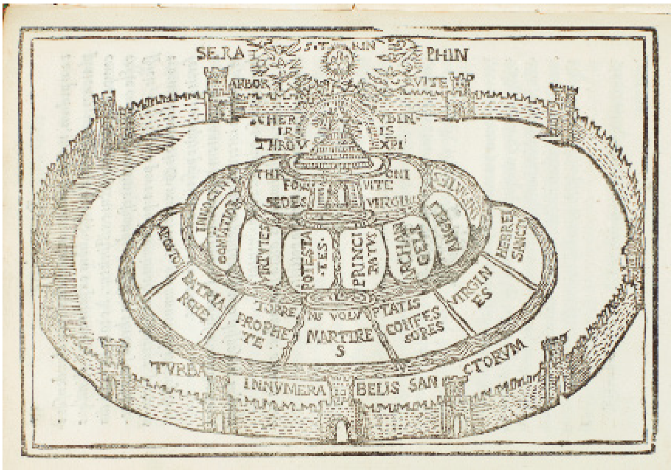

Fig. 2

Cosma Rosselli, *Theasurus artificiosae memoriae* (Venice, 1579), sig. K1ᵛ, with kind permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

to *The Table of Cebes* as described by the narrator—and also as illustrated by Hans Holbein. Rosselli, by way of glossing the image in his handbook of the memory arts, explains that the variety of punishments, along with the locations where the sinners suffer, will become the memory places that in turn will facilitate the improvement of memory (K2^{v}). Likewise the printer's address to the reader clarifies that the principal aim of *The Table of Cebes* is to show "how mortal creatures, blinded by ignorance, wander in this world and cannot attain to true felicity because they are misled by false opinions" and that "through a series of allegorical encounters along the way offers a path away from false assumptions toward a settled and stable mind" (A2^{r}). This synopsis, concerning a journey toward the highest good, or *summum bonum* (an end in itself and also, according to Cicero and following Aristotle, containing all of the other virtues), could be applied as well, in general terms, to *The Faerie Queene*.

To be sure some very close readers of *The Faerie Queene* have noticed subtle echoes of *The Table of Cebes* in Spenser's work. For example, with the certitude that tended to accompany source attribution studies in previous centuries, John Upton noted in his edition of *The Faerie Queene* that the old man with scroll in hand, standing at the double gate two walls on either side (III.vi.31), "is plainly taken from Cebes" (552); and, glossing another passage, concerning the precedents and etymology of the name of Sir Guyon, "the portraiture of temperance" (II.i.29), declaims "exactly so is the Lady Erudition described in Cebes" and goes on to cite the proof text in Greek (431). H. J. Todd, in his 1805 edition of *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, hedging his bets, offers this gloss on a passage (II.xii.55): "Perhaps he had this picture from Cebes" (IV, 214). C. S. Lewis, building on an idea originally presented by an eighteenth-century commentator (Warton 57-60), discussed the relation between the Garden of Adonis (III.vi) and the *Tabula* (Lewis 173). James Nohrnberg suggestively observed a parallel between *The Faerie Queen* and *The Table of Cebes* with respect to "the educator's idea of a convertible analogy between the thresholds crossed by the internal characters and those crossed by the reader" (124). Cebes is mentioned by Gordon Teskey in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, under the heading of allegory, as a kind of exceptional "medieval holdover" (19); and David Hill Radcliffe makes an incidental reference to finding in Cebes, along with Hesiod, "authority" for Spenser's "use of allegory" (63).

With the stakes being so high, as regards both the educator-poet's desideratum and as regards identifying a special mode of figuration in his literary art, it is surprising that the Cebes connection has yet to be fleshed out in greater earnest by contemporary scholars interested in Spenser's craft. What follows therefore is a brief sketch of how such a project might proceed, tracing some of the main affinities between Spenser's use of visually evocative mnemonic places and *The Table of Cebes*. Special reference will be made to the image and theme of the threshold, where and by means of which viewers enter a parallel world of allegorical encounters.

Something about *The Table of Cebes* especially evokes the idea of thresholds, as can be seen by Holbein's using it for several different illustrated border designs situated as the entryway to a number of folios, including the 1522 New Testament translated into Latin by Erasmus (Nohrnberg 124), and the much-used *Lexicon Graeco Latinum* which would have been readily on hand at Cambridge University during the years when Spenser was studying at Pembroke College. Among other works showing Holbein's visual rendering of the narrative elements of *The Table of Cebes* as an encompassing title page border frame are Tertullian's *Works* (1521) and Strabo's *Geography* (1523) (see fig. 3 and fig. 4). This decorative rendering of the visually compelling narrative of *The Table of Cebes* circulated widely and in a variety of forms during the sixteenth century.

Whether Spenser actually saw, let alone carefully noted, Holbein's graphic rendering of the allegorical layout of *The Table of Cebes* is not really at issue, for it is highly unlikely that he did not know it in some form or other; moreover, he hardly could have avoided encountering the text in grammar school. It is not necessary to marshal numerous citations from *The Faerie Queene* to urge the case of what is self-evident about Spenser's allegorical method as recalling key elements of *The Table of Cebes*, a work that, as Sandra Sider has observed, "bears a strong resemblance to both an emblem book and memory theatre" (2). Considering a few of the more telling parallels will suffice to make the case for Spenser's shared aesthetic affinity with, if not direct knowledge of, *The Table of Cebes*. For, as will become clear from what follows, in Cebes's moral allegory the reader is walked through a multi-tiered organizational mnemonic, much like any of Spenser's tableaux and buildings, filled with memorably encoded devices and admonitory mottoes. Indeed, from his "earliest published works," Spenser was drawn to and fascinated by the "interplay between physical and spiritual vision, key to the emblematic mentalities" of the day (Howe 309).

In *Daphnis and Chloe*, the *locus classicus* for such literary displacements of contemporary moral concerns garbed in the tissue of pastoral and epic romance, the point of departure likewise is a picture containing (as the narrator of *The Table of Cebes* relates in Healey's translation) "very many strange, and vncouth resemblances" (F5^{r}).

Fig. 3

Tertullian, *Works* (1521), engraved title page by Hans Holbein, the Younger; with permission, The Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

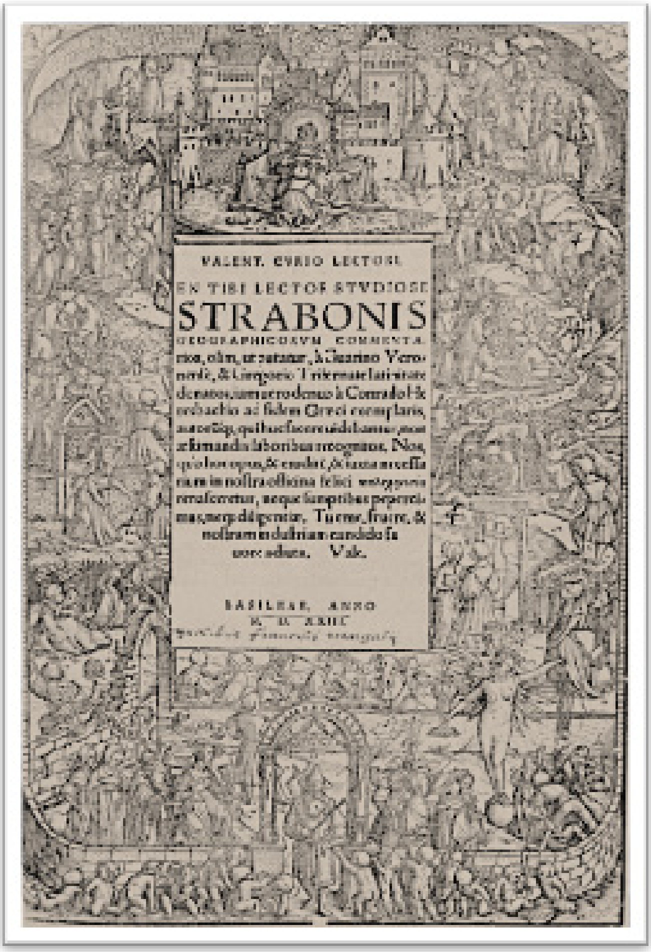

Fig. 4

Strabo's *Geography* (1523), engraved title page by Hans Holbein, the Younger; digital image courtesy of The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University Library, New Haven.

Like *The Table of Cebes*, *Daphnis and Chloe* is set in motion by means of a picture:

> When I was hunting in Lesbos, I saw, in a wood sacred to the Nymphs, the most beautiful thing I have ever seen—a painting. . . . After gazing admiringly at many other scenes . . . I was seized by a longing to write a verbal equivalent to the painting. So I found someone to explain the picture to me, and com-

> posed a work . . . to refresh the memory of those who have been in love and educate those who have not. (17)

What is projected here about the aim of the allegorical design of *Daphnis and Chloe* applies as well to the ekphrastic character of both *The Table of Cebes* and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*; namely, "to explain the picture" and "to refresh the memory." Further precedent for this approach during the Renaissance can be found in Leon Battista Alberti. He maintained that the "starting point for any painting" should be a "memorable story" (Hulse 65-8); and that "painting itself" is "an art of memory" (Nadav-Manes 9).

Daphnis and Chloe and *The Table of Cebes* both begin with the chance sighting of a painting that impels the writer to find someone who can interpret the images, each in its own right, and then explain how they are linked to form a coherent moral story. The formulaic launching of the quest motif in *The Faerie Queene*, like that of *Daphnis and Chloe* and as exemplarily described in *The Table of Cebes*, includes references to a "chance" encounter. Terms such as hap and chanced, of course, are part and parcel of the perennial literary trope used to excuse an author's putting something in the reader's way as if simply recording, as a point of information, what happened to transpire in the world of his narration. This is a technique Spenser uses with some frequency as a placeholder between and as a framing mechanism for episodes: "At last she *chaunced* by good *hap* to meet / A goodly knight, faire marching by the way / Together with his Squire, arayed meet" (I.vii.29, ll.1-3) [emphasis added]. Bracketed by the *rime riche* of "hap to meet" and "arayed meet" (repeating the same word rather than another that rhymes with it), thereby calling special attention to and singling out the "goodly knight,"[5] this is the first appearance of Arthur in the poem. John Upton long ago observed of this passage (I.vii.29) "that his image might well be impressed on the reader's mind, he is described at large, and takes up nine whole stanzas" (388). Indeed, Spenser here is setting up what amounts to a place of memory—namely Arthur (and what he stands for in the extended narrative), which then will circulate in the text, appearing at crucial moments in the epic. This important nine-stanza digressive description before the naming of Arthur in *The Faerie Queene* establishes the memory image that then is sent off to engage with other characters, such as Orgoglio and Duessa (I.viii), thereby augmenting the implications of what they signal in the wider topical and political allegory.

As with *The Faerie Queene*, and with *Daphnis and Chloe*, the framing narrative of *The Table of Cebes* follows from an unlooked-for encounter: "It *chanced* us to walk in the Temple of Saturn where . . . we saw, a table was hanged up for an offering. In the which was a picture, very strange, containing in it certain fables and stories in the which we could neither conject whereof they were" (A2^{r}) [emphasis added]. Just as with the interlocutors in *The Table of Cebes*, and as with Una happening to meet Arthur, we too find ourselves projected—and transported—into a great adventure, as it were, by chance.

The entrance into the principal memory device of *The Table of Cebes*, which overall is structured as a traditional Memory Palace, bears comparison to Spenser's description of our entrance into another cordoned-off set piece, one that makes ample use of mnemotechnic architecture; namely, the outer precincts and threshold of Alma's House:

> Therein two gates were placed seemly well
> The one before, by which all in did pas,
> Did th'other far in workmanship excell;
> For not of wood, nor of enduring bras,
> But of more worthy substance fram'd it was;
> Doubly disparted, it did locke and close,
> That when it locked, none might thorough pas,
> And when it opened, no man might it close,
> Still open to their friends, and closed to their foes.
>
> Of hewen stone the porch was fairely wrought,
> Stone more of valew, and more smooth and fine,
> Then Iet or Marble far from Ireland brought;
> Ouer the which was cast a wandring vine,
> Enchaced with a wanton yuie twine.
> And ouer it a faire Portcullis hong,
> Which to the gate directly did incline,
> With comely compasse, and compacture strong,
> Neither vnseemely short, nor yet exceeding long.
>
> Within the Barbican a Porter sate,
> Day and night duely keeping watch and ward,
> Nor wight, nor word mote passe out of the gate,
> But in good order, and with dew regard;
> Vtterers of secrets he from thence debard,
> Bablers of folly, and blazers of crime.
> His larumbell might lowd and wide be hard,
> When cause requird, but neuer out of time;
> Early and late it rong, at euening and at prime. (II.ix.23-25)

The parallel passage from *The Table of Cebes* establishes the same pattern of the reader passing through a threshold and learning how things are done once on the other side:

> There was also a gate in the first circle, and in the gate there seemed to us a great company to stand. And within the enclosure there appeared a multitude of women. In the entrance of the first porch and circuit there stood an old man who seemed as though he commanded somewhat to the company that entered in. . . . 'This you must first know, that this place is called life, and the great company that stands before the door be those that shall enter into life. The old man, that stands above, having in his one hand a paper, and with the other, as it were showing somewhat, is called Genius. He commandeth the enterers what they must do if they will be kept safe in the life.' (A2[r])

When comparing the two, we need to keep in mind that Quintilian, like other classical commentators on the Art of Memory, recommends entering a mnemonic construct through a gate, a definite starting point from which to survey the whole, thereby establishing a distinct point of departure from which to visit the designated places in the proper sequence and retrieve what resides there (223).

The itinerary described here, with its clearly marked starting point, is easy to follow—and, to some extent, to understand—once one enters. And just as Alma's House has its Porter, so *The Table of Cebes* has its Genius (see fig. 3, bottom right; and fig. 4, bottom center). Genius presides at the entry gate opening onto a progression of admonitory allegorical figures. In classical Rome, a *genius loci* was the protective or tutelary spirit of a place. Spenser was well aware of the classical figure of Genius, and plays upon the deeper meaning of his proper name and attributes, placing him at the entrance to the precincts of Acrasia's licentious Bower of Bliss (II.xii), the negative counterpart of Alma's well-managed House of Temperance (II.ix).

> They in that place him Genius did call:
> Not that celestiall powre, to whom the care
> Of life, and generation of all
> That liues, pertaines in charge particulare,
> Who wondrous things concerning our welfare,
> And straunge phantomes doth let vs oft forsee,
> And oft of secret ill bids vs beware:

That is our Selfe, whom though we do not see,
Yet each doth in him selfe it well perceiue to bee.

Therefore a God him sage Antiquity
Did wisely make, and good Agdistes call:
But this same was to that quite contrary,
The foe of life, that good enuyes to all,
That secretly doth vs procure to fall,
Through guilefull semblaunts, which he makes vs see.
He of this Gardin had the gouernall,
And Pleasures porter was deuizd to bee,
Holding a staffe in hand for more formalitee. (II.xii.47-48)

With a similar anticipatory resonance as that evoked by Spenser's reference to Genius, one moves virtually within the walled garden of *The Table of Cebes* from the gate to a figure labelled Fortuna (fig. 4, bottom right). She resembles, in this version, a winged harpy balancing awkwardly on a globe, and, in the other version (fig. 3, bottom left), a more traditional less terrifying and therefore more deceptive depiction, unsteadily with one foot on and one foot off the sphere.[6] Such images representing emblematically the precarious nature of earthly goods in contrast to the *summum bonum* circulated widely in the sixteenth century,[7] boosted by Andrea Alciato's famous and much imitated emblem of "Occasio,"[8] and which can be found, among other English sources, in the 1556 engraved title page of Robert Recorde's *Castle of Knowledge*.[9]

From here one passes on to Suadela, goddess of persuasion, associated in this instance with seduction; and thence on to others until at last we come to Felicitas, securely ensconced in an unassailable castle (fig. 4, top middle). It is with this memory image that the perilous journey at last reaches a happy conclusion, the *summum bonum*, free from the trappings of the insubstantial things of this world, having encountered and moved beyond them. But, of course, owing to the disposition of the images on the page, we can take it all in at a single glance and review the larger moral message once we have encountered, and set in our mind's eye, the various stops along the way.

What follows then in *The Table of Cebes* is a series of encounters with allegorical figures that either lead one astray or which, when confronted and reckoned with, if not fully overcome, lead one by degrees to the safe haven, very much like what we find in Alma's House of Temperance (II.ix) already mentioned, and in the House of Holiness (I.x) with its felicitous vision of Cleopolis.[10] The alluring pitfalls of

Lucifera's House of Pride (I.iv) and Acrasia's Bower of Bliss (II.xii), and comparably in *The Table of Cebes*, are legion:

> "Seest thou not," quod he, "hard by the gate, a certain seat, set in the place, where the great company entereth, in the which there sitteth a woman goodly of manners, with a fair luring countenance and having in her hand a cup?" "I see her, but what is she?" quod I. "She is called Deceit," quod he, "misleader of all folk" "Then what doth she?" "She compelleth them that come into the life to drink as much of her cup as she can." "What drink?" "It is," quod he, "error and ignorance." . . . "The enterers then, through the Ignorance and Error that they drank by Deceit, cannot find which is the true way in the life but wander unadvisedly." (A5^{r}-A6^{r})

As if folding Redcrosse's chivalric encounters in between these two Cebes-esque allegorical markers—error and ignorance—Spenser has Redcrosse become involved first with the monster Error, for "God help the man so wrapped in Error's endless traine" (I.i.18, l.9), and later Ignaro, or Ignorance made flesh, the white-haired keeper of the castle of the prideful, overpowering giant Orgoglio (I.viii), a theme upon which Jane Grogan has written exemplarily (89). But it is Deceit personified, Archimago, disguised as a holy hermit, initially who tricks Redcrosse with a dream that separates him from Una (and from all for which she stands); and then, showing another face of Deceit, Duessa, in comely countenance, deceives Redcrosse in order that he might entrap himself. As with any *locus amoenus* setting (the literary topos of the pleasant place), in *The Table of Cebes* readers likewise encounter mnemotechnically charged alluring figures who impede self-governance before one can wage battle—whether within oneself or out in the world—and move on to the next stage of one's quest: "'See ye not then, after ye have passed this gate, another higher compass, and women standing without the same circuit appointed like harlots?' 'Yea, very well.' 'The one of those is called Incontinence, another Riot, and other Covetousness, another Flattery'" (A5^{r}). The allurements may indeed be numerous in *The Table of Cebes*, as in *The Faerie Queene*, but such mnemonic itineraries alert readers what they are, even if we may not always recognize them when we see them in the world.

Further investigation of the Cebes connection along these lines will bear out the extent to which Spenser's mnemonic architecture and landscapes move beyond any simple understanding of a merely commonplace sense of moral behaviour and right action. As Grant Williams has argued, Spenser draws upon the rich cultural discourses subtending the archival and memory arts in order to connect the personal with the national, the individual with the past (231-52). Furthermore, as Williams has pressed the point (in the entry on Edmund Spenser in *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England*), in the cause of building a Protestant state, Eumnestes's chamber, the climax of Alma's House of Temperance, allows Guyon and Arthur to know themselves fully insofar as "the library directs them to tomes that reveal their nation's ancestry and the royal lineage of the *Faerie Queene*, Elizabeth I herself, the precious heart's image of every loyal Tudor subject" (Engel et al. 288).

It is easy to see how the processions and pageantry of *The Faerie Queene* will reward further comparisons to the mnemonic nodes in *The Table of Cebes*. A parting case in point is the House of Busirane (III.xi), where, as Thomas Hyde has argued convincingly, Britomart's adventures unfold in three distinct stages in three rooms of the house (124), corresponding to and, to some extent, mirroring the three-tiered mnemonic design of *The Table of Cebes*. Brad Tuggle, moreover, has demonstrated the extent to which the Busirane episode is in fact crafted by Spenser to allow readers "to think and remember in ways that are simultaneously unique and common" (119), reminiscent of the reader's experience with the ekphrastic, morally driven display of *The Table of Cebes*.

As already suggested, affinities between the two works are not simply a result of the same sort of commonplace devices used to further narrative by emblematic conceits; although, to be sure, this element is part of it. What is most remarkable, though, is the way in which a range of memorable episodes in *The Faerie Queene* that recount the strolling and wandering and pricking through an interior landscape conducing to personal trial and self-revelation concerning the highest good collectively weave together humoral faculty psychology, mnemonic architecture, and itineraries of image and place. It is by such means that Spenser integrates artificial memory with natural memory, raising the question of where one starts and the other ends, and suggesting a mentally disciplined equilibrium worthy of the temperate body—as is likewise the case with *The Table of Cebes*. And like *The Faerie Queene*, it proffers a double threshold, at once looking from where we are into the allegorical landscape so rich with mnemonic emblems, and then back into ourselves. It is a double threshold finally in another sense as well, that sense that attracted Holbein to *The Table of Cebes*: once we go through, and commit ourselves to entering the book, we are inclined thereafter to see textual places of memory as places in the world—and vice versa.

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Notes

1. Pages in this early modern edition, as well as in some of the other books quoted hereafter when appropriate, are identified by signatures (markings that allowed printers to assemble books in the correct order, since many parts were being printed and hung out to dry all at once). In the early days of printing, page numbering was sporadic, often incorrect, and indicated only on the *recto* (right) page. The "r" of a signature indicates the *recto* side of a page, and "v," the *verso*, or back. Also, throughout (except in the case of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, for reasons discussed below) early modern orthography and idiosyncratic printers' spellings have been regularized silently; and all translations and glosses are my own unless otherwise indicated.

2. Willis refers to a painted shield ("scutcheon") and to tournament devices ("imprese"), which consisted of an image and motto collectively disclosing some secret intention or aspiration of the bearer. The compilers of emblem books mentioned are Theodore de Bèze (1519–1605), the French Protestant theologian who wrote *Icones* (1580); Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), the Italian humanist and author of the trend-setting *Emblematum libellus* (1531); and Henry Peacham (1578–1644), the English poet and miscellany writer, who compiled *Minerva Britanna* (1612).

3. All references to *The Faerie Queene* follow Thomas Roche's edition, which preserves the original orthography and spelling; Spenser's poetic plan for his epic involved imagining and evoking an archaic, idiomatic English associated with Arthurian romance.

4. John Healey, a professional translator, died in 1610, the same year as the appearance of his *Epictetus his Manuall And Cebes his Table. Out of the Greeke Originall*. A second edition, in 1616, included Theophrastus's *Characters*, as well as a new dedication by the printer, Thomas Thorpe, to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke.

5. On the use of such heteronyms and homophones as paired rhyme words in *The Faerie Queene*, see Oras (39-60).

6. A more detailed treatment of these iconographic elements in *The Table of Cebes* can be found in *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England: A Critical Anthology* (Engel et al. 110-113).

7. On the various aspects of Fortuna in play during the period, and an account of the range of their implications and practical uses, see Paul (43-78).

8. This theme, in the context of the vogue for emblem literature during the sixteenth century, is addressed instructively by Daly (99).

9. For a complete description and careful analysis of the title page's imagery, see Sawday (155).

10. For an especially illuminating analysis of the specifically mnemotechic aspects of this visionary place in the context of Spenser's larger allegorical plan, see Helfer (184-86).

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Damnatio Memoriae and the Mestizo Subject in Sixteenth-Century Mexico[1]

Colt Segrest

The medieval ecclesiastical manifestation of *damnatio memoriae*, as outlined by Jacques Le Goff in *Mémoire et histoire*, consisted in the removal of a person's name from records following excommunication to erase the public memory of that person.[2] The ancient Roman practice had targeted criminals or political traitors, but the Church later appropriated this strategy to extirpate blasphemy and disbelief. In sixteenth-century Mexico, that is, the Spanish viceroyalty of New Spain, a similar punishment of damnation into oblivion was attempted by ecclesiastical authorities through the large-scale burning of painted manuscripts containing the genealogical, historical, and religious records of indigenous communities (see fig. 1). The most renowned case is that of the Franciscan Diego de Landa, Bishop of Yucatán, under whose authority almost all Maya codices were destroyed by fire. An earlier documented case involves the Franciscan Juan de Zumárraga, the first archbishop of New Spain, who authorized the destruction of the library of Texcoco, one of the most important holdings of pre-conquest painted manuscripts.

This destruction of native religious and historical texts had as one of its consequences new forms of historiography in the colonial period. One of these forms was the narration of local history within the framework of the geographical surveys commissioned in 1579 by the King of Spain Philip II. Accordingly, in this essay, I will address the mestizo subjects Juan Bautista Pomar and Diego Muñoz Camargo, who produced reports on their native towns for these geographical reports. I will examine their attempt to recover their ancestral heritage from oblivion through their reconstitution of genealogies and local history as well as their attempts to improve the present conditions of native inhabitants. Under such circumstances, the memory of the past (or its absence) was poised to condition the present-day welfare of the local communities whose historical pasts were evoked through the *Relaciones geográficas*.

Fig. 1

"Incendio de todas las ropas y libros y atavíos de los sacerdotes idolátricos que se los quemaron los frailes." Diego Muñoz Camargo, *Historia de Tlaxcala* [ca. 1585]. MS Hunter 242, folio 242r. By permission of the University of Glasgow Library, Special Collections.

Questionnaire and Subsequent Geographical Reports

In the second half of the sixteenth century, Philip II arranged for a series of questionnaires to be sent to local government officials in all strategically important towns in Spanish territories overseas.[3] The survey, printed in 1577 and sent out across the world in 1579,[4] was designed by the royal cosmographer, Juan López de Velasco, based on earlier models established by Juan de Ovando y Godoy, president of the Council of the Indies between 1571 and 1575, and comprised fifty questions on various aspects of local culture: geography, history, religion, customs, and flora and fauna, to name but a few.[5] Some of the tasks proved to be very difficult–such as calculating the latitude of the town in question by using the pole star. In the report from Tepeaca, New Spain, for example, Francisco de Molina responds: "no se responde porque no hay quien la entienda" ("No answer because no one understands [the question]"; Molina 232). Most questions, however, requested less technical information, thus allowing for the respondent to reply at length about the things he best knew. Many are also accompanied by maps and drawings that depict local places.[6] When long answers are provided, they are invariably in the reports compiled through collaboration between Spanish officials and native elites. Some of these reports, called the *Relaciones Geográficas*, respond question by question, but some take the form of a long narrative, with sections of elaborate historical prose. The two longest and most notable reports from the viceroyalty of New Spain were written by mestizos of noble indigenous maternal descent: Diego Muñoz Camargo, who wrote the report for Tlaxcala, and Juan Bautista Pomar, who wrote the one for Texcoco, both important colonial cities in central Mexico. These texts, first printed in the nineteenth century by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, were not destined for publication and were thus produced without submission to the normal censorship apparatus. These writers were therefore able to contravene the prohibition on describing indigenous religious rituals, which had been the reason for the earlier confiscation of the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún's voluminous ethnographic writings on Nahua culture.

In addition to providing information requested by the Crown, these geographical reports functioned as personal accounts with particular interests. Serge Gruzinski, in *La colonización de lo imaginario*, has even called them "commissioned memoirs." He notes the originality and importance of these texts, while at the same time underlining the difficulty of fully comprehending "the acculturation of indigenous memoirs through a mestizo reinterpretation mixed with historiographical and political ambitions" (Gruzinski, *Colonización* 79). In this essay, I will focus on these historiographical ambitions, the interpretive processes involved, and the restitutive function of memorial writing.

"Left in the Dark": Destruction of the Archive[7]

The Dominican friar Diego Durán used the metaphor of darkness to lament the loss of knowledge caused by book burnings in his work on ancient Mesoamerican calendars:

> All was set down painstakingly and carefully by the most competent historians, who by means of these paintings recorded extensive chronicles regarding the men of the past. These writings would have enlightened us considerably had not ignorant zeal destroyed them. Ignorant men ordered them burned, believing them idols, while actually they were history books worthy of being preserved instead of being burned into oblivion . . . they left us in darkness. (*Ancient Calendar* 396)

This same darkness is evoked by Juan Bautista Pomar, *escribano* of Texcoco and great-grandson of its former ruler Nezahualcoyotl, who opens his narrative account of Texcoco's local history by describing the destruction of his maternal grandfather Nezahualpilli's archive of painted documents.[8]

> Al tiempo q[ue] el Marqués del Valle D[on] Her[nan]do Cortés, con los demás conquistadores, entraron la primera vez en ella, q[ue] habrá sesenta y cuatro a[ñ]os, poco más o menos, se las q[ue]maron en las casas reales de Nezahualpiltzintli, en un gran aposento q[ue] era el archivo general de sus papeles, en que estaban pintadas todas sus cosas antiguas, que hoy día lloran sus descendientes con mucho sentimiento, por haber q[ue]dado como a oscuras, sin noticia ni memoria de los hechos de sus pasados. (Pomar 46)

> In the time when the Marquis del Valle Don Hernando Cortés, with the other conquistadors, entered for the first time [into the city of Texcoco], sixty-four years ago, more or less, they burned the royal estates of Nezahualpiltzintli, a great chamber which was the general archive of his papers, on which were painted all the ancient things that his descendants today mourn with profound sentiment, having been left in the dark without history or memory of the things of their past.

Pomar uses this description initially to explain the lack of documentary resources available to him in writing his report for the viceregal government, but there is an underlying lamentation of this loss, not only because it makes his task of gathering knowledge difficult, but also because the archive's destruction resulted in irreparable loss of cultural heritage and the prestige that it could offer to living people. The purpose of his text was therefore to reconstitute this destroyed pictorial archive of the indigenous culture of Texcoco through narrative.

Pomar's mention of the palaces of Nezahualpilli calls to mind Diego Muñoz Camargo's description of the Spanish royal palaces in Tlaxcala, although the representation of destruction in Muñoz Camargo's description is made through allegory (Muñoz Camargo 46-49).[9] In his ekphrastic descriptions of the Tlaxcalan *casa real* in the late sixteenth century, Muñoz Camargo describes the portraits of Christopher Columbus, Hernán Cortés, and Francisco Pizarro victoriously mounted on horseback with the native rulers of Mexico and Peru, Moctezuma and Atahualpa, subjugated and enchained. At the end of the hall of portraits is an allegorical painting of Death with all her trophies, pointing her bow at all the peoples of the world. Behind Death are the allegories of Memory and Fame, accompanied by a great sum of books. The *translatio imperii* operated by the viceregal governments of Spain required, therefore, as this scene demonstrates, not only a replacement of power but also a new articulation of pre-conquest history.

Memory and Legitimation of Sources

In order to establish the legitimacy of the sources he uses while gathering information for his report, Pomar specifies firsthand authoritative accounts of his people's *antepasados* or forebears. His own voice as a Christian mestizo descendant of Nezahualcoyotl is evident in his interpretive method, his impulse to make sense of things. His apologetical task, in particular, involves a narrative process by which he sets out to explain and justify the practices of his ancestors. I have chosen to focus on Pomar's conciliatory interpretation of indigenous religious practices because the commentaries on religion make up the larger part of the report (the manuscript title even refers to the ancient things of religion) and because these commentaries best demonstrate the tension and preoccupation with meaning and signification in Pomar's writing.

The style of his narrative is characterized by abundant caution. He has a tendency to qualify even the most banal and inoffensive statements. In the first few pages of his report he specifies in a circumspect voice that he has diligently sought out "old Indians and wise elders" whose testimony provides the basis for his report (Pomar 46). In addition to personal interviews, he references the *Cantares*, a collection of Nahuatl poetry, as a substantial source for his reconstitution of Texcocan history. According to Pomar, those who knew the most important things were the priests of the idols and the sons of Nezahualpilli (his uncles), whom he interviewed. He also asks the reader to forgive any lacunae. He explains that any lack of detail concerning the gods, idols, ceremonies, and customs should not be attributed to carelessness or negligence, but rather to the fact that he could not gather more information due to the age of his informants (over eighty years) and their specialized rather than general knowledge (Pomar 46). He even identifies, later in the text, a specific person who provided information on diplomatic relations between Tlaxcala and Texcoco. He writes "Yo alcancé a conocer [a] uno de los embajadores que se llamaba Tlalcoyotl, hombre de mucho ser [y] habilidad, y por esto, y por la calidad de su oficio, muy tenido y estimado entre los indios, del cual supe muchos secretos y antigüedades" ("I came to know one of the ambassadors, whose name was Tlalcoyotl, a great and able man, and for the quality of his office very loved and esteemed among the Indians, from whom I learned many secrets and ancient things"; Pomar 90). As Manuel Carrera Stampa notes, Pomar "does not invent what he does not know and what he does know he says without exaggeration. It is a painstaking work about the Texcocan estates, with minutiae that Ixtlilxochitl does not provide," comparing him to the seventeenth-century historian of Texcoco, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl (Carrera Stampa 214). Pomar's approach also stands in contrast to the obscure style of Hernando de Alvarado Tezozomac, author of the *Crónica Mexicana*, whose penchant for the "prodigious and fantastical" is criticized by Carrera Stampa (218).

The same caution used by Pomar when establishing the authenticity of his sources is evident in his self-effacement. When explaining why the paintings and general archive of Nezahualpilli's papers were burned, he writes that the conquistadors

> los q[ue]maron de temor de D[on] Fray Ju[an de] Zumárraga, primer arzobispo de México, por[que] no los atribuyese a cosas de idolatría; porq[ue] en aq[ue]lla sazón, estaba acusado por idólatra, después de ser bautizado, D[on] Carlos Ometochtzin, hijo de Nezahualpiltzintli. (Pomar 46-47)

> burned them out of fear of Don Fray Juan de Zumárraga, first Archbishop of Mexico, so that he would not attribute them to idolatrous things, because at that time Don Carlos Ometochtzin, son of Nezahualpiltzintli, after having been baptized, was accused of idolatry.

This is another of several negative references to Juan de Zumárraga, represented by Pomar as a destroyer of material culture. Pomar does not specify that Carlos Ometochtzin, who was burned at the stake in 1539, when Pomar was still a child, was his maternal uncle. Nor does Pomar mention that Juan de Zumárraga presided over Carlos Ometochtzin's Inquisitorial trial. Understandably, he writes with a critical distance that removes him entirely from his object of study throughout the *Relación de Texcoco*. Pomar never mentions his own indigenous ancestry, even though his nobility was recognized by the viceregal goverment of New Spain (he was granted proprietary rights by reason of his lineage, but did not succeed in his attempt to obtain sovereign privilege).

Pomar's subject position as a second-generation Christian mestizo writing to describe, and sometimes to exonerate, certain cultural practices of his ancestors is complex. In her article on mestizo historiography and alterity, Rolena Adorno—analyzing the later mestizo chronicler of Texcoco, Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl—writes that

> it is wrong to deny the authenticity of this complex and compromised subject position because it fails to fit the neat model of binary opposition. In this respect, the acknowledgement of a third or intermediary type of alterity is probably closer to historical reality than a more abstract model of alterity which in itself is likely to be a feature of a crushing dominant discourse. (Adorno, "Arms, Letters" 216)

It is indeed this complexity of an intermediary, hybrid and often ambiguous perspective that exemplifies the mestizo historians of Texcoco—and colonial writing in New Spain more broadly. This hybridity is not only cultural and ethnic, but also textual and discursive, and as such presents challenging complexities in the representation of conquest (Voigt 14). As we shall see, this is especially evident in Pomar's propitiatory tone when he writes on religious practices.

Ritual Practice, Interpretation, and Posterity

Pomar's interpretive method is characterized by the same degree of caution and restraint as seen in his establishment of sources. At times, he confesses an inability to explain something, without, however, denying its relevance. There is, for example, a long description of the body-piercing rituals of the priests. After a detailed and guileless description, he concludes: "No se pudo saber este misterio y significación desto, [y], por eso, se pasa adelante" ("I was not able to understand this mystery and its meaning and for this reason move along to the next item"; Pomar 68). He similarly describes the fasting practices of the priests, to which Pomar assigns virtue, as well as providing the detail that there was no punishment for someone who broke the fast (Pomar 23). This contrasts sharply with the Franciscan friar Jerónimo de Mendieta's assertion in chapter seven of the *Historia eclesiástica indiana* that since pre-Hispanic practices such as fasting were inspired by the Devil, no merit could be achieved through them, as they constituted idolatrous penitence. Pomar, however, by conceding that there is—or could be—meaning to these practices, rather than always discarding them as irrelevant or diabolical, demonstrates an interpretive rigor. He is interested in the meaning of religious practices and uses the word *significación* or "meaning" throughout his writings.

Juan Bautista Pomar's presentation and interpretation of pre-Hispanic religion aims to attenuate any aspects that may seem unpalatable to a Christian reader. José Espericueta, in his excellent analysis of Pomar's depiction of proto-Christian virtue, asserts that "Pomar describes idolatry as an anomaly in an otherwise virtuous society" (Espericueta, "Writing" 211). Even though this particular text was not destined for publication, it was written when Inquisitorial censorship was vigilant and concerned with matters of heresy and idolatry. As a mestizo Christian with noble lineage, whose uncle was executed for continuing to practice his ancestral religion after baptism, Pomar writes with understandable prudence. When describing material aspects of religion, such as the physical appearance of idols, he writes with the detachment of a modern ethnographer. But, when faced with the distressing practice of human sacrifice, he tries to explain the meaning underlying the custom and ultimately says that in any case (especially in case his explanations fail to convince), his ancestors—the Acolhua of Texcoco—inherited the practice from the Mexica. His commentary is couched in layers of removal. In addition to distancing himself from assigning value to these practices, he emphasizes that there is a variety of opinion on religious matters (Pomar 54). At every turn, he carefully establishes a distance between himself and the object of his study.

Pomar chooses to focus on only three of the Texcoco idols—Tezcatlipoca, Huitzilopochtli, and Tlaloc—so, he says, as not to get lost among their innumerable divinities. Here I will focus on his account of the cult of Tlaloc, the god of rain and seasons (see fig. 2). One of the colorful illustrations originally accompanying Pomar's text depicts Tlaloc, a copy of which can be found in the Codex Ixtlilxochitl (Thomson 15-21). His commentary on the statue of Tlaloc is especially interesting because he refers not only to cultural practices, but also to material inheritance:

> No saben dar razón [de] quién lo labró, ni por q[ué] lo adoraban por dios de los temporales, más de q[ue], por algunas

> inteligencias, hay sospecha q[ue] lo hicieron un género de gentes q[ue se] llamaron tulteca[s], q[ue] hubo antiguamente en esta tierra, q[ue] se despoblaron della muchos a[ñ]os antes q[ue] los chichimecas la tornasen a poblar. Dicen q[ue] Nezahualcoyotzin, por reverencia deste ídolo, hizo el otro, de que se ha tratado, poniéndolo en el cu y templo principal desta ciudad [. . .]. (Pomar 60)

> They are unable to say who created it [the statue of Tlaloc], nor why they worshipped it as the god of storms, other than the fact that some minds suspect that it was made by a group of peoples called the Toltecs, formerly in these lands, which they abandoned many years before the Chichimecs returned to populate it. They say that Nezahualcoyotzin, out of reverence for this idol, made the other one, already mentioned, putting it in the principal temple of this city.

Fig. 2 Tlaloc, *Codex Ixtlilxochitl* [early 17th c.], Ms. Mexicain 65-71, folio 110v. By permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF).

This particular idol was destroyed by lightning in an event considered miraculous by the inhabitants of Texcoco. Following this disaster, the older original statue, which had been buried nearby, was returned to its place. Pomar again makes reference to Juan de Zumárraga, under whose order the original idol was subsequently destroyed: "y a éste hallaron, en tiempo de Don Fray Ju[an de] Zumárraga, primer arzobispo de México, pegado [a] él un brazo con tres gruesos clavos de oro y uno de cobre, q[ue], haciéndolo pedazos por su mandado, se los quitaron" ("they found it in the times of Don Fray Juan de

Zumárraga, first Archbishop of Mexico; it had an arm attached with three thick nails of gold and one of copper, which they broke into pieces and under his orders took away"; Pomar 61). His manner of describing the smashing into bits of this religious statue for the monetary value of its mineral components reveals his distaste concerning the destruction of objects charged with historical value. There is a clear parallel to the grief caused by Juan de Zumárraga's destruction of Nezahualpilli's archive of paintings.

In order to temper what might be considered a lamentation, he is quick to denounce the practices of the cult of Tlaloc, a subject distinct from the destruction of any material culture. The sacrifices to Tlaloc were unique as the sacrificial victims were young children (rather than prisoners of war), who were thrown into a crevice after having their throats slit. Pomar describes the ritual: "Con un pedernal agudo, los degollaba un sacerdote, o carnicero, por mejor decir, q[ue] estaba elegido para el servicio deste Demonio" ("with a sharp flint knife a priest, or butcher rather, who was chosen for the service of this demon, slit their throats"; Pomar 63). Pomar writes with revulsion and calls the priests who performed these sacrifices "servant priests of the Devil" (63). There is a clear difference in tone and content when he is assigning a moral value to these practices and when he is lamenting the destruction of material culture that left the people of Texcoco "without memory of their past," as he says in his introduction.

An even greater amount of measure and prudence is evident in Pomar's commentaries on human sacrifice (Inoue Okubo 6). He establishes the history of the practice, attributing it to the Mexica, thus distancing it from the current inhabitants of Texcoco. His analysis is not an apology for the sacrificial rite, and by no means does he attempt to justify its practice, but he does present a substantial and logical explanation of its meaning:

> Después q[ue] los señores chichimecas de Azcaputzalco los dejaron asentar y poblar adonde ahora es la ciudad de México, [. . .] se rebelaron contra sus señores; y de tal manera, q[ue], tomando las armas contra ellos, en poco tiempo los sojuzgaron. Y q[ue], por honrar más a sus ídolos, les hicieron sacrificio de hombres, de los q[ue], en la prosecución desta guerra y rebelión, prendían, en señal y agradecimiento de sus victorias, para tenerlos más gratos y favorables, pareciéndoles q[ue] ningún sacrificio les sería más apacible q[ue el] de aq[ue]llas cosas q[ue] más valor y estimación tuviesen. Y, como ninguna cosa sea de tanto precio como el hombre, y más si es habido y

> preso en guerra, con tantos trabajos y riesgos como en ella hay, determinaron de hacerle sacrificio dellos. (Pomar 61)

> After the Chichimec leaders of Azcapotzalco let them settle and populate the place that is now the city of Mexico [. . .] they rebelled against their leaders, in such a way that, taking up arms against them, they were able to subdue them in little time; and to give greater honor to their idols they made sacrifices of the men who had been captured in this war and rebellion, as a sign of gratitude for their victories, so that they would be more pleased and favorable, since it seemed to them that no sacrifice would be more pleasing than that of the most valuable and esteemed things they had; and since nothing is more valuable than man, and even more so if he has been captured in war with its travails and risks, they decided to make sacrifices of them.

His explanation is credible and cogent. First, there was an act of rebellion resulting in military action. Rather than wasting blood in battle, sacrificial victims were chosen to honor the gods, since nothing was more valuable than life itself. Pomar's language is captivating. The hyperbolic repetition of *más* and *ningún* reinforces the assuaging tone of his explanation. But so as not to seem too sympathetic to this practice, he underlines the error of excess, as well as the foreign origin of the practice:

> Aunq[ue] entonces fue con moderación, después creció como fue creciendo su potencia, hasta venir a tanta ceguedad y error, como en el q[ue] estaban al tiempo q[ue] los primeros conquistadores vinieron a esta tierra, q[ue] pluguiera a n[uest]ro Señor fuera ochenta a[ñ]os antes; porq[ue] en aqueste tiempo, aún no había memoria desta diabólica invención. De manera q[ue], a imitación de los mexicanos, se introdujo en toda esta tierra [. . .]. (Pomar 61)

> Even though it was then with moderation, afterwards it grew as their power grew, until reaching such blindness and error as existed when the first conquistadors came to this land; that it would have pleased our Lord had it only been eighty years earlier, because at that time there was no memory of this dia-

> bolical invention; it was thus introduced as an imitation of the Mexica in these lands [. . .].

He reiterates the Mexica origin of the practice and for the first time in his discussion of religious practices makes reference to Christian belief. But even after this condemnation, he writes that however diabolical it may have been, there was nonetheless rhyme and reason to its practice: "El modo y orden q[ue] en esto tenían, era q[ue, a] los enemigos q[ue] en la guerra podían matar, no los mataban, antes los tomaban vivos y [los] traían presos a fin de sacrificarlos, y por otras muchas razones y respetos, de q[ue] se les seguía mucho provecho, honra y fama" ("The mode and order they had was that the enemies they could have killed in war they did not kill; they took them alive and carried them away as prisoners to be sacrificed, and for many other reasons, since much benefit, honor, and fame followed them"; Pomar 61-61). The honor and fame associated with sacrificial victims gives way to his encomiastic commentary on the god of war, Xipe Totec, and a paradoxical discourse on the virtue of bravery, since those who were not killed in war, but captured and chosen for sacrifice, were honored. Pomar explains that the Texcocans "hacían los sacrificios de los indios más valientes, q[ue] se habían escogido a elección del rey, haciendo primero muchas averiguaciones y diligencias del esfuerzo y ánimo de cada uno, y su valentía" ("made sacrifices of the bravest Indians that the king had chosen, having first performed many tests on the strength, spirit, and bravery of each one"; Pomar 63). These victims, chosen for their bravery, were embellished with feathers and dressed in accordance to the "dignidad y alteza de los ídolos a quien representaban" ("dignity and nobility of the idols whom they represented"; Pomar 66). The language of bravery and military exaltation expand into his commentary on the role of martial honors in Texcocan culture:

> Es verdad q[ue], generalmente, todo su cuidado, y en [lo] q[ue] más ponían su felicidad, era [en] el ejercicio militar y [en] haber dello el premio, las honras y provechos q[ue] suele traer a los valientes y esforzados, y se preciaban de q[ue] las heredades y otros bienes que tenían fuesen ganados por esta vía. Y los q[ue] no tenían ánimo y valor para ello, eran tenidos en poco y, como [a] tales, los ocupaban en cosas bajas y viles, si no eran hombres de linaje y sangre; y aun éstos, para ser admitidos entre los demás valientes, habían de ser señalados en algunas facultades, especialmente en administrar justi[ci]a, o en componer cantos, o ser hombres hábiles y de consejo para los consejos q[ue] tenían. (Pomar 66)

> It is true that they generally placed all their care and found most of their happiness in military exercises, and the prizes, honors, and benefits brought to the valiant and earnest; and they appreciated that their inheritance and other goods were earned this way. And those who had no spirit and bravery were disdained, and as such, they occupied themselves with low and vile things, if they were not men of lineage and blood, and even these, in order to be admitted among the brave, had to be notable in certain faculties, especially in administering justice, or in composing songs, or to be clever men able to give counsel in the meetings they had.

The references to honor, benefits, inheritance, lineage, and blood reveal a fundamental aspect of the religious practices of Texcocans: the importance of posterity. This is even more notable when juxtaposed with a practice contrary to ensuring posterity. Diego Muñoz Camargo, in his report on Tlaxcala, explains that the former punishment for adultery, theft, murder, treason, and conspiracy was death. This punishment extended across five generations "de manera que no quedaba memoria de ellos" ("so that no memory of them remained"; Muñoz Camargo 78). This particular compounded form of *damnatio memoriae* as punishment for grave misdeeds unambiguously reveals the importance of posterity or public memory. It also reinforces the gravity and catastrophic significance of the loss of Nezhualpilli's Texcocan archive, which in effect eliminated written records of honors and privileges. Pomar concludes his description of martial sacrifice with a personal evaluation:

> Y, volviendo a lo de los sacrificios, se concluirá con decir una cosa de admiración, y es que el prisionero valiente que representaba a Tezcatlipoca, con tener tanta libertad como ya se ha dicho, y estar tan certificado de su muerte, no se averiguó q[ue] jamás, ninguno de todos los q[ue] para esto fueron electos, se hubiese huido ni puesto a salvo, pudiéndolo hacer, pareciéndole cosa indigna para hombres q[ue] representaban tan gran majestad como la deste ídolo, [y] por no ser tenido por cobarde y medroso, no sólo en esta tierra, pero en la suya, con perpetua infamia, y, ansí q[ue]riendo antes morir, ganando fama eterna, porque esto tenían por gloria y fin venturoso. (Pomar 67)

> And returning to the subject of sacrifices, I will conclude by saying something admirable, which is that the brave prisoner

> who represented Tezcatlipoca, having all the freedom which I have explained, and being so certain of his death, even one of those chosen for sacrifice, never fled or sought safety, which he could have done, seeming a shameful thing for men who represented such great majesty as that of this idol, so as not to be seen as cowardly and fearful, not only in these lands, but in his own with perpetual disgrace, thus wishing to die earning eternal fame, because this was a glorious and fortunate end.

The virtuous aspects of the Texcocans, and the concern for their reputation that emboldens them, clearly wins Pomar's admiration. Yet again, after his sympathetic interpretation of their concern for legacy, it is as if Pomar himself were called to order by his conscience. He notes that the sacrifices themselves were "tan horrendos [. . .] en q[ue] tantas ánimas se perdieron, [. . . una] cosa tan odiosa" ("so horrendous [. . .] in which so many souls were lost, such an odious thing"; Pomar 67). There is a tension between practice and ideology. Pomar's interest in understanding and explaining the mentality of the preconquest Texcocans is central to this text and, in my opinion, distinguishes him in this sense from Diego Muñoz Camargo.

Memory of the Past and Present Concerns

The long descriptions and interpretations of religious ritual are followed by a brief section at the end of Pomar's commentary, in which he introduces the probability that the Texcocans were, in fact, monotheistic. They worshipped these gods and sacrificed to them, but "todavía dudaron de q[ue] realmente fuesen dioses, sino q[ue] era engaño creer q[ue] unos bultos de palo y de piedra, hechos por manos de hombres, fuesen dioses" ("doubted that they were really gods, but rather that it was a deception to believe that a lump of sticks and stones made by human hands were gods"; Pomar 69). Pomar also explains that Nezahualcoyotl was the person who most struggled to find the true God and creator of all things. José Espericueta argues that Pomar's approach presents "Nezahualcoyotl's doubt and monotheism [as] the basis for depicting him as an example of natural reason," thus refuting the Aristotelian rationale for slavery used by Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (Espericueta, "Writing" 213). Pomar also refers to the Nahuatl expression *Tloque in Nahuaque*—which he translates as "Lord of sky and land"—as a "señal evidentísima de que tuvieron por cierto no haber más de uno. Y esto no sólo los más prudentes y discretos, pero aun la gente común lo deciá a[s]í" ("most evident sign that they certainly had no more than one; and this was believed by not only the prudent and discreet, but also the common people said the same"; Pomar 70). This approach stands in contrast to Diego Muñoz Camargo, who writes that "hay indios tan simples y de tan poco entendimiento, que se pueden comparar a animales irracionales" ("there are Indians so simple and of such little understanding that they could be compared to irrational animals"; Muñoz Camargo 77). Rather than condemning them to a natural state of slavery as Sepúlveda does, or presenting them as proto-Christian monotheists as Pomar does, Muñoz Camargo describes them as ingenuous and says that they should be spoken to as eight or ten-year-old children, and should be shown much love (77).

Once Pomar has proposed the true nature of their religious beliefs, then his text becomes a request for the improvement in the lives of modern Texcocans, which is central to the function of this text (Espericueta, "Writing" 218). Before imploring the king to fulfill the conditions established in the Laws of the Indies, Pomar sets out to establish the value of the ancient, pre-Hispanic civilization. Memory of the past and the restitution of historical honor thus function as a basis on which to propose present changes in the living conditions of the indigenous peoples. Rolena Adorno writes that "these subjects had to persuade their skeptical readers that their own space, dismissed as non-culture or inferior culture, is the very site of culture. Their goals were not only to be true but also to persuade their readers of the truthfulness of their accounts" ("Arms, Letters" 210). In his effort to display the value of Texcoco's local culture, Pomar explains that, in the past, the Indians were in good health as a result of societal order and peaceful interaction. He uses the words *antigüedad* and *infidelidad* synonomously. When he aims to expose an element of value, he often speaks of the "time of infidelity" to temper his discourse. For example, he writes: "Averiguóse una cosa digna de admiración, y es q[ue], en tiempo de su infidelidad, vivieron sanísimos, sin jamás saber q[ué] cosa era pestilencia; sino q[ue], los q[ue] morían, habían de ser muy viejos o muy niños y tiernas criaturas" ("Take note of something admirable: that in the time of their infidelity, they lived most healthily, never knowing pestilence; those who died had to be very old or very young, tender little children"; Pomar 98). He goes on to say that the causes of their good health have been studied by learned Spanish doctors; he is probably referring to the king's court physician and naturalist Francisco Hernández de Toledo, who had been in Texcoco in 1574 (Gruzinski, *Machine* 270). Pomar would also have been familiar with the production of local herbals such as the *Libellus de medicinalibus indorum herbis*, an illustrated document describing plants and their medicinal uses produced in 1552 by the doctor Martín de la Cruz, native of Tlatelcolco, and Juan Badiano, native of Xochimilco, who translated the text from Nahuatl to Latin.

As Adorno has demonstrated, the mestizo historians' "agenda to build the historical reputation of their peoples in the postconquest era depended on expressing their values in terms understood and appreciated by the European audience to whom those claims were directed" ("Arms, Letters" 214). In this case, the audience is Philip II, and so Pomar goes on to laud the obedient nature of the people of pre-conquest Texcoco toward their own king, which was the reason for the stability and social welfare of their culture:

> Gobernábanse con la obediencia grande q[ue] tenían al rey y a sus ministros, los cuales eran proveídos por él en todos los lugares y pueblos de su jurisdicción [. . .] y, principalmente, porque conocían del rey celo grande de just[ici]a, vivián quietos y pacificos, sin alterarse jamás. Y sobre todo, porque naturalmente los indios son muy domésticos y pacíficos unos con otros. (Pomar 89)

> They governed themselves with great obedience toward their king and ministers, who were provided by him in all towns of his jurisdiction [. . .] and principally because they knew the king to have a zeal for justice; they lived quietly and peacefully, never getting upset; and mostly because the Indians are naturally very domestic and peaceful with one another.

War, he is quick to point out, was practiced to avoid "an idle and shameful peace, friend of all vices." He uses the testimony of residents in Tlaxcala to support his argument, seeking information from those with age and authority, who confessed to him that their forebears imposed these military practices that had formerly existed as a service to the gods (Pomar 89). He again describes the praiseworthy behavior of the Indians and their respect for order, justice, and peace, ostensibly to gain favor with his reader, the king.

After describing these admirable pre-conquest values and practices, he describes the current intolerable living conditions of the natives. Again, in order to diminish his own voice, he writes that everyone curious who had studied the matter agrees that the reason for their consumption is the excessive physical labor in the Spanish *haciendas* (Pomar 55). He then presents a long entreaty to the king, deploring the effects of forced labor:

> Y [dicen] que, de lo que padecen allí, de hambre y cansancio, se debilitan y consumen de tal manera los cuerpos, que cualquiera y liviana enfermedad que les da basta para quitarles la vida, por el aparejo de la mucha flaqueza que en ellos halla y, más, de la congoja y fatiga de su espíritu, que nace de verse quitar la libertad que Dios les dio, sin embargo, de haberlo ansí declarado su Majestad por sus leyes y ordenanzas reales para el buen tratamiento y gobierno dellos, afirmando que, del descontento de su espíritu, no podía prevalecer con salud el cuerpo. Y, ansí, andan muy afligidos, y se parece muy claro en sus personas porq[ue] por defuera no muestran ningún género de alegría ni contento; y tienen razón, porq[ue] realmente los [españoles los] tratan muy peor q[ue] si fueran esclavos. (Pomar 100)

> And it is said that from the hunger and fatigue they suffer, their bodies weaken and are consumed, in such a way that any light illness is enough to take their lives, since they are so thin, and even more from the exhaustion and mental fatigue, which is born when the freedom God gave them is taken away; and this even though his Majesty had declared their proper treatment by his royal laws and ordinances, affirming that because of the discontent of their spirit, the body's health could not thrive; and thus they are very afflicted, and it clearly shows in their persons because on the outside they show no kind of joy or contentment, and they are right, because they really are treated much worse than if they were slaves.

In his plea, Pomar names none other than God as an ally in his project—one of only a handful of instances of the word *Dios* in his text—and here it is in the context of natural freedom. Most important, Pomar intrepidly, and with compelling pathos, informs the king that his own laws and ordinances are not being honored.

Conclusion

The memory of things past often served to reform the present in the writings of the indigenous and mestizo historians of New Spain (Adorno, *Polemics* 139). In this sense, Pomar's text serves not only as a narrative reconstruction of Texcocan cultural history—a contribution to the Mexican archive—but also as a tool for attempting to alleviate the suffering of Texcocan natives. Muñoz Camargo, although ostensibly less concerned with indigenous welfare, uses the memory of the past to establish his own family's prestige in Tlaxcala. It should be no surprise that these reports found their way into the polymath Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora's archives in the next century, where they provided documentary sources for Mexican historians of future generations. Their legacy can be appreciated in Anna More's study of the seventeenth-century creole archive, in which she demonstrates that "the cultural landscape of seventeenth-century New Spain became a cipher for a hidden and secret past" that was used to consolidate local polity (7). The historical and testimonial writings by mestizo authors that found their way into important collections contributed indeed to preserving the honorable memory of their ancestors. The memory of these "secrets and ancient things" passed on to Pomar by the old Tlalcoyotl thus offers later generations a *mise en abyme* of the secrets of the past and eludes any attempt at damning them to oblivion.

Notes

1. This essay is based on a paper presented on March 28th, 2015 at the Renaissance Society of America conference in Berlin, Germany. I would like to thank Caroline Egan and Mariana-Cecilia Velázquez for organizing the panel entitled "Amerindian Archives." I would also like to thank Rolena Adorno, Bill Engel, Serge Gruzinski, and Esperanza López Parada for their scholarly guidance and friendship. Lastly, I would like to thank Niki Russell from the University of Glasgow Library for her assistance in obtaining images from the MS Hunter 242.

2. Jacques Le Goff (137) describes the concept of *damnatio memoriae* in the context of medieval excommunication, citing the synods of Reisbach in 798 and Elne in 1027.

3. This was preceded by the "Ordenanzas de descubrimiento, nueva población y pacificación de las Indias" in 1573.

4. Bernardino de Escalante's *Discurso de la navegación* was also published in 1577 in Seville. He describes to King Philip II the navigation routes between the Pacific ports of New Spain—Acapulco and Navidad—and the Philippines, explaining the facility and expediency of the route. The colonial expansion that would follow required various official projects to collect information. The narrative geographical reports from the Philippines also belong to the corpus of the *Relaciones Geográficas*.

5. The questionnaire was entitled *Instrucción y memoria de las relaciones que se han de hacer para la descripción de las Indias, que su majestad manda hacer, para el buen gobierno y ennoblecimiento dellas*. Acuña reproduces the full questionnaire.

6. See Barbara Mundy's *The Mapping of New Spain. Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas*. U of Chicago P, 1996.

7. The "archive" has become a trope in Latin American literary studies, and especially those of the colonial period, thanks to Roberto González Echevarría's path-breaking study, *Myth and Archive: A Theory of Latin American Narrative* (1990), which continues in print editions in English and translations into Spanish to this day.

8. All citations of Pomar's text have been taken from René Acuña's 1986 edition. It is based on the oldest extant manuscript, which is a seventeenth-century copy of the original. The manuscript (MS G57, entitled *Relación de las Antigüedades políticas y religiosas de las Indias dirigida al Rey Nuestro Señor en 9 marzo de 1582*) is held in the Nettie Lee Benson collection at the University of Texas in Austin. Acuña's edition builds on previous editions by Joaquín García Icazbalceta (1891) and Ángel María Garibay K. (1964). The brackets used in the Spanish citations are Acuña's. The English translations are my own.

9. All citations from Muñoz Camargo have been taken from René Acuña's 1984 edition. The manuscript of the version presented to Philip II, entitled *Descripción de la ciudad y provincia de Tlaxcala de las Indias y del Mar Océano para el buen gobierno y ennoblecimiento dellas* is held at the University of Glasgow (MS Hunter 242). A later copy, revised by Muñoz Camargo, is held in the Mexican collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. Mex. 210). Acuña's edition is based on the Hunter manuscript.

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Sacred Memory, Monumental Architecture, and Shakespeare's Sonnet 73

Thomas Herron

Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

—John 15:13 (KJV)

So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.
—Shakespeare, Sonnet 18, line 14[1]

The use of remembrance of Christian sacrifice and resurrection as an expression of communal belonging is embraced by all Christians. So it should be no surprise that Shakespeare, like other sonneteers, would exploit such an emphasis on sacrifice and memory in his work when he wished to emphasize his (or his narrator's) sense of anguished belonging towards the beloved. This paper explores the physical and metaphorical dimensions of the imaginative space that Shakespeare creates in his love poetry between anxious life haunted by death and separation, on the one hand, and the hope of the next world that manifests itself in the promise of ritualized, communal resurrection and eternal love based on self-sacrifice, on the other. Rather than focus on the motif of resurrection created for dramatic emphasis in Shakespeare's plays, as others have done,[2] this paper explores the motif in his poetry, specifically Sonnet 73, which portrays itself in Christian terms as a monument, or visible remembrance, for the speaker, who memorializes his love as renewed through death.

Shakespeare's imagination readily seized on death as a point of transformation and renewal. As Richard Ovenden writes,

> Death in Shakespeare turns out to have the contradictory quality of affirming life. In memory; in epitaph; in the living body of the actor; in the refusal to go quietly; in the return of ghosts and the missing: Shakespeare's dead turn out to be

> anything but. Shakespeare's works affirm life even when they are about death.[3]

Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, as is well known, are meditations on decay and death while aspiring to the Horatian dictum of achieving immortality through verse. These poems are probably the most famous in the English language devoted to poetic memory. Sonnet 73 promises eternal life to both its author and to its object, the beloved, through its status as a Christian monument, *i.e.*, verse written in memory of Christ in relation to the author and beloved. The sonnet cleverly highlights its status as a monument by shaping itself akin to other Christian, nonliterary memorials, notably church architecture. Its famous comparison of the body of the speaker to "bare ruined choirs," or the stones of the church, is made more substantively and extensively than it may at first appear. The sonnet gains greater spiritualized depth through a memorial process that deepens the comparisons between the beloved young man addressed by the poem, the self-sacrificed body of the speaker, and church architecture. Because the spiritual body of the church is compared to the physical body of the speaker, his desired union with the beloved draws parallels with Christian sacrifice for the sake of the church. The poet compares himself obliquely to a phoenix—a conventional figure for the risen Christ—burning with a love that is more Christ-like than sinful.

The intensity of the speaker's love burns in the poem's message of Christian fellowship expressed in terms associated with funeral monuments. Like Sonnet 81, which explicitly figures itself as an "epitaph" and funeral "monument" (1, 9), Sonnet 73 immortalizes itself and its subjects through its loving art. Sonnet 73 emphasizes its nature as a transformative monument in ways that challenge the conceptual limits of the physical object that the words are printed on, *i.e.*, pages.[4] A similar meditation on the base material of the poetic inscription is evoked in Shakespeare's memorial in St. Mary's Church in Stratford-on-Avon and in the memorializing strategies of the posthumously published First Folio (1623). In these cases, "meta-textual" (or self-referential literary) tropes blur the boundaries between text on the page and text on stone or brass. Such references have the effect of affirming the memorial character of the text while virtually enshrining its vehicle, whether stone, brass, paper or parchment, in a sacred glow, like a reliquary infused with faith. Sonnet 73 figuratively blurs the boundaries of poem and sacred stone to highlight its character as a Christian monument.

Christological Identity

As Colin Burrow writes, Shakespeare's *Sonnets* "reflect . . . on what kinds of immortality they might or might not enjoy or convey."[5] Some critics stress the fragmentary and deconstructive nature of the *Sonnets*, as in Petrarchan lyric poetry more generally: idealized memories are undercut or ironized in part because the transitory nature of desire and language and the material it is written on are mutually identified; their self-confounding decay cannot be stabilized.[6] In Sonnet 73, however, a Christological ideal of sacrifice and resurrection is manifested in the central figure of the author-poet speaker, whose subtle and loose analogical comparisons of himself to church monuments and structures, including the crucifix and the church itself, reinforces his self-modeling as a transcendent Christ-figure exemplifying eternal love to the beloved and to the general reader: *because* Jesus was destroyed and his body ruined, the ruinous body of his church survives eternally. Remaining fragments are relics that attest to that truth. The poem should be read according to this idea and in the spirit of nearby Sonnet 77, the central sonnet of the entire sequence of 154 poems. It functions as a "glass" for the reader to see his own face in, to "giue thee memorie" of "Times theeuish progresse to eternitie. . . . These offices, so oft as thou wilt looke, / Shall profit thee, and much inrich thy booke." (6, 8, 13-14).[7]

A potent combination of material culture, Christological spiritual fervor, and lyricized idolatry and idealization, vaguely reminiscent of the "offices" of Catholicism, makes Sonnet 73 profoundly rich in spiritual meaning. The reader finds allusions to loss, resurrection, and remembrance undergirded by Christian imagery.

For the Christian of any denomination, the Lord's resurrection is the most powerful narrative of hope in misery and is constantly remembered. Living, to be "Christ-like," is ideal; when dead, to be with Christ. The burial rites in the Book of Common prayer, for example, stress hope in the faithful's union with Christ and His and their resurrection at the end of time. The death-and-resurrection narrative of the savior is remembered through calendrical repetition, being reenacted symbolically and/or literally in the church weekly during mass or communion (depending on the belief). This reenactment is a memorial process elaborated by the imagination of each parishioner as it was for His disciples: as Jesus said, breaking bread at the Last Supper, "This is my body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of me." (Luke 22.19 KJV). Displaying a crucifix, which speaks visibly not (usually) verbally, is an open form of remembrance. To wear it or to place it on the grave means, for the Christian worshipper, to remember his or her spiritual incorporation with the savior in life and eternity. By extension, the congregation of His church finds its symbolic focal point in the architectural display of the cross near the altar at the head of the nave.

Sonnet 73 functions as just such a focal point in the sequence. The poem has an analogic depth of layering of Christian symbolism that grows more profound the more the poem is examined, as if in contemplation of its mysteries. All told, Sonnet 73 is a complex memorial of loving remembrance.

Shakespeare's Stratford Monument and the First Folio

One way Sonnet 73 achieves memorial profundity is extra-literary, by crossing artistic genres as a means of blurring the boundaries between matter and spirit: the poem, as a vessel for spiritual ideals, alludes to itself as a material object, *i.e.*, as analogous to a substantive funerary monument. The poem thus functions akin to a funerary urn, container, casket or reliquary, a physical space substituting for a vanished presence and artificially evoking the memory of the departed within an object that is itself housed in a shrine and/or, on a larger scale, a church. Like a nesting doll, the monument creates ever-larger reverberations of its form and spiritual substance that echo through the containers (box, niche, canopy, nave, *etc*.) that successively encapsulate it; the containers, however disparate their outward appearance, mirror in purpose the essential type of container: the memorial to Christ.[8]

The vessels can be highly literary. Critics have highlighted the lapidary character of some renaissance writing: title pages that resemble tomb inscriptions, for example.[9] Conversely, stone statuary carved to resemble pages of verse on tombs was a late-Tudor fashion.[10] Stone wears down far more slowly than do wrinkled pages of paper or damaged books with smudged ink. Yet both etched stone and page point towards spiritualized ideals as surely as a corroded fane might hold the burning ash of a sacrifice. The outside container is corruptible, but the core meaning, expressed in verse, is eternal. In this case, the metaphorical conceit of poem as funerary-vessel conjures through tactile means the verities of eternity.

Plentiful evidence suggests that Shakespeare's readers and his mourners would have been primed to understand his written works as akin to stony (or brassy) funerary monuments. Peter Sherlock, for example, has analyzed the various ways in which early modern English tomb verse and the stone it was carved on worked dynamically in conversation with each other, with dueling claims to eternity in the mind of the viewer or reader.[11] In related confusion, the anonymous compositor of Shakespeare's epitaph on his monument in St. Mary's Church at Stratford-on-Avon couldn't help but make a literary joke or pun on the word *page* when referring to the writer and the power of art to defeat the oblivion of death.[12] The epitaph under the statue of Shakespeare compares the playwright in Latin to the great verbose classical figures Nestor, Socrates, and Virgil. Then the epitaph reads:

> STAY PASSENGER, WHY GOEST THOV BY SO FAST,
>
> READ IF THOV CANST, WHOM ENVIOVS DEATH HATH PLAST
>
> WITH IN THIS MONVMENT SHAKSPEARE: WITH WHOME,
>
> QVICK NATVRE DIDE: WHOSE NAME, DOTH DECK Y^{S} TOMBE,
>
> FAR MORE, THEN COST: SIEH ALL, Y^{T} HE HATH WRITT,
>
> LEAVES LIVING ART, BVT PAGE, TO SERVE HIS WITT.

The end of the inscription is notoriously hard to understand.[13] What's clear is that the writer aims at a meta-textual pun on the word page: the writing under Shakespeare's effigy tries to focus cleverly on the Bard's wit so evident in his writing. After Shakespeare's death, the "art" of others (still "living") is like a servant, or page, who follows his master as one would in a funeral procession; likewise, the servant's own genius or wit is inferior to that of the departed master. Yet the "page[s]" that Shakespeare himself "leaves" behind [with a faint echo of "leaves" as in the leaf of a book] will attest in whatever rude form to his wit yet living: his works keep his genius (and "name") alive beyond the grave. The antidote to the death of "Quick Nature" and Shakespeare's life in the fourth line is therefore found in the new life promised through literary remains in the sixth line. Of the last ten words in the epitaph, five are related to writing and/or genius: "Writt—leaves—art—page—witt." We are left with these glowing like embers in our minds.

Just as Shakespeare's stone funerary monument or self-described tomb emphasizes the literary character of what it (does not actually) contain, so as to stress the transcendent genius of the Bard, so literary monuments might compare their outward substance to stony, or brassy, qualities to create a similar contrast between mortal decay and idealized subject. The First Folio does just this: published posthumously in 1623 by Shakespeare's theatrical companions, the book was clearly meant to function, in part, as a memorial for the Bard. Shakespeare's engraved image is shown "with the somber gravitas of a tomb effigy."[14] Ben Jonson, in his famous prefatory tribute, declares:

> Thou art a Moniment, without a tombe,
> And art aliue still, while thy Booke doth liue,
> And we have wits to read, and praise to give.[15]

A pun on "tombe" and "tome" is emphasized by the mention of "thy Booke" in the following line: because of this tome, Shakespeare needs no other tomb. As L. Digges writes in his own dedicatory sonnet found in the same volume, Shakespeare's "works" will "out-live" "Thy tombe."[16] In a sleight of line, the tomb, a physical space, dissolves in our view while the tome— and the spirit of genius within it—takes its place. No wonder (or all wonder) that Jonson compares Shakespeare to the Savior: to be "without" the tomb has the secondary meaning of being *outside of* it, as if no longer within it. Hence, Shakespeare—like the risen Christ—can be said to be "aliue still" while his "Booke doth liue": the book in this sense is a proxy for scripture, which gives Christ eternal life in spirit and which earns Him eternal praise.

By highlighting the First Folio as akin to a Christian funerary monument, its readers and editors emphasize not only Shakespeare's mortal decay but also the eternal qualities of his art.[17] The editors Heminge and Condell in their "Epistle Dedicatory" humbly "offer" the plays as an "office to the dead," *i.e.*, Shakespeare, to keep their "memory of so worthy a Friend, & Fellow alive." The plays themselves take on a certain figurative and real corporality as the "remains of your servant Shakespeare." As the "Epistle to the Readers" states, in turn, Shakespeare's works had been so "maimed" and "deformed" by "injurious impostors" that the editors felt the need to publish them in corrected versions, so that they appeared "cur'd, and perfect of their limbes" and "absolute in their numbers, as he conceiued the[m]." The language recalls neoplatonic numerological theory as well as the promise of the dead rising newly whole on Judgement Day. A statue on a tomb typically points, like an admonitory "Moniment," to the idea of life in eternity. Shakespeare's "engraved" face at the front of his complete works, like his Stratford monument, is just such a statue-like icon erected over the virtual grave of his works. A similar iconography of Christian memorialization containing the spirit of the author within an engraved human form informs Sonnet 73.

Stony Sonnets

The editor and publisher of the 1609 Quarto of the *Sonnets*, Thomas Thorpe, figuratively fixes Shakespeare's words in stone. Cathy Shrank discusses how the frontispiece to the 1609 volume has a lapidary design, like the inscription on a stone monument.[18] Whereas Shrank, in a deconstructive mode, sees the volume overall as "subvert[ing] the ideas of posthumous memorialization" (17), the conceit of impermanence, mortality, and fragmentary discourse that infuses the sequence can, instead, attest to the eternal permanence of the spirit found *in* the poems. Find God in the sonnets and your perspective changes: the memorial vessel, whatever its self-ironizing strategies, presents a positive vision of eternal values and eternity despite its own decay. The "fire" that Shrank sees undercutting the claims to perdurability of stone and brass in Sonnet 55[19] is, in Sonnet 73.9, a phoenix-fire of the faith. Likewise, the empty brackets at the conclusion of Sonnet 126—the last one to the young man—that Shrank finds to be an "act of alteration" that tears at the fabric of meaning of the whole sequence, can also be read as a reminder of the otherworldly accounting [or "audit" (126.12)] at the end of time, *i.e.*, the Last Judgement; the brackets resemble those found in an accounting book.[20]

The very first sonnet in Shakespeare's sequence of 154 poems emphasizes mortuarial matter in its closing reference to "the grave and thee" (1.14). The sequence famously meditates on time and the power of love and poetry to defeat mortality. Poems compared *to* or functioning *as* "monuments" is a key conceit of the entire sequence, for example in no. 55, wherein the speaker boasts "Not marble, nor the guilded monument / Of princes shall out-liue this powrefull rime" (55.1-2). In no. 107, the speaker labels his poem a "monument" that contains the beloved more effectively than "tyrants' crests and tombs of brass" could ever do (107.13-14).

Sonnet 31, in an echo of the funerary rites for the living Hero in Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, envisions the beloved as a tomb idol upon which the speaker hangs the "trophies" of all the speaker's past "lovers," and wherein his own love is "buried" (31.9-11). The funerary monument and the loved one are conflated and charged with an interpenetrating eroticism: "Their images I loved I view in thee, / And thou, all they, hast all the all of me" (31.13-14). By analogy, Sonnet 31 itself functions as an image of the beloved, its central focus to be imagined by the readers and by the speaker who, like a necrophilic Praxiteles or Frankensteinian Pygmalion, compiles his beloved's ideal funerary statue out of parts of departed others and worships it. Simultaneously, the image of the loved one recalls, or one might say resurrects, the images of others "buried" in it/him. The place of death, or the tomb, disturbingly becomes a fertile space of artistic imagination and metamorphic re-creation. No wonder that, elsewhere, the speaker describes his "brain" as a "womb"-like "tomb" wherein his beloved is obsessively "inhearse[d]" (86.4); the beloved is clearly *re-hearsed* there as well every time the sonnet is read.

Sonnet 81 pushes this idea further: in a poem that begins, "Or I shall live your epitaph to make" (1), the speaker is God-like in his ability to create the breath (14) or *spirit* that animates the love between him and the young man, a breath that will remain after both speaker and beloved are gone:

> Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
> Which eyes not yet created shall o'er-read,
> And tongues to be your being shall rehearse,
> When all the breathers of this world are dead (9-12)

The beloved finds eternity in the "monument" of verse as long as people read it,[21] or as long as the idea of their love continues past the Day of Judgement and into eternity. While the sonnet trades in sexual innuendo ("such virtue hath my pen . . . ev'n in the mouths of men", 13-14), the virtues of his love for the young man are also "rehearse[d]" within this "epitaph" until awoken forever.

Sonnet 73 echoes no. 81's faith in monuments, and, while avoiding the weird obsessiveness of nos. 31 and 86, it repeats the motif of the self-consciously literary monument that asserts artistically that life will be resurrected out of death. No. 73 is placed as the third of four related poems in a row, nos. 71-74, that focus intensely on mortality, corpses and the rituals of death. No. 71 begins by tolling the "surly sullen bell" that "give[s] warning to the world that I am fled . . . with vildest worms to dwell" (2-4), while asking the beloved to "let your love ev'n with my life decay" (12). In no. 72 the speaker gloomily envisions his "name be buried where my body is" (11) as a shameful event (13-14), both to him and his beloved. He asks that the beloved forget him and be ashamed of their love (his "name," however, would endure on a funerary monument). The fourth sonnet in the mini-sequence (no. 74) echoes the funeral rites of the church as the speaker declares that "earth can have but earth" (line 7), while the poem focuses on "The prey of worms, my body being dead" (10); the speaker despondently claims himself "Too base of thee to be remember'd" (13). This cry of humility not only refers to his "base" mortality but, if addressing an aristocrat (a likelihood), hints at his lower social class vis-à-vis the beloved. The speaker worries that he himself deserves a pauper's unmarked grave in his beloved's eyes. Yet the speaker can enrich himself through his artistry, and in no. 74 he insists that his poem will be his monument: that "which it contains" has "worth / And that is this, and this [*i.e.*, the poem] with thee remains" (74.13-14). The speaker envisions his sonnet (a poetic chamber) as a type of casket bequeathed to the beloved, something an artist might provide to his patron. But what "worth" do the "remains" in the sonnet and his "name" have?

No. 73 offers a resounding answer. As the bright light in this dreary sequence of four poems, the speaker's third sonnet offers the promise of new life through love of what can be remembered: thought turns towards what love remains and, in remembrance, will continue to grow in spiritual power.

> That time of yeare thou maist in me behold
> When yellow leaues, or none, or few do hange
> Vpon those boughs which shake against the could,
> Bare rn'wd quiers, where late the sweet birds sang.
> In me thou seest the twi-light of such day,
> As after Sun-set fadeth in the West,
> Which by and by blacke night doth take away,
> Deaths second second selfe that seals vp all in rest.
> In me thou seest the glowing of such fire,
> That on the ashes of his youth doth lye,
> As the death bed, whereon it must expire,
> Consum'd with that which it was nurrisht by.
> This thou perceu'st, which makes thy loue more more strong,
> To loue that well, which thou must leaue ere long.[22]

Sonnet 73 is a poem emphasizing "loue" amid aging nature and the ashes of the self. The fire of love burns in the heart of the speaker and becomes more intense the more that the speaker's own mortality is emphasized; the speaker, an older man, hopes that this same feeling of intense passion despite—and because of—his decay, will trigger a more intense passion or "love more strong" in the beloved, who is presumably a younger man, as he gazes upon the older man (or, rather, as the younger man *imagines* the older man while reading the poem): the older man asks the younger man in the final couplet "to love that well which thou must leave ere long." The implication is that this passion amid impending death will live on, perhaps eternally, because it has been captured in the poem: the sonnet is not only a testament to love conquering death, like a funerary monument, but a keepsake for the young man to remind him of the speaker's passions.

The poem is accordingly self-referential. The speaker's poetic monument to himself begins by invoking the idea of his physical self at its most mortally anxious and hopeful: "That time of year thou mayest in me behold" (73.1) refers to the autumn of the speaker's life. Yet, the paradox of life amid the decay is immediate: mention of the "year" reminds the reader that winter will be followed by spring (with a faint echo, perhaps, of the month of *May* in "mayest": *cf.* the comparison of the young man to "darling buds of May" shaken by "rough winds" in sonnet 18.3). The opening lines of the poem are also not entirely pessimistic because of an oblique reference to Jesus, the one who died only to live. The phrase "*in me*," repeated three times at regular intervals (lines 1, 5 and 9: once per quatrain), as if chanted, recalls the *ecce homo* or "behold the man" conceit of art history: the image of Christ shown "bare" (3) to the people during his trial (John 19.5 KJV). Christ is suffering and will be wrongfully convicted and executed, but behold! Believers know that he will triumph at the end of time: "I am the way, the truth and the life. No one comes to the father except through me" (John 14.6). The third "In me" reference begins the turn of the sonnet and uses the phoenix image of "fire" from "ashes." Christ willingly sacrificed himself as an inspiring display to others. Already, in the very first line, in thinking on decay, the speaker reminds the reader of Christian resurrection to come "in me."

The second line compares the speaker to a tree that is losing its "yellow leaves," which (as Stephen Booth notes) is echoed in the concluding lament, "which thou must *leave* ere long" (14; emphasis added).[23] The first line also introduces the meta-textual reference of yellowing leaves of paper—or pages that decay.[24] We become aware of the corruptive nature of the medium the poem is written on. This awareness is reinforced by the reference to "bare rn'wd quiers" in line 3: a "quier" is not only a church choir (see below) but also a *quire* or a sheaf of leaves bound into a volume.[25] Although the "quiers" are "bare" and apparently *ruined*, which is the common transcription of "rn'wd" in modern editions, the line in its original spelling also has a secondary, optimistic message: "bare . . . quiers" that are "rn'wd" indicate *renewed* pages, not only "ruined" ones. In this case, "bare" pages could refer to those not yet printed on and/or those scraped for palimpsests—blank pages to begin writing on. Already, in line 3 of no. 73, in the idea of *ruin*, we paradoxically find potential *renewal*. (Compare with Sonnet 77.9-11: "Looke what thy memorie cannot containe / Commit to these waste bla[n]ks,[26] and thou shalt finde / Those children nurst, deliuerd of thy braine.")

Studies have always emphasized the Catholic nostalgia of line 3, insofar as it refers to the ruined choirstalls of a dissolved monastery and/

or church. The old order was violently suppressed in the Reformation but not forgotten by Shakespeare, and Catholicism haunts (and invigorates) his works. The image of ruined choirs in line 3 anticipates the "ashes" alluded to in line 10. What might arise phoenix-like out of these choirs? Lines 3-4 reinforce this sense of optimism: "late the sweet birds sang" (line 4) could mean "very recently." Birds, moreover, sing loudest at both dusk ("late") and at dawn, *i.e.*, when the day dies and when it is born anew. The natural cycle of birdsong thereby reinforces the sonnet's conceit of a paradoxical life-in-death, which infuses the poem's message of hope towards the beloved.[27]

Central images of sacred building, man, and tree, are therefore combined in the opening quatrain. All three together should remind a Christian reader of Christ. When the speaker compares himself to "boughs" of a tree, for example, the reader might well be reminded of John 15.1-2, wherein Jesus states:

> 1. I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman.
>
> 2. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit he taketh away: and every branch that beareth fruit, he purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit. (KJV)

The passage, like Sonnet 73, begins with a figurative comparison of Christ to branched vegetation. It then moves to a focus on "fire," and ends with an appeal to brotherly love based on self-sacrifice:

> 6. If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered; and men gather them, and cast them into the fire, and they are burned. [. . .]
>
> 12. This is my commandment, That ye love one another, as I have loved you.
>
> 13. Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.

The correspondence is remarkable: Shakespeare, in a poem to a close friend or lover, compares himself to branches (or "boughs") but transforms his biblical prototype by imagining himself as a tree, not a vine, and burning as a positive image of phoenix-like renewal of love, not as a negative casting off of false and useless beliefs (with the implication of hellfire). The speaker's body, through age and withering, becomes the dead branch (or "bough") to be cast off, but mortality is defeated by the love that is intensified by the speaker's aging process and commemorated in the poem. This love not only stems from desire (which, if homosexual and Petrarchan, carries hints of a burning, hellish punishment) but—in the spirit of the Gospel of John—of friendship and "love" above all.

Sacred Sonnets

Various sonnet sequences contemporary to Shakespeare demonstrate a Christological fervor, with the body of Christ and the cross as key focal points of intense passion. Henry Constable's published *Spiritual Sonnets* (1594), a sequence of seventeen sonnets, opens with a trinity of sonnets to God the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. The first sonnet, to the Father, asks for "heavenly knowledge" to "engrave" the "true Image" of "thy son" in the poet's "mind," whereby the poet's "heart" becomes "[in]sence[d] . . . with sighs of holy Love, / That it the temple of the spirit may prove" (11-14). The Father, the Son, and "holy Love" all combine in this imagined "temple of the spirit": the poetic structure is, by analogy, the temple, which is filled with the Holy Spirit and image of Christ infusing the poet's imagination. What is important, as regards the lapidary character of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* (1609), is that the body (or heart) of Constable's speaker (and reader) is the "temple" wherein the image of Christ, expressed here in words, is "engraved"; the printer's engraving allows this to happen. As in Shakespeare's sonnets, the poem is self-conscious about its literary and published nature as a monumental artifact, while the architectural types of body-temple-published poem analogously reinforce themselves.

Samuel Daniel offers a crucial parallel to (and possible source of) Shakespeare's Sonnet 73 when his speaker promises to make his Delia rise "Phenix-like" in a sequence of fifty poems first published in an authorized version in 1592.[28] At the heart of the sequence, Daniel links a sub-sequence of five sonnets together on the carpe-diem theme, beginning "Looke *Delia* how wee steeme the half-blowne Rose" (31.1). Like Shakespeare's sonnets, Daniel's sub-sequence promotes immortality in verse as its theme, and the Phoenix image is invoked in the central sonnet of the group of five (overall, no. 33 of 50): it proclaims the "miracle" whereby the speaker's poetic "fire can burne, when all matter's spent: / That what my faith hath beene thy selfe shall see, / And that thou wast vnkinde thou maiest repent" (33.9-13).[29] The climax of Shakespeare's Sonnet 73, accordingly, refers to the phoenix-like resurrection of the speaker's love, fueled by his ardor and, paradoxically, his awareness of his own mortality.

The Catholic William Alabaster's meditative sonnets, which remained in manuscript until recently, provide another apt parallel here. Among a series on the life of Christ, five focus mainly on the crucifixion.[30] These compare Christ on the cross to a vine, among which a "choir / Of heavenly birds" is singing. The fruit of the vine, in turn, is explicitly compared to wine (and "purple blood"), a reference to the eucharist. The subject matter of the mass is the subject of the sonnets. The intimate relationship of the speaker to Christ is emphasized, so that the identity of Christ, a.k.a., the vine on the cross, blurs erotically with that of the speaker, who imagines creeping like a vine onto the crucified Lord to "embrace" him with his own "boughs": "O that I were transformed into love, . . . How would I with my twine about it buckle, / And kiss his feet with my ambitious boughs / And climb upon his sacred breast."[31] Alabaster's poem, given its wording and subject, could be a direct influence on Shakespeare's Sonnet 73. In that sonnet, too, the lines of identity between speaker, reader, and holy subject are deliberately blurred in order to create an iconic and eroticized community of passion.

Christian Architecture

The more one delves into the images of decaying speaker, birds in trees, and ruined choirstalls in Sonnet 73, the more interesting the sonnet becomes in its complex reference to anthropomorphic Christian architecture[32] and ritual, whose primary function is to remind the Christian of the Savior's martyrdom.

By focusing on "boughs," Sonnet 73 brings to mind a tree; a *tree*, in turn, was a standard type in the middle ages for the cross; in the Anglo-Saxon poem "Dream of the Rood," for example, Christ was crucified on a *rood* or "tree." In that poem, the tree-rood-cross is personified and laments the destruction of the savior upon it. A crucifix, in turn, is anthropomorphic in basic shape (it is designed to fit and so torture humans).[33]

Given that deciduous trees shed their leaves in the fall, a connection might be made between the opening tree image of Sonnet 73 and a man who loses his hair with age (including Shakespeare, to judge from contemporary portraits[34]). Finally, the idea of a mortal body resembling something whose "shak[ing]" "boughs" are "bare" with "hang[ing]" elements (*i.e.*, leaves), as part of a process of leave-taking, can't help but conjure the specter of a bare human body *itself* hanging in agony from a tree. *Ecce homo*: the cluster of images evokes the spectacle of

Christ on the cross, dimly but substantively evoked through the poem's allusions.

Medieval churches of any substance were usually built on a cruciform pattern, including old St Paul's in London and, on a smaller scale (and slightly off-kilter), the fifteenth-century Holy Trinity Church in Stratford-on-Avon [figures 1a and 1b].

Doing so echoes various scriptural references to the church as anthropomorphic, including 1 Corinthians 3, wherein Christ declares himself to be a master builder: "I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon. For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ" (KJV).[35] Christ *is* the foundation; taken literally (which is, paradoxically, to take it figuratively), that includes the floor-plan. The concept of an anthropomorphic temple is reinforced a few lines later in the same passage: "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the spirit of God dwelleth in you? . . . For the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are."

Human and temple are one and the same, a conceit that later English poets, such as George Herbert, explore at length.[36] Other lines in the same passage from Corinthians resonate with Sonnet 73, including the declaration that the materials of the church, *i.e.*, any person, will be tried by fire as a means of discovering his/her substance; churches made of "wood, hay, stubble" as opposed to stone, gold, and gems will perish more easily. But, as the passage tells us, though a man may lose his "work" by burning, "he himself shall be saved: yet so as by fire." Whether this fire is meant to be purgatorial cleansing by the Holy Spirit is unclear. What is clear is that the Lord burns the church figuratively, which is built in the form of the person, which is also the form of Christ, the foundation of the church who is sacrificed out of love for mankind. Accordingly, Shakespeare's speaker in Sonnet 73 envisions himself as a ruined church before being burned and his spirit invigorated out of love for the young man. Reading the sonnet in the light of Corinthians helps evoke the physical shape of Christ, who is the foundation of the church, which contains, metaphysically, all Christian believers, including both the speaker and the young man united within it (him).

When a congregant enters a church that resembles the shape of the cross, or tree, which recalls the body of Christ, he/she symbolically enters the savior's body; thus, on a wider symbolic level, the parishioners enter the community of believers writ large: the universal church. Similarly, after proceeding up the nave during mass/communion towards the head of the church, the parishioner will ingest into his/her own body a Christ-like (or Christ-being) piece of bread, *i.e.*, the

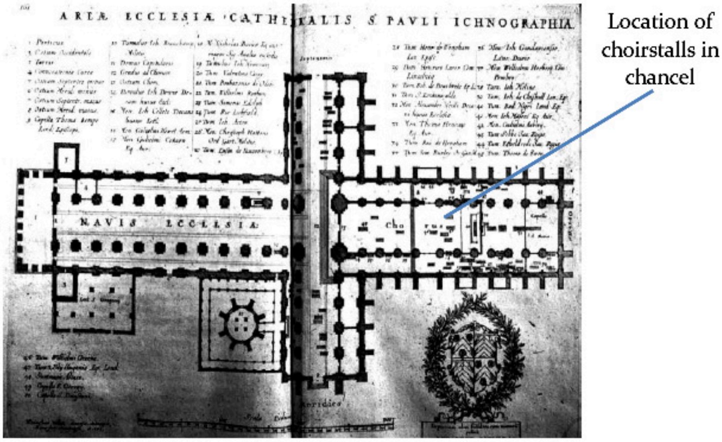

Fig. 1a

Cruciform floorplan of old St Paul's Cathedral, London (Dugdale 161-62). Reproduced at www.medart.pitt.edu/image/england/London/Old-Saint-Pauls/London-OSPaul.html. Image copyright Alison Stones.

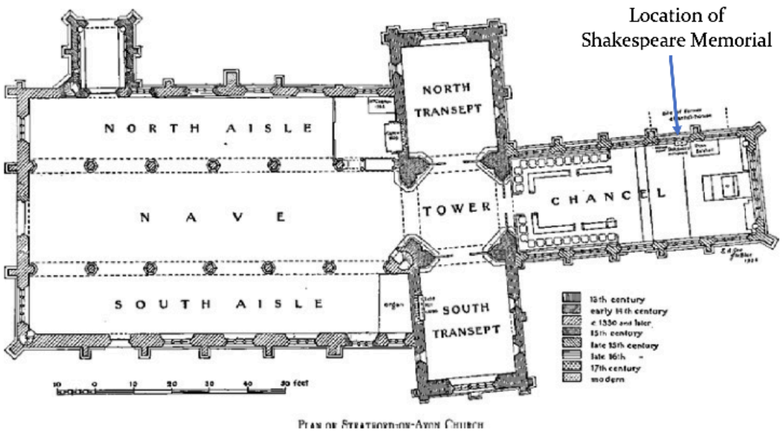

Fig. 1b

Cruciform floorplan of Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon (Styles 270). Reproduced at www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/warks/vol3/pp269-282. Image used with permission.

Eucharist (which, today, carries an imprint of the cross upon it). Thus, in a sense, congregants are both swallowed by, and swallow, the body of Christ in memory of his crucified state; they coexist *with* and *in* the bodily and spiritual fabric of their savior when performing rituals in his memory.

The spiritual focal point of the congregation is the altar, where the office of the mass occurs. The altar is located in the chancel, in the east. In a Catholic church, the altar was located behind the rood (*i.e.*, crucifix) screen, which separates the chancel from the nave and transept. Sonnet 73 refers to ruined choirs, the "choir" being another name for the chancel in both Catholic and Anglican churches (see "Chorus" in the plan of St. Paul's, fig. 1a). Given the cruciform pattern of the church, the choir occupies the symbolic *head* of the church architecture. Here is where choristers sang like birds, whether they sang Byrd or not. Moreover, medieval choirstalls are often surrounded by stylized, carved gothic tracery evoking tree-like vegetation: an environment found around birds.[37] Such tracery is commonly found in gothic architectural features, such as the nearby door and window frames above Shakespeare's bust in the chancel of Holy Trinity Church (figures 2a and 2b).

Fig. 2a

Carved stone door frame with pointed arch and vegetative details in gothic style, next to Shakespeare's monument in the chancel of Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon.

Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Stratford_Holy_Trinity_Church3.jpg. Accessed 04 Sept 2018.

A reader familiar with traditional church architecture could easily see how birds and vegetation elaborate the idea of choirs in Shakespeare's sonnet. The speaker in turn further emphasizes his own figurative likeness to a church structure.

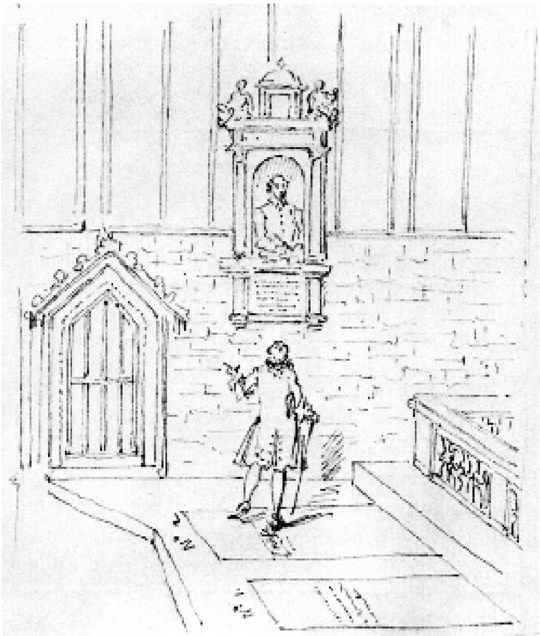

Fig. 2b

Sketch (1737) from notebook of George Vertue, showing Shakespeare's monument and gothic doorway in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon.

Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons, commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vertue_monument_sketch001.jpg. Accessed 04 Sept 2018.

To carry the figurative concept further, the (pre-Reformation) congregation, sitting in the nave, or in the *body* of the church, would hear holy choral music radiating out from behind an image of Christ on the rood screen at the *head* of the church. This imaginative scheme fits the imaginative conceit of Sonnet 73, wherein a decaying man—a poet—who is singing (or reciting) out of his head, compares himself to a ruined choir. Appropriately, Shakespeare's monument was erected in the 1620s in this space in Stratford-on-Avon, where the bare-headed bard sings eternally if silently from the *choir* (fig. 1b, 2a, 2b).

For Shakespeare to connect a mortal man with autumn trees, with singing birds, with ruined but renewed choirs all points to the anthropomorphic-architectural conceit of Christ on the cross, who was remembered weekly (and yearly, at Easter) in the full glory of his life-from-death cycle. This remembrance, or mass/communion, took place in the eastern end of the church, which is modelled on Christ's earthly shape (and His tree of punishment). Behind the altar, the sun rises every day and thus symbolically defeats death in Christian (and pagan) belief. Shakespeare's sonnet refers to the cycle of the seasons and the "day" (5) that will inevitably follow "black night" (7). The sonnet simultaneously calls attention to its own music, *i.e.*, the poem itself, or the "song" that comes from the speaker's own mortal, tree-like frame. All told, the sonnet evokes on various symbolic levels the human shape of the Christian miracle of the resurrection as manifested in the song and body of the speaker.

The physical structure of the church is evoked subsequently in the poem's reference to "night" as "death's second self, that seals up all in rest" (8). The immediate reference here is to the eyes of the speaker, which are "seal[ed]" or closed by sleep and/or death. As critics have noted, the term is taken also from falconry[38]: an immature bird will have its eyes sewn or "sealed" until maturity. When the bonds are cut, it will fly much stronger and be more disciplined. In the sonnet, this evocation of a hawk coincides with the previous bird/choir image as well as with the phoenix reference to come. Tombs, also, are sealed, and the hint that the speaker might, like Christ, break the seal of his tomb and rise again is therefore hinted at: Death's "second self" will be defeated by Christ's second self as a living man again, and by his second, resurrected self at the end of time.[39]

The spatial dynamics of the sonnet's narrative further reinforce the conceit of the sonnet as a church-like structure.[40] The reader plods past images in the first eight lines associated with ruin, darkness, and death, appropriately culminating in the end-stopped words "all in rest." But a promise of renewal and resurrection simultaneously and paradoxically co-exists within this narrative of decay and doom: we know we are imaginatively entering a Christ-like space, including "rn'wd quires." The idea of Christian resurrection is emphasized by the oblique reference to the phoenix in the turn at line 9; from the ashes of mortality and, by association, self-sacrifice comes a greater "glowing" of passion and love. In the context of a church service, the "ashes" referred to recall not only the phoenix but also the burning of incense at the altar at the head of the church that accompanies the great mystery of the mass.

Just as the poem's iconography evokes the physical space of a Christian church, so too its narrative evokes the order of burial services of the dead. The sonnet roughly fits the narrative of church liturgy: mortality is invoked, confronted, and then surmounted through the consolation of faith.[41] A reader might also make an analogy between the point of the "turn" and the transept of the church, which typically crosses the nave about 2/3 the way along the floorplan, *i.e.*, at a roughly equivalent place in the number of lines of the poem. Here the form and full spiritual purpose of the cross are made evident architecturally, and by analogy the poem asks us to raise our eyes to God in thanks for His sacrifice. As Helen Vendler writes, the first two quatrains have a linear narrative flow that points horizontally: the speaker progresses through time (a day or a season or a lifetime) towards the "calm resignation" of death. The narrative flow of the third quatrain, however, points dramatically upwards with a verbally charged "glowing" motion, whereby the energy of youth is extended forward (or up) through the poem: the fire burns *upon* the ashes of his youth. Vendler does not refer to a phoenix, preferring instead a wholly secularized reading that stresses the speaker's acute eroticized awareness of his youthful passion.[42] Yet the fire and the verticality of the glow evoke the burning sacrifice and smoky trajectory of a rising phoenix and the mass. The cyclical horizontal plane of mortal life therefore finds resolution and hope in the godly yearning of the spirit, associated with Christian resurrection.

The poem's couplet acts as coda by strengthening the idea of a "strong" love that only burns more strongly in the face of death, so as to defeat the leave-taking that is inevitable among all life.

Conclusion

Like the First Folio, which concludes with a burning funerary tribute to the gods in *Cymbeline*, the last play in the book,[43] Sonnet 73 calls attention to itself as a funerary monument, including an image of burning. The sonnet's metaphoric conceits of church architecture and Christological sacrificial symbolism deepen the poem's meditative profundity, while highlighting its status as a virtual *space* or a type of a memorial monument on the page.

Religious ritual transforms death—a transition from one physical state into another—from rotten dead-end into a point of passage, or way-station to another destination for our souls. Sonnet 73, when conceived of as a Christ-infused funeral monument, can be read as a skillful artifact of remembrance that participates in this ritual sentiment. Like a reliquary, it is an elaborate container of a holy spirit, and the reader progresses through its narrative structure as one might through a church or a funeral elegy. It combines artistic flair with pious sincerity, to the extent that the imaginative faculty is ignited in an ardent fervor that calls attention to itself: the graven sonnet, like the speaker's body, or that of Christ, is a fine but not a private place, a site of liminality and profound artistic transformation burning with eternal love for all to see and appreciate.

We recall Lynn Magnusson's argument that the dedication to the 1609 quarto of the sonnets equates the author, Shakespeare, with God who "begets" all creation and importantly His Son.[44] Fittingly, in Sonnet 73 Shakespeare "begets" not only a reflection of himself but also the Son. While Shakespeare's whole sequence cannot be labeled as explicitly Christian, it is arguably meditative throughout, with some explicitly religious poems, such as no. 73, no. 77, no. 81, no. 116, and no.

129. To explore the full dimensions of religious remembrance in no. 73 is to deepen the complex meaning and spiritual significance of a well-crafted poem. The poem is far more Christological and ecclesiastical in its physical and symbolic structure than at first appears. In this way, at a time of bitter sectarian strife, Shakespeare made full use of the memorial doctrines and traditional devices of religious devotion and remembrance to stress the passionate love of one man for another.

Notes

1. All citations of the *Sonnets* derive from Booth (editor).

2. Notably Benson.

3. Ovenden, p. 7.

4. For discussion of Shakespeare's *Sonnets* in light of what constitutes a "monument" on the page and in more durable material, such as stone, see Williams, esp. pp. 297-302; Kunin.

5. Burrow, p. 102.

6. The *locus classicus* for a deconstructive and self-referential method of reading the *Sonnets* is Booth (editor). In regard to how Shakespeare treats memory and monumentality specifically, see, for example, Cathy Shrank's analysis: "as a volume, then, the 1609 quarto subverts ideas of memorialization, evoking poetry as a means of evading posthumous obscurity, while at the same time thwarting, suppressing, denying, or—as we will see—even erasing its commemorative potential" (17). Stephen Orgel reads the poems as a "monument to frustration and loss, anatomizing the inadequacies and the radical loneliness of the self and the ultimate elusiveness of the Other" (20). Grant Williams cites this statement by Orgel to disagree with it, and stresses instead the poems' powerful rhetoric dramatizing the "urgency of the here and now" (305). Nonetheless, regarding no. 73 specifically, Williams argues that Shakespeare in his meditation on the ruined choirs finds little to inspire him; he "assumes the blank gaze of an antiquary who cannot recognize the monument's praise for the defunct" (304).

7. Similarly, Rhema Hokama emphasizes the mutual devotional rhetoric of the sonnets (nos. 23 and 108 in particular), albeit from the perspective of performance theory: "the Sonnets configure acts of devotion and praise as public performances that produce commensurate devotional states in the one who praises" (201).

8. On the classical and early Christian origins of the use of "micro-architecture" on a human scale in church altars, shrines and interior canopies (often combined) as a reflection of larger temple structures in St. Peter's Church in the Vatican (including the Tomb of Christ) and the eastern church, see Bogdanovic,

ch. 4, especially pp. 183-187. For discussion of space, place, and ritual in the liturgy as increasingly elaborated in the middle ages, see Palazzo, *L'espace* pp. 24-26 and *passim*; *ibid*, "Relics." Palazzo discusses the "Late Antique and medieval conception of the church as a monumental reliquary whose primary purpose was to protect the relics of the saints that had been laid within its altars," noting that reliquaries and portable altars could be interpreted as miniature churches "down to the smallest architectural detail" ("Relics" 99). On the body of Christ as temple-structure in the Bible and Catholic liturgy, see McNamara, pp. 48, 66.

9. Shrank, pp. 15-16; Magnusson, p. 37; West.

10. Sherlock, p. 207. For a broader discussion of the concept of poetic "monuments" in antiquarian, including Spenserian, contexts, see Van Es, chapter 1 (21-48); Van Es discusses the troublesome reverberations of Reformation iconoclasm in relation to poetic monuments on p. 36.

11. Sherlock, pp. 154-156, *passim*.

12. A second, better-known epitaph to Shakespeare, perhaps written by the Bard himself, appears on his tomb elsewhere in the Stratford church:

> GOOD FREND FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE, TO DIGGE THE DVST ENCLOASED HEARE: BLESE BE YE MAN YT SPARES THES STONES, AND CVRST BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES.

For analysis and discussion, see Newstok, pp. 162-164. The curse was not an effective prophylactic, as recent archaeological investigation finds a void in the tomb where Shakespeare's skull is supposed to be.

13. As modernized by Stanley Wells:

> Stay Passenger, why goest thou by so fast?
>
> Read, if thou canst, whom envious Death hath placed
>
> Within this monument: Shakspeare, with whom
>
> Quick nature died; whose name doth deck this tomb
>
> Far more than cost, sith [since] all that he hath writ
>
> Leaves living art but page to serve his wit. (46-47)

For images and discussion, see "Shakespeare's funerary monument" *Wikipedia* page: en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shakespeare%27s_funerary_monument. Accessed 11 Dec. 2017.

14. Laoutaris, p. 51.

15. Jonson, A4^{r}. Compare with the engraving of a funerary image of Chaucer standing above his family tomb, almost as if resurrected, in *The Workes of our ancient and learned English Poet, Geoffrey Chaucer, newly printed*, 2nd edition. Adam Islip, 1602.

16. Digges, B1^{r}. Louartis notes the "theological charge" of the term *works* as used in the prefatory material in the First Folio (51). In "An Epitaph on the ad-

mirable Dramaticke poet, W. Shakespeare," added to the Second Folio (1632), John Milton refers to Shakespeare's works as a "lasting monument" that pre-empts a stone one that might hide Shakespeare's "relics."

17. See Laoutaris's eloquent and lengthy commentary (50-57) on this point and the use of resurrection imagery in the prefatory material to the First Folio to refer to Shakespeare's genius.

18. Shrank, p. 16. See also Magnusson, p. 48.

19. Shrank, pp. 18-19.

20. Shrank, pp. 18-19, 23; for the reference to accounting, see Shrank, p. 21; Duncan-Jones, p. 366.

21. Shrank, p. 29 emphasizes the fact that readers are needed to keep the memory of the young man alive; see also Burrow, pp. 103-104.

22. The original-spelling version, reproduced in facsimile of the 1609 edition, in Booth (editor), p. 65.

23. Booth (editor), p. 260.

24. Evans, p. 179.

25. Ibid.

26. Spelled "blacks" in the original 1609 Quarto—perhaps a reference to *black* lettering?—which, if kept, further emphasizes the paradox of dark letters connoting light.

27. The reference to "sweet *birds*" has also been read as an oblique reference to William Byrd, the musician and chorister who was alive and well at Elizabeth's court (Bate 428). Byrd was a Catholic loyal to the English monarch and favored, protected and productive long into the Jacobean period. He wrote many *quires* of published music by 1609, when Shakespeare's volume was printed.

28. For the influence of Daniel's *Delia* on Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, see Schaar.

29. In the second ("B") edition published that same year, the poem mentioning the phoenix becomes no. 34 in the sequence, whereas it is no. 33 in later editions. A related phenomenon occurs in the authoritative Todd Manuscript version of Henry Constable's *Diana* (1592), which has 64 sonnets; the beloved Arabella Stuart's image is resurrected in Sonnet 64, wherein the speaker describes her as the muse that inspires and protects his verse under her "Phoenix wing." (In work-in-progress, I am exploring the use of the Christological number 33 in Elizabethan sonnet sequences.)

30. Story and Gardener. For the manuscript collection of 64 sonnets in St. John's College, Cambridge, see www.joh.cam.ac.uk/sonnets-william-alabaster.

31. Story and Gardner, pp. 16-18.

32. So as to "restore a sense of their poetic materiality," Russ McDonald compares the shaping of the sonnets to the making of Tudor architecture and visual design: p. 487.

33. In the plot of the play *Sir Thomas More* (1593), which Shakespeare may have had a hand in, a bloodied, Catholic rebel literally replaces the figure of Christ in a rood loft, thus offering a ghostly spectacle of continuing Catholic iconography in his person: see Groves, pp. 2-3.

34. Duncan-Jones, p. 256; Wilson, p. 178. For discussion of bald Shakespeare, see Keevak, pp. 87-114. As a further tease, Shakespeare uses the eponymous word "shake" in line 2, as if highlighting his own person amid the trembling boughs. (A *spear* could be carved whole out of a tree branch or bough, also.) See the blatant punning on "Will" elsewhere in the sonnet sequence.

35. As noted by McNamara (66), Christ's body is the "archetypal building," the "temple" that will be "raised" in three days in John 2:21. Sicardo (1155-1215), Bishop of Cremona, in his *Mitralis de officiis* discusses the symbolic significance of church architecture, including cruciform plans, which are meant to inspire parishioners to take up the cross in the spirit of *Matthew* 16.24 (Sicardo 13-14). Cited in Palazzo, "Relics" p. 99.

36. *Cf.* George Herbert's poem "Church-monuments": its central conceit makes an analogy between the poem, the body, and the tomb. All three, like a mirror or a reliquary, are a "glasse, which holds the dust" (20) that reveals the speaker's and reader's own mortality in consequence of their "fall" (24), the last word of the poem. This narrative progress towards the "fall" is a figurative "descent" (18) towards discovery (and self-realization) on the part of the speaker and reader. Compare this spatial dynamism reading "Church-monuments" with a similar process of narrative progress towards epiphany in Shakespeare's Sonnet 73. Herbert, pp. 56-7.

37. These resonant connections are eloquently described by William Empson in his famous study of the poem's ambiguities in the opening pages of *Seven Types of Ambiguity* (1930); quoted and elaborated on by Hecht, pp. 7-9. See also Hecht's editorial comments on Sonnet 73 on p. 179 of the same edition. In both places, Hecht stresses the personal, emotional, and aesthetic characteristics of the poem and overall sequence rather than its religious/doctrinal content. For a persnickety rejoinder that "choirs" are not *stalls* per se, rather the "choir" or chancel area of the church (ironically, Empson did not see the proper ambiguity in the term), see Wordsworth.

38. Booth, p. 259.

39. Tomb-burials were usually placed inside churches and aligned west (feet)-east (head). A church-entombed person therefore lay along the same axis as the (human-shaped) cruciform church structure. He/she is absorbed by that larger body in soil and spirit while his/her tomb becomes part of the church fabric.

40. An interesting parallel can be drawn between the spatial narrative techniques of Sonnet 73 and the phenomena described in William Engel's analysis of the literary-architectural mnemonic techniques of Montaigne's essays, as emphasized (for example) in Florio's translation: "building, accumulating, and managing—seen as characteristic mortal activities, as constituent parts of the

essayist's character, and as a conceptual or topical categories of Renaissance metaphorics—are focal coordinates in our effort to situate how Montaigne goes about the task of thinking through and of representing the truth of his being" (Engel 109).

41. Michael Hays notes in an unpublished essay on Sonnet 73 that the narrative progress to "ashes" and promise of resurrection follows the order of service of the Book of Common Prayer (personal correspondence with Hays, 1 Aug. 2017).

42. Vendler, pp. 335-6.

43. For discussion of the ordering of the plays in the First Folio, see Laoutaris, p. 56, citing the work of John Jowett and G.P.V. Akrigg; see also Wayne.

44. Magnusson, pp. 39, 43.

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Figured Speech: The Ideal of the Classical Orator in Donatello's Bronze Doors for San Lorenzo

Maureen Pelta

Despite his admiration for Donatello as one of the finest sculptors of his age, the Florentine artist best known as Filarete cautioned readers of his *Trattato dell'architettura*: "If you have to do apostles, do not make them look like fencers, as Donatello did in the bronze doors in the sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence" (Spencer v.2, Bk. XXIII, f.179^{v}). Filarete's remark echoed a similar injunction in Alberti's renowned *De Pictura* that an artist should not represent a discoursing philosopher in a manner more suited to a fencer (Grayson 74; Spencer 124). Both contemporary admonitions noted Donatello's rendering of figures in the midst of extreme movement on the bronze doors, while drawing attention to the problematic subject of Donatello's bronze reliefs. At the same time, these criticisms recommend a context in which that subject might be located and understood: Donatello's commission at San Lorenzo coincided with the rediscovery of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria.* Newly available to the avant-garde of Florentine humanists, the *Institutio Oratoria* lent ancient authority to the role of physical movement and gesture for conveying meaning during speech-making. Correspondences between Quintilian's text, with its remarkably precise discussion of oratorical delivery, and Donatello's gesticulating figures suggest that the recovery of this manuscript allowed Donatello to cast his Christian preachers as ancient orators, thus placing the eloquence of classical oratory at the service of Christian piety.

The 1980s restoration of Donatello's decorations in the Old Sacristy brought renewed attention to the function of this space as both sacristy and Medici memorial sepulchre (fig. 1). Donatello's extraordinary use of color, as well as his working methods in reviving the use of stucco as a relief medium for the first time since antiquity, could be newly appreciated. The celestial hemisphere, frescoed in the *cupolina* above the altar, proved to be of greater complexity and significance than previously imagined. Nevertheless, the Medici-commissioned bronze doors still constituted one of the most significant aspects of the decorative scheme, as Donatello's contemporaries recognized.

Fig. 1

Interior view of the Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence. Photo: Scala/Art Resource, NY.

Bronze was an expensive material in *quattrocento* Florence, and the unique enterprise of figurated bronze door-making is highlighted by the scarcity of earlier Italian precedents.[1] While the concomitant surge of interest in such doors is attested by the increased demand for them, Donatello's sacristy doors were one of the few examples brought to fruition. They also remain the only set of bronze doors commissioned by private patrons during this period. In lieu of primary documentation concerning the chronology of Donatello's commission or working procedures, the doors have been bracketed between Cosimo de' Medici's return from exile in 1434, and Donatello's departure for Padua in 1442.

Given other notable contemporaneous bronze door making (and planning) in Florence and Siena, Donatello would have recognized the prestigious nature of a commission that demanded such substantial investment of his time and attention. Donatello surely labored under the impetus to excellence set by the example of Ghiberti's first set of bronze doors, whose overall arrangement of two narrative units in five registers for a total of ten panels per door was echoed in Donatello's own scheme. Yet just as Ghiberti began to explore the spatial and expressive ramifications of pictorial perspective for his second set of baptistry doors—pursuing visual ideas employed to such brilliant effect by Donatello in works like the Siena Baptistery font—Donatello himself apparently abandoned this line of artistic investigation. Instead, Donatello began experimenting with a form of plastic expression based upon figural movement and gesture, alone.

Donatello's bronze doors, positioned on the south wall of the sacristy, visually accentuate the transition to the space of the smaller, cubic absidiola that sheltered the sacristy's own altar. Common nomenclature for the doors terms those to the left of the altar as the *Martyrs' Doors,* reflecting the fact that all of their twenty figures carry palm leaves (fig. 2). Those on the right are referred to as the *Apostles' Doors*, owing to the presence of Sts. Peter, Paul, Bartholomew, and Andrew, as well as John the Baptist, the four Evangelists, and four Church fathers, all recognizable by their traditional attributes (fig.3). Individual characterization in Donatello's forty figures, however, depends less upon the presence of attributes or artistic conventions of saintly physiognomy than upon the manner in which the figures appear to move and gesture. Indeed, Donatello's holy figures, garbed in robes that recall ancient Roman reliefs, provide a veritable lexicon of the standing male figure in motion. They are a continuation of Donatello's meditations on the human figure as a vehicle of artistic expression, seen in free-standing works as early as his *St. Mark* (1411-13), for the exterior of Orsanmichele, and later *campanile* figures like the so-called *Jeremiah* and the famous bald *Zuccone* (1423-25). Despite differences in format, material, and sculptural genre, Donatello was able to instill a similar feeling of moral grandeur tied to imposing physicality in the figures that populate the doors (Tarr 132-134, 140).

Suggestions for the visual antecedents of these forty gesticulating figures are numerous. Claims for Donatello's immediate stylistic prototypes have ranged from the wooden doors of Sta. Sabina in Rome

Fig. 2

Martyrs Door and lunette relief of Saints Stephen and Lawrence, Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence. Photograph by George Tatge for Alinari, 1989. Used with permission from the Alinari Archives, Florence.

and the obvious example of Ghiberti's Florentine baptistry doors, to Bonnanus's bronze doors for Pisa's cathedral, and the apostles on the door jambs of the Pisa Baptistry, to the possible influence of early Christian ivories such as the Probianus diptych, or the impact of Byzantine works (Kauffmann 89ff; Janson 137-138; Greenhalgh 113-132; Paoletti 59ff). Visual sources may also trace back to antique sculptural tradition, more specifically within the ancient Roman orator category.[2]

Fig. 3

Apostles Door and lunette relief of Saints Cosmas and Damian, Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence. Photograph by George Tatge for Alinari, 1989. Used with permission from Alinari Archives, Florence.

The orator figure, whether seated or standing, was portrayed gesturing with the right hand while the left hand supported a draped tunic, or an occasional small object or scroll. This theme appeared countless times on ancient sarcophagi and classical monuments familiar to the artist as a result of his visits to Rome. The Roman *Arch of the Argentarii* (fig. 4), with its decoration of rectangular fields framed by borders of flattened leaves, displays sets of figures paired in a manner similar to

Donatello's bronze panels. Donatello's compositions bear a particularly strong resemblance to the scene of Caracalla and the headless Geta (fig. 5) (Lanciani 518-19).

Such motif- or source-hunting cannot satisfy our curiosity about Donatello's figures if they fail to offer insight about their meaning. Can we determine that Donatello's adaptation of the ancient orator type was not simply a visual coincidence, but a deliberate choice, informed by contemporary currents within the broader context of early fifteenth-century Florentine culture? Customary means of visually evaluating these figures yield little of value: more than half of Donatello's figures lack identifying attributes, just as the neutral backgrounds they inhabit provide no narrative or material cues. Instead, Donatello differentiated his figures with poses that emphasize gesture, thus evoking a lively sense of spontaneous movement. This impression of immediacy was formally enhanced by Donatello's decision to exploit a less refined surface finish as an expressive device, although later commentators were quick to condemn the rough finish of the bronze, echoing criticisms voiced by Baccio Bandinelli in 1547 (Janson 133; Martinelli 179-94). Yet the apparent spontaneity of figural gesture, particularly in regard to Donatello's placement of the figures' beautifully articulated hands, appears as carefully calculated as the agitated flow of drapery in order to express something about the psychological state of each in-

Fig. 4

The *Arch of the Argentarii*, 204 AD, with portico of San Giorgio in Velabro, Rome; Molins, Pompeo Stabilimento, ca. 1870. Image used with permission from the Fratelli Alinari Museum Collections, Florence.

Fig. 5

Portrait of Caracalla performing a sacrifice; detail from the *Arch of the Argentari* in Rome. Fratelli Alinari, ca. 1920-1930. Image used with permission from the Alinari Archives, Florence.

dividual figure. Despite the absence of distinctive attributes, the artist masterfully characterized each head as an individual and carefully rendered details as minute as fingernails. The postures of the paired figures signal intense intellectual engagement—whether with one another or the books they are seen writing, studying, or contemplating—that further enhances their naturalness. The degree to which the representation of movement and gesture alone play a role in Donatello's imagery in the Old Sacristy doors suggests that dialogic movement and gesture, in and of themselves, comprise a primary aspect of Donatello's narrative.

Two contemporary analogues were significant to Donatello's interest in portraying movement. On one hand, the varied stances of Donatello's figures mirror an important facet of contemporary painting theory: Alberti's concept of physical movement as reflective of a state of mind, the so-called movements of the soul demonstrated by movements of the body. As John Spencer noted in 1957, Alberti's concept of movement was essentially derived from the practice of Renaissance oratory, experienced during the delivery of popular sermons and adopted for painting. For Alberti, effective gesture remained at the core of art; in painting, as in oratory, convincing gestures signaled the artist's desire to communicate more directly with the viewer and, perhaps more importantly, could stimulate the audience to affective and empathetic response (Baxandall, *Giotto and the Orators* 121-139; Rosand 147-163; Spencer 26-44).

Subsequent studies by scholars such as Michael Baxandall illuminated the profound relationship between the use of gesture in popular preaching and its acculturation toward image-making in fifteenth-century Florence (Baxandall, *Painting and Experience* 49-55; Howard 29-44). Artistic possibilities for gestural models offered by the realm of contemporary preaching were both visual and verbal; there was a rich vocabulary of actual, physical gestures employed by preachers to emphasize their precepts and hold audience attention. The distinctive capacity of these physical gestures to impart meaning was not necessarily restricted to Florence. We know it was not only possible for fifteenth-century Italian audiences to follow Latin sermons solely by means of gesture, but also for Italian preachers to successfully tour Northern Europe communicating largely through the passionate quality of their delivery by means of gesture. Of equal importance were the verbal descriptions of gesture made by preachers in order to help their audiences visualize holy figures in specific narrated circumstances. Fra Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce's sermons on the mysteries of the Annunciation furnish only one well-known group of examples (Baxandall 64).

Along with the enduring tradition of popular preaching, early fifteenth-century audiences witnessed and participated in other modes of public speaking, revived from the increasingly venerated classical past and reflecting the rhetorical interests underlying Renaissance humanism (McManamon 68-87; Vickers 715-45). Donatello's sacristy commission coincided with the rediscovery of Quintillian's *Institutio Oratoria* in its entirety. A renowned Roman orator of the first century CE, Quintilian's major treatise had been long known to Italian humanists including Petrarch, but only in fragmentary form (Sandys 8; Reynolds 332-34). Within Florentine intellectual circles, the recovery of this text was momentous; as an authority on the ancient practice of oratory, Quintilian was regarded as unsurpassed, even by Cicero, who was his own idol (Kristeller 230; Woodward 8-10, 15, 31). Moreover, there are compelling historical and visual reasons to propose Donatello's awareness of this manuscript.

The circumstances of the recovery of the complete Quintilian text are well-known. The manuscript itself was rediscovered by Poggio Bracciolini during a now famous book-hunting expedition to the monastery of St. Gall, in the summer of 1416. At the time of this trip, Poggio was already an intimate of Donatello's patron, Cosimo de' Medici, and he was attached to the entourage of Baldassare Coscia at the Council of Constance. Young Cosimo, himself, was among the group of men that accompanied Coscia, as Pope John XXIII, to Constance, representing the Medici bank.[3]

Donatello's own relationship with Poggio has been equally well documented. Poggio's correspondence mentions Donatello's role in advising the humanist on purchases of antiquities to decorate his farm at Terranuova, and of specific interest is a letter from Poggio to Niccolo Niccoli, written in Rome between 1430-33, concerning the discovery of a cache of ancient Greek statues. The manner in which Poggio recorded Donatello's praise for a piece of sculpture the author had recently acquired implies not only a warm history of acquaintance between the two men, but also that Donatello saw the sculpture while visiting Poggio in Rome (Gordon 166-67).[4] The letter also underscores Donatello's authority as an expert on all things antique.

The excitement and enthusiasm with which Poggio's discovery of the Quintilian manuscript was greeted cannot be overstated. Poggio wrote immediately of his discovery to both Niccolo Niccoli and Leonardo Bruni in Florence and accomplished the arduous task of copying the manuscript with his own hand in fifty-four days (Sandys 26-7; Murphy 357-60). Bruni's response was swift:

> Oh wondrous treasure! Oh unexpected joy! Shall I see you, Marcus Fabius, whole and undamaged, and how much will you mean to me now? For I loved you even when you were cruelly deprived of your mouth, of your mouth and both your hands, still I loved you for your grace. Please, Poggius, satisfy this deep desire of mine as quickly as possible, so that if kindness means anything I may see him before I die . . . Quintilian is the father of rhetoric and the master of oratory to such a degree that when you have sent him here freed from a lengthy and cruel prison sentence among the barbarians, all the peoples of Etruria ought to rush out to congratulate you. (Gordan 191-192)

The book had a significant impact on Poggio, himself, who was known to pepper his correspondence with phrases from Quintilian throughout the rest of his life. Another example of Quintilian's almost instantaneous assimilation into the culture of contemporary Florentine humanism has been identified in a dialogue circulating in the second half of the 1430s, written by another Medici intimate. Passages from Matteo Palmieri's *Della Vita Civile* have been long recognized as direct borrowings from Quintilian's text and the influence of the manuscript on other fifteenth-century luminaries such as Vergerio and Lorenzo Valla is a matter of record (Woodward 72-73; Bassi 182-207). Moreover, an early copy of Poggio's Quintilian, "di lettera antica," was listed among the manuscripts in Cosimo's study ["nello scriptoio di Cosimo"] in the March 1417/18 inventory made of the contents of the house of his father, Giovanni (de la Mare 121, 124).

Among other aspects of the text, what excited these early fifteenth-century humanists was the discovery of the practical and theoretical treatment given to that which, according to their knowledge of Cicero's works, was believed to be incapable of receiving such treatment: namely, the precise use of the body in conveying an oral message or story as a significant aspect of oratory. Book Eleven of the *Institutio Oratoria* contained the fullest discussion of the subject of oratorical delivery to survive from antiquity. For the first time, humanists were furnished with an historically sanctioned instrument that allowed them to contextualize and envision the appearance of classical rhetoric in its execution: Quintilian provided the visual component of the orator's performance. Part Three of Book Eleven was devoted specifically to presentation: "Delivery [*pronuntiatio*] is often styled action [*actio*]. But the first name is derived from the voice, the second from the gesture. For Cicero in one passage speaks of action as being a form of speech and in another as being a kind of physical eloquence" (11.3.1).

Quintilian was quite explicit about the value of gesture in oratory: "Nor is it wonderful that gesture that depends on various forms of movement should have such power, when painting [*cum pictura*], which is silent and motionless penetrates into our innermost feelings with such power that at times it seems more eloquent than language itself" (11.3.61-67). Significantly, Donatello's gesticulating bronze door figures exhibit a number of correspondences with Quintilian's descriptions of oratorical delivery. This is evident in the emphasis on the orator's hands and more particularly, on the placement of the fingers of each hand. As reflected in the sacristy bronzes, the artist's interest appears to have been focused specifically on the passage concerning the gestures of the hands, beginning 11.3.85-87 and continuing through 11.3.142: "As for the hands . . . the other portions of the body merely help the speaker, whereas hands may almost be said to speak [by themselves] . . . In fact, though the peoples and nations of earth speak a multitude of tongues, they share in common the universal language of the hands."

According to Quintilian, the role of each hand during the course of an oration was strictly circumscribed. The gestures of the right hand were deployed to reflect, interpret or emphasize the words and tone used by the speaker. The precise positioning of each finger of the right hand as it accompanied specific parts of the oration was minutely detailed and linked to specific concepts and emotions. By contrast, a good orator curbed the activity of his left hand unless used to emphasize and reiterate the actions of his right hand. More generally, the left hand was restricted to two functions: the decorous rearrangement of one's toga, which might have fallen into disarray during the heat of argument, and the carrying of notes. This latter function was only to be employed in extreme cases where absolutely necessary, because in Quintilian's view, "[carrying notes] suggests an acknowledgement that we do not trust our memory, and is a hindrance to a number of gestures" (11.3.142).

Donatello's figures gesture similarly: right arms motion vigorously; the left arm rarely engages in gesture, reserved instead for carrying books and supporting excess portions of clothing. Gesturing hands are often isolated against the neutral background or mark the center of a panel's visual field, as seen for example in panels on the top three registers of either set of doors (figs. 6 and 7). Special emphasis is often placed upon the fingers of the right hand, which is carefully positioned and articulated. The doors invite more intimate visual scrutiny of their details than other portions of the sacristy's decoration owing to their closer proximity to the viewer's space, combined with the scale of Donatello's figures, and their general lack of indexically encoded attributes.

These forty figures do not represent martyrs and apostles as static iconic images or part of a purely decorative frieze. Coupled against an indeterminate background, Donatello's figures are engaged in lively activity. Like Quintilian's orators, Donatello's interlocutory pairs are professional pleaders, advocates arguing their respective positions, who visibly are engrossed in active verbal discourse and in dialogue.

In a number of circumstances, the gestures and right-hand finger placement of Donatello's figures conform exactly with Quintilian's rather technical prescriptions: "But when three fingers are doubled over the thumb, the finger, which Cicero says that Crassus used to such effect, is extended. It is used in denunciation and in indication [whence its name of index finger]" (11.3.94), as seen in the third register, second figure from the left on the *Martyrs' Door* (fig. 6). Although

Fig. 6

Martyrs Door, Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence. Photograph by George Tatge for Alinari, 1989. Used with permission from Alinari Archives, Florence.

the gesture here described by Quintilian was certainly not an uncommon one, even today, it is clear as the passage continues that the complex arrangement of fingers described by the ancient author, and its visualization by Donatello, are more than fortuitous: "while if it [the same denunciation/indication gesture described above] be slightly dropped after the hand has been raised toward the shoulder, it signifies affirmation" (11.3.94). This gesture is echoed not inappropriately

Fig. 7

Apostles Door, Old Sacristy, San Lorenzo, Florence. Photograph by George Tatge for Alinari, 1989. Used with permission from Alinari Archives, Florence.

in the figure of St. Peter, pointing affirmatively toward the figure of St. Paul in the first register of the *Apostles' Door* (fig. 7). St. Paul's response takes the form of another gesture recommended by Quintilian: by slapping the sword which rests against his thigh, Paul employs the gesture "which Cleon is said to have been the first to introduce at Athens . . . [which] is becoming as a mark of indignation" (11.3.123). "Sometimes," continues Quintilian, "we may hold the first two fingers apart without, however, inserting the thumb between them, the remaining two pointing inward, while even the two former must not be fully extended" (11.3.98), a gesture realized in the figure of John the Baptist, who appears as the first figure on the left in the top register of the *Apostles' Door*. A more complex example of the affiliation between text and image can be found in the third figure from the left on the second register of the *Martyrs' Door* (fig. 6): "If the first finger touch the middle of the right-hand edge of the thumb-nail with its extremity, the other fingers being relaxed, we shall have a graceful gesture well suited to express approval or to accompany statements of facts, and to mark the distinction between our different points" (11.3.101-102).

While discussing the restricted range of movement allowed in the left arm and its hand, Quintilian delineated its appearance nonetheless: "The left arm should be raised so far as to form a right angle at the elbow . . . The most becoming attitude for the hand is produced by raising the thumb and slightly curving the fingers" (11.3.141-143). This gesture is embodied in a figure on the *Martyrs' Doors*, the first figure on the left, fourth register from the top; variations of the same gesture can be seen in that of St. Stephen at the top right of the same door and in the figure that has been identified as St. Jerome on the bottom register of the *Apostles' Doors*.

Not all of Donatello's figures recall the language of Quintilian so precisely.[5] Yet correspondences that occur in at least ten of the doors' twenty panels recommend Quintilian's text as a privileged source in the genesis of the bronze door reliefs. The paired apostles and martyrs on the bronze doors are clearly presented in physical attitudes that reflect their intense, intellectual engagement in linguistic activities—speaking, reading, writing, or listening. Imbued with a fervent sense of discourse, the essence of Donatello's twenty panels may be best characterized as spiritual advocacy, recalling the biblical passage, "We have an advocate with the Father who is Jesus Christ" (1 John 2:1-2). By casting his holy figures as ancient orators, which they actually had been, Donatello not only placed them appropriately within their historical context but presented them as active advocates of the Christian faith asserting the primacy and power of the word of God through the books they had written and the words they preached.

In drawing inspiration from Quintilian, Donatello appears to have heeded the ancient author's precepts of imitation, as well: "But there are others [gestures] that indicate things by means of mimicry. . . . But this is a type of gesture that should be rigorously avoided in pleading. For the orator should be as unlike the dancer as possible, and his gesture should be adapted rather to his thought than to his actual words . . . So true is it that certain forms of imitation may be a blemish even in those whose whole art consists in imitation" (11.3.88-91). Quintilian's distinction between imitation and mimicry (or copying) was well understood by the so-called "avant-garde" humanists within Donatello's circle who viewed *imitatio* as a springboard for their own invention (Celenza 516-519).[6]

Without slavishly imitating or simply illustrating Quintilian's text, Donatello draws upon a gestural paradigm adapted from the *Institutio Oratoria* to lend ancient authority to his exploration of figural movement as a form of artistic expression. All of Donatello's imagery for the sacristy, in fact, relates to a linguistic and oratorical schema that attests to and celebrates the power of the word of God. These evangelists, apostles, saints, and martyrs are God's chosen advocates on earth, whose exceptional eloquence was viewed as a sign of God's grace.

The figures of SS. Stephen and Lawrence in the stucco *aedicula* on the left above the so-called *Martyrs' Doors* have never been closely questioned beyond their Medici associations. As John Paoletti has shown, it is certainly not incidental to the decorative scheme that Lawrence was the name-saint of one of the patron's sons, Lorenzo (Paoletti 49). In addition, the presence of St. Lawrence serves as both tribute to and in connection with the Laurentian structure housing the sacristy. St. Stephen appears as his regular companion, linked through the tradition of their hagiography and their status as deacons and protomartyrs. Unexceptional in both their iconographic and visual pairing, Donatello's rendering offers little stylistic deviation from the conventionally paired sets of saints portrayed frontally in earlier art. His SS. Stephen and Lawrence are consistent with descriptions of their appearance found in standard hagiographic sources such as the Gospels and the *Golden Legend*. However, the representations of SS. Stephen and Lawrence were made to participate in the same animated discourse as their bronze brethren below by virtue of their setting, stance, and gesture.

Both saints were identified with Christian oratorical culture in ways well-known during the Renaissance. St. Stephen was not only regarded as eloquent, he was revered as the first Christian orator, a consequence of his forceful *apologia* in defense of faith as recorded by Luke in Acts 6-7 (Scharlemann 4, 12). The tradition of verbal eloquence ascribed to St. Lawrence rested on the authority of Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348-405 A.D), regarded among the greatest of the Christian Latin poets. In reconciling classical Latin poetic forms with the subject and content of the new faith, Prudentius devised the first Christian allegory, the *Psychomachia*, and his *Peristephanon Liber*, or *Songs of the Martyrs' Crowns*, established the main lines of the Christian martyr cults (Wright and Sinclair 27-30; Thomson; Palmer). The *Peristephanon*, containing fourteen long pieces in varying meters, written in honor of Spanish, African, and Roman martyrs, gave Lawrence a lengthy *apologia* in justification of his faith (*Perist*. ii).

SS. Cosmas and Damian, those *nobiles medici*, most assuredly owe their presence above the right-hand doors to their roles as Medici family saints (Bell 55-56; McKillop 261). Cosimo's vested interest in the sacristy as well as his continuing patronage of the church in general indicate that he authorized the completion of the sacristy following the deaths of both his father and mother (Elam 9; Beck 32 n.22, n.26). Within the framework of the stucco *aedicula,* the poses of these physician/saints are a bit livelier than those of SS. Stephen and Lawrence, while still predominantly frontal.[7] Similarly placed against a neutral background, with feet slightly protruding the decorative blue molding of the niche, the figures bear their weight on their inner legs. This shift in weight gives them the appearance of leaning inward, toward each other; in combination with their gestures, their stances convey the impression that they are also engaged in discourse.

Parallel with their counterparts above the *Martyrs' Doors*, Cosmas and Damian fit comfortably within the ideology of the sacristy's oratorical theme. As *anarguri* or *anargyroi,* from the Greek for "without silver," i.e., accepting no payment, Cosmas and Damian were Christian physicians who worked without the desire for temporal reward, refusing monetary fees or other compensation (Skrobucha 8-9). They healed in the manner of Christ because the capacity to heal was both analogous to and commensurate with the gift of eloquence; it had been bestowed upon them as a sign of God's grace.

Like the cures of Christ recounted in the Gospels, the cures effected by Cosmas and Damian were both physical and spiritual; the metaphorical correlation between physical illness and sin was a feature of Christian thought from its inception, reflecting early Christian appropriation of more ancient archetypes. Prominent among the customary cures was the resurrection of the dead, for which the authority of Matthew (10:8) could be cited, and which also provides another common thread between the appearance of these saintly physicians and the four events associated with St. John, represented in the pendentives of the sacristy's main dome.

A representation of St. John the Evangelist, to whom the space was dedicated, presides over the imagery of the south wall, the expanse that serves as a triumphal arch into the smaller *absidiola* housing the altar (fig. 1). Of the four *tondi* depicting evangelists, John's prominence of place was secured not only by virtue of his eponymous connection with the sacristy's first patron and his status as the first called to follow Christ but also because of his profound declaration of the power of language, celebrated in the opening lines of his gospel: "*In principio erat verbum*," or "In the beginning was the Word" (John 1:1). In addition to his patriarchal position at the apex of a visual triangle (Giovanni di' Bicci above his two sons Lorenzo and Cosimo), John occurs in hierarchical juxtaposition to the sacristy's altar, upon which the faithful were perpetually reminded that "God's word was made flesh" (John 1:14) through Christ, ensuring the future salvation of all humankind.[8]

The celebration of the Eucharist, which is the main function of an altar, is a continuing act of daily experience that transcends space and time; it binds the historical past to the promise of future salvation via a present-day moment of Holy Communion. Salvation promises new and eternal life with God: in other words, transcendence or victory over mortal death. This aspiration has been metonymically exemplified by the four *tondi*, positioned in the pendentives of the central *cupola*, which remain to be discussed. These four narrative roundels are stationed in the architectural zone which mediated between the cubic space of the sacristy and the sphere of the twelve-ribbed and windowed dome above.

Here, as elsewhere throughout the sacristy, Donatello's images have been carefully situated within their architectural context. Although each of the four *tondi* is individually narrative, they cannot be constructed as an episodically successive group from any physical vantage point. The scene to the left above the altar wall depicts *John's Revelation on Patmos*; moving to the right, the scene of John's attempted murder by *Boiling in Oil* is followed by that of his *Ascension* and finally, John's miraculous *Raising of Drusiana*. The disregard for sequential narrative cohesion signifies a different process of selection. Rather than constituting a single continuous story, these images offer *exempla* drawn from John's life. Beyond this conspicuous classification, their commonality cannot be subsumed simply under a category of "divine intervention" or "miracles," designations that fail to accommodate the *Revelation* scene. Instead, the John cycle presents a series of events in which the spiritual realm has been made manifest in the material world. The portrait presence of Giovanni di Bicci de'Medici in Donatello's *Ascension of St. John the Evangelist* relief, as convincingly argued by Roger Crum, only underscores the spiritual aspirations of the Medici within the sacristy's space (Crum, 142ff). The narrative *tondi* function as *memento mori*: implicit reminders of the promise of the world to come, the future glory of eternal life after mortal death. Donatello's four narratives illuminate the bridge between temporal and eternal life, occupying a theological and doctrinal position as transitional, yet as structurally significant, as the pendentives they decorate.

In the Old Sacristy both architecture and figural decoration adhere to the logic of God's language and its visual embodiment. Through the written texts and exemplary lives of the evangelists and the example of the apostles, saints, and martyrs as well as the words they used to preach and heal, the Old Sacristy provided eloquent visual affirmation of the power of God's word promising victory over death and eternal life through Christ in the heavenly Jerusalem. As described by John at the end of Revelations (verses 21 and 22), the measurements of the heavenly Jerusalem in symbolic units of fours and twelves are completely consonant with Brunelleschi's architecture (Blumenthal 8).

The ornamentation of the Old Sacristy with images conveying a message of victory over death was not only congruent with the sacristy's liturgical purpose but also well suited to its capacity as a funerary chapel. In combining the burial of a prominent citizen, whose very tomb was constructed in the center of the space as the liturgical table upon which to prepare the Eucharistic meal (McKillop 264; Sperling 8-10; Paoletti 46),[9] with the daily function of an active ecclesiastical space, the sacristy was guaranteed an audience which would transform a perhaps deceptively simple sepulchre into a public monument for a famous man, a practice sanctioned by the authority of antiquity and validated by Alberti's *On The Art of Building in Ten Books* (Rykwert 246-249). In its tripartite character, the Old Sacristy embodied a dynamic in which the theological, literary, and dynastic aspirations of its age cohered; it personified the fifteenth-century's desire to transform the classical *res publica* into contemporary *res publica Christiana*.

The influence of Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* on Donatello's stucco saints and bronze preachers is scarcely surprising in this proud, self-conscious, and self-constructing milieu. Donatello's choice signaled his informed participation in the humanist culture of his time as well as his sensitivity toward an audience that was at least dually constituted. Although Donatello's images spoke directly to the religious community which served at S. Lorenzo, for whom the words and deeds of the church fathers represented a living legacy, they also addressed an educated elite, encompassing the patron family and its remarkable circle of associates. For men like Cosimo, Poggio, and the artist himself—all privy to the codes of meaning embedded in "the speech act" (McManamon 3)—the link to Renaissance rhetoric invoked by Donatello's expropriation of Quintilian would have established another richly allusive dimension to the decoration. The Old Sacristy could function as the visualization of an elaborate and perpetual *laudatio funebris* in honor of Cosimo's father. Donatello's quotations from Quintilian were doubly appropriate within a culture contemporaneously experiencing a revival of the ancient practice of funeral oration undoubtedly accompanied by *gestus* or gesture. (McManamon 7, 11ff)

The full scope of Donatello's achievement in the Old Sacristy deserves greater attention, particularly in its implications for understanding and interpreting fifteenth-century Italian art. In Donatello's reliefs, contemporary humanist preoccupation with rhetoric and its "pursuit of eloquence" in Florence has found its visual counterpart. Renaissance rhetoric was a study of verbal stylishness in the construction of effective discourse and a significant component of visual taste (Baxandall 4-7; Smith xi-xix). Rhetorical style also enabled a profound new means of communicating with an audience: to an enlightened listener, the form of the oration or speech established an *a priori* context for what was actually said. Donatello's studious investment in the revival of a classical visual style, based upon ancient Roman prototypes, was a concomitant of humanist literary concerns wherein style was determined by its appropriateness in both conveying and shaping content.[10]

In selecting Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, the undisputed repository of oratorical wisdom in his age, and emulating it properly in the Old Sacristy, Donatello demonstrates a new way in which literary discourse can be brought to bear on the visual arts. The appropriate use and translation of classical sources, both visual and literary, to formulate the sacristy's Christian imagery signaled Donatello's active involvement with the revival of classical rhetoric and its concomitant issues of style. Donatello's work also exemplifies the remarkable Renaissance facility for transforming the classical past seamlessly into a Christian present. His stucco and bronze reliefs identify his informed participation, not as the solitary and somewhat irascible genius of Vasari's biography but as a man intellectually well-equipped to create images that could combine in their expression the theological and political ideals of his social milieu.

Then again, perhaps not. The criticisms leveled against the doors by Filarete and Alberti, which opened and close this commentary, acquire greater specificity within the context of Renaissance rhetoric. Rather than simple commentary or passing remarks, the words of Alberti and Filarete can be understood as full-blown aesthetic criticism, adapted from humanist notions of aptness and decorum.[11] In this sense, both writers found Donatello's figures lacking. The danger in re-creating ancient paradigms, it appears, is that the art becomes vulnerable to the entire history of judgment that accompanies the same aesthetic principles by which it was created.

Notes

1. Earlier examples include the bronze doors of S. Paolo fuori le mura in Rome, the 12th-century doors of S. Zeno in Verona, Bonnanus's doors for the cathedral of Pisa, Andrea Pisano's Florentine Baptistery doors as well as Ghiberti's two commissioned sets; Donatello was further commissioned for bronze doors for two sacristies of the cathedral of Florence in 1437 (eventually given to Luca della Robbia) and a 1458 door project for Siena cathedral that never came to fruition.

2. The question of Donatello's relationship to the antique remains essential and yet to be fully re-traced, although it has been raised by a number of authors, most notably: Janson, H.W. "Donatello and the Antique." *16 Studies*, H.N. Abrams, n.d. (after 1971), pp. 249-265; see Greenhalgh; and Rosenauer, Artur. "Reflections on Donatello's Position in the History of Art." *Italian Renaissance Sculpture in the Time of Donatello*, Detroit Institute of Art, 1985, pp. 27-46. See Bober, Phyllis P. and Ruth O. Rubinstein. *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources*, Harvey Miller Publishers and Oxford UP, 1986, pp. 31-40, for an excellent discussion of the general problem. In discussing an ancient orator type, I am adapting the category identified as the *adlucutio* type discussed by Richard Brilliant in *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art*. Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1963, pp. 9, 30-31, 67, 165-166, 215.

3. Vespasiano da Bisticci placed Cosimo at Constance, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoirs Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century*, translated by William George and Emily Waters, Harper & Row, n.d., pp. 214; see also Bennet and Wilkins, pp. 74-77. The Medici ransomed Coscia after his election as pope turned to political fiasco; for John's tomb in the Florentine baptistery, designed by Donatello in the mid-1420s at Medici behest, see S. B. McHam, "Donatello's Tomb of Pope John XXIII." *Life and Death in Fifteenth-Century Florence*, edited by Marcel Tetel, et al., Duke UP, 1989, pp. 146-173.

4. Hankins, James. "Cosimo de' Medici as a Patron of Humanistic Literature." *Cosimo 'il Vecchio' de Medici, 1389-1464: Essays in Commemoration of the 600th Anniversary of Cosimo de' Medici's Birth*, Oxford UP, 1992, pp. 72 n.9.

5. Book Eleven concerns appropriateness of speech: "After acquiring the power of writing and thinking, as described in the preceding book . . . our next task will be to ensure that appropriateness of speech [*dicamus apte*] which Cicero shows to be the fourth department of style, and which is, in my opinion, highly necessary." In addition to examples already mentioned, all of Donatello's visual adaptations stem from descriptions in Part Three, Book Eleven and can be determined in at least one figure on every register of both sets of doors.

6. Luca della Robbia's relief of *Philosophy*, commissioned in May of 1437 for the *campanile*, shows Donatello's influence in style and subject, suggesting that Donatello's enterprise was understood by his contemporaries; see Pope-Hennessy, John. *Luca della Robbia*, Oxford UP, 1980, pp. 30-31, 231-232, and L. Becherucci L. and G. Brunetti. *Il Museo dell'Opera del Duomo a Firenze*, vol. 1, Electa, 1969-70, pp. 235, 276-77.

7. Restoration of the sacristy revealed that SS. Cosmas and Damian were not made by Donatello, but perhaps Michelozzo, under Donatello's supervision.

8. The altar, carved by Buggiano under Brunelleschi's supervision, initially showcased Ghiberti's bronze *Sacrifice of Isaac* competition panel, framed by prophets, Jeremiah and Daniel, which was traditionally associated with the coming of Christ and God's sacrifice of His Son, themes continued on the back with the Virgin and Christ child, accompanied by Isaiah and Ezekiel.

9. Its function as an altar is discussed by McKillop, p. 264; and Sperling, pp. 8-10, offers an interesting discussion of this table over the tomb of Giovanni and Piccarda de'Medici in relation to the forms of early Christian mensae, as well as related to other Medici tomb projects; the inscriptions on the sarcophagus are discussed by Paoletti, p. 46.

10. The implications of Donatello's enterprise for current investigations of Renaissance art are significant. Rather than discussing Renaissance style as a singular entity, it becomes more pertinent than ever that we accommodate notions of styles. Donatello was pre-occupied with the idea of visual genera or "modes" throughout his life, exploring several styles simultaneously. This would explain a period that appears problematic like the 1430s, which encompassed works as disparate as the Frari *Baptist* and perhaps, the bronze *David*. The concept of visual genera as related to the literary concerns of Renaissance humanism may find useful application in approaching works of other artists.

11. It appears that Filarete chose to paraphrase Alberti precisely because he understood the related issues of decorum. It is not often noted that Filarete's admonition against Donatello's doors in Book XXIII occurred in a passage that began: "I think I have said enough to you about measure. Now there remains to speak of the mode, order and propriety [*delmodo & hordine & laproprieta*] that should be observed in the things that a man draws, paints, or carves," Spencer, 1973, v.1, p. 306. Elsewhere, in Book VII "Arches and Doors," f.59^{r-v}, the author demonstrated a similar sensitivity:

> I shall give this illustration to show the relation of ancient to modern architecture. It is the same as in literature: that is as the relation of the speech of Cicero or Virgil to that used thirty or forty years ago. Today writing in imitation of the classical style is the best usage, contrary to practice in the past. After several centuries, prose today is enhanced by ornamentation [*hornato eloqui*]. This has been accomplished only through following the ancient style of Cicero and other worthy men. The same occurred in architecture. The man who follows the ancient practice of architecture does exactly the same thing as a man of letters who strives to reproduce the classical style of Cicero and Virgil. (E. Holt, *A Documentary History of Art,* v.1, Princeton, 1957, p. 248).

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King Lear and the Rhetoric of Amnesia

Isabel Karremann

The Prologue to Shakespeare's history play *Henry V* offers one of the most important insights into the workings of the early modern theatre. Opening with an invocation to the "muse of fire" and a plea for inspiration, it quickly turns to the role of the audience and specifically the spectators' imagination:

> But pardon, gentles all,
> The flat unraisèd spirits that hath dared
> On this unworthy scaffold to bring forth
> So great an object. Can this cock-pit hold
> The vasty fields of France? Or may we cram
> Within this wooden O the casques
> That did affright the air at Agincourt?
> O pardon: since a crookèd figure may
> Attest in little place a million,
> And let us, ciphers to the great account,
> On your imaginary forces work. (*Henry V*, Prologue, 8–18)[1]

What sounds like an apology and a self-deprecating admission of the limitations and contingencies of theatrical representation is in fact a self-confident assertion of the power of the early modern stage: working the magic of illusion, it brings the ghosts of the past back to life and re-creates the battle of Agincourt in the confines of a round playhouse built of wood. The "wooden O" refers of course to the shape and substance of the Globe theatre, in which Shakespeare's plays were performed after 1599.[2] Its circular structure is also alluded to in the image of the "crooked figure," the zero, which turns small numbers into vast multitudes: in itself its value is nothing, but when added in the unit's place, it transforms one into ten into a hundred, and so on. This numeric pun indicates the actors' power: in real life, they are "ciphers," social nobodies; but on stage they work the magic of transforming a small group of men, dressed up in costumes, re-enacting a historical event, into "the great account" of England's glorious victory over the French forces at Agincourt. The theatrical spectacle, in itself nothing more than the "crooked figure" of zero materially echoed by "this wooden O" of the public theatre, is able to multiply its effect by "a million" in and through the audience's imagination.

This Prologue habitually is cited in historical theatre studies whose authors seek to explain how the relatively bare stage of the early modern theatre could work its magic on spell-bound audiences, taking them away to legendary battlefields, foreign countries, enchanted woods, and exotic islands. Without backdrops or sets in the modern sense, without a program to introduce the characters, contemporary audiences had to deduce such information from the actors' costumes and their manner of speaking; the atmosphere, the sense of location and time, external scenery, as well as ideas and emotions, had to be generated through the dialogue. The early modern stage was an "Empty Space," to adopt Peter Brook's words, which had to be filled imaginatively, and then immediately emptied and refilled. The stage, in other words, was a site where nothing was turned into something, where a zero could be transformed into a million.

Just how Shakespeare and his contemporaries achieved this magical transformation, what rhetorical and dramaturgic devices they developed and deployed, has been extensively studied. I am interested instead in the reverse process: how could the theatre turn something back into nothing? This is not an idle question or a purely academic matter. Shakespeare himself pursued precisely this question in *King Lear*, written and performed six years after *Henry V*. *King Lear* has often been read as a play that is open to nihilistic interpretation: its plot of increasing violence, torture, and death that exposes human folly, greed, and corruption charts "a progression towards despair or mere nothingness," as the editor of the Arden edition points out (Foakes 2). It was precisely owing to this nihilistic quality, he argues further, that *King Lear* became one of the most performed Shakespeare plays in the decades after the Second World War: with its uncovering of the horrors of torture and suffering, its desolate ending that negates any meaningful closure, its descent of the whole world into madness, it was seen as holding "the mirror up to nature [...] [showing] the very age and body of the time his form and pressure" (*Hamlet* 3.2.18–22). Such readings and performances use Shakespeare's play primarily as a critical mirror for the problems of their own modern time; this is of course perfectly legitimate — indeed a very important function that the theatre always had in society, and still does in our day and age. I propose, however, that the "progression toward nothingness" can and was attributed to the plot of *King Lear* not only in latter times, but that it is inscribed in the early modern play-text itself and that it is motivated by specifically early modern concerns. In order to make this intrinsic structure visible, I will explore the linguistic and dramaturgic devices through which this play enacts a transformation of "something" into "nothing." I call this the "rhetoric of amnesia," a term I take from Elizabeth Mazzola's study about the impact of the Reformation on English Renaissance literature (34). And I will show that the Reformation is the historical context with the greatest explanatory power for why such a sense of nothingness might have captured a contemporary audience with its imaginary and affective force.

If critical common sense holds that Shakespeare's art consists in creating something out of nothing, in conjuring scenes unfolding before the spectators' eyes through his poetic language, the scenery he paints with words—then how does he, by the same means of language and dramaturgy, represent the process through with something is turned into nothing? As Mazzola comments with regard to post-Reformation literature in general, the English Renaissance developed "self-consciously sophisticated methodologies for the burial and retrieval of cultural knowledge" (2), methodologies that reflected the transformative experience of the Reformation as well as allowed writers to reflect on how their own writing might contribute to the cultural engineering of memory. In *King Lear,* she claims, this self-reflexive amnesia becomes manifest in the "dismantling authoritative symbols, like tearing up a map of the kingdom, or multiplying the meanings of signs only to lose track of their implications" (34). Taking the cue from her, I read *King Lear* as a post-Reformation play that seeks to reconstruct in greater detail what Mazzola parenthetically mentions only briefly.

The play's opening scene, which shows the division of Lear's kingdom, centers on a map as a symbol of royal authority over territory that will soon be divided up among Goneril (1.1.63–66), Regan (79–82), and Cordelia. This feature becomes more prominent in productions of the play than in readings of it. While there are no stage directions in the early texts regarding its uses in performance, Lear's command "Give me the map there" (1.1.36) certainly draws attention to such a prop. Different modern productions, which R. A. Foakes discusses in his introduction to the Arden edition of the play, have used this prop to bring out the "political and emotional tensions of the scene": the map "both symbolizes Lear's power as king and reduces it to a sheet of paper which he may easily tear up and destroy, or which [...] may be made so large that it 'papered the stage floor' and gradually 'ripped and shredded' until it vanished in the final scenes" (10). In particular the last use of the map illustrates how it can bring home the process of disintegration that characterizes the whole play. While the material map is not referred to any more afterwards, the play can be read as a symbolic "tearing up [the] map of the kingdom" (Mazzola 34) as the characters named after and embodying parts of the country—Cornwall, Albany, Kent, Gloucester—tear one another apart in their desire to redraw or reconstitute the boundaries of the kingdom.

Contemporary audiences would probably not have been presented with anything approaching a stage-size map, as is sometimes the case in modern productions. Yet some among them might have been familiar with the image of a monarch standing on the map of the realm, e.g. the Ditchley portrait of Queen Elizabeth (ca. 1592), attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger. In Richard Helgerson's discussion of the emergence of the cartographic representation of England and its ideological effects in the late sixteenth century, maps provide a visual point of identification for nationhood. Christopher Saxton's *Survey of England and Wales* (1579), a collection composed of one general map followed by thirty-four maps of individual counties or groups of counties, was one of the first works to do so—and one of the most influential: "For over two hundred years—until the Ordinance Survey of 1794—nearly every printed map of England and Wales derived from Saxton" (107). Maps were typically commissioned by the queen's government, "for the satisfaction of its particular requirements, and, not incidentally, as an expression of its power" (ibid.), with the royal insignia appearing on each sheet in Saxton's collection. Yet the ideological effect, Helgerson claims, was less straightforward. In supplying the English with an image of the country, maps enabled them to "take visual and conceptual possession of the physical kingdom in which they lived" (ibid.). Consequently, maps began to open a gap between a sense of communal identity based on dynastic loyalty and a sense of national and local identity based on the land. In the visual space of the map, the country is the point of identification, while the insignia of royal authority are relegated to the margins and can be perceived as "a merely ornamental adjunct" (114). Opening "a conceptual gap between the land and its ruler" (ibid.), maps functioned as highly ambivalent signs of power. Thus the map that features conspicuously in the opening scene of *King Lear* need not have been torn apart in performance to convey a sense of disjunction and disunity. Its presence on stage alone could have indicated the shift of loyalty from the body of the king to the country itself that soon will occur in the play. And, separated from the material basis of his power, other insignia of Lear's authority, such as his entourage of a hundred knights, dwindle quickly to "a merely ornamental adjunct." His train is "disquantit[ied]" (1.4.240) step by step until Lear, called upon by Regan to say why he needs even one follower, responds with his "O, reason not the need" monologue (2.2.453–75). This speech lays open the semiotic logic behind this sign of authority: it is precisely that which is *not* needed but comes as a supplement that signals his rank and power. In 1987 Robert Weimann discussed how authority and its signs began to drift apart in early modern culture. This crisis in representation affected the realms of both, the state and the stage. Plays such as *King Lear* dramatize the conflict between sign and meaning, between the authority of institutions and the authority of knowledge, between the systems of feudal representation and Protestant interiority that emerged in the aftermath of the Reformation.[3]

The play's "rhetoric of amnesia" manifests itself not only in material props but, above all, in language. For Umberto Eco, one means of producing and representing oblivion (the only one which his strictly semiotic approach can allow, in fact) is through the multiplication of meanings. Forgetting is brought about not through absence or subtraction, but through excess, through "multiply[ing] the semiosis" (259). His example for such hyper-semiosis, namely that we tend to forget the meaning of words when faced with their homophones and homonyms (especially in a foreign language), can be applied to *King Lear* as well. A particularly telling instance of "the inadequacy of language and the plurality of meanings" in this play is the word "nothing" (Cohen 121). Repeated to excess with a wide range of meanings, it enacts oblivion through hyper-semiosis. It first occurs in the opening scene when King Lear commands Goneril, Regan, and Cordelia to tell him which of them loves him most, and therefore deserves the greatest part of the realm as inheritance. After Goneril and Regan have eloquently expressed their love, it is Cordelia's turn. "What can you say to draw / A third [part] more opulent that your sisters?" (1.1.85–6), Lear asks, confident of his favorite daughter's reply. But Cordelia answers: "Nothing, my Lord."—"Nothing?"—"Nothing," she repeats, and Lear scoffs, insulted and hurt: "How, nothing will come of nothing. Speak again." (1.1.87–90) The answer, of course, remains the same: Cordelia loves her father more than can be expressed in words; in fact, silence is the best answer because, as the play will show, words can be manipulated, cannot be trusted, in a world that is dominated by self-interest and cruelty. Cordelia's refusal "to heave / [her] heart into [her] mouth" (1.1.91–2) is therefore an attempt at protecting the purity of her filial love, keeping it from contamination in a fallen world. With cruel irony, however, this first use of the word nothing triggers her expulsion from the paradise of love between father and daughter, a loss of unity as well as identity. From this point on, "nothing" will occur again and again, in different scenes and different meanings, changing its semantic value so often that, in the end, it comes to mean precisely nothing.

Critics have reacted differently to this proliferation of meanings. Some have drawn up lists of the individual occurrences and possible sources of this word (cf. Tobin, Rosinger). Others have tried to fix the meaning of nothing by integrating it into a unified concept. Brian

Rotman, for example, reads it as an expression of the figure zero in the arithmetic of money and accounting, which had originated in the Orient and was introduced in Europe from the thirteenth century on. We already saw in the case of the Prologue to *Henry V* that Shakespeare was familiar with the oriental figure of the zero. According to Rotman, *King Lear* takes up this arithmetical logic. The play dramatizes reductions to nothing and thus articulates anxieties about "capitalism's threat to commoditise social reality, its capacity to nihilise fellow feeling and reduce human beings to acquisitive wolves fixated on money and power" (79). A different explanation is provided by psychoanalysis. In a book chapter entitled "*King Lear* and the Multiple Meanings of 'Nothing,'" Leonard Shengold discusses the word as an expression of "the impending passivity and nothingness of death" that Lear seeks to preempt by "actively separating himself from his power and property" (22). Shengold aptly identifies the "defensive nothing" (19) as a stand-in for a threatening loss of control, identity, and sexual power that comes in many different guises. Yet, in referring every single occurrence of the word back to a state of pre-oedipal narcissism, this reading also proves curiously reductive—and unconvincing, because it tries to explain too much with a single theory. In a more historicizing vein, David Levin attempts to chart the early modern concept of "nothingness" in a Christian theological context, where its senses range from the void that preceded the creation of the world, to man as an incomplete being in comparison with the absolute being of God (145). Encompassing everything between creation and annihilation, this metaphysical understanding endows "nothing" with a virtually global sense that defines the world in the play and its meaning in terms of "several absolute negations" (141), an approach that I find inherently problematic because it seeks to bring everything under its explanation of "nothing."

I think that we can address the problem in a way that takes the multiple meanings of "nothing" into account without reducing it either to an all-explanatory concept (admitting only one meaning) or a laundry list of references (adding many meanings). The problem, in my view, lies in the very fact that the play produces a confusing multiplicity of signifieds that are attached to one linguistic sign, "nothing," which is thereby deprived of a stable meaning. This is what Elizabeth Mazzola has identified as the basic linguistic strategy of the rhetoric of amnesia: "multiplying the meanings of signs only to lose track of their implications" (38). The sheer repetition of the signifier itself renders it increasingly meaningless. Lines such as: "Nothing will come of nothing" (1.1.88) defy not only a stable referent but indeed any referent at all, and an almost verbatim repetition a few scenes on ("Nothing can be made out of nothing," 1.4.118) generates a sense of disorientation that imprisons characters and audience alike in a perplexing "state of aporia" (Felperin 43). Similarly, the repetitions of the temporal adverb "never" deny a longing for closure. Bewailing the loss of Cordelia, Lear's cry, "O thou'lt come no more, / Never, never, never, never, never" (5.3.282–3), articulates an indefinite deferral of reunion, or indeed of anything that would give meaning to her death. As Foakes perceptively comments:

> His repetition of 'never' five times in one astonishing and heart-rending blank verse brings him and the audience to face death not only as the loss of all that is worth cherishing, but as utter oblivion; there are no flights of angels to hint at some possible compensatory heaven, but only the crushing sense that a process which started with a refusal to speak no more than the word 'nothing' finds its culmination in death and the blankness of 'never.' (78)

In this way the play not only names the issue of loss—loss of unity, of identity, of meaning—but rhetorically enacts it and presents it as an experience in the theatre.

The absence of "unity, coherence and resolution" (Felperin 43–4) is also figured through a language of separation that hinges on the prefixes *un-* and *dis-*. In the first case, the prefix serves to negate meaning, even though it does not always refer to something negative. Thus the first instance in the play, when Kent remarks on Gloucester's adultery: "I cannot wish the fault undone" (1.1.15), actually expresses the positive value he sees in Gloucester's bastard son Edmund. Similarly, the second case is Lear's divesting himself of the "cares and business" of being king so that he may "Unburdened crawl toward death" (1.1.39). Ironically, however, both are grievously mistaken: Edmund will turn out the villain of the play, and Lear's stepping down proves a tragic mistake. Likewise, the third occurrence of the prefix *un-*, Goneril's assertion of love for her father as "A love that makes breath poor and speech unable" (1.1.58), inadvertently signals its own emptiness and introduces the topic of the inadequacy of language around which this pivotal moment and the play as a whole revolve. And when, in the same scene, Cordelia is addressed by Lear as "untender" (1.1.104), "unfriended" (200), "unprized" (257), and "unkind" (258), his language prefigures and performs the alienation between them for her leaving "the history [of her filial love] unspoke" (238). This grammar of separation is complemented by an agglomeration of words beginning with the prefix *dis-*. They typically occur in speech acts that bring about this separation, such as Lear's "Here I disclaim all my paternal care" (1.1.111), or in attempts at grasping the reality resulting from them, as when Lear dismisses Cordelia “with our displeasure pieced” (1.1.196) and France cannot believe she could ever “Commit a thing so monstrous, to dismantle / So many folds of favour” (1.1.214–15). Throughout the play, such familiar expressions are increasingly complemented by coinages that linguistically exhibit the perversion of nature and good order: Goneril’s plan to “disquantity” (1.4.210) her father’s retinue, thereby denying him the respect due to his rank; Lear’s curse that her children shall “be a thwart disnatured torment to her” (1.4.245); or Albany’s metaphorical description of his unfaithful wife as one who “will sliver and disbranch / From her material sap” (4.2.35-36), rhetorically enact the suspension of the ties that bind father to daughter, husband to wife, brother to brother.[4]

The play represents not only the suspension of all ties among a community disjointed into isolated individuals driven by self-interest and those who are the victims of a cruel, uncaring society. It also severs the ties between the living and the dead. The experience of loss is absolute: those who die—and there are a lot of deaths in *King Lear*—are truly dead and gone. They are beyond the reach of the living, just as the living are beyond the reach of consolation. Thus Lear’s lament over the corpse of Cordelia culminates in an acknowledgement of total loss: “Thou’lt come no more. / Never, never, never, never, never” (5.3.306–7). He desperately hopes, against all odds, that she might still be breathing, might still return to life; but “she’s gone forever” (5.3.244). There are no ghosts in the world of *King Lear*, Philip Schwyzer points out, and no second comings (164). To be sure, some characters are mistaken for ghosts, as when the terrified Fool believes the hideous beggar Tom to be “a spirit” (3.4.41), or when Lear, wakening from his madness-induced delirium as “out o’th’grave” addresses Cordelia: “You are a spirit, I know; where did you die?” (4.7.38, 42). But the possibility of encountering and speaking with the dead is merely raised to be dismissed again.

“Thou’lt come no more. / Never, never, never, never, never.” In the world of the play’s first audience, the grief of these words would have echoed with the audience’s own concern about the fates of their dead, since the Reformation had abolished the traditional rites of commemoration and mourning together with the idea of Purgatory from which ghosts might return. Historians of the Reformation such as Eamon Duffy and Edward Muir have shown that the abolition of rituals that assumed a continuing communication between the living and the dead was a deeply traumatic experience. Without the possibility of praying for the souls of the dead, the living felt that they were abandoning their beloved ones to the darkness of oblivion. By the same token, the abolition of such rituals, together with the doctrine of Purgatory, meant that believers were left alone with their feelings of loss and despair, as we know from many contemporary sources. Stephen Greenblatt aptly summarizes the functions of the idea of Purgatory in post-Reformation England:

> The brilliance of the doctrine of Purgatory [. . .] lay both in its institutional control over ineradicable folk beliefs and in its engagement with intimate, private feelings. Purgatory enabled the church to make sense of these reports [about hauntings], to harness the weird and potentially disruptive energy to its liturgical system, and to distinguish carefully between those experiences that could be absorbed into the moral order (encounters with 'good' ghosts) and those that had to be consigned to the sphere of the demonic. The notion of suffrages—masses, almsgiving, fasts, and prayers—gave mourners something constructive to do with their feelings of grief and confirmed those feelings of reciprocity that survived, at least for a limited time, the shock of death. Moreover, the church could find in Purgatory a way to enable mourners to work through, with less psychological distress than they otherwise might experience, their feelings of abandonment and anger at the dead. (102–3)

Given the importance of such religious rituals and articles of faith for the individual as well as collective psychological wellbeing, Elizabeth Mazzola concludes that these could not merely have been dropped and forgotten:

> [A]bandoned symbols or practices do not simply disappear from the mental landscape [. . .] [They] still powerfully organized the English moral imagination in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, continued to orient behaviours and arrange perceptions, and persisted in specifying to believers and non-believers alike the limits of the known world. These sacred symbols remained the primary guides to and deepest structures for feeling. (Mazzola 1, 4)

She therefore advances the hypothesis that the devalued signs and practices were displaced onto other cultural sites where they continued to fulfil important psychological and social functions, and thus compensated for the loss of traditional religion.

In particular the early modern theatre has been identified as the cultural site to which discarded rituals, due to their shared performativity, migrated most easily and pervasively. Historians agree that the 1580s constitute a watershed for the secure establishment of the Reformation, because the generation that could tell of the traditional customs gradually died out. It is perhaps no coincidence that these individual reminiscences, in danger of dropping out of the "communicative memory" (Assmann), were salvaged by the newly emergent institution of the public stage which transformed them into collective memories and in turn became one of the most important sites of cultural memory. This at least is the well-substantiated claim made by studies like Huston Diehl's *Staging Reform, Reforming the Stage* (1997), Michael Neill's *Issues of Death* (1997), and Stephen Greenblatt's *Hamlet in Purgatory* (2001), all of which argue that the theatre made up for the loss of ritual in the religious sphere.

Greenblatt's study focuses on the cultural meanings of the ghost-figures that populate late sixteenth-century literature, and especially the public stage, as a consequence of the official denial of Purgatory. "Staging Ghosts" (the title of the relevant chapter in his study) fulfilled a range of overlapping functions in the Shakespearean theatre. Motivated within the playworld as signs of guilt in villains' nightmares, or as embodiments of a deep psychic disturbance, they appeared as "desperate explanatory hypotheses about the world" outside the theatre, a world that could not be understood anymore in traditional frames of reference. And finally, Greenblatt claims, ghosts should also be seen as figures for the theatre precisely in the sense that, after the Reformation, they emphatically existed only in and as theatre. Stage-ghosts are the theatrical response to the great sixteenth-century rupture in the relations between the living and the dead; by the same token, ghosts are "good for thinking about theatre's capacity to fashion realities, to call realities into question, to tell compelling stories, to puncture the illusions that these stories generate, and to salvage something on the other side of disillusionment" (158–61, 168–80, 185–8). In other words, ghosts serve as a metatheatrical trope through which the stage reflects on its own role as a medium both of memory and of imagination.[5]

Against this cultural-historical background, *King Lear* appears as a profoundly post-Reformation play that explores the disillusionment engendered by the reformed faith: it raises the possibility of ghosts several times, only to dismiss them as a reality. In this sense the play articulates the frustration and despair of contemporaries left to deal with the reality of death while being denied the consolation of traditional rites. Moreover, it employs the spectre of ghosts in order to explore the theatre's power to create illusion. Already in the first act, Lear, having lost his place and "name of King" (*Richard II*, 3.3.145), comes to experience himself as a mere shadow, a ghost of his former self. Rebuked and publicly humiliated by Goneril, he asks, enraged:

> Does any here know me? This is not Lear.
> Does Lear walk thus, speak thus? Where are his eyes?
> Either his notion weakens, his discernings
> Are lethargied--Ha, waking? 'Tis not so.
> Who is it that can tell me who I am? (1.4.217-21)

Lear describes himself as a being caught between two worlds: not sure whether he is waking or dreaming, he appears as a sleep-walker, or as a revenant, a spirit temporarily returned from Purgatory. Likewise, his mind hovers between the states of insanity ("his notion weakens") and oblivion (in today's parlance, old-age amnesia): "his discernings are lethargied." The OED notes this as the first instance of the verb "to lethargy," meaning "to affect with lethargy." Lethargy, in the early modern sense, is a physiological and psychic state associated with a loss of one's sense of self, as Garrett Sullivan (2005) has shown. Lear's loss of identity and sanity is pinpointed in the answer given by the Fool: he is now merely "Lear's shadow" (1.4.222). Derek Cohen comments on these lines in terms well in keeping with the rhetoric of amnesia traced so far: "Lear's shadowy nature is not the sign of a presence but rather of an absence, and the actor speaking these lines is playing Lear's non-being" (162). But of course actors were themselves called "shadows" in early modern parlance. The Fool's reply thus links spectrality with theatricality.[6] His answer becomes a metatheatrical comment that points not only to Lear's "non-being," but also to the actor's being. He is indeed "Lear's shadow," whose spirit is raised on the contemporary stage. This ghost who is not a ghost, then, is another instance of the dramaturgic devices that Shakespeare deploys to articulate the historical experience of loss, of something dissolving into nothing.

Given this play's consistent denial of the possibility that the dead return from the grave, what does this imply for the role of the theatre, which Shakespeare himself had conceived of in terms of its power to conjure the "flat unraiséd spirits" of the national past, as he did in *Henry V*? As we saw, Mazzola and others have argued that pre-Reformation beliefs and religious practices, banned from official discourse, migrated to other cultural sites, such as the early modern stage. From this perspective, plays salvaged the memories of things past, compensating and consoling for their loss, and history plays in particular helped to remedy the rift between a Catholic past and a Protestant present that many of the audience could have experienced in their lifetime. Yet I would argue that *King Lear* denies precisely this consolation of nostalgia, insisting instead that the past cannot be reached any more.[7] There are only a few instances of remembering in the play, and they become less and less effective as a means of grounding and explaining the present. In fact, the very first lines highlight the unreliability and instability of memory, as Kent and Gloucester acknowledge their misreading of the king's affections and adjust their memories to present political circumstances:

> KENT: I thought the King had more affected the Duke of Albany than Cornwall.
>
> GLOUCESTER: It did always seem so to us; but now in the division of the kingdom, it appears not which of the dukes he values most [. . .]. (1.1.1–5)

Just as the courtiers' capacity for politic amendment of their memories enables them to adapt to changes in the play's power structure, Cordelia's failure to do so deprives her of her place at court and in her father's heart. In the first scene, she insists on the memory of the longstanding love between her and her father: "You have begot me, bred me, love'd me. I / Return those duties back as are right fit / Obey you, love you and most honour you." (1.1.94–6) But this love, as well as the terms of feudal loyalty in which it is couched, belong to a past that does not fit into the changed discourse of a sovereignty based on and expressed in terms of an eroticized affection, as is suggested by the rivalry in affection between Lear and his daughters' husbands (cf. Quiring 183–93). Separated from a present whose language she does not speak, Cordelia is cast off by Lear as his "sometime daughter" (1.1.118). Lear himself comes to rely more and more on nostalgic memories of that happy past, but only after he has lost it as a resource for a serene future. His longing for a return to home and childhood ("I lov'd her most, and thought to set my rest / On her kind nursery," [1.1.121–2]) becomes increasingly poignant the more removed he is from it. His nostalgia in fact becomes a measure of his madness, as it marks the distance between reality and wish. Derek Cohen even claims that it is "nostalgia primarily that brings on Lear's madness": "As the present becomes more fraught and dangerous, so the past becomes an inevitable refuge for the crumbling mind of the king" (111). The problem, of course, is that this nostalgic escapism does not work. There is no refuge in the past since "the structures of history and memory [. . .] are revealed as useless, constructs merely of illusion and desire" (ibid., 121). In other words, nostalgia is entirely emptied and divested of its functions of psychic consolation and social communion in the face of grim reality.

This is the malaise governing the play: the characters' hold on the past becomes more and more tenuous, and their memories cannot provide a stable reference point for identity, morality, or meaning any longer.

Neither is the audience allowed the relief of a nostalgic moment: we are caught with Lear in the hell of the present moment. Having effectively severed the links between past and present, the play exists not so much in relation to the audience's present, but in its own anguished "now." What is happening in the present is almost always loss; yet the lost element—peace, unity, love—is "never allowed to recede into the past where it might become a memory, an object of nostalgia. Instead, loss remains in the eternal condition of the present" (Schwyzer 168). Lear's lament over the corpse of Cordelia captures this sense of being caught in the moment when he says: "now she's gone forever" (5.3.244, Arden 3). This paradoxical sentence turns the reassuring time structure of nostalgia's "future perfect" against itself, predicting instead the desolation of an eternal present. Whereas nostalgia seeks to forge a community out of longing for what has been lost, Schwyzer concludes, "the paradox is that while *Lear* allows for no connection between the living and the dead, it offers a deeper and more shattering experience of communion [through loss] than any previous history play" (168).

Rather than offering a compensating nostalgic fantasy for what was lost in the post-Reformation England, *King Lear* offers the very experience of loss itself. In enacting a radical loss that disavows the very possibility of restoring the past, it also explores the limits of the history play and of the theatre as a medium of memory. It would be a mistake to view this as an admission of failure, however. On the contrary, I would argue that the play makes a strong case for the benefit of forgetting also, because in the violent world of *King Lear*, only forgetting can offer consolation and hope. When Cordelia admonishes Kent to throw off his disguise that is part of his role as vengeful and violent servant to the deposed king—"These weeds are memories of those worser hours. / I prithee put them off." (4.7.7–8)—her advice refers both to his mean garb and to the bad memories that must be cast off in the name of a peaceful future. And Lear himself chimes in with her later at the end of the scene, at least in the Folio version: "Pray you now, forget and forgive" (*F*, 4.7.76–77). While the possibility or desirability of this wish is immediately undermined when Lear adds self-deprecatingly, "I am a very foolish, fond old man" (ibid.), its poignancy is heightened by its very futility. The motif occurs again in his final speech to Cordelia in act 5, scene 1, in which Lear implores her "forgiveness" and envisions an idyll of them together in prison, "sing[ing] like birds i'the cage" (5.1.11, 9). Forgetting and forgiving the cruelties that have occurred in the course of the play to return to a state of pre-play bliss is held out, if only fleetingly, as a promise of a happy ending. This happy ending, of course, does not follow: but it might have led an audience, who recalled an earlier version, the anonymously written *King Leir* that was staged some ten years earlier, to hope against all odds—only to have those hopes, nourished by a piece of intertheatrical memory, cruelly crushed.[8]

We are therefore faced with a play that offers us a more complicated tableau of remembering and forgetting than the nostalgic "compensation theory" suggests. *King Lear* (as indeed all of Shakespeare's history plays) rather presents remembering and forgetting as complementary forces through which cultural memory is being formed and transformed (cf. Karremann). Moreover, this play explores both remembering and forgetting as aspects of its own theatrical enterprise: while the early modern theatre is arguably concerned with recreating or remembering something that is not there anymore, plays like *King Lear* also point to the possibility that the early modern stage can represent and indeed can enact nothing.

Notes

1. *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, et al. Norton & Co., 1997. All citations from Shakespeare plays refer to this edition, unless stated otherwise, and will be given parenthetically in the text.

2. It is tempting to assume that the Prologue's expression indeed refers to the Globe Theatre, the new venue Richard Burbage had erected for the Lord Chamberlain's men in 1599. There is no hard and fast evidence for this, however, and James Shapiro argues that *Henry V* probably was first performed while the troupe still used The Curtain, a rectangular building (99).

3. In Weimann's words: "Indem Lear in die große Repräsentationskrise des untergehenden Feudalismus geht, wo das Verhältnis von Zeichen und Bedeutung nur als Formalität gilt, begegnet er dem Prinzip der Protestantischen Verinnerlichung, worin das Verhältnis von Wort und Empfindung bereits inkommensurabel geworden ist" (234).

4. The OED records *King Lear* as the first source for "disquantity" (1. to lessen in quantity, to diminish) and "disbranch" (2. to cut or break off, as a branch), while "disnatured" in the sense of "1. to get into, or be, an unnatural or disordered condition" occurs already in *The Myrrour of the Worlde* printed by William Caxton in 1481.

5. Thomas Nashe's defence of the early modern stage in *Pierce Pennilesse* highlighted precisely how its ability to bring the heroes of the past back to life was

emphatically superior to the "moth-eaten records" of the chronicles, which he likened to "the grave of oblivion" (86–7).

6. According to Marvin Carlson, "Every play is a ghost." In his study *The Haunted Stage: The Theatre as Memory Machine*, he claims that the theatre is characterized by a structure of return and repetition, an "uncanny sense of something coming back in the theatre." This quality of "ghosting" is what links the theatre with memory: "The retelling of stories already told, the reenactment of events already enacted, the reexperience of emotions already experienced, these are and have always been central concerns of the theatre in all times and places" (3).

7. Schwyzer likewise identifies nostalgia as possibility of remembrance destroyed by *King Lear*, yet in contrast to my reading he places it in the context of an early modern discourse of nationalism.

8. On the different versions of the Lear story in dramas, chronicles, and poems, see Brink, who attributes the different endings of the anonymous *Leir*-play and Shakespeare's *King Lear* to the different political circumstances in 1594 and 1605 respectively: the happy ending of the earlier play could have served to assuage the concern about a foreign invasion or a civil war after the death of the ageing, childless queen; the tragic ending could be read as a warning against the dangers of national division through inheritance not based on primogeniture. Despite its optimistic vision, *Leir* found its way into print only ten years later. Whereas in 1594 discussion of the succession question was still illegal, the political climate had changed considerably by 1605. Now the happy ending chimed in with nationalist propaganda of the Jacobean union, while *King Lear* takes at best an equivocal stance to it. On the publication history of *King Lear*, with a first quarto hastily put together in 1608 and subsequent revisions in 1619 (Q2) and 1623 (F), as motivated by political as well as commercial considerations, see Clegg.

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Decorum and the Dignity of Memory: Transformations of the Memorable in Renaissance and Reformation France

Andrea Frisch

In sixteenth-century France, the term "memorable" designated a conceptual amalgam of what has been remembered, what could be or could have been remembered, and what should be or should have been remembered. Robert Estienne's 1539 *Dictionnaire françois-latin* indicates the temporal scope of memory within traditional conceptions of the phrase "digne de mémoire," which he glosses as both *memorabilis* and *memorandus*, both unforgettable and not to be forgotten, in addition to that which has been in fact remembered (301). The term thus embraces several different temporalities as well as several different aspects of memory that entail distinct relationships between the rememberer and the remembered. My concern in what follows will be to highlight three fundamental ambiguities within the discourse of the "memorable" inherited from classical and medieval discourses of memory in sixteenth-century France (and in early modern Europe more generally), in order to make visible important transformations in the status of the memorable under the constraints of both Humanist philology and Reformation polemics.

1. Who Died at Scopas's Banquet? Memory and Decorum

There is perhaps no better way to disentangle the various aspects of the memorable as they were inherited in medieval and early modern Europe than by returning to the scene of the birth of the art of memory. As every student of the *ars memoria* knows, and as Cicero recounts in the *De oratore*, the Greek poet Simonides, having been called out of a banquet hall just before it collapses and kills everyone inside, is able to identify the disfigured bodies by mentally reconstructing the seating arrangement at the banquet they had been attending at the time of their demise. This earns him the title of inventor of the art of memory.

The first thing that should be noted is that what is memorable about this story for Cicero (and for subsequent interpreters) is not the names of the dead that Simonides remembered. They were apparently all relatives of the banquet's host, Scopas, but Scopas is the only victim named in virtually all existing versions of the story. Simonides's act of recall, therefore, did not initiate a perpetual memory of the individual victims, but rather a memory of his act of recall. What the Simonides tale leaves out—namely, the names of the dead that Simonides himself recalled—is of critical importance for thinking about the fundamental mechanics of the art of memory, mechanics that remain largely hidden within the traditions that cite the tale as a privileged *locus* for thinking about memory.

By simply glossing over the details of what Simonides recalled, the story of the invention of the art of memory establishes, but only covertly, the contingency of that which will be dubbed "memorable" in any given context. That which was important for Simonides to remember was clearly not the same thing as that which the rhetorical tradition memorialized about him; yet no citations of the locus that I know of make explicit the distinction between the object of Simonides memory, on the one hand, and the object of the memory of those who cite his story, on the other. Rather, the contingency of the memorable is silently translated into the principle of decorum: things are worth remembering if and when one can conceive of a situation in which it would be appropriate to recall them. Themes, turns of phrase, and historical *exempla* are recalled by the orator when they were considered to be appropriate to the specific context in which a speech would be delivered, a case pleaded, or a letter written. More broadly, in both Classical rhetoric and in the medieval and Renaissance arts of memory, items were deemed worthy of memory when recalling them was thought to have the potential to serve an ethical purpose for a particular audience. What I shall here call "decorous" memory is, precisely, memory that fulfills an ethical function and that is therefore always context-dependent.

The postulate that decorum inheres in conceptions of the memorable is confirmed by what we have learned from the work of Frances Yates and Mary Carruthers, among others, who have demonstrated that medieval and Renaissance mnemonics were techniques of meditation, contemplation, and cogitation rather than sterile ends in themselves. Although there were some ancient examples of what amount to mnemonic party tricks—such as Seneca's boast that he could recite back two thousand names in the same order as they were told to him, and recite up to two hundred poetic verses backwards—the overwhelming majority of exemplary rememberers were like Simonides, whose act of recall served a clear ethical purpose for his community. As the author of the *Ad Herennium* puts it, the memorization of words is not undertaken "to enable us to get verse by rote, but rather as an exercise whereby to strengthen that other kind of memory, the memory of matter, which is of practical use" (3.24). In Simonides's case, the practical matter was recalling the names of the dead so that they could receive a proper burial, a feat of memorization explicitly undertaken to serve the ethical ends of the friends of the deceased. In addition to the material studied by Carruthers and Yates, we can also point to the ethical aims of Humanist collections of "memorable" men and deeds compiled for rhetorical use in the Renaissance. A privileged example of such a collection is the first-century Roman Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, a work that presents a compendium of historical anecdotes under rhetorical rubrics directly related to moral concerns (and which, according to Clive Skidmore, exists in more medieval and Renaissance manuscripts than any other prose work of the Ancient world; xi).

The memorable example of Simonides, as we noted, enfolds (ethical) decorum within the art of memory as an unstated requirement of that which is worthy of memory. We can of course perfectly understand why Simonides himself would not have to justify his act of recall within the community that requests it. Yet the tradition founded upon this *locus* allows subsequent rememberers simply to substitute their own concerns for those of the Thessalians, without justification or comment. This serves to consolidate and naturalize the *implicit presumption* of a shared ethical context for the memorable. One consequence of this is that the art of memory itself was assumed to possess a positive moral valence: since only ethically appropriate material could be characterized as "memorable," remembering was routinely construed as an inherently ethical gesture. Nonetheless, only a practitioner of memory that was *in fact* decorous could serve as a memorable example of the art of memory as it developed in medieval and early modern Europe.

A famous example of prodigious memory in Renaissance France should help to make my point clear. In the annotations to his *Arrest memorable*, an account of the affair of Martin Guerre first published in 1561 (and well known today thanks to Natalie Zemon Davis's *The Return of Martin Guerre*), the Toulousan jurist Jean de Coras reports that he and his colleagues in Parlement could not help but marvel at the memory of Arnaud du Tilh, who was able to recall all the minute details of Guerre's life when he was finally brought to trial as Guerre's impersonator by Guerre's wife (after the couple had cohabited for over three years and had two children together). "La grande félicité d'une si heureuse mémoire" moves Coras to compare du Tilh with Scipion, Cyrus, Themistocles, and a host of other Ancients exemplary for their feats of memory; indeed, the jurist ultimately concludes that du Tilh has surpassed them all (21^{r}; $33^{r\text{-}v}$). Yet Coras is uncomfortable with his own enthusiasm, given the nefarious ends to which du Tilh used his mnemonic powers. After expressing his amazement and listing the best-known Ancient exemplars, he notes that it would be an offense to those noble men to compare them with such an impudent person. But still—he goes on—if one *could* make such comparisons with a good conscience, Portius Latro, a companion of Seneca who could recite the lives of all the great men in detail, would be the best counterpart to du Tilh ($33^{r\text{-}v}$).

Coras will go back and forth a few more times in his annotations, torn between his admiration for du Tilh's feats of memory and his recognition that the man used his mnemonic skills to betray a friend and to sully a marriage bed, and as such, is not "memorable" in quite the same way as Themistocles and his ancient brethren. Coras's perplexity suggests that even if Themistocles himself, as Cicero reports, wished for an art of forgetting, it appears that the vast majority of the learned in medieval and Renaissance Europe took to heart Cicero's commentary on this desire, namely, that "this reply of Themistocles must not cause us to neglect the training of the memory" (2.74, 299-300). A good memory was an unalloyed good, and a better memory, even better. Unlike other virtuous traits that, when exaggerated, transformed into vices (as when courage becomes audacity, or prudence, timidity), a good memory had no paradiastolic counterpart. Coras therefore cannot help but admire du Tilh's mnemonic capacities, at the same time that this admiration troubles him.

Coras's inability to situate morally du Tilh's feats of memory points to the latency of decorum within the ways of thinking about memory that the jurist had inherited. The memory of Arnaud du Tilh, whether refined by art or by practice (Coras uses the terms *art* and *usage*), reminds Coras of the conventional exemplars of the art of memory as it was transmitted from Greece to Rome and then to medieval and Renaissance Europe. But du Tilh had enlisted his prodigious memory inappropriately. Never, we should note, does Coras frame du Tilh's performance as an example of the dangers of rhetoric; the false Martin Guerre stands, rather, as an example of prodigious memory that it would be indecent to compare to any other memorable rememberer, all of whom are by definition "nobles, grandes, & illustres" (Coras $33^{r\text{-}v}$). The problem, in other words, is a stunning lack of ethical decorum.

Andrea Frisch

2. The Forgotten Memorable

The *Arrest memorable* shows how enthusiasm for the *techniques* of mnemonics, predicated on the latency of ethical decorum within discourses of the memorable, had impeded awareness and therefore discussion of the issue of the appropriate *objects* of memory. That which it was inappropriate to recall was simply not deemed worthy of memory. The habit of fusing *memoria* with the *ars memoria*—that is, the tendency to discuss memory in terms of the *techniques* of memory—appears to have been widespread in medieval and Renaissance Europe. The monastic communities Carruthers surveys, for example, do not debate *what* is worthy of memory, but instead devote their considerable creative energies to addressing *how* they can remember. The objects of memory are presented as already having been established *a priori*, so that the primary concern is with developing the best techniques for remembering them. This is due in large part to the recursive quality of the memorable in its decorous forms: within a given ethical community, memorability is accorded as much to previous acts of remembrance as to the putatively "original" objects of memory.

Of course, it is relatively easy to understand how the bond between decorum and the memorable could remain implicit within a small, relatively homogenous community of professional rememberers who could afford to leave shared assumptions unspoken, and who would naturally regard their own cultural inheritance as worthy of memory. Yet this manner of enlisting the concept of the memorable continued to impose itself far beyond the walls of the monastery, well into the era of print and long after the advent of Humanism. In mid sixteenth-century Venice, for example, Marco Guazzo, a Padovan who took up chivalric poetry after a short military career, published a series of historical compendia of material "worthy of eternal memory" that quickly made their way into libraries in France and Germany.[1] These include a comprehensive *Cronica, ne la quale ordinatamente contiensi l'essere de gli huomini illustri antiqui [e] moderni, le cose, [e] i fatti di eterna memoria degni, occorsi dal principio del mondo sino à questri nostri tempi* (*Chronicle offering an orderly account of the lives of illustrious men both ancient and modern, and of the things and deeds worthy of eternal memory, that have occurred from the beginning of time to the present day, 1553*); a collection of *Historie di tutte le cose degni di memoria nel mondo per terra e per acqua successe, qual anno principio al anno MDIX* (*History of everything worthy of memory in the world that has occurred on land and on sea up through 1509*, dedicated to Cosimo I de'Medici); and a somewhat more modest compendium of *Historie … di tutti i fatti degni di memoria nel mondo successi dal 1524 a l'anno*

1549 (*History...of all deeds worthy of memory in the world that occurred between 1524 and 1549*).

Guazzo's only explicit indication of what makes a *cosa*, *uomo*, or *fatto* worthy of memory is the fact that it is mentioned in the writings of the "piu degni scrittori" ("most worthy writers," 1r). This serves to underline the fundamentally recursive nature of (implicitly) decorous memory: things were worthy of memory by virtue of having been previously remembered. This is not simply a tautology; rather, it is an indication that the object of this kind of remembrance was as much the previous *record* of *cose*, *uomini*, and *fatti* as it was the things, people, and events to which those records were supposed to refer. Having assumed a fundamental ethical continuity among his sources, Guazzo presents his accounts of secular history as a recapitulation and unproblematic extension of what can be found in the writings of the *piu degni scrittori*. The presumption that memory is *inherently* decorous implies that that which has once been dubbed worthy of memory is worthy of memory for all time (even as what is actually retained in the cultural archive inevitably shifts and varies). As a corollary to this, declaring certain things worthy of memory, and thus worthy of the energy, attention, and "craft" that such memory required, was sufficient warrant for forgetting everything else. This does not of course mean that nothing of value is believed to have been forgotten, or that the stock of memorable people, events, and things cannot be extended; it simply means that that which has been lost to the vagaries of terrestrial life, or that which has yet to transpire, is not seen as having the potential to alter in any fundamental way the basic character of that which is considered to be worthy of memory.

When Renaissance Humanists began to privilege the secular historical record of Antiquity as a source of examples of moral, philosophical, and prudential wisdom, and to employ more scrupulously philological historiographical methods to recover that past, they did not thereby reject inherited assumptions about what was worthy of memory; rather, like Guazzo, they saw themselves as extending the purview of those assumptions to an expanded archive of memorable material. Imitating the practice of historians of imperial Rome made this process fairly easy, since the latter posited the unity of secular history under the Roman banner as the organizing principle of their accounts of the past, even as they promoted comparative analyses. A striking element of Polybius's *Histories*, for example, is its repeated observation that in his time, Rome's dominance, granted by fortune, had rendered history "an organic whole . . . all leading up to one end" (9). This basic claim, which for our purposes here maps neatly onto Christian universalism, provides the still point from which the historian can simultaneously undertake comparative historical research and reach definitive conclusions about what is universally worthy of memory, in a way that mirrors medieval monastic (as well as Renaissance Hermetic) assumptions about the stability and universality of the objects of memory. As long as the lessons to be drawn from history on matters of concern could be construed in more or less universal terms, as Polybius had done, the Renaissance memory of Antiquity could still be assimilated within the spatialized frameworks that we associate with the arts of meditative and rhetorical memory. That which was considered memorable, and which in fact had been remembered—*memorabilis*—still coincided with that which should have been, and should continue to be, remembered—*memorandum*. The rest of the past, which had no special connection to memory *per se*, could safely be forgotten; there was no need to develop a theory about material that fell outside the bounds of what was *digne de mémoire*.

The Renaissance effort to recover the history of the ancient past with the aim of ethical edification initially reinforced rather than undermined this posture, since it posited a universe of shared moral values, a vast ethical community that embraced classical Athens and imperial Rome as well as Christian Europe. Eventually, however, philological research, called upon to aid in the appropriation, embellishment, and ethical activation of secular material that had been deemed memorable by the Ancients but that had been neglected in the intervening centuries, produced a surplus of historical knowledge whose "memorability" was increasingly difficult to articulate in ethical terms that were felt to be applicable to the rememberer's present (as Timothy Hampton and others have shown). Whereas the material limitations on the preservation and dissemination of the memory of the past in manuscript culture, as well as the relative isolation of medieval scholarly communities, facilitated the loss and hence the slow, imperceptible forgetting of memories of the historical past that could not be subsumed under the umbrella of that which was (still) considered worthy of memory, Renaissance techniques developed to recover a putatively lost historical past, and the technologies that supported and disseminated the abundant fruits of Renaissance historical research not only made it difficult establish a consensus on what was worthy of memory, they also made it difficult to ignore, or "forget," those elements of the past whose worth as objects of memory was controversial. In other words, an increasing number of assumed objects of memory no longer obeyed the law of recursion that had for centuries remained deeply embedded within the discourse of the memorable. The growing store of previously "forgotten" memories inevitably raised the question of the potential temporal contingency of criteria for what is worthy of memory.

This attitude initially grew out of a sense that classical sources had been unjustly neglected in the Middle Ages, and led to efforts to recover the records of ancient Greece and Rome in particular. This resulted in the expansion of the domain of the memorable, which now included a "restored" version of the classical past. (Much of the classical past had of course been conserved in medieval memory, in the "crafted" form that Carruthers describes and that so exasperated Humanist philologists, who considered these versions impure). Eventually, however, philological enquiry oriented toward the recovery of the past brought to light not only the discrepancies between ancient and early modern mores, but also the question of what the classical sources had themselves neglected. Learned discussion of cultural memory now included the perspectives of Humanist scholars who programmatically complained about the fragmented, incomplete state of historical archives, and who wanted to know more about people and institutions that enjoyed little or no reputation in the archive of memory they had both inherited and exhumed. In other words, they were increasingly interested in what they asserted had been forgotten rather than in what had been remembered. The putatively forgotten obviously could not be conveyed via the technique of recursion that had transmitted so much memorable material into the sixteenth century.

Clearly, the bestowal of the label "worthy of memory" is a sorting mechanism, a way to select and elevate some parts of the past whilst leaving others behind, such that an investigation into early modern concepts of the memorable inevitably shares something with Ann Blair's studies of "information management." Blair's objects of study are, she writes, "collections of notes [that] were valued as treasuries of storehouses in which to accumulate information even if they did not serve an immediate purpose" (63). These works therefore contain a large amount of material that is, one might say, simultaneously remembered and forgotten: "digne de mémoire," apparently, but not fully integrated either into previous frameworks of cultural memory nor into particular scenarios of address that posit a context in which the material will remain (or perhaps become) meaningful. Blair's characterization of her material as so much "scholarly information" is revealing, and suggests a widening divide between knowledge and the memorable.

3. Making Memories

In order to track the divergence between knowledge and the memorable in sixteenth-century France, let us return once more to the exemplary story of Simonides and to the presuppositions embedded within it that are transmitted to Renaissance Europe via both classical sources and medieval theories and practices. Cicero's presentation of Simonides's mnemonic technique establishes one of the fundamental features of what I am calling decorous memory: while such memory is in *practice* generationist, its *ends* are preservationist. We do not know many details about the specific mental images Simonides used to remember the names of those who died at Scopas's banquet. In Cicero's account, it appears to be simply a matter of order, visualization, and localization, that is, of the barest principles of mnemonics. Of course, it is a characteristic of exemplary tales to allow for variation in detail whilst conserving the core of what the tale is intended to convey. Indeed, by omitting the specific details of how precisely Simonides remembered the names of the deceased, the tale prepares the ground for the creative agency that the *Ad Herennium* establishes as essential to the technique of the *ars memoria*:

> one person is more struck by one likeness, and another more by another. Often in fact when we declare that some one form resembles another, we fail to receive universal assent, because things seem different to different persons. The same is true with respect to images: one that is well-defined to us appears relatively inconspicuous to others. Everybody, therefore, should in equipping himself with images suit his own convenience (3.23)

Mary Carruthers has emphasized the creative aspect of medieval monastic appropriations of the art of memory, asserting that "[medieval] recollection is a kind of composition" (*Book* 9). Carruthers's emphasis echoes the theses of earlier French scholarship that addresses broader medieval conceptions of the memorable outside of, but clearly related to, the *ars memoria*. In *Essai de poétique médiévale* (1972), Paul Zumthor introduced the term "*mouvance*" to characterize the textual variation commonly found in the medieval manuscript tradition. Zumthor linked the phenomenon of *mouvance* directly to the influence of orality; ten years later, Bernard Cerquiglini, in *Eloge de la variante* (1982) proposed the term *variance* to characterize scribal alterations within a purely written tradition. While both *mouvance* and *variance* were terms coined in order to intervene in discussions about the relative (in)stability of authors and works in the medieval period, I mention them here in order to underline the degree to which the form given to cultural material considered to be worthy of memory in the

European Middle Ages was open to modification as it circulated over time and space.

Nonetheless, within the milieux studied by Zumthor, Cerquiglini, and Carruthers, the horizon of *mouvance* and *variance* was permanence, *mémoire perpétuelle*. For monastic communities who developed and refined the "craft of memory," as well as for historians and poets who sought to transmit a cultural heritage, the ultimate object of memory was construed as unified, stable, and eternal (in the case of sacred knowledge) or at the very least transcending significantly the chronological boundaries of a human life (in the case of something like vernacular literature). Thus, at the same time that the transmission of memorable material empirically involved transformation and adaptation in, by, and for the present of transmission, discourses *about* memory characterize both the faculty of memory and claims for the memorable in terms of the eternal realm of the divine, or in terms of its terrestrial counterpart, immortality. Consequently, although the (oral or written) *vehicles* of decorous memory could be and indeed were manipulated according to present interests (this is of course the very definition of decorum), this sort of creative remembering was nevertheless intended, and received, primarily as an act of preservation.

The putative stability of the objects of memory over time and in spite of variation in the vehicles of memory explains the tight link between memory and knowledge in the "culture of memory" Carruthers has illuminated in such detail. If "recollection is composition," it is also tantamount to *knowing*, since the objects of memory are construed as stable and unchanging regardless of the means used to convey them. Not surprisingly, once the possibility of the contingency of the objects of memory has been entertained, as it clearly was by Humanist philologists, creative variants were no longer tethered to a *mémoire perpétuelle*, but rather to their more narrow historical contexts. This led Humanists to promote the memory of a putative original object over and against the memory conveyed by and through traditions of transmission that they no longer saw serving a properly preservative function. From a philological perspective, the creative dimension of decorous memory appeared to compromise rather than to enhance the ethical potency of the memorable; that which was truly worthy of memory was to be sought in a historically circumscribed inaugural moment that had to be exhumed, rather than in the living body of the traditions by and through which that moment had been conveyed.

In France, ancient Gaul was a privileged object of research undertaken to recover the memory of that which had been forgotten within France's own traditions of the memorable. In the dedication of the 1574 French version of his *Francogallia*, which attempts to recount the history of the government of Gaul, François Hotman characterizes his recovery of *forgotten* Gallic institutions as in fact constituting "ce qui est *le plus memorable* en nostre Histoire Française" ("that which is *the most memorable* in our French History," n.p., italics mine). By reconstructing this particular genealogy, Hotman undertakes to revive the election of kings as well as meetings of the general assembly as a check on the power of the monarchy. He endorses such meetings not only by citing their "sacred authority" (chapter 11), but also by introducing them in terms of their "*memorable* authority" (chapter 17 invokes "l'autorité *memorable* des Estats pratiqués contre Louis XI"). This is obviously an authority that has been forgotten in Hotman's France; consequently, the term "memorable" is not intended here to be assimilated to that which has been preserved within cultural memory. When Hotman deems the material he and his fellow Humanists have recovered "memorable," he is polemically abandoning Guazzo's technique of recursion, using the term to designate instead that which was in fact forgotten but should have been remembered (and which henceforth should be remembered).

Hotman had already argued for the contingency of Roman law in his *Anti-Tribonian*, where he insisted that the even the best philological reconstruction of the Justinian Code would not serve to erect a universally valid legal system, as scholars in the *mos italicus* tradition presumed. Having attacked the uncritical presumption of the relevance of Roman law in the *Anti-Tribonian*, Hotman is in the position of having to *demonstrate* the relevance (to France) of forgotten Gaulish traditions. He does this by marshalling evidence of their more or less stable continuity over the period of a thousand years; indeed, the book as a whole is nothing other than a chronological reconstruction of the origin and tenacious endurance of a few key practices that have regrettably disappeared over the previous hundred years. In place of creative *mouvance* and of elaborate variation, we have in Hotman a collection of sources widely separated in time that all say the same thing. For Hotman, the demonstration of fidelity to an origin is what guarantees the integrity of what he calls the *bonnes loix et statuts de nos ancestres* ("the good laws and statutes of our ancestors," n.p.), and only material that possesses these qualities is what is "most memorable" about the French political heritage.

4. The Naturally Memorable

I turn now to one final ambiguity underlying the art of memory and the discourses of the memorable for which the tale of Simonides served as an exemplary point of reference, and that will, along with the assumption of decorum and the technique of recursion, undergo a transformation in Renaissance France. Given that the tale supposedly recounts the birth of the technique of artificial memory, the degree to which it allows for a confusion between natural and artificial memory is quite remarkable. Rather than wonder which particular, contingent mental images Simonides conjured up in order to remember the names of the innocent relatives of Scopas who were killed and disfigured when the ceiling fell on them, we could easily suggest that the particular circumstances of this event lent themselves naturally to the names of the deceased being remembered. Returning once again to the *Ad Herennium*, in a passage that explains the distinction between natural and artificial memory, we read that when we want to create memorable vehicles of memory,

> nature herself teaches us what we should do. When we see in everyday life things that are petty, ordinary, and banal, we generally fail to remember them, because the mind is not being stirred by anything novel or marvellous. *But if we see or hear something exceptionally* base, dishonourable, *extraordinary*, great, *unbelievable*, or laughable, that we are likely to remember a long time. . . .Thus nature shows that she is not aroused by the common, ordinary event, but is moved by a new or *striking occurrence.* Let art, then, imitate nature. . . . And we shall do so if we establish likenesses as striking as possible; if we set up images that are not many or vague, but doing something; if we assign to them exceptional beauty or singular ugliness; if we dress some of them with crowns or purple cloaks, for example, so that the likeness may be more distinct to us; *or if we somehow disfigure them, as by introducing one stained with blood* or soiled with mud or smeared with red paint, *so that its form is more striking* (3.22; italics mine)

The author of the *Ad Herennium* suggests that if all we ever had to remember were already associated with striking events, we would not really need the help of artificial memory; yet the *locus classicus* for the *ars memoria*, the story of Simonides, is nothing other than the story of how someone remembered something in the wake of a striking event. As Carruthers notes, within the medieval art of memory, "the ordinary must be distinctively 'marked,' or it will not readily be 'found.' So either the images are emotionally heightened (bloody, violent, monstrous, titillating, awe-inspiring, pathetic) or everyday images are put into unexpected contexts" (*Medieval* 13). The sight of innocent people, formerly arranged around a banquet table, now killed and disfigured by an act (or accident) of violence that he himself had narrowly escaped, does not really seem to require much in the way of this sort of mnemonic embellishment on the part of Simonides. The scene that confronted him was a ready-made, striking mnemonic image, barely distinguishable from the matter it vouchsafed to his memory.[2]

It is tempting to suggest that the story of Simonides is itself "memorable" more for the catastrophe it relates than for the act of recall it records. And indeed in the fable tradition, beginning with Phaedrus and pursued in seventeenth-century France by Jean de La Fontaine, the exemplary tale of Simonides is a story of narrow escape, of "Simonides sauvé par les Dieux." In this tradition, what was memorable about Simonides's story was the fact that he was summoned outside just before the ceiling of the banquet hall caved in; yet when he went to meet his visitors, he found nobody there. Since the poet had just devoted part of his recital to praise of Castor and Pollux (to the annoyance of his host, who, having expected to be the exclusive object of encomium, refused the poet full payment), it was speculated that the twin gods were the ones who had come calling in order to reward Simonides's praise by sparing his life while simultaneously punishing the host for not having compensated the poet appropriately.

Discourses of memory touched by the story of Simonides (and I would hazard to say that this would include the preponderance of elite memory work in medieval and Renaissance France) thereby inherited a fundamentally ambiguous notion of the memorable, as at once a natural attribute (such that memorability inheres in the striking thing remembered, whether it be the catastrophe of Scopas and his relatives, or Simonides's lucky break), and an artificial one (where memorability is the constructed result of an effort to preserve material that was not in and of itself inherently memorable but was worthy of memory). This ambiguity could legitimize claims that any event that possessed the striking qualities of the naturally memorable—in particular, in the France of the Wars of Religion, this meant blood and violence—was also therefore worthy of memory.

In a significant body of material they deemed "worthy of memory," religious polemicists focused on strikingly memorable current events, privileging the forward-looking imperative of the memorable to the near exclusion of the inherited memory of and from the past. In the midst of France's civil wars, the status of the memorable was liberally accorded to current affairs, since the putative interlocutors for most polemical accounts (which is to say, most accounts) of the wars was not the author's ancestors but above all and explicitly his contemporaries. Moreover, the author was frequently a firsthand observer or indeed a participant in the memorable events recounted, and many of these texts staked their claim to memorability precisely on the *unprecedented* nature of what they contained. Publications from the 1570s, '80s and '90s such as the *Recueil des choses memorables faites et passées pour le faict de la religion et estat en ce royaume* (*Collection of memorable things done and having occurred on account of religion in this kingdom*) the *Memoires de l'Estat de France sous Charles IX, contenans les choses plus notables faites et publiees tant par les Catholiques que par ceux de la Religion* (*Memoirs of the French State under Charles IX, containing the most notable things done and made public by both Catholics and those of the Religion*) and the *Mémoires de la Ligue…comprenans en six volumes ou recueils distincts infinies particularités memorables des affaires de la Ligue depuis l'an 1576* (*Memoirs of the Ligue…containing in six volumes or collections an infinite number of distinct memorable details of the affairs of the Ligue beginning in 1576*) restrict their scope to the present or the very recent past, never bothering to articulate their sense of the "memorable" with that which has already been recorded.

Sixteenth-century French polemical memory, then, emphasizes the extraordinary nature of the memorable event, a feature that can easily be derived from the tale of Simonides: one might say that in the series of martyrologies published by the French Protestant Jean Crespin (1520-1572), for example, what we read are the stories of those on whom the ceiling has fallen. Crespin tells the stories of those who have, as his title announces, signed their testimony of Christ with their blood. At the same time, Crespin recounts what his title page dubs the "*actes mémorables du seigneur en l'infirmité des siens*" ("memorable acts of the Lord in his children's time of trial"); his martyrs are therefore simultaneously innocent victims, as were the relatives of Scopas, as well as iterations of Simonides, memorably saved by the gods.

Just as Hotman sought to claim memorability for certain political institutions by ascribing them to the forgotten ways of the Gauls, Crespin explicitly links contemporary Protestant martyrs to those of primitive Christianity, devoting a long preface to demonstrating the conformity of the former with the latter, and portraying the Catholic church as having convinced herself that she has permanently extinguished the memory of these children of the true church. Although he obviously interprets the ultimate signification of martyrdom in terms of the eternal divine, Crespin frames the irruption of divine truth into secular history as an extraordinary event, and the sufferings of contemporary martyrs as "une façon *nouvelle* de vaincre estant condamnés" ("a *new* way to vanquish whilst being condemned," n.p., italics mine). Crespin insistently situates the memorable acts he records in a temporally defined present moment of keenly visual experience that is remarkable for its utter lack of precedent:

> Car si iamais il a esté saison de proposer ces exemples, si iamais les fidèles ont eu besoin d'estre confermez au milieu d'un déluge de maux, qui est-ce qui ne void que le temps d'auiourd'hui le requiert ? Car y eut-il iamais miroir proposé au monde pour représenter plus au vif les furies infernales deschainees, pour remplir toute la terre de troubles & confusions ? Y eut-il iamais orgueil plus furieusement enuenimé contre Dieu, que nous l'experimentons & voyons à present? [....] les Apostats, qui de malice délibérée font la guerre à la vérité qu'ils ont conuë, ont-ils iamais leué les cornes d'vne façon plus audacieuse ? Y a-il, bref, iamais eu telle confusion que celle que nous voyons maintenant? (n.p.)

> If ever there was a time to propose these examples, if ever the faithful needed to be fortified in the midst of a deluge of evils, who does not see that the time of today requires this? Has there ever been a mirror held up to the world to show more vividly the hellish furies unleashed, filling the whole earth with troubles and confusions? Has there even been pride more venomously turned against God, as we experience and see it at the present time? [. . .] Have Apostates, who deliberately and maliciously wage war on the truth they have known, ever reared their horns in a more audacious fashion? In sum, has there ever reigned such confusion as we see now?

Crespin's insistence on the chronological presence of the memorable ultimately leads him to distinguish the martyrs of the primitive church from the recent martyrs whose stories he records: while he acknowledges the excellence of ancient martyrs, he nonetheless maintains that if those who had been spectators to early Christian martyrdoms could see the torments and afflictions lately suffered by the elect, they would see things "merveilleuses et nouvelles," marvelous and new. The new and the marvelous thereby acquire a privileged relationship to the memorable, establishing a criterion for that which is worthy of memory that appears to trump even that of the kinship between primitive Christianity and sixteenth-century Protestantism.

By associating the memorable acts of God that he records with the marvelous and the new, Crespin sets the stage for the enlistment of venerable rhetorical techniques for impressing memories on an audience at the same time that he establishes the grounds for his disavowal of those same techniques. Thus, he explicitly eschews the creative agency of the medieval rememberer, since, as he says, God's truth has no need of ornament. He also places at the end of his table of contents a poetic admonition to the reader to reject the veneration of the material sign (here, what the reader sees and hears of the martyr's tortured body) in favor of reflection on the immaterial truths they signify.

This very commitment to the transmission of an unvarnished "truth," however, is precisely what legitimates Crespin's intent to paint the martyrs "par vives couleurs" ("in vivid colors," n.p.) in an effort to "les representer devant les yeux" ("represent them before [our] eyes," n.p.). Condemnations of a merely sensual reading notwithstanding, then, the *Histoire des vrays tesmoins* is brimming with memorable sensual details. Some of these are of course more spectacular than others: a Protestant bookseller whose constancy Crespin deems "memorable" is described as being burned with two Bibles hanging around his neck (118b), crystallizing a relatively simple visual emblem of the man's profession, his death, and the cause of his demise. When he details the "horrible cruelties" that took place in Merindol, however, Crespin anticipates the baroque images typical of Agrippa d'Aubigné's 1616 epic poem, *Les tragiques*, itself written expressly to preserve the memory of the miseries of the Wars of Religion. Citing the anonymous report of an eyewitness, Crespin writes that "la plupart des pauvres laboureurs sans resistance furent tuez et meurtris; femmes et filles violées; femmes grosses et petits enfans naiz et à naistre, tuez et meurtris; les mamelles à plusieurs femmes coupées, on voyait les petits enfans mourant de faim auprès des mamelles de leurs mères qui estoyent mortes, et ne fut jamais veu une telle cruauté et tyrannie, tout a esté pillé, bruslez, et saccagez"" ("the majority of poor laborers were killed and murdered; young girls raped; pregnant women and newborn babies and unborn babies, killed and murdered; the breasts of many women cut off. One saw little children dying of hunger near the breasts of their dead mothers; such cruelty and tyranny as was never before seen," 129b-130a). The framing of this event as a visual tableau in which mutilated bodies lie next to starving children, as well as the pleonastic doubling and the repetition of verbs, makes of it a gruesomely memorable image. In nearby Cabrières, the same witness reports, a group of around thirty pregnant Protestant women, having been reassured of their safety by Catholic officials, was seized and put into a barn that was then set ablaze. Things then get even more horrific: "Ces pauvres femmes crioyent si amerement, qu'un soldat ayant pitié d'elles, leur ouvrit la porte, mais ainsi qu'elle sortoyent, le cruel President les fit tuer et mettre en pieces, jusques à fait ouvrir les ventres des meres, et fouler aux pieds les petits enfans estant dedans leurs ventres" ("These poor women wailed so bitterly that a soldier had pity on them and opened the barn door. But as soon as they came out, the cruel President had them killed and mutilated, going so far as to have their bellies torn open, and to trample upon the little babies that had been in their bellies," 130b). While the cited letter mentions a beginning of divine judgment when some of the perpetrators subsequently die (two in a duel, and one who drowns), at the end of this chapter, Crespin explicitly defers his account of God's subsequent judgment of these atrocities to a later part of the book, a full forty folio pages on. For now, those who rightly fear God should above all "ayent ses exemples devant les yeux" ("keep these examples in front of [their] eyes," 131a).

Divine justice is visited more quickly, and in spectacular fashion, upon the monk Jean de Roma, who, Crespin reports, had pillaged Protestant residents, had many of them burned, and others mutilated. We learn immediately that he ended up dying a miserable death, completely abandoned by his fellow man "par le juste jugement de Dieu" ("according to the just judgment of God," 121b). Five folio pages further on, however, Crespin sees fit to describe Roma's demise in vivid and disgusting detail: seized by horrible pains whose cause no doctor recognized, he was taken to a hospital where the ooze and stink from his festering wounds kept everyone far away from him. The martyrologist then directly quotes Roma's desperate cries for help, in the course of which the monk avows his memory of the cruelties he enacted on those whom he has persecuted and recognizes this cruelty as the cause of his own suffering. Longing for death and disgusted by his own stench, Roma attempts to kill himself. Crespin concludes this second telling of Roma's story by consolidating the rhetoric of the memorable example: "Ainsi cest homicide et blasphemateur, ayant affligé plusieurs fideles par tourmens nouueaux, pour la fin de ses cruautez il receut ceste confusion horrible *afin qu'il fust à tous persecuteurs exemple du jugement de Dieu, et de la vengeance qu'il fera du sang espandu à tort et sans raison*" ("And thus did this murderous blasphemer, having afflicted so many of the faithful with novel torments, receive as compensation for his cruelties this horrible confusion: *so that he would serve as an example to all persecutors of the judgment of God, and of God's coming vengeance of the blood shed wrongly and without reason*," 126a, italics mine).

5. Conclusion

In these few typical excerpts from Crespin's compendious martyrology, we can observe how the heightened violence and sensory excess of the events Crespin deemed memorable enabled him to exploit rhetorical strategies for creating memorable exemplary scenes that in their turn supported his underlying claim of ethical memorability. Rather than the outward-directed movement of recursion typical of the "decorous" memorable, we have in Crespin the inward-directed, self-generating, and therefore tautological movement of what we might call the "indecorous" memorable. Crespin's privileging of the new, the marvelous, and the unprecedented, conveyed in "vivid colors," characterizes the memorable as that which exceeds previous boundaries of decorum, and which draws its ethical force from this very excess.

In the context of reformation polemics, the epithet "memorable" thereby assumes a stronger connection to the *unforgettable*, as the objects of memory themselves appear to possess all of the qualities that make a lasting impression on the senses whether one accepts their ethical claims or not. The transformation of the decorous memorable into the indecorous unforgettable during the French Wars of Religion thus fundamentally compromised the dignity of memory as a force for cultural stability and continuity in sixteenth-century France. It is no doubt in part for this very reason that monarchical attempts to bring religious peace to the kingdom, from the time of Crespin up through the 1598 Edict of Nantes and on through that edict's revocation in 1685, were framed as a command that "the memory of all things that have happened, on all sides from the beginning of the troubles in our Kingdom and on their occasion, be extinguished and put to rest as of a thing that never happened." The memory of the Wars of Religion, as Ernest Renan understood, could never serve as a site of collective, and therefore decorous, French memory (and it is noteworthy in this regard that Pierre Nora's landmark collection of French *lieux de mémoire* notoriously omits the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre, the very event that Renan mentions as an example of that which must be forgotten in order that a collective French memory may be constructed; Renan 7). In between the opening epistle and the preface to his martyrology, Crespin addresses a poem to the blind "persecutor of the Church, enemy of this book," imagining his antagonist wearing an ugly grimace that expresses disdain for the memorable material Crespin has compiled. Such memories are clearly meant to serve the members of a tribe that sees itself as a distinct ethical community. This returns us, in the end, to Simonides, who, after all, remembered the names of the dead for the sake of their friends alone.

Notes

1. I have located copies acquired before 1620 in Lyon, Munich, and Wolfenbüttel. English translations of Guazzo's titles are mine, as are all translations from French sources.

2. It is worth noting here that this widespread insistence in classical, medieval, and early modern discourses about memory, on the particular ease with which one tends to remember material that partakes of the violence and heightened emotions that post-Freudian work on memory associates with "trauma," runs directly counter to the emphasis on the repression of such memories within trauma studies.

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Shaping Living Memory: John Aubrey, Izaak Walton, and the Idea of Poetic Friendship

Elisabeth Chaghafi

By definition, biography is an act of shaping memory in more than one sense: on the one hand, the biographer is concerned with shaping the way in which his subject will be remembered in the future; on the other hand, one of the tasks lies in giving a shape to memories involving his subject. This becomes particularly significant if the subject is already dead at the time of writing and his biographer must draw on the anecdotal evidence of eyewitnesses. Izaak Walton and John Aubrey, two pioneers of seventeenth-century English biography, had different approaches to life-writing, but both shared a marked interest in biographical anecdotes. Consequently, both authors have been frequently—and rightly— accused of not allowing mere facts to get in the way of a good story. Another similarity between Walton and Aubrey is that both wrote accounts of the lives of well-known early modern poets who had died within living memory: Walton wrote the lives of John Donne and George Herbert, while Aubrey's *Brief Lives* includes biographical sketches of Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Ben Jonson, and William Shakespeare. Finally, both Walton's and Aubrey's works share the motif of friendship between poets—and in both cases, there is reason to suspect that those friendships as they are portrayed by the biographers never existed. This essay examines Walton's account of the friendship between Donne and Herbert, and Aubrey's account of the friendships between Sidney and Spenser, and Jonson and Shakespeare, and proposes that the friendship-themed anecdotes need not mean that the biographers themselves necessarily believed in the existence of such friendships. Instead, the idea of "poetic friendship" in both Walton and Aubrey should be understood as a structural device to organise their biographical narratives and reshape their subjects' memories in ways that allow the respective biographer to express what he considered to be essential truths about his subjects.

Izaak Walton's *Lives* were derived from the format of the biographical preface written to introduce collected works. Walton wrote his first and most self-conscious biography, the 1640 *Life of John Donne*, originally as a preface for Donne's posthumously published *LXXX Sermons* after the person who had intended to write the biographical preface (Donne's friend Sir Henry Wotton) died unexpectedly. Following the success of his first attempt at biography, Walton substantially expanded and rewrote the *Life of Donne* for a second edition, published separately in 1658.[1] One of several major additions in the 1658 edition is the episode of the anchor poems, which is introduced as part of a digression halfway through the book and interrupts the account of Donne's final illness and death, drawing attention to his poetic works:

> Before I proceed further, I think fit to informe the reader, that not long before his death [Donne] caused to be drawn the image of the body of Christ extended upon an Anchor, like those which painters draw when they would present us with the picture of Christ Crucified on the Crosse; his varying no otherwise then to affixe him to an Anchor (the Embleme of hope) this he caused to be drawn in little, and then many of these figures thus drawn to be ingraven very small in *Heliotropian* Stones, and set in gold, and of these he sent to many of his dearest friends to be used as *Seales*, or *Rings*, and kept as memorialls of him and his affection. (Walton, 1658, 79–80)

Walton then adds a list of some of those "dearest friends" who were recipients of the emblem, one of whom he singles out for particular attention: "that man of primitive piety Mr. *George Herbert* [. . .] who was the Author of the *Temple*" (81). As a digression within a digression, he provides the reader with what is essentially a short review of Herbert's book, before proceeding to outline his claim about the special nature of his friendship with Donne: "Betwixt [Herbert] and Dr. *Donne*, there was a long and dear friendship, made up by such a Sympathy of inclinations, that they coveted and joyed to be in each others Company; and this happy friendship was still maintained by many sacred indearments, of which that which followeth may be some Testimony" (82–83).

What follows are a pair of poems that explore the emblem of Christ crucified on an anchor, one written from Donne to Herbert and the other from Herbert to Donne. At first sight they appear to illustrate Walton's notion of a "happy friendship" between the authors, who swapped tokens and poems as an expression of their "Sympathy of inclinations," and to present readers with a sample of their poetic exchanges. There is an obvious problem, however: the final lines in the poem attributed to Herbert imply that Donne was already dead at the time of writing, so what initially appears to be a dialogue between poets turns out to be the result of Walton's decision to have the poems printed in this manner.

The problems about the episode of the anchor poems do not end there, however: the poems are generally assumed to be genuine and included in collections (the second poem is included in Helen Wilcox's edition of Herbert's complete English poems (2007), while the first has been routinely included in editions of Donne's poetry). Yet there is no other source for either poem, so it is impossible to tell whether Walton modified them to suit his purposes. The accuracy of Walton's account of the story behind the anchor poems is also questionable. Donne seems to have adopted the emblem as his new seal upon his ordination in 1615 (sixteen years before his death), and the two opening lines "Adopted in Gods family, and so / My old Coat lost into new Arms I go" would suggest that this was the occasion for writing the poem. Helen Gardner, in her edition of John Donne's *Divine Poems* (1952), suggested that Walton may have accidentally conflated two poems by Herbert—one written in reply to Donne's poem and one written after Donne's death, when he received the seal—because both were found among Herbert's papers (138–147).

Gardner's assumption that Walton made an honest mistake is of course a charitable interpretation. Elsewhere in his biographies, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that Walton was rather cavalier in his treatment of sources and mostly lacked respect for what John Donne's biographer R. C. Bald called "the sanctity of a quotation" (70). He was not the only scholar who found himself exasperated with Walton's habits of citation, which seem like shockingly bad scholarly practice by modern standards. John Butt, in *Biography in the Hands of Walton, Johnson, and Boswell* (1966), even goes as far as to suggest Walton's manipulation of his sources is tantamount to a crime, referring to Walton as having been "*convicted* of using both Herbert's *Temple* and his *Country Parson* in evidence of Herbert's thoughts and behavior" (9–10, emphasis mine). In fact, it is likely to be that tendency to modify, conflate, recontextualize, and quite possibly to make up quotations rather than just changed notions of what constitutes good style that led to Walton's fall from grace as a biographer.[2] Donne scholars and Donne biographers tend to treat Walton as an unreliable witness whose testimony might have been invaluable if only he had tried harder and not allowed himself to be distracted by insignificant little details. The recently published *Oxford Handbook of John Donne* is a fairly typical example of modern attitudes towards Walton: the editors' General Introduction stresses that "with a few exceptions, Walton is generally used [. . .] advisedly, with discretion and some hazard, unless his testimony can be supported by independent evidence," and several of the contributors voice their skepticism regarding the factual accuracy and reliability of Walton's *Life of Donne* (6).

Nevertheless, as far as Walton's account of the anchor poems is concerned, the crucial (or anchoral) question that needs to be asked is not so much whether he made an honest mistake, as Gardner suggested, or whether the episode is simply another case of Walton's adapting his sources to suit his purposes. Instead, the true crux of the matter is why Walton chose to use the episode to insert Herbert and *The Temple* into the *Life of Donne* in the first place. In this context, we also need to question why Walton is so adamant that Donne and Herbert were close friends, since he seems unable to produce any evidence for it apart from the two recontextualized letters. In his *Life of George Herbert*, written twelve years later, in 1670, Walton repeats his claim about the friendship between Herbert and Donne, and he retells the story of the anchor poems in a slightly different manner:

> To these I might add the long and intire friendship betwixt him and Sir *Henry Wotton*, and Dr. *Donne*, but I have promis'd to contract my self, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the Life of Dr. *Donne*; namely, that a little before his death, he caused many *Seals* to be made, and in them to be ingraven the figure of *Christ crucified* on an *Anchor*, which is the emblem of hope, and of which Dr. *Donne* would often say, *Crux mihi Anchora*. These Seals, he sent to most of those friends on which he put a value, and, at Mr. *Herberts* death, these Verses were found wrapt up with that Seal which was by the Doctor given to him.
>
> *When my dear Friend, could write no more,*
> *He gave this* Seal, *and, so gave ore*.
> *When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,*
> *This* Anchor *keeps my* Faith, *that, me secure*. (Walton, 1670, 39)

While some of the details have changed in this second version of the story, it is clear that there is in fact little in the way of added testimony here. The first of the two couplets is simply another version of the final couplet of the Herbert poem in the earlier account, "He writ when's hand could write no more, / He gave his soul, and so gave o're" (85), while the second is a paraphrase of a couplet that concluded the poem in the 1670 version of the *Life of Donne* (with four lines removed that had been included in the 1658 *Life*): "Let the world reel, we and all ours stand sure, / This Holy Cable's from all storms secure" (59). It is impossible to tell which—if any—of the different versions are Herbert's original verses. As David Novarr observed in 1958, Walton "was interested in the poems only insofar as they were testimonies of friendship. It is quite likely that he did not particularly care for the poems as poems" (504). Regardless of whether the later versions of the couplets were modified by Walton to highlight the idea of friendship in the first and to personalize the second, the passage from the *Life of Herbert* shows that even after having researched Herbert's life in more detail, Walton's notion of the "happy friendship" still hinges solely on the fact that Herbert owned one of Donne's seals and wrote some verses about it.

This is not to suggest that Donne and Herbert could not have been friends in the sense that Walton implies, but if they were, their friendship must have left remarkably few traces. George Herbert's mother Magdalen was an early patroness of Donne's, and he dedicated poems to her, exchanged letters with her—some of which Walton included in an appendix to the 1670 *Life of Herbert*—and eventually wrote her funeral sermon. The conspicuous absence of personal letters from Donne to Herbert (or vice versa) is peculiar, however, because such letters would have supported Walton's claim at least as effectively as the anchor poems, if not more so.[3] The most plausible explanation for this peculiarity is that Donne was a "friend" of Herbert's in the sense that he knew the family, but that the close personal friendship based on likemindedness is Walton's invention.

A common theme in Walton's different accounts of the "friendship" is the idea of a similarity of character—or as he calls it, a "sympathy of inclinations"—between his two subjects: he regards Donne and Herbert as a suitable pair, whose friendship is a "happy" one in the sense that it is appropriate.[4] This theme can also be found in his account of Donne's relationship towards Magdalen Herbert. In the section of the *Life of Herbert* dealing with Herbert's early years, there is a passage that outlines Walton's account of the beginnings of this patronage relationship, which Walton chooses to redefine in terms of friendship by referring to it through the term "amity":

> This Amity begun at this time, and place, was not an *Amity* that polluted their Souls; but, an *Amity* made up of a chain of sutable inclinations and vertues; an *Amity*, like that of St. *Chrysostoms* to his dear and vertuous *Olimpias*; whom, in one of his Letters, he calls his *Saint*: Or an *Amity* indeed more like that of St. *Hierom* to his *Paula*; whose affection to her was such that he turn'd Poet in his old Age, and then made her *Epitaph* [. . .]. And this *Amity* betwixt her and Mr. *Donne*, was begun at a happy time for him, he being then about the Fortieth year

> of his Age (which was some years before he entred into Sacred Orders:) A time, when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his Wife, seven Children, and a Family: And, in this time she prov'd one of his most bountiful Benefactors; and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. (Walton, 1670, 22–23)

At one level, Walton is of course trying to defend Donne against any implications that there may have been something improper about this relationship—this, after all, is the as yet unordained Master Donne, who a few years earlier had lost his job after eloping with his employer's niece and consequently still had a slight air of naughtiness about him.[5] The most striking feature of this passage is its overemphatic and almost comical insistence on the pure nature of this "amity" (reinforced by the pointed use of italics, a recurring characteristic of Walton's *Lives*). The second most striking feature is its similarity to the passage that describes the friendship of Donne and George Herbert in the *Life of Donne* (1658). While the terminology is different in the 1670 version, and Walton has clearly dismissed the term "friendship" as potentially more ambiguous than "amity," the "*Amity* made up of a chain of sutable inclinations and vertues [. . .] begun at a happy time" is essentially a concept that is very similar to the "Sympathy of inclinations" and "happy friendship" of the earlier text, although it is easier to find supporting evidence for this amity between Donne and Herbert's mother than for the friendship of Donne and Herbert himself.

This of course begs the question why the idea of a close personal friendship between Herbert and Donne might have held such appeal for Walton in the first place, given the fact that he evidently struggled to find examples of the "many sacred indearments" they had supposedly exchanged. While it is possible that the evidence for this friendship really was lost—just as it is possible that Walton merely misinterpreted some of his sources—I would argue that Walton may have had reasons other than a desire for factual accuracy to insist on the existence of this poetic friendship.

At the heart of Walton's unconventional approach to biography lies an idea that we might more readily date to the eighteenth century than to the seventeenth: the notion of an inner, private, true self that may be accessed through a person's written works, even if they are not overtly biographical. This especially applies to his reading of poetry, which he treats not as a literary form with certain aesthetic and formal characteristics but as a form of personal expression in the voice of the private self.[6] In that sense, Novarr's judgment that Walton probably did not care for the anchor poems as poems is not strictly true—it may be more accurate to say that Walton's idea of what poetry is differs dramatically from Novarr's (and probably from that of most modern readers). Consequently, he quotes, and he occasionally paraphrases poems from *The Temple* and uses them as evidence for claims about Herbert's character and state of mind for which he has no other proof.

In this context it is worth pointing out that unlike Dr Donne, of whom Walton had personal memories because he had been one of his parishioners and known him during the later years of his life, Herbert was essentially as much of a stranger to him as Master Donne—and yet in another sense Walton did have personal memories of both through having read the two collections of their verse, *Poems by J.D.* and *The Temple* (both published in 1633). Walton's use of both when writing the lives of their respective authors suggests that he was deeply impressed by the divine poetry they contained, which he read as expressions of private faith (he evidently cared less for Donne's nonreligious poetry, which he glosses over as youthful indiscretions). The fact that both collections had been published shortly after Donne's and Herbert's deaths—and in the same year, too—may have encouraged Walton to search for (and find) similarities in their poetry, which in turn suggested the idea of a "sympathy of inclinations." The fact that Walton chooses to describe the affinity between the two as a type of sympathy is a revealing word choice, because in early modern usage, the term has strong connotations of similarity and intrinsic likeness, and it is a concept not limited to persons. Consequently, for a reader like Walton, who conceived of reading poetry as a way of accessing the author's personal voice and his inner self, moving from observing similarities in poetry to assuming an affinity between the poets themselves was a natural progression.

From a modern perspective, Walton's treatment of the anchor poems episode at first appears to be simply another example of his cavalier attitude towards factual accuracy. In order to do Walton justice, however, we should bear in mind that his aim was not to get his facts right but to get his *subjects* right, even if it might occasionally involve putting words into their mouths that they may not have said or written in quite that way. The anchor poems episode and the alleged friendship between Donne and Herbert are therefore best understood as attempts on Walton's part to highlight for his readers something he regarded as fundamental: that both Donne and Herbert could be regarded as "divine poets" of a similar kind. In the case of Herbert, whom most readers knew as the author of *The Temple*, this was an obvious reading, but in the case of Donne it meant a reshaping of his personal memories of Dr Donne, as well as the seemingly irreconcilable living memories among his contemporaries of Master Donne, the poet, on the one hand, and Dr Donne, the divine, on the other. So a crucial function of the anchor poems episode in the 1658 *Life of Donne* is to convince readers that, as with Herbert, his religious poetry is an expression of private faith and the key to his personality.

Although his modern readers might question whether his biographical attempts were successful, Walton's aim was to write coherent narratives that would serve to illuminate the "private" lives of his subjects and act as introductions to their works by ventriloquising their own voices. His *Lives* were also clearly written in order to be printed. By contrast, Aubrey's ambitious historical and biographical project was firmly rooted in an antiquarian manuscript context that formed a deliberate counter-culture to print.[7] Consequently, Aubrey's biographical sketches strive toward an empirical recovery of truths about his subjects' lives, drawing on interviews with eyewitnesses wherever possible, without placing great emphasis on orderly organization or presentation. It is no coincidence that when extracts from Aubrey's manuscripts were published as his "Brief Lives," editors made significant changes to turn them into something Aubrey never intended: an alphabetically ordered biographical dictionary containing clearly shaped lives of persons of interest, with all the relevant information logically organized under the appropriate heading. Andrew Clark's edition of 1898 was the first influential edition of Aubrey's biographical project, as well as the one to popularize the title *Brief Lives* for Aubrey's work.[8] Clark joins entries by collating passages transcribed from different sections of Aubrey's manuscripts and thus gives the lives a much more coherent and uniform appearance than the manuscripts have, although he always indicates the sources on the margins. Ironically, it is Oliver Lawson Dick's edition—first published in 1949, and the most frequently reprinted and most widely read Aubrey edition to date—which alters the character of the text most dramatically, while (unjustly) criticising Clark's edition. This is illustrated by the introduction, which proudly declares that "the two-page life of William and Philip Herbert was assembled from eleven different manuscripts; and this whole edition has been built up, like a jigsaw, until the disconnected pieces have at last resolved themselves into a complete picture" (xv).[9] Kate Bennett's recently published two-volume edition, by contrast, is the one that captures the eclectic character of the three "brief lives" manuscripts most accurately, in providing a full transcription (including deletions and insertions), reproductions of images, and a commentary in a separate volume. It also preserves the original sequence of the lives.

Apart from the differences caused by the contrasting formats chosen by them, the major difference between Walton and Aubrey as biographers is their distance to their subjects. Although the majority of his subjects belonged to the previous generation, Walton's *Lives* are predominantly the lives of men whose life-spans overlapped substantially with his own and were thus essentially his contemporaries.[10] Donne, for example, was some twenty years his senior, while Herbert was born in 1593, the year to which Walton's own birth is generally ascribed. By contrast, Aubrey's biographical sketches of Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Jonson were written from a much greater distance—even Ben Jonson, the youngest of the four (and the only one not to have died before Aubrey's birth) was more than fifty years his senior and consequently would have belonged to the same generation as Aubrey's grandparents.[11] To Aubrey himself, all four poets were not contemporaries but figures belonging to the past, albeit a past that was still only just within living memory. As a result, Aubrey's accounts of their lives contain numerous references to the testimony of elderly people who had known them personally, including a letter from Izaak Walton, supplying biographical information on Jonson. One of the most famous passages from Aubrey's life of Sidney involves a personal memory:

> When I was a boy 9 yeares old, I was with my father at one Mr Singletons an Alderman and Wollen-draper in Glocester, who had in his parlour over the Chimney, the whole description of [Sidney's] Funerall engraved and printed on papers pasted together, which at length was I believe the length of the roome at least. but he had contrived it to be turned upon two pinnes that turning one of them made the figures march all in order. It did make such a strong impression on my young tender phantasy, that I remember it as if it were yesterday. I could never see it elswhere (Aubrey 6, f. 82a^{v}–f. 83).

However, despite the strong impression that Sidney's funeral—or rather its depiction in Lant's Roll—left on Aubrey's young tender phantasy, so that he was still able to recall it several decades later, Aubrey had seen those images nearly fifty years after the event. By the time the young Aubrey encountered it, Lant's Roll, printed shortly after the funeral as a visual record of its pomp (as well as its scale), had become part extravagant decoration, part theatrical spectacle, which Mr Singleton apparently had put up in his parlour as an unusual talking-piece. In a sense, the scene is emblematic of Aubrey's treatment not only of Sidney but also of the other three major Elizabethan poets: the anecdotes he recalls are vivid and memorable, but they are nevertheless the memories of other people, because Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, and Jonson are just beyond his own reach, as it were. Thus he tantalizingly begins his first entry on the life of Jonson with the words "I remember," yet continues not with a personal memory of Jonson—which would scarcely have been possible—but merely with a recollection of his own days as a student at Trinity College, when he heard Ralph Bathurst claim that Jonson was "a Warwyckshire man" (Aubrey 6, f. 108).

It is evident that Aubrey systematically collected information about the personal lives of the four Elizabethan poets from their contemporaries, which for obvious reasons made his "brief lives" both anecdote-heavy and prone to repetition.[12] Several of Aubrey's anecdotes have been shown to be factually incorrect, and the general consensus among modern scholars has been that, much like Izaak Walton, Aubrey was not one to let mere facts get in the way of a good story. As with the anecdotes in Walton's *Lives*, however, the most interesting aspect about Aubrey's anecdotes is not so much the question of whether they are true, but the question of how Aubrey was hoping to illuminate his subject by choosing to record those particular anecdotes.

One theme that emerges from the anecdotes Aubrey records about the lives of authors is a fascination with two particular aspects: the idea of literary networks and the notion that the process of creation can be located and literary texts can be traced to their factual basis and deciphered through the correct "keys." Aubrey's interest in networks and his desire to find patterns and establish connections between his notes may be traced to his antiquarian background as well as his scientific interests (he was an early and ardent member of the Royal Society).[13] Thus he notes links between poets and their patrons, citing dedications and poems, but also records anecdotes that connect the lives of different poets.[14] Collectively, the brief lives of Sidney and Spenser sketched out by Aubrey portray the two as a suitable pair, as do the lives of Jonson and Shakespeare. One level on which Aubrey's grouping of the four poets into pairs can be seen perhaps most clearly is their physical arrangement in MS Aubr 6, the first of the manuscripts containing the "brief lives": the life of Shakespeare directly follows the life of Jonson, and the life of Spenser directly follows that of Sidney; and in both cases he selects anecdotes highlighting connections and similarities between the respective pair.[15]

Thus Aubrey records an anecdote about the young Ben Jonson working as a bricklayer and being overheard reciting verses out of Homer by a passer-by, who engaged him in a conversation. He was so impressed by the young man's wit that he provided the money to send Jonson to Cambridge. The life of Shakespeare—whose first sentence states he was "borne at Stratford vpon Avon in the County of Warwick" (meaning he was a Warwyckshire man too) — contains an anecdote about the young Shakespeare, who in Aubrey's version is a butcher's son, demonstrating similar wit and literary aptitude while carrying out a trade that was ill-suited to his talents: "when he was a boy he exercised his fathers Trade, but when he kill'd a Calfe, he would doe it in a high style, and make a Speech" (Aubr 6, f. 109). Similarly, at later points in their lives both Shakespeare and Jonson are portrayed demonstrating their wit through the extempore composition of verse before an appreciative audience: in a note on the life of Jonson in MS Aubr 8, Aubrey cites the poem "A Grace by Ben: Johnson. extempore. before King James," for which "drollery" he was rewarded with a gift of £100 (f. 55).[16] The corresponding episode in the life of Shakespeare is the anecdote about Shakespeare's composing the "extemporary Epitaph" on John Combes the usurer when hearing about Combe's imminent funeral at a tavern in Stratford. As soon as Aubrey begins to discuss Shakespeare's literary activities, he uses Jonson as a constant point of reference and comparison. Jonson first appears as a foil for Shakespeare, who "was an Actor at one of the Play-houses and did act exceedingly well: now Ben Johnson was never a good Actor, but an excellent Instructor" (Aubrey 6, f. 109). A little later, Aubrey notes that "Ben Johnson and he did gather Humours of men dayly where ever they came." He concludes the life of Shakespeare by citing both Jonson's aphoristic response to the claim that Shakespeare "never blotted out a line in his life" ("I wish he had blotted-out a thousand") and the line about Shakespeare's supposedly poor command of Latin and Greek from the poem "To the Memory of My Beloved the Author, Mr. William Shakespeare and What He Hath Left Us." The latter is contrasted with the statement that "[Shakespeare understood Latine pretty well: for he had been in his younger yeares a Schoolmaster in the Countrey."[17] Although Aubrey never explicitly refers to Jonson and Shakespeare as friends, his notes on their lives effectively construct a "Sympathy of inclinations" through their emphasis on the similarities of the two Warwyckshire men who were clearly remembered by their contemporaries within the same breath. In this context, the bracketing of Shakespeare and Jonson in the sentence "Ben Johnson and he did gather Humours of men"—which need not imply that the two went humour-hunting together—assumes an anecdote-like quality in itself, conjuring up an image of good-natured friendship based on the essential like-mindedness of the two poets, despite the obvious differences in their works (which Aubrey never comments on).

In the case of Spenser, Aubrey chooses to insert his life into what is otherwise a cluster of lives of various members of the Sidney-Herbert family: in MS Aubr 6 f. 80–83^{v}, the life of the first Earl of Pembroke is followed by that of his daughter-in-law Mary Sidney Herbert, her son William Herbert, a letter from Dorothy Tyndale expressing her regret at not being able to provide a "key" to the characters of Arcadia (which is nevertheless inserted to serve precisely that function), and the life of Sir Philip Sidney, which is in turn followed by the life of Spenser.

The first life after Spenser's is that of "Dr Muffet"—*i.e.*,Thomas Moffet, the family physician (now best known for being the author of *Nobilis*, a Latin biography of Sir Philip Sidney, written for the benefit of the young William Herbert). This suggests that Aubrey considered the association of Spenser and Sidney significant enough to disturb what would otherwise have been one of the most clearly patterned sections in the "brief lives" manuscripts.

The anecdotes themselves tend to be apocryphal, such as the scene Aubrey uses to explain the origins of Spenser's "great friendship" with Sidney: according to Aubrey's account, Sidney, a long-suffering patron of poetry, was so "cloyed and surfeited with the Poetasters of those dayes" that when Spenser arrived on his doorstep to deliver a copy of *The Faerie Queene* to him, he merely "layd it by" and did not receive the poet, who "stayed so long that his patience was wearied and went his way, discontented, and never intended to come again" (Aubr 6, f. 82–82^{v}). Once Sidney had brought himself to read it, however, he was "so exceedingly delighted with it" (f. 82^{v}) he tracked down the poet, summoned him back, and gave him a handsome reward, despite his servant's protests that it was too generous.

Of course it is extremely unlikely that this scene ever took place, if only because it is clearly a variation of the more common "What, all this for a song?" anecdote, in which the queen reduced the pension she had originally intended to give Spenser for *The Faerie Queene* after Lord Burghley complained it was too much.[18] In fact, the first person to question the authenticity of this episode was the person for whose benefit Aubrey had written it down: on the margin of the manuscript, Anthony Wood added the note "qu. wh. this be true" (Aubr 6, f. 82^{v}). Yet the anecdote is nevertheless illuminating, partly because it provides a glimpse of how Aubrey viewed Elizabethan patronage structures—and partly because it reveals the extent of Aubrey's eagerness to associate Sidney and Spenser. He records no source for the anecdote (nor does he provide any information about when or where he first heard it), and although he leaves a gap in his account for the sum of money Spenser supposedly received, there is no accompanying "quaere" note indicating his intent to verify the information. Thus the evidence suggests that Aubrey included the episode not so much because he believed it to be true, as because it provided a "happy" vehicle for linking the lives of two people who logically ought to be linked: Sidney, whom Aubrey remembers as the "re-viver of Poetry in those darke times" and Spenser, the "Prince of Poets of his tyme" (Aubr 6, f. 82 and f. 83).

It is revealing that for both poets, Aubrey selects epithets that seek to place them in the past, but the vagueness of reference in how this past is described is also peculiar. The phrase locating Spenser in "his tyme" occurs in the context of an alleged epitaph that gets this tyme badly wrong in claiming he was born in 1510 and died in 1596, and the justification for portraying the late sixteenth century as a dark age for poetry from which it needed to be rescued by Sidney seems to be a hazy notion that poetry in "those dayes"—meaning the 1580s—contained too much swearing. For this claim he provides two examples taken from different decades, one from *Jacob and Esau*—entered into the Stationers' Register in 1557 and first printed in 1568 (though Aubrey states it was "acted before King Henry 8's grace") and *Gammer Gurtons Needle* (1575).

In addition to noting friendships and patronage links, Aubrey occasionally "identifies" people some fictional characters were said to have been based on.[19] This aspect feeds into his interest in the process of literary creation, which is perhaps most evident in his collecting of information that might provide a "key" to literary works. At the beginning of a letter "identifying" several of the characters of *Arcadia* and *Astrophel and Stella*, Dorothy Tyndale expresses her regret that she cannot give Aubrey a proper key to Sidney's works, claiming that "all I know of it is not worth any thing" (MS Aubr 6, f. 82B). Aubrey evidently disagreed with Tyndale's judgment and inserted her letter before the life of Sidney, effectively making it act as the key that Tyndale had denied it was. While there are no similarly detailed "keys" to the works of Spenser and Shakespeare, the identification of Spenser's "Mistris Rosalind" as a distant relative of John Dryden and the seemingly trivial anecdote of the Grendon constable who provided "the Humour of …… the constable, in Midsomernights Dreame" essentially serve the same function (Aubr 8, f. 41 and Aubr 6, f. 109). In both cases the anecdotes represent an attempt to contextualize the work by establishing a direct link to the poet's life—in the latter case, Aubrey even goes as far as to venture a guess that the story of the memorable constable might explain the title of the play: "I thinke it was Midsomer night that he happened to lye there"—that is "at Grendon in Bucks w^{ch} is [on] the roade from London to Stratford" (Aubr 6, f. 109).[20] Similarly, he traces the origins of Spenser's poetry to the "delicate sweet ayre" of Hampshire, where, according to Aubrey's source Mr Samuel Woodford (coincidentally a resident of Hampshire) he "enjoyed his Muse: & writt good part of his verses" (Aubr 6, f. 83).

Finally, Aubrey records anecdotes about the four poets that portray them at work. The most famous example is the story about Sidney's habit of carrying a "Table booke" while hunting so he could "write downe his notions as they came into his head, when he was writing his Arcadia" (Aubr 6, f. 82). Spenser, Jonson, and Shakespeare are likewise portrayed in the act of composition in Aubrey's anecdotes. In Spenser's case, one anecdote hints at a draft version of *The Faerie Queene*, written on "an abundance of Cards" during his time at Cambridge, where they were discovered "lately, at y^{e} coll. takeing-downe the wainscot of his chamber" (Aubr 8, f. 41). Of Shakespeare and Jonson, Aubrey supports his claim about their character-hunting efforts by identifying several of the people supposed to have inspired characters in Shakespeare's and Jonson's plays. Those identifications include John Dee as the model for Jonson's "Alkimist" (Aubr 6, f. 38), Charles Chester as "Carlo Buffono" in *Every Man Out of His Humour* (Aubr 6, f. 76), Thomas Sutton as the title character of *Volpone*, as well as the unnamed constable from Grendon.

Just as interesting as Aubrey's selection of barely supported anecdotes to connect the four poets is his decision to omit some readily accessible evidence that would have allowed him to connect them. Thus he fails to mention the dedication to Sidney on the title page of *The Shepheardes Calender*, reprinted in all subsequent editions (including Jonathan Edwin's edition of *Spenser's Works*, printed in 1679), or the fact that Shakespeare acted in the first performances of *Every Man in his Humor* and *Sejanus his Fall*—a piece of information which had been clearly stated in the performance notes in Jonson's *Workes* (1616), and is consequently unlikely to have been unknown to his contemporaries. Perhaps the most plausible explanation for these omissions is that Aubrey was aware of those bibliographical facts but did not consider them interesting enough to be worth recording. While they do establish links between the poets, they do nothing to illuminate the nature of their relationships in a meaningful or memorable way—unlike the more colorful (and infinitely more memorable) anecdotes chosen by Aubrey, which portray them as bonding over the shared mission to rescue English poetry or the pursuit of interesting "humours" to use in their plays.

In their biographical narratives, both Walton and Aubrey use the motif of poetic friendships that are effectively imaginary friendships, to showcase what they considered to be integral aspects of their subjects' characters: Herbert's and Donne's expression of personal faith as part of their roles as divine poets; Shakespeare's and Jonson's sociability and ready wit, which made them such successful playwrights; Sidney's and Spenser's exceptional poetic skill, which allowed them jointly to rescue English poetry from "those dark times" and become Princes of Poets in their time. At the same time, the imaginary poetic friendships provided explanations for the ways in which the two biographers envisioned literary networks and patronage relationships of past generations, as well as a justification for the fact that to their own generation the memory of "those times" had already begun to blur, so they found it easier to recall the most significant literary figures of that past age collectively rather than individually. In that sense, those "happy" poetic friendships created from anecdotes are perhaps a more accurate illustration of how the two early biographers viewed their subjects than the recording of mere biographical facts.

Notes

1. Walton further revised the *Life of Donne* for its inclusion in the two collected editions of his *Lives* that he published during his lifetime (in 1670 and 1675 respectively). The later revisions, however, are more minor compared to the differences between the first two versions.

2. One of the side effects of the fact that Walton has moved from being rated for his style to being berated for his methods is that there has not been a single critical annotated edition of his *Lives* to date.

3. The same appendix also contains several letters from Herbert to his stepfather, Sir John Danvers, whom Walton consistently abbreviates as "Sir J.D."—perhaps to lead casual readers to believe they are letters written to Donne.

4. Cf. meanings 4a and 4b in the OED entry for "happy."

5. Across all the different versions of the *Life of Donne*, Walton always distinguishes very carefully between "Mr. *Donne*" and "Dr. *Donne*." In the *Life of Herbert*, he introduces him as "Mr. *John Donne* [. . .] that *John Donne* who was after Dr. *Donne*, and Dean of St. *Pauls London*" (21).

6. Examples of this can be found in Walton's employment of his subjects' poetry in both the *Life of Donne* and the *Life of Herbert*, especially Donne's "Hymne to God the father" and "Autumnal" (the latter of which Walton reads as Donne's response to his first chance encounter with Magdalen Herbert) and Herbert's "Affliction I" and "Sunday."

7. For a detailed account of antiquarianism as a counter-culture to print, see Kate Bennett's essays "Editing Aubrey" in *Ma(r)king the Text*, edited by Joe Bray, Miriam Handley, and Anne C. Henry, Ashgate, 2000, pp. 271–290, and "John Aubrey's Collections and the Early Modern Museum" in *Bodleian Library Record*, vol. 17, 2001, pp. 213–234.

8. The abbreviated version of the title of Clark's edition, used both on the spine of the book and for the running titles, is "Aubrey's 'Brief Lives.'"

9. Lawson Dick's edition completely refrains from indicating which passages had been taken from which Aubrey manuscript—something which his nineteenth-century predecessor Clark had been very scrupulous about. As a result, Clark's edition is still a useful resource for Aubrey scholars, while the most positive thing that Aubrey's most recent editor felt able to say about Lawson

Dick's edition in her Textual Introduction was that it has "successfully popularized Aubrey and given its readers great pleasure" (Bennett cxl).

10. The only exception to this is Richard Hooker, who died in 1600, when Walton was six or seven years old.

11. Jonson was born in 1572 and died in 1636, Shakespeare lived from 1564 to 1616, Spenser from ca. 1553 to 1599 (though Aubrey cites an inscription that records both dates wrongly, making Spenser substantially older and longer-lived), and Sidney from 1554 to 1586. Aubrey was born in 1626.

12. Most editors eliminate the repetitions as part of their attempts to clean up the "Brief Lives" (arguing that Aubrey himself would have done this as part of preparing the Lives for print), but they are a characteristic feature of Aubrey's manuscripts.

13. Michael Hunter, who conducted a detailed survey of the activity of early Royal Society fellows as recorded through minutes, lists Aubrey as one of the most active early members. (*The Royal Society and its Fellows 1660-1700: The Morphology of an Early Scientific Institution*, British Society for the History of Science, 1982).

14. A particularly interesting example of anecdotes to connect the lives of poets is the passage in the life of Jonson, which claims that "he killed Mr . . . Marlow the Poet on Bunhill, comeing from the Green-curtain play-house. from Sir Edward Shirburn" (Aubr 6, f. 108). Of course Shirburn must have accidentally conflated the murder of Christopher Marlowe and Jonson's killing of the actor Gabriel Spenser in a duel—possibly because he associated the name "Spenser" with poetry—but what is more important than the inaccuracy of the anecdote is the fact that Aubrey chose to include it in the first place. In the manuscript, the sentence stands on its own as a non sequitur whose only connection to the previous paragraph (about Jonson's plays) is the name of the playhouse, and there is no discussion of any consequence of the murder supposedly committed by Jonson. This suggests that Aubrey's main reason for including the anecdote was that it allowed him to make a connection between Jonson and another poet.

15. Strictly speaking, the lives of Jonson and Shakespeare are not directly adjacent; both are part of a cluster of lives of "laureates" (also marked visually by a little drawing of a laurel wreath next to each life), and between them there is space left for the life of John Dryden, which Aubrey never wrote.

16. Like many of his contemporaries, Aubrey consistently spelt Jonson's name as "Johnson." Since there is no risk of confusion with a different author in this context, I have preserved the original spelling used in the *Brief Lives*.

17. This of course contradicts the account towards the beginning of the life (recorded on the same page), which had Shakespeare the butcher's son abandoning the slaughtering of calves and coming to London at about eighteen years of age.

18. This anecdote appears in several seventeenth-century sources, most notably Edward Phillips' *Theatrum Poetarum* (1675) and William Winstanley's *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687). Generally, Burghley's meanness is blamed on a personal grudge because he had been offended by *Mother Hubberds Tale,* in which Spenser had satirized Burghley's rise to power.

19. Even the proximity of poets' graves is recorded by Aubrey; one of the things he notes about Michael Drayton is that he lies buried "neer Spencer" (Aubr 8, f. 8^{v}).

20). "I thinke it was Midsomer night" is an insertion added on the margin of the page and marked with an asterisk.

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Carson McCullers in the Twenty-First Century. Edited by Alison Graham-Bertolini and Casey Kayser. Palgrave-Macmillan, 2016. xx + 279 pp. $119.99 (hardcover).

In their preface, the editors of *Carson McCullers in the Twenty-First Century* assert that the work of Carson McCullers, who is frequently framed as a Southern writer, remains important because it speaks to the social conditions and lived experiences relevant to contemporary readers well beyond any one region of the U.S. The preface notes an expansion of her audience internationally through translation and domestically through various adaptations of her work and the selection of *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter* for Oprah's Book Club in 2004. The fifteen essays in this volume reveal the fruitfulness of continued engagement with McCullers's work through evolving theoretical perspectives, comparative readings, and the exploration of newly available archival content. Indeed, this volume convincingly affirms the relevance of Carson McCullers's work, leading the way for further engagement by readers and scholars working in diverse fields.

The opening essay by co-editor Casey Kayser effectively orients the volume as forward-looking by bridging the gap between McCullers's own work as a playwright and twenty-first century adaptations of her work. Kayser concludes that the adaptations to the stage that have had the most success are the ones that make McCullers's original texts a "central component" even within each individual adaptor's visions for the text (17). The next two essays delve into important uncharted territory for McCullers scholars. Carlos Dews's essay addresses McCullers's experiment of recording her therapy sessions with Dr. Mary Mercer during April and May of 1958. Dews discusses the history and provenance of the recordings, then reproduces select transcripts of recorded sessions that involve McCullers's relationship with Annmarie Schwarzenbach. He also addresses the important ethical considerations for making the transcripts available for scholarship. Mercer was protective of the transcripts, fighting over them with McCullers's estate, but Dews reasons through examination of extant correspondence that both McCullers and Mercer provided implied consent. Melani Masterson Sherazi follows with an analysis of McCullers's autobiography, *Illuminations and Night Glare*, and its connections to the recorded therapy sessions as a collaborative form of life writing. She argues that while *Illuminations and Night Glare* is a long-overlooked work because of its unfinished nature, McCullers scholars should consider it, especially in the context of the transcriptions of McCullers's therapy sessions.

The next two essays continue to examine connections between McCullers's life and her fictional works. Jan Whitt delves into autobiographical content in novels by both McCullers and Harper Lee, showing how these works exist in a "gray zone" where it may be permissible for authors to change details and facts. She suggests that this gray zone obscures or allows for oblique dealings with the sexualities of characters who are intimately located within the author (69-70). Carmen Trammell Skaggs examines how correspondence between McCullers and her piano teacher in Columbus, Georgia, Mary Tucker, provides useful context for McCullers's early fictional works. The collection then takes a turn into interdisciplinary scholarship. Kiyoko Magome dives into the centrality of string quartet imagery in *The Heart Is a Lonely Hunter*, contextualizing the novel with other authors, such as T.S. Eliot, who have employed quartets and symbolism, and discussing how events of pre-war Europe appear contrapuntally throughout the novel. renee c. hoogland also explores counterpoints, but through a deployment of Deleuze & Guattari to the freakish development of characters in *The Member of the Wedding* as an "unhuman becoming" (114). Temple Gowan relates McCullers's work to recent avenues of critical inquiry by looking at the relations that *Reflections in a Golden Eye* has with animal studies, post-humanism, and new materialism, using these theoretical approaches to "illuminate the ways that McCullers both subverts the discourse of speciesism and queers the human/nonhuman binary, specifically by challenging regimes of biopower" (128).

The next series of essays approaches McCullers's fiction in ways that emphasize how her work investigates and challenges notions of normality and deviance. Kristen Proehl examines how queer friendships and gender non-conformity in childhood prefigure adult homosexuality in *The Member of the Wedding* and *The Heart is a Lonely Hunter*, convincingly arguing that McCullers portrays queer friendships in these novels in ways that foreshadow queer theory. Such friendships show readers the potential for alliances across social groups, but also help them see their limitations. Miho Matsui presents Amelia Evans of *The Ballad of the Sad Café* not as simply an "ambiguous" figure, but "an extremely subversive southern white lady" (157), showing how the novella complicates the "relation between the gaze and gender/racial identity" (160). Alison Graham-Bertolini, one of the volume's co-editors, then argues in her contribution to the book that the normal/abnormal binary is central to the novel *Reflections in a Golden Eye*. She argues that the murder central to the plot is a symbolic attempt to break the bonds of heteronormative society, and that ultimately "'normality' is an illusion" (187). Lastly, on the theme of deviance, Stephanie Roundtree deftly connects the narrative structure of *The Heart Is a*

Lonely Hunter to the social context of the early-twentieth century US South, in which there was a high institutionalization rate of individuals deemed "feeble-minded." This institutionalization was an attempt to control and create a more productive citizenry. She argues that Antonapoulos's institutionalization deprives Singer of his companion and his ability to be a caretaker for Antonapoulos, but on the other hand frees Singer to be the "narrative fulcrum" for the novel, allowing him to be the friend of the "other four prominent characters" (190). The novel's consistent reference to Antonapoulos as Greek also leverages anti-immigrant sentiments of the time that focused on perceived cognitive inferiority. Roundtree concludes that the novel raises questions of how to "serve disabled citizenry and [...] ethically complicate the landscape of U.S. citizenship" (205).

In the next essay, Lin Bin explores the social contexts of two waves of interest in McCullers's work in China, one in the 1980s, the second in the 2000s. In both instances, McCullers's portrayals of loneliness garnered the attention of Chinese readers, and Bin examines how the contexts of Chinese culture influenced slightly different attitudes, the first wave being shaped by post-Revolution thinking and the second by increasing globalization and modernization. Barbara Roche Rico offers a comparative reading of *The Ballad of the Sad Café* alongside Nicholasa Mohr's *In Nueva York* (1977), demonstrating how Mohr, a prominent author of the Puerto Rican diaspora, "refashions key narrative features" (235) of McCullers's novella, especially its emphasis on place and subtle characterization that affords dignity and complexity to otherwise marginalized characters. The collection ends with Craig Slaven's essay on *Clock Without Hands*, which emphasizes how the mercurial qualities of the character Jester enable a narrative of "white American innocence" (254) that preserves notions of American exceptionalism in the context of Civil Rights. The novel, Slaven argues, does more than just critique the politics of racial discrimination in the South: it shows how "dominant cultural narratives construe public consensus in a way that preserves images of exceptionalism" (264).

Each of the essays in *Carson McCullers in the Twenty-First Century* brings a novel approach to McCullers or calls attention to a facet of her life and work that is due for further study, and each meaningfully extends the discourse of McCullers scholarship. Together, they exhibit an impressive range of approaches. This variety alone is a testament to McCullers's continued relevance for not only scholars and students of Southern literature, but for those with broader interests in American and comparative literature and even more specialized interests such as queer theory or disability studies. This volume successfully makes the case for its title's claim that McCullers's oeuvre is well worth the attention of twenty-first century readers.

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