‘Must I Remember?’ Artificial Memory Systems and Early Modern England

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Jonathan Joseph Michael Day.

June 2014

Abstract

My thesis traces the evolution of artificial memory systems from classical Greece to early modern England to explore memorial traumas and the complex nature of a very particular way of remembering. An artificial memory system is a methodology to improve natural memory. Classical artificial memory systems employ an architectural metaphor, emphasising regularity and striking imagery. Classical memory systems also frequently describe the memory as a blank page. This thesis follows the path of transmission of these ideas and the perennial relationship between memory and forgetting and memory and fiction, as well as the constant threat of memorial collapse.

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Acknowledgements

I am greatly indebted to a number of people for their invaluable help and guidance in the research and writing of this thesis. Professor Nandini Das has provided tireless support, excellent advice and seemingly inexhaustible patience. Dr Michael Davies and Dr Nick Davis have also given constructive feedback and very valuable suggestions during the writing of the thesis, helping to improve it at every stage. I am also indebted to my fellow research students in the School of English at the University of Liverpool for providing willing ears and perceptive commentary on various sections of the thesis that have been presented in the form of academic papers. In researching this thesis I have benefited greatly from the support of the administrative staff of the School of English who have assisted me whenever an issue has arisen. I am also grateful to the various academic libraries that have enabled this research, the staff of which have proven invariably positive. I also thank my family for their warmth and help during the writing of the thesis. Finally, I would like to thank Maxi Briggs, whose love and unfaltering support has contributed so much to the research and writing of this project. It goes without saying that the responsibility for errors of argument or fact contained within is solely my own.

Presentation Principles

I have throughout tried to maintain both clarity and fidelity to the source material. The original interchangeable usage of i/j, u/v, vv/w and long s/s have been silently regularised according to modern practice. I have followed MHRA guidelines in the presentation of citations.

Introduction

'A man's memory is not a summation; it is a chaos of vague possibilities.'[1]

Jorge Luis Borges's 'Shakespeare's Memory' relates the tale of a Shakespeare scholar who inherits the memory of Shakespeare. It is a gift given by another academic, who had received it in his turn. The memory proves to be intensely problematic. Shakespeare's memory arrives slowly and in a fragmented manner, and is accompanied by confusions of the narrator's own memory. The narrator begins to think of the two memories as a palimpsest, and his increasing recovery of Shakespeare's memory is accompanied by his own forgetting of the experiences of modern life. Finally, the narrator chooses to give the memory away, having explained the burden and complexity of such a gift.

'Shakespeare's Memory' captures in microcosm some of the main thrusts of this thesis. Borges writes of Augustine's caves and palaces of memory as well as the aforementioned idea of memory as palimpsest. These two models of memory, spatial and textual, and their interrelationship, provide a central structural principle of the thesis. Equally, in Borges's telling Shakespeare's memory is partial, burdensome and associated with loss and the possibility of destruction; the man who gives the memory to the narrator has inherited it from a man dying on a battlefield, whilst as indicated above the narrator begins to forget his own life. This idea of memory and potential destruction is explored throughout the thesis.

Finally, the memory of Shakespeare in Borges's account is a fraught legacy given from one person to another. This thesis of course draws upon and must acknowledge the pioneering work of Frances Yates in the field, as all studies on early modern memory and the artificial memory systems written in her wake should.[2] Before this thesis can be situated in relation to other critical works on memory, a brief summary of my research is in order. There is a kind of circularity inherent inevitably in memory and thinking about memory. In many ways the concluding chapter returns to the themes of the beginning of the thesis; so here, the discussion begins at the end.

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1 Jorge Luis Borges, 'Shakespeare's Memory', in *Collected Ficciones of Jorge Luis Borges,* ed. and trans. by Andrew Hurley (London: Allen Lane, 1999), pp. 1078–95 (p. 1089).

2 Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London: Penguin, 1966).

'Must I remember'? Hamlet's famous quotation has generated a whirlwind of words, words, words. The issue of memory in the play has long been recognised as crucial; Hamlet is instructed to 'remember me' by the ghost of his father and speaks insistently about the centrality of his memory. However, given this context the suggestion of compulsion and the inability to forget seem problematic. Must Hamlet remember?

The thorny issue of whether Hamlet must remember and the relationship between memory and forgetting is fully evident in Hamlet's words that establish memory as both necessary and contingent: 'Remember thee! | Ay, thou poor ghost, whiles memory holds a seat | In this distracted globe. Remember thee? | Yea, from the table of my memory | I'll wipe away all trivial fond records, | All saws of books, all forms, all pressures past [...]'.[3] Hamlet's memory depends upon the globe (both his head and the wooden stage upon which he stands) and the tables of his memory, which simultaneously stage the erasure of all other memories.

These two approaches of memory as a place and of memory as a writing tablet provide the means into answering the question of whether Hamlet must remember, and how. These two approaches reach back to the origins of the art of memory, a now widely forgotten group of methods for ordering memories and thinking that emerged from a classical Greek and Roman context, and strongly shaped the classically inflected culture of early modern England.

The art of memory is traced from its origins in classical Greece through Rome and to medieval England, culminating in a reading of Shakespeare's classically orientated education. Along the way the evolution of the idea in different contexts is explored, from the physical streets of Rome through the dream-shaped medieval memories, and to the bookishness of Shakespeare's schoolroom learning. As well as this, the persistent threat of forgetting and its unshakeable relationship to remembering is explored. In diverse periods, memory is not only haunted by forgetting but forgetting is haunted by the inescapability of memory; must I remember?

Throughout the thesis a variety of memorial texts are considered, helping to locate the evolution of the arts of memory in differing genres and contexts. As part of this approach, the thesis culminates in a reading of *Hamlet,* a central memorial text situated in a period in which memory seems

3 William Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* ed. by Philip Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), I. 5. 95–100.

to loom inevitably. The close interrelationship of memory and forgetfulness is frequently interrogated. The associations between memorialising and fiction are also explored across the diverse literary texts considered. A fear of forgetting leads to attempts to remember and memorialise. Insistent attempts to remember in their turn generate fiction, with concomitant negative effects upon what is being remembered. The perennial links between memory and story suggest that this is a central fact of memorialising.

As mentioned above, the significance of the models of text and architecture for memory form one of the central concerns of the thesis. These two patterns for memorialising recur again and again and are deeply embedded within the history of thought. It will be seen that in times of memorial crisis, these two approaches become conflated, with disastrous consequences for the viability of accurate remembering. As such, this trend supports a third line of argument, namely the utility of applying the model of artificial memory systems to the traumatised memorial culture of early modern England. In this sense, this thesis stands against the contention by Barish and Sullivan that artificial memory systems in relation to Shakespeare are of minimal importance, or have been the focus of too much critical commentary.[4] Conversely, this thesis also takes up Sullivan's challenge that with the exception of the works of Lina Bolzoni and Mary Carruthers, forgetting has been largely 'underexamined and undertheorized, especially outside the arts of memory'.[5] Although this thesis cannot claim to compete with these magisterial works in either scope or depth of analysis, it does attend to the interrelationship of memory and forgetting in both material culture and texts, exploring the possibilities of collapse in devices of artificial memory and the concomitant possibilities of new creation.

The potential of such an approach is suggested by Lina Perkins Wilder's *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, and Character* and Hester Lees-Jeffries's *Shakespeare and Memory*.[6] Although it is a convention for monographs and theses to announce the timeliness of their

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4 Jonas Barish, 'Remembering and Forgetting in Shakespeare', in *Elizabethan Theater: Essays in Honor of S. Schoenbaum,* ed. by R. B. Parker and S. P. Zitner (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1996), pp. 214–21 and Garrett A. Sullivan Jr., *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Webster* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 5.

5 See Liza Bolzoni, *The Gallery of Memory: Literary and Iconographic Models in the Age of the Printing Press*, trans. by Jeremy Parzen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998) and Sullivan Jr*., Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama*, p. 139.

6 Lina Perkins Wilder, *Shakespeare's Memory Theatre: Recollection, Properties, and Character* (Cambridge:

creation, the recent publication of both of these influential monographs suggests the enduring vitality of critical approaches working on and with early modern memory. The current thesis bears comparison to both of these works, as well as demonstrating differences of emphasis and scope. This thesis does not employ the critical feminist readings adopted by Wilder, whilst both monographs investigate and interrogate early modern England and the stage through a greater focus upon objects and props than is employed here. However, this thesis offers a broader chronological reading of the artificial memory tradition, and pursues the two devices of memory-as-structure and memory-as-text more systematically, particularly the overlapping of the two and the possibilities of collapse, as well as exploring other strands of memory relevant to early modern England such as those dominant in Neoplatonism, that receive little attention in the two monographs above.

Chapter One of the thesis traces the mythic origins of the arts of memory to the tale of Simonides remembering the dead crushed by a collapsed roof. This narrative provides an example of the recurring theme of the relationship of memory and fiction, with fiction defined here as distinct from imaginative vignettes by the employment of literary tropes such as dialogue, narrative and journeys. The arts of memory are followed from their Greek origins into late classical Rome, marking the evolution of the two artificial memory systems conventions in a Rome threatened by material and memorial collapse, an interrelationship of text and material context that receives subsequent further attention in relation to early modern England. Crucially, the flexibility and endurance of the artificial memory system tradition is demonstrated. Equally, the chapter suggests both that the artificial memory systems contain inherent tendencies towards collapse and that these instabilities are exacerbated by conditions of memorial trauma.

It was suggested above that a discussion of Neoplatonic approaches to memory formed one of the points of distinction from the monographs of Wilder and Jeffries. This analysis is conducted in Chapter Two, which demonstrates the pertinence of classical approaches to memory in the European Renaissance, as well as further demonstrating the fluidity of memorial practices and their capacity for adaptation. Following the tradition from Plotinus through to early modern thinkers such as Spenser, Camillo and Fludd, the problematic materiality of ways of conceptualising memory is explored, as

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Cambridge University Press, 2010) and Hester Lees-Jeffries, *Shakespeare and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

well as the association of devices of memory and theatres and stages. Even the most seemingly abstract and cerebral ways of remembering gravitate towards physicality and the memorial devices of architecture and space.

Before this relationship can be productively explored however, the thesis sets the stage by interrogating the memorial practices of medieval England. Memory is pursued in both secular and ecclesiastical contexts and in both secular and ecclesiastical texts, including Augustine's *Confessions* (*c.* 398), *Pearl* (*c.* fourteenth century) and Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* (*c.* 1368). This chapter suggests that there is a close interrelationship between memory and dream and that memorial texts serve as crucial *loci* of memorial authority within memorial dreams.

Chapter Four follows memory into the early modern grammar school, identifying anxieties of memory in the schoolroom. *Lily's Grammar* (*c.* 1540) and commonplace books are considered as textual *loci* of memory within the schoolroom, and it is suggested that anachronisms of their form in combination with the memorial pressures of the schoolroom could lead to memorial confusions. This idea is demonstrated through a reading of *Titus Andronicus* (*c.* 1588). The play is read through artificial memory systems as mediated by the early modern schoolroom and through a commonplace book shaped memory, and the potential slippage between memorial text and memorial architecture is examined.

Following this suggestion, this potential for overlap between text and architecture is pursued further in the following chapter on the Reformation. Here a reading is adopted that focuses upon the traumatic aspects of memory in the period and the concomitant effect upon both memory and the creation of memorial fictions. The place of Purgatory and its penumbra of memorial literature are explored as examples of the potential interchange between memorial text and place, and it is suggested that periods of memorial trauma can lead to the creation of second-order memories; that is to say, memories of memories rather than of the original events, as well as fictive creations.

Chapter Six focuses upon both the problematic necessity of memorial forebears and the insistent link between memorial text and space. To this end, the memorial projects of Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) and William Camden's *Britannia* (1586) are discussed as examples of points of contact between classical Rome and early modern England, before the perennial association between memorial text and architecture is once again examined. In this vein, the early modern stage is

read as a memorial space and the interrelationship of the models of memory-as-text and memory-as-place is considered through a reading of both memorial texts and the plays in production upon the stage. Finally, the thesis culminates in a chapter that provides a close reading of *Hamlet* (*c.* 1600) as both memorially interesting in its own right and as an example of the trends discussed throughout the thesis. *Hamlet* demonstrates the enduring significance of fiction in relation to memory in the context of memorial trauma, as well as the utility of the models of memory-as-text and memory-as-architecture, whilst the consequences of slippages between these two approaches are discussed.

This thesis does not expound Shakespeare's memory, being rather a particularised and partial account. However, in Borges's story Shakespeare's memory was a gift from a previous scholar. This thesis is indebted to the efforts of many previous researchers, and it is my hope that this thesis can make some small contribution to the collective gift of critical investigation into Shakespeare and memory for future scholars.

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Chapter One:

Creation and Destruction: Simonides and the Classical Art of Memory

> I am not myself as clever as Themistocles was, so as to prefer the science of forgetting to that of remembering; and I am grateful to the famous Simonides of Ceos, who is said to have first invented the science of mnemonics. There is a story that Simonides was dining at the house of a wealthy noble-man named Scopas at Crannon in Thessaly, and chanted a lyric poem which he had composed in honour of his host, in which he followed the custom of the poets by including for decorative purposes a long passage referring to Castor and Pollux; whereupon Scopas with excessive meanness told him he would pay him half the fee agreed on for the poem, and if he liked he might apply for the balance to his sons of Tyndareus, as they had gone halves in the panegyric. The story runs that a little later a message was brought to Simonides to go outside, as two young men were standing at the door who earnestly requested him to come out; so he rose from his seat and went out, and could not see anybody; but in the interval of his absence the roof of the hall where Scopas was giving the banquet fell in, crushing Scopas himself and his relations underneath the ruins and killing them; and when their friends wanted to bury them but were altogether unable to know them apart as they had been completely crushed, the story goes that Simonides was enabled by his recollection of the place in which each of them had been reclining at table to identify them for separate internment.[7]

In Cicero's introduction to the art of memory, the intimate connection between memory and forgetting is immediately apparent; Simonides's recollection is predicated on the inability of the friends of the dead to identify the bodies for proper memorialisation through burial. Similarly, memory and

7 Cicero, *De Oratore*, in *De Oratore, Together With De Fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De Partitione Oratoria,* ed.and trans. by E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham (London: Heinemann, 1942), II. 350–53. All subsequent references to the text will refer to this edition.

destruction and death are closely associated here. This interrelationship of loss, memory and forgetting provides a major thread running through this chapter and through subsequent accounts of the arts of memory, culminating with its presence on the early modern stage.

Cicero's account is also useful in that it is indicative of the perennial association between memory and fiction, another major theme of memorial accounts to which we shall return repeatedly both in this chapter and throughout this thesis. Exploring those associations in the classical arts of memory will provide the focus of this chapter. It is a process which will return us time and again to the classical sources of the tropes and images with which Shakespeare and his Renaissance contemporaries later would have a close and formative acquaintance. The relationship between physical absence and memorial presence, between re-telling and re-membering, and between the visual and the spatial, are some of the themes to which we will turn in this chapter, as are the images of the memorial spectre, the wax tablet, and the *loci* of remembrance — both physical and imagined.

The fictive aspect is apparent in the frequent allusions to oral testimony in the story of Simonides itself. Cicero tells us 'There is a story […]', 'The story runs […]', '[…] the story goes' (Cicero, *De Oratore*, II.350–53). Indeed, in a similar vein, Quintilian's account of the art of memory written over a century later returns to this tale and once again emphasises its status as a tale. Quintilian provides an extended exegesis on the sources for the narrative, noting:

> There is however great disagreement among our authorities whether the poem was written for Glaucus of Carystus, Leocrates, Agatharchus or Scopas, and whether the house was at Pharsalus (as Simonides himself seems to indicate in one passage, and as Apolodorus, Eratosthenes, Euphorion, and Eurypylus of Larissa all say) or at Crannon, as according to Apollas and Callimachus, whom Cicero followed when he popularised the story.[8]

On a similarly astute if deflationary note, Quintilian remarks: 'However, I regard the whole episode of the Tyndarids as mythical, and the poet himself nowhere mentions it, though he would surely not have kept silent on an affair so glorious to himself' (Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, XI.16). Despite

8 Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. by Donald A. Russell, 5 vols (London: Harvard University Press, 2001), V, XI. 2. 14–15. All subsequent citations refer to this edition.

these reservations, Quintilian perpetuates the tale as an introduction to his account of artificial memory systems. In this regard the intertextuality of these accounts seems to exemplify Matthew Fox's suggestion that Greek myth is early and poetic and extant Roman mythology is late and prosaic; 'A prose, moreover, which displays all the signs of a long literary tradition of attempting to rationalize myth, comment upon it and decipher it'.[9]

Indeed, beyond the general pattern of his good fortune, the specific example of Simonides's escape from the feast seems to have enjoyed a broader cultural currency, becoming something of a standard in accounts of memory. As well as beginning her own seminal account of the art of memory with a recitation of the Simonides story, Frances Yates notes the frequency with which the story is recounted and observes 'one may perhaps conjecture that it formed the normal introduction to the section of artificial memory in a text-book of rhetoric'.[10] It is a perpetuation of a myth that fits into a broader matrix of Roman cultural and political mythology, such as the account of Rome's foundation by Romulus and Remus.[11] Jan Assmann notes that 'History turns into myth as soon as it is remembered, narrated and used, that is, woven into the fabric of the present. The mythical qualities of history have nothing to do with its truth values'.[12] It is in this spirit of the mythological as a narrative put to particular memorial use that my reading of the import of the Simonides story proceeds. The significance of the tale of Simonides and the collapsing roof has also been read as an archetype for Cicero of the triumph of the professional paid orator over ingratitude.[13] Similarly, the import of the myth could be identified in the enduring persistence of memory in the face of collapse, and as such read as being reconstitutive rather than destructive. The reading adopted here of the myth's weight lying primarily in the association of destruction and memory will hopefully prove justified both in this chapter and in the thesis as a whole, which expands upon this reading. More generally, the account of Simonides, as such, is itself a reminder of the close association between memory and myth that will provide one of the major *loci* of this chapter.

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9 Matthew Fox, 'The Myth of Rome', in *A Companion to Greek Mythology,* ed. by Ken Dowden and Niall Livingstone (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), pp. 243–65 (p. 248).

10 Yates, *The Art of Memory,* p. 42.

11 Kurt A. Raaflaub, 'Between Myth and History: Rome's Rise from Village to Empire (the eighth Century to 264)', in *A Companion to the Roman Republic*, ed. by Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp. 125–46 (p. 127).

12 Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian* (London: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 16.

13 Joseph Farrell, 'The Phenomenology of Memory in Roman Culture'*, The Classical Journal*, 92 (1997), 373–83.

The second major *locus* consists of the nature of the artificial memory systems themselves. The *ars memoritiva*, also known as the arts of memory or artificial memory systems, are a variety of approaches aimed at increasing the natural memory through the systematic application of organisational models. This approach is almost invariably visual and spatial in nature. Practically without exception the primacy of seeing things within the mind is reiterated, and the mind itself is imagined as a spatial object which can contain objects and thoughts. This spatial and visual focus shapes both the perennial features of the artificial memory systems and also some of their subsequent fallibilities; failures of vision or spatial awareness can equate to failures of memory. It also carries with it an additional presence. As Mary Carruthers notes:

> According to the early writers, retention and retrieval are stimulated best by visual means, and the visual form of sense perception is what gives stability and permanence to memory storage. […] The sources of what is in memory are diverse, but what happens to an impression or an idea once it gets into the brain is a single process resulting in the production of a phantasm that can be 'seen' and 'scanned' by 'the eye of the mind'. This sort of language is constant and pervasive in writings on the subject from earliest times.[14]

Carruther's description of the creation of a mental 'phantasm' is instructive. The sense of a distinction between the object memorised and the memory itself provides one of the tensions of artificial memory systems. This sense of otherness, or more specifically, the shadow or 'phantasm' of that which is absent, often translates into a more literal visualisation of the absent, the ghostly. It is a trend discernible from the earliest accounts. Cicero, for instance, provides another narrative of Simonides. In this tale, Simonides buries a dead stranger and the stranger's ghost later warns him not to board a ship destined to sink.[15] Observing the rites of burial (and therefore, of course, of memory) leads to spectral intervention. This association is nascent in classical artificial memory systems but receives its fullest development in much later, early modern accounts.

Carruther's description of the memorial 'phantasm' is also informative in that the term

14 Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 17.

15 Cicero, *De Divinatione*, in *Cicero on Divination: Book One,* ed. and trans. by David Wardle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), I. 56.

functions in Platonic philosophy as the distortion of reality through the human senses. In Plato's *Theaetetus* (*c.* 369 BCE), which takes the form of a dialogue between Socrates, Theodorus and the titular Theaetetus about epistemology and memory, Socrates identifies thoughts as perceptions given internal stability by being impressed upon the mind. Socrates invites Theaetetus to envision the mind as containing a block of wax, which is stamped with impressions. In this account, different people have differing natural capacities for memory. A mercurial person's mind is akin to very liquid wax which does not retain an impression (that is to say, a memory) for a significant period — these people learn quickly but also forget quickly. Conversely, those who possess a mind like a wax block that is too hard, are slow to take the impression of a new idea but retain it for a long period. The ideal is of course the middle ground between these two extremes.

This model of the mind and of the memory as a wax tablet to be impressed upon was to prove enduring as one of the major models for artificial memory systems, with later authors such as Quintilian offering a similar version.[16] This account of memory seems *prima facie* reassuringly solid as it evokes notions of a fixed record. However, as Plato's account suggests, the traces of impressions can be elided or lost without re-inscription, providing another perennial feature of artificial memory systems, namely the interrelationship of memory and forgetting. As Anne Whitehead summarises: 'in introducing the model of the wax tablet, on which marks were temporary and could be easily erased, Plato was thus as intimately concerned with the nature of forgetting as with the nature of remembering'.[17]

The contingency of inscriptions on a wax tablet and the ambiguities that could be missed by an ostensibly clear record are apparent elsewhere. The wax tablet formed a part of the techniques of steganography, the art of sending and receiving hidden or secret messages which do not rely upon encryption but concealment. Herodotus recounts how Demaratus desired to send a message about the imminent invasion of Xerxes:

> This was very risky — what if he should be caught? — and the only way he could find to get the message to them was to take a folding writing tablet, scrape off the wax, and write about the king's decision on the bare wood of

16 The other major model is the memory-as-architecture, to which we shall return in this chapter.
17 Anne Whitehead, *Memory* (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 17.

> the tablet. Then he covered the message up again with melted wax, so that during its journey the tablet would not arouse the suspicions of the guards on the route.[18]

This anxiety about memory and forgetting and the relationship between memory and writing or inscription is extended in Plato's *Phaedrus* (*c.* 370 BCE). As part of his dialogue, Plato outlines a mythical history of the origin of writing. According to his account, the Egyptian god Theuth discovered a variety of things, including number and mathematics, geometry, astronomy and games of dice, as well as writing. Theuth presented these inventions to Thamus, the king of Upper Egypt based in the city 'which the Greeks call Egyptian Thebes; Thamus they call Ammon'.[19] Plato describes Theuth displaying his inventions to Thamus and recommending that they be spread to the general populace, and Thamus's observations. Plato states:

> [...] when it came to the subject of letters, Theuth said 'But this study, King Thamus, will make the Egyptians wiser and improve their memory; what I have discovered is an elixir of memory and wisdom.' Thamus replied '[...] your invention will produce forgetfulness in the souls of those who have learned it, through lack of practice at using their memory, as through reliance on writing they are reminded from outside by alien marks, not from inside, themselves by themselves: you have discovered an elixir not of memory but of reminding'.[20]

There is a deep-rooted tension here, shaping classical accounts of memory and embedded in conceptualisations of it as akin to writing. On the one hand, the link between the abstractions of memory and the physical and visual presence of writing is repeatedly established. On the other, Plato laments that writing externalises and weakens memory, replacing it with an art of repetition and a simulacrum of knowledge rather than knowledge itself, open to external influence (secondary 'reminding', rather than *sui generis* 'memory'). For Plato, individual learning is achieved either through rote repetition or through an understanding of the principles being expounded, often through

18 Herodotus, *The Histories,* trans. by Robin Waterfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), VIII. 239.
19 Plato, *Phaedrus,* trans. by C. J. Rowe, 2nd edn (Aris & Phillips: Warminster, 1986), 275: d4. All subsequent citations of the text refer to this edition.
20 Plato, *Phaedrus*, 274: e5–275: b4.

Dialectics. Arguably for Plato, writing represents a reliance on the first, inferior approach to learning. Although the suggestion of the 'internal writing' model of memory being similarly deficient is not made explicit, it is implicitly associated with such limitations.

This scepticism about both writing and memory is carried over into Plato's treatment of artificial memory systems. Even allowing for the gap between authorial and narrative viewpoint, Plato's scepticism is apparent in his *Greater Hippias* (*c.* 390 BCE). Hippias discusses the Lacedaemonians with Socrates:

> Hipp: They are very fond of hearing about the genealogies of heroes and men, Socrates, and the foundations of cities in ancient times and, in short, about antiquity in general, so that for their sake I have been obliged to learn all that sort of thing by heart and practice it thoroughly.
>
> Soc: By Zeus, Hippias, it is lucky for you that the Lacedaemonians do not enjoy hearing one recite the list of our archons from Solon's time; if they did, you would have trouble in learning it by heart.
>
> Hipp: How so, Socrates? After hearing them once, I can remember fifty names.
>
> Soc: True, but I did not understand that you possess the science of memory; and so I understand that the Lacedaemonians naturally enjoy you as one who knows many things, and they make use of you as children make use of old women, to tell stories agreeably.[21]

In this dialogue Hippias's artificial memory is disparaged as merely second-degree knowledge, a device for pleasing others with minutiae, rather than gaining true knowledge; it is a rhetorical device of recollection rather than a part of Plato's preferred art of dialectic. Jocelyn Small cites a part of the *Greater Hippias* discussed above, and summarises Plato's position:

> Since we already know everything from before birth, all we should need is dialectic to bring out that knowledge or make it apparent to us. Plato

21 Plato, *Plato with an English Translation*, ed. by T. E Page and others, trans. by H. N. Fowler and others, 12 vols (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1914–1930), VI, *Greater Hippias,* trans. by H. N. Fowler (1926; rev. and repr. 1939; repr. 1953. (London: Heinemann, 1953)). 285: D–286: A.

> disapproves of all artificial devices that might be subsumed under the name of memory or recollection. Hence he disdains external aids like the written word […] and does not condone the use of improvements like mnemotechnics for internal, natural systems.[22]

Here even in a comparatively early account of memory, the tensions that could be raised by artificial memory are evident. As Yates notes, 'A Platonic memory would have to be organised, not in the trivial manner of such mnemotechnics, but in relation to the realities'.[23] Although memory (particularly artificial) was increasingly interpolated as a rhetorical art in the classical world, the notion of a memory based upon 'the realities' was one to which later thinkers and authors would return and is explored in the next chapter.

If Plato's thinking brought together memory and forgetting with the epistemological status of writing and the acquisition of knowledge itself, Aristotle's handling of the issue of memory also conflated memory with text, while adding a *tertium quid* into the mix: the ideas of space and spatial order. In an influential passage, Aristotle describes:

> Now, a starting point must be taken. This is why people sometimes seem to recollect from 'places'. The reason is that they proceed quickly from one to the other, for instance, from milk to white, from white to air, and from this to moist, from which autumn is recalled, if this is the season that one is seeking. Generally speaking, it seems that in all things the middle is the starting point; for if one does not recall before, he will recall when he comes to the middle, or else he will not recall from any other place, as in an example where one thinks about a series represented by the letters ABCDEFGH: For if one does not recall at H, the sought item is recalled at F; for from here it is possible to be moved in both directions, both to G and to E. But if he seeks neither of these, he will recall after having gone to C, if it is D or B he seeks. And if not, then after having gone to A, and so on in all cases. And the reason why we sometimes recall, sometimes do not, even

22 Jocelyn Penny Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 87.
23 Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 51.

> though starting from the same point, is that it is possible to be moved to several points from the same starting point; for example, one can be moved to both F and D from C.[24]

This difficult passage is notable in that it introduces some of the concepts of the artificial memory systems that were to be expounded in greater detail in later accounts, both through emulation and challenge by scholars such as Ramus and his followers, to whom we will turn in the next chapter. Key to Aristotle's idea is the device of remembering in sequence (as shown in the letters A–H) as well as the concept of 'places' in which memory is stored. The places of memory were to have a tremendous impact upon later accounts, as was the notion of a motion or progression from one 'place' of memory to another. It is of course notable here that the letters A–H given are an example of the 'places' in which a series is stored, rather than the items to be remembered; Aristotle speaks of a 'series' represented by the letters ABCDEFGH, suggesting a relatively stable arrangement which in their turn are labelled to help them to be remembered.

The selection of A–H also highlights a perennial debate in the scholarly literature about the relationship between Aristotle's 'places' and physicality, namely whether they are to be conceptualised as in some sense occupying a physical part of the mind or having a physical form. To clarify the passage cited above, Small substitutes the word 'bin' for 'places', observing: 'I use the term 'bin' in a figurative, not a literal sense. Since the basic concept is a mental construction, it has no physicality whatsoever. […] Hence Aristotle chose the alphabet as his example; you could use numbers instead'.[25] However, against this position Carruthers cites the physicality of the wax tablet model of the mind, and notes:

> Even the most apparently pictorial of mnemonic systems are based on principles governing the nature of signs rather than on iterative copying. Most require that the 'picture' relate to the word or concept it marks for recollection via a pun or homophony […] the ancients and their medieval heirs thought that each 'bit' of knowledge was remembered in a particular place in the memory, which it occupied as a letter occupies space on a

24 Aristotle, *On Memory*, in *Aristotle on Memory and Recollection: Text, Translation, Interpretation, and Reception in Western Scholasticism*, ed. and trans. by David Bloch (Boston: Brill, 2007) 452: a12–452: a25.
25 Small, *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, pp. 88–89.

> writing surface. The words *topos, sedes,* and *locus*, used in writings on logic and rhetoric as well as on mnemonics, refer fundamentally to physical locations in the brain, which are made accessible by means of an ordering system that functions somewhat like a cross between the routing systems used by programs to store, retrieve, merge and distinguish the information in a computer's 'memory', and postal addresses or library shelf-marks.[26]

Both accounts are convincing; the terms 'topos' or 'places' do have a large degree of flexibility, as rather than any one thing they can be represented by a list of abstracts such as the letters of the alphabet or numbers. Conversely, Aristotle's image of 'proceeding' from one 'place' to another hints at a material conceptualisation, whilst the recurring model of the mind as akin to a wax tablet does suggest physical inscription. Indeed, Aristotle also makes reference to this conceptualisation of memory, suggesting that the memory takes on 'a sort of imprint […] as people do who seal things with signet rings'.[27] Although the relative paucity of surviving memorial accounts makes definitive judgement on this issue somewhat fraught, the general pattern — and therefore this example — does seem to be towards increasing physicality, as will be seen in this chapter and in the thesis as a whole.

* * *

From Greece to Rome, there is a level at which the development of the ideas of the arts of memory in the classical world was also caught up in events of trauma and forgetting, and it is worth turning to that briefly at this point. The Roman invasion and conquest of Greece was effected by a series of minor engagements over a period of decades, such as the First and Second Macedonian Wars and the Syrian War. These were often local in their scale and limited in their ambition, often being launched by regional powers seeking further territorial acquisitions. Gruen details this sporadic and heterogeneous pattern and cogently suggests:

> 'Empire' itself is a slippery concept. The Latin term 'imperium' does not encapsulate it. The fundamental meaning relates to the issuance of commands; only later does the word take on the connotation of dominance or supremacy, and later still the sense of territorial holdings. When Roman

26 Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, p. 29.
27 Aristotle, *De Memoria et Reminiscentia* in *Aristotle on Memory*, ed. and trans. by Richard Sorabji (London: Duckworth, 1972), 450a25.

> expansion took place in the East, the concept was fluid and shifting and was never applied to geographical acquisitions. Overseas empire as an articulated idea gained formulation only after Rome had achieved it in fact.[28]

Interestingly however, when Roman rule was finally imposed with severity following the revolt of Andriscus in Macedonia (often dubbed the Fourth Macedonian War) in 150 BCE, a new calendar system was introduced to the region commencing from the conquest. The change in calendar was not only a function of an efficient bureaucracy, but also indicative of a Roman willingness to sever problematic models of history and time; a conscious erasure of a past for political ends and a further example of the closeness of memory and forgetting. Due to the piecemeal nature of the Roman conquest of Greece, it would be going beyond the evidence to suggest this as part of a coherent and planned Roman strategy, although it is notable that the concept of a new calendar was repeated after the conquest of Achaea in 146 BCE. However, this correlation of imposed and interrelated memory and forgetting (that is, memory of a 'new beginning' and the implicit deletion of a problematic past) frequently recurs in later accounts of memory.

The gradual process of Roman imposition was completed by Pompey, marking the period from which Roman military and political presence in Greece was established on a permanent basis. However, as Gruen summarises:

> An imperium Romanum was clearly discernable in the age of Cicero. But it constituted a motley assemblage of improvised arrangements and a segmented exercise of Roman authority, not a demarcated territory, a tidy structure, or even a describable entity. Flexibility and adaptability remained throughout the hallmarks of the Roman experience in the East.[29]

Indeed, this pattern of continuity was marked by the emerging and enduring influence of Greek rhetoric on Roman rhetoric, with the establishment of a Greek presence within Rome itself and concomitant anxieties of influence. Take, for instance, a key pattern in the development of ideas of the arts of memory, which was to find its full development in late Republican Rome: the increasing prominence that interpretations of memory as a part of rhetoric gained over Plato's preferred place for

28 Erich S. Gruen, 'Rome and the Greek World', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, ed. by Harriet I. Flower (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 242–67 (p. 246).
29 Gruen, 'Rome and the Greek World', p. 266.

it within dialectic. Yet the sources of this movement from dialectic to rhetoric can be traced back to one of the very earliest fragments of Greek text touching upon memory, the *Dialexeis*, which is dated to *circa* 400 BCE and contains suggestions both for 'placing' memories and for repetition.

This trend towards memory as a part of rhetoric is further demonstrated in the person of Metrodorus of Scepsis (145 BCE–70 BCE). Metrodorus developed a memory system based upon the signs of the zodiac as an organisational principle. After citing Strabo regarding Metrodorus's change from philosophy to politics and dazzling rhetoric, Yates observes: 'It may be inferred that Meterodorus' rhetoric was of the florid 'Asianist' type, and it may well have been in his work or works on rhetoric, under memory as a part of rhetoric, that he expounded his mnemonics'.[30] Both Cicero and Quintilian allude to Metrodorus in their accounts of the art of memory, both of which place memory as an aspect of rhetoric. Metrodorus was contemporaneous with Cicero, and the inclusion of Simonides and Metrodorus, two figures separated by over a hundred years chronologically, in the Roman accounts of both Cicero and Quintilian, themselves over a century apart in time, is indicative of the points of continuity between Greek and Roman civilization and the inherent tensions that relationship created for Roman authors.

It is against this background context of both continuity and anxiety that the Roman treatises on memory must be considered. Although they were in many points innovative, they formed part of an evolutionary spectrum of approaches to memory and the influence of precursors upon them is marked, as are the tensions that this causes. The treatment of Greek rhetoric in Rome provides a useful example of this background of anxiety. In describing the Greek influence Sarah Stroup suggests: 'Although a more or less refined sense of effective public speech must have existed in Rome significantly prior to the introduction of Greek *rhetores* into the city, the birth of an established system of Roman rhetoric might best be described as the end result of a somewhat unlikely coupling of refined Greek professionalism and proud Roman amateurism'.[31] Stroup also usefully identifies two broad patterns of Roman thought about this relationship; the 'influence' model, in which Greek teaching completed a latent Roman talent for rhetoric, and the 'appropriation' model, through which Romans saw

30 Gruen, 'Rome and the Greek World', p. 54.

31 Sarah Culpepper Stroup, 'Greek Rhetoric Meets Rome: Expansion, Resistance, and Acculturation', in *A Companion To Roman Rhetoric*, ed. by William Dominik and Jon Hall (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 23–38 (p. 23).

themselves as seizing and refining the abstractions of Greek thought towards useful ends.[32] Here once again the relationship is complex and problematic.

The influence of Greek rhetorical schools within Rome is demonstrated by two key events. In 161 BCE, Marcus Pomponius consulted the senate regarding the Greek rhetoricians then present in Rome, and was duly charged by the senate to arrange for their expulsion. In 92 BCE, a second edict was passed:

> We have been informed that there are men who have established a new sort of learning and whom the youth visit in their school; that these fellows call themselves 'Latin rhetoricians', and men of an impressionable age wile away whole days there. Our forefathers established what they wished their children to learn, and what schools they wished them to frequent: this new knowledge, which accords neither with our practice nor that of our forefathers, is neither pleasing nor seemly. We have therefore deemed to make our judgement known both to those who oversee these schools and to those who are wont to attend them: we do not approve.[33]

As Stroup notes, 'the edict of 161 directs itself at the *philosophi* and *rhetores* of Greek origin (as these titles must indicate) at Rome at the time; the edict of 92, however, directs itself at a class of decidedly "*Latin* rhetoricians" and its somewhat impressionable but obviously Roman students'[emphasis in original].[34] Perhaps therefore this edict traces the transition from a clearly identifiable 'Greek' rhetorical influence towards a more problematic 'Roman' rhetoric, which although similarly subversive was more difficult to isolate. Although the conclusion appears unambiguous, the import of the disapproval is difficult to weigh, lacking as it does the act of expulsion linked to the edict of 161. The frequent allusions to 'forefathers' would similarly seem to suggest a backwards glance at genealogies to provide stability to the important Roman concept of *Latinitas* ('Latinness') which was perceived as being undermined by such developments.

Now that this context of anxiety has been established it is suitable to turn to the Roman artificial memory texts themselves. These texts provide the seminal Roman accounts of memory, and

32 Stroup, 'Greek Rhetoric Meets Rome: Expansion, Resistance, and Acculturation', p. 23.
33 Suetonius, *De Rhetoribus*, 25.2, trans. by Stroup in 'Greek Rhetoric Meets Rome', p. 29.
34 Stroup, 'Greek Rhetoric Meets Rome', p. 29.

their structures and instabilities inflected subsequent memory practices all the way to the early modern stage, due to their continuing popularity in Medieval and early modern pedagogical contexts, as shall be discussed in later chapters. A consideration of three major Roman accounts of artificial memory systems will provide a means of understanding both the continuities and developments of the approaches to memory: *Rhetorica Ad Herennium* (*c.* 90 BCE), Cicero's *De Oratore* (55 BCE) and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria,* hereafter referred to as *The Orator's Education* (*c.* 95 CE).

The earliest memory text and one of the most influential was the anonymous *Rhetorica Ad Herennium* (henceforth *Ad Herennium*), formerly attributed to Cicero, which provides a useful starting point. The *Ad Herennium* notes:

> For my part, I am satisfied that there is an art of memory — the grounds of my belief I shall explain elsewhere. For the present I shall disclose what sort of thing memory is. There are, then, two kinds of memory: one natural, and the other the product of art. The natural memory is that memory which is imbedded in our minds, born simultaneously with thought. The artificial memory is that memory which is strengthened by a kind of training and system of discipline. But just as in everything else the merit of natural excellence often rivals acquired learning, and art, in its turn, reinforces and develops the natural advantages, so does it happen in this instance.[35]

The association of the 'natural' and 'artificial' memory as interrelated phenomena is interesting: although for the unknown author of the text they seemingly form two distinct groups, the manner in which they interrelate and strengthen each other blurs the distinction between the two. This passage also exemplifies the relative paucity of extant memory treatises. The survival of *Ad Herennium* is in large part due to its attribution to Cicero by medieval readers and the concurrent positive reception that this caused. Indeed, although the author alludes to a planned book to demonstrate the 'grounds of my belief', such a text, if written, no longer survives. The author goes on to outline his memory system. The text begins:

> We call places those things which by nature or by artifice are for a short distance, totally, and strikingly complete so that we can comprehend and

35 Anon, *Auctor ad Herennium*, trans. by Harry Caplan (London: Heinemann, 1954), III. 16. 28–29.

> embrace them easily with natural memory — like a house, an intercolumniation, a corner, an arch, and other things which are similar to these. Images are certain forms, both indications and likenesses of the things we want to remember. For example, if we want to keep the memory of a horse, lion and eagle, it will be necessary to locate the images of them in specific places.[36]

There is a clear shift from the more abstract Greek memory system here to a far greater emphasis upon physical motifs. Greek concepts of memory had brought together the absent and the present, loss and remembrance, by putting together memory and writing, memory and text; this account serves to introduce the second major model for artificial memory systems, that of memory and site, memory as akin to a building. Rather than Aristotle's abstract *topoi*, the examples given of 'places' are exclusively architectural: the house, the intercolumniation, a corner or an arch. The text strikingly develops this physical aspect. Due to the nature of *Ad Herennium*'s arrangement, certain aspects gain meaning through a wider context, and demand a quotation at length. Of particular note is the visual focus, the need for order and regularity and the threat of disorder:

> For the places are like wax tablets of papyrus, the images like letters, the disposition and arrangement of images like written characters, and the recitation like reading. […] Likewise, we think it is necessary to have those places in a sequence in case at some time by a disturbance of the sequence we are prevented from following the images from whatever place it is pleasing to any other place, whether from a previous or a subsequent part, and we are able to produce those things which had been assigned to the places. […] It will be necessary that those places which we have adopted be well studied in order that they can stick to us permanently; for the images, just like the letters, will be wiped out when we do not use them; the places, like a wax tablet, ought to remain. And in case by chance we can make a

36 Anon, *Auctor ad Herennium*, III. 16, 29–30, trans. by Small in *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, p. 98. I have relied generally on the translation of Small rather than Caplan, largely due to translation issues in previous editions of the text identified and described by Small, although Caplan is also cited to display the complexities of translating and interpretating texts on artificial memory systems.

> mistake in the number of places, it seems best that every fifth be marked. For example, if in the fifth place we put a golden hand, if in the tenth some well-known person whose first name is Decimus, then it will be easy to put similar marks in every fifth place in turn. Likewise, it is more desirable to prepare places in an abandoned than in a crowded area, because the crowding and walking about of people disturbs and weakens the traces of the images. Isolation preserves the shapes of the likenesses whole. Furthermore, places must be prepared that are dissimilar in form and nature in order that they can be seen distinctly. For if someone will have adopted many intercolumniations, he will be confused by their resemblance so that he will not know what he will have placed where. And it is necessary to have medium-sized places of moderate magnitude; for if excessively large they return vague images, and if too small often they do not seem to be able to take the placing of the images. Then it is necessary that the places have neither too much light nor be excessively dark in case the images be either hidden in darkness or blazingly shine with brilliance. It seems best that the spaces between the places be moderate, approximately a little more or less than thirty feet […] if someone does not think that he can find enough suitable places, he is allowed to create as many places as he wants […] if we are not content with this available supply, we are allowed to create an area in our own mind, and to prepare the most suitable specification of the proper places.[37]

The architectural motif is striking in this passage — all of the examples given to demonstrate the advice refer back to buildings. Hence when we are advised to make the 'places' dissimilar it is because many 'intercolumniations' are confusing, whilst when the author concedes that one is 'allowed' to create new places the conceptualisation of these new places is in terms of a plan, design and a building. Similarly, suggestions in Aristotle such as 'travelling' between *topoi* are developed here, to the extent that the space between the places in the memory should be roughly thirty feet. This

37 Anon, *Auctor ad Herennium*, III. 16. 29–III. 19. 29, trans. by Small in *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, pp. 99–100.

new technique of the memory-as-building recurs in later memory texts many times. In the absence of that which is to be remembered, also notable is the similarity and potential for slippage between the models of memory-as-building and memory-as-writing as alternative presences that replace and recover that originary loss. The comment 'For the places are like wax tablets of papyrus, the images like letters, the disposition and arrangement of images like written characters, and the recitation like reading' suggests the potential for one form to become another, a tendency very apparent in later writings on the subject.[38]

As stated above, the quotation also demonstrates the emphasis placed upon vision, which greatly extends latent concepts in earlier Greek models. By casting an inner eye over the images in their places, they can be 'read', as it is advised that they be arranged in sequence like a written text. The advice for selecting images also emphasises their unusual qualities:

> Now nature herself teachers 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 for a long time. [...] We ought, then, to set up images of a kind that can adhere longest in the memory. 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, or by assigning certain comic effects to our images, for that, too, will ensure our remembering them more readily.[39]

Notably this visual focus serves to confuse interior and exterior in the passage. The private

38 Anon, *Auctor ad Herennium*, III. 16. 30, trans. by Small in *Wax Tablets of the Mind*, p. 99.
39 Anon, *Ad Herennium*, trans. by Harry Caplan, III. 22. 36–8.

memory system should contain 'well-known' individuals such as Decimus and will usually be based on public buildings and spaces. Furthermore, the 'mind's eye' 'sees' in resolutely physical and not abstract terms: the 'places' should be of both medium size and of medium lighting to avoid visual weakening or confusion, whilst the spacing of thirty feet is due to the limitations of vision.

Anxieties about the dissolution of the artificial memory system also seem to be present, although slightly submerged by the brisk prose style. In this regard the *Ad Herennium* follows both the myth of Simonides and the Platonic accounts of memory, with their familiar and deep-rooted anxieties of destruction and forgetting. In the *Ad Herennium* for example, it is noted that repetition is necessary, as although the images, like the letters of the wax tablet, will fade when not used, the places 'should' remain. The system of placing 'Decimus' in every tenth place is a precaution against forgetting or miscounting the number of places. Similarly, the text recommends that the attentive reader 'prepare places in an abandoned rather than in a crowded area, because the crowding and walking about of people disturbs and weakens the *traces* of the images' [my emphasis]. Although some people (such as Decimus) are necessary for the artificial memory, too many of them will disturb the vision and efface (as with a wax tablet) the 'traces of the images'. This delicate poise between personal and public, construction and the fear of destruction and the memory and forgetting is a recurring motif both in other Roman memory texts and in Roman culture more generally. As Alan Gowing remarks:

> Romans attached a heightened importance to memory, which manifests itself in almost every aspect of their existence, from celebrations of the dead to oratory to law, suffusing and animating their art, their buildings, and their literature. For Romans the past wholly defined the present, and to forget —to disconnect with — the past, at either the level of the individual or of the state, risked the loss of identity and even extinction. Hence the danger —and sometimes the appeal — of oblivion.[40]

If the *Ad Herennium* illuminates both the architectural model of artificial memory and the perennial anxieties of forgetting, then Cicero's account of artificial memory, although shorter and less developed, also provides us with a window into these things, as well as illuminating the development

40 Alan Gowing, *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 2.

of artificial memory systems over time and providing an example of Greek influence over Roman rhetoric. The importance of Cicero for later accounts of memory — both Roman and much later in the early modern schoolroom — also demonstrates the utility of a reading of his approach to the artificial memory systems.

In his most famous account of the artificial memory, *De Oratore*, Cicero establishes a dialogue at the estate of Crassus. Before the account properly begins: 'Scaevola, after taking two or three turns, observed "Crassus, why do we not imitate Socrates as he appears in the *Phaedrus* of Plato?"'(Cicero, *De Oratore*, I.1.28). This allusion to Greece and the Greeks is in all likelihood also a nod to Plato's ideas on the memory. Similarly, the manner in which Cicero's account of the artificial memory opens with the tale of Simonides would seem to acknowledge a debt to classical predecessors. However, this ostensibly clear line of influence is in actuality complex and indicative of the broader Roman pattern of response to Greek antecedents. As Zetzel summarises:

> As much as any Roman of his generation, Cicero was imbued with Greek learning: he employed it in his speeches; he filled his letters with allusions to it; he bought Greek statues for the Greek-named buildings on his estate; he translated learned and difficult Greek poetry […] And yet as we all know, he was, at least in his public roles, uncomfortable with his own extensive and profound Hellenism: he mocked Greek philosophy in *Pro Murena* and elsewhere; he viewed the Greeks themselves with distrust and disdain; he claimed, in a few memorable passages […] vast ignorance of all things Greek.[41]

As a further example of this, it is helpful to consider Cicero's account of the Greek Themistocles, which occurs shortly before his section on the artificial memory. Cicero states:

> For instance, we are told that the famous Athenian Themistocles was endowed with wisdom and genius on a scale quite surpassing belief; and it is said that a certain learned and highly accomplished person went to him and offered to impart the science of mnemonics, which was then being

41 James Zetzel, 'Plato with Pillows: Cicero on the Uses of Greek Culture', in *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome,* ed. by David Braund and Christopher Gill (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2003), pp. 119–39 (p. 120).

> introduced for the first time; and that when Themistocles asked what precise result that science was capable of achieving, the professor asserted that it would enable him to remember everything; and Themistocles replied that he would be doing him a greater kindness if he taught him to forget what he wanted than if he taught him to remember. (*De Oratore*, II.74.299–300)

Although posed as a humorous story, the stately prose masks to some extent the significance of the tale. Roman rhetoric and oratory relied upon *enargeia*, the rhetorical trope through which a speaker creates a striking visual image in the mind of a listener.[42] As an orator Cicero depended upon both memory and public performance; common to both is the necessity of strikingly vivid mental images. As such he was unable to forget, willingly or otherwise, which fact is perhaps shown in the sentimental anecdote about Themistocles, gifted with genius 'on a scale quite surpassing belief' and with the luxury of choice. As Cicero later concedes (albeit in the person of Antony) '"I am not myself as clever as Themistocles was, so as to prefer the science of forgetting to that of remembering"'.[43] As with Cicero's account of Simonides, the relationship between memory and forgetting is evident, and as with the mythical Simonides tale, this account also illustrates the proximity of memory and fictive invention.

Cicero's account of the artificial memory is similar to that of the *Ad Herennium*, introducing no remarkable innovations. Once again the notion of the memory as architecture is repeated, marking the enduring materiality of classical memory accounts. This physicality has a profound effect upon artificial memory systems and is something that will be further explored both in this and every subsequent chapter. The primacy of sight and vision are also once again emphasised:

> It has been sagaciously discerned by Simonides or else discovered by some other person, that the most complete pictures are formed in our mind of the things that have been conveyed to them and imprinted on them by the senses, but that the keenest of all our senses is the sense of sight, and that

42 For more on enargeia in relation to classical antiquity, see Ann Vasaly, *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 89–104; Ruth Webb, *Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Ashgate: Farnham, 2009) pp. 87–107; Heinrich F. Plett, *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity and the Early Modern Age: The Aesthetics of Evidence* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 7–23.

43 Cicero, *De Oratore* trans. by E.W Sutton, II. 86. 351.

> consequently perceptions received by the ears or by reflexion can be most easily retained in the mind if they are also conveyed to our minds by the meditation of the eyes, with the result that things not seen and not lying in the field of visual discernment are earmarked by a sort of outline and image and shape so that we keep hold of as it were by an act of sight things that we can scarcely embrace by an act of thought. (Cicero, *De Oratore,* II.87.357)

Indeed, the materiality suggested by vision and shape and outline is emphasised by Cicero immediately after this quotation. He remarks: 'But these forms and bodies, like all the things that come under our view require an abode, inasmuch as a material object without a locality is inconceivable' (*De Oratore* , II.87.358).

In *Ad Herennium* although the anxieties are less pronounced, they are still present, and widely associated with Greek figures. Both texts for example also describe a memory for words as well as a memory for images, about which they express misgivings. This tension is caused in part by the fact that the Roman artificial memory systems required vivid but also specific mental images to function, an approach undermined by yoking visual images to abstract and resolutely non-specific words (that is to say, words are a common currency rather than unique occurrences). Artificial memory systems also required holding two ideas in tension: both that mental images correspond to real things but also an awareness of their phantasmagorical nature; mental images are fictive creations chosen for their striking appearance rather than correspondence to the thing being remembered. A memory for words undermines the first of these ideas. An atypically forceful passage reads:

> I know that most of the Greek who have written on the memory have taken the course of listing images that correspond to a great many words, so that persons who wished to learn these images by heart would have them ready without expending effort on a search for them. I disapprove of their method on several grounds. First, among the innumerable multitude of words it is ridiculous to collect images for a thousand. How meagre is the value these can have, when out of the infinite store of words we shall need to remember now one, and now another? Secondly, why do we wish to rob anybody of his initiative, so that, to save him from making any search himself, we deliver to

him everything searched out and ready? [44]

Despite this seeming scorn, the author later recommends training a memory for words as a useful, difficult task to improve the memory for images. This suggests a sense both of improving upon Greek predecessors (by moving away from the unnecessary memory for words) and of uneasy competition with them (by emulating their style of memory as a tool to improve Roman memory). This is an aspect to which Cicero also turns in his account. In a remarkable passage he observes:

> But a memory for words, which for us is less essential, is given distinctiveness by a greater variety of images; for there are many words which serve as joints connecting the limbs of the sentence, and these cannot be formed by any use of simile — of these we have to model images for constant employment; but a memory for things is the special property of the orator — this we can imprint on our minds by a skilful arrangement of the several marks that represent them, so that we may grasp ideas by means of images and their order by means of localities. Nor is it true, as unscientific people assert, that memory is crushed beneath a weight of images and even what might have been retained by nature unassisted is obscured; for I have myself met eminent people with almost superhuman powers of memory, Charmadas at Athens and Metrodorus of Scepsis in Asia, who is said to be still living, each of whom used to say that he wrote down things he wanted to remember in certain 'localities' in his possession by means of images, just as if he were inscribing letters on wax. (*De Oratore,* II.87.359–60)

In this passage Cicero's defence of a uniquely Roman style of memory is expounded through the use of proud phrases such as 'the special property of the orator', against the memory for words employed by Greeks. There is acknowledgement of the 'superhuman' powers of Greek memory artists, as there was earlier for Themistocles whose genius was 'on a scale quite surpassing belief'. However there is also the imagery of a 'weight' of images that some believe cause the memory to be 'crushed'. Occurring as it does just pages after the tale of Simonides and his escape from a collapsed roof, this phrase appears to be highly significant, functioning for Cicero as a Janus-headed device,

44 Anon, *Ad Herennium*, trans. by Caplan, III. 23. 38.

simultaneously looking backwards and forwards. By placing it immediately before his praise for Greek memory, Cicero indicates a comforting myth of Greek destruction and Roman rebirth: just as Simonides was able to create a new art from the ruins, so too Cicero and his contemporaries would outstrip Greek predecessors by building a new rhetorical edifice upon their shattered foundations. This interpretation is buttressed by specific aspects of the Simonides tale. Notably it was the famed twins Castor and Pollux who allegedly appeared before Simonides, rewarding him for his poem about them by saving his life. The two figures were of course a significant part of Roman mythology, and had long since been interpolated into specifically Roman moments of both fortune and glory, as Karl Hölkeskamp has noted.[45] Similarly, perhaps for Cicero the myth of Simonides served to assuage worries about Roman memory shared by all of the major authors on the subject, namely the ever-present threat of dissolution and the loss of memory. The myth of Simonides would suggest that although rhetoricians had to remember and study visual images and could not afford (or indeed choose) to forget (unlike the Greek Themistocles), even if the worst happened and the roof of the Roman architectural system collapsed, memory would emerge refreshed from the rubble.

This problematic relationship with Greece is continued in the final significant text on the artificial memory, Book XI of Quintilian's *The Orator's Education*, which was written approximately a century after Cicero's account. Quintilian offers a summary of the by now standard device of places (*loci*) in which striking visual symbols or signs connected to what is to be remembered are placed. He also continues and expands the physical account offered by earlier authors of memory, more specifically the architectural device which rose to such prominence in Roman memory texts, and in this respect further demonstrates the enduring materiality and spatiality of Roman memory. Quintilian's memorial account will also be discussed in a subsequent chapter on the early modern schoolroom, due to its influence on practices of memory in a very different historical and social context. It is useful at this point, however, briefly to review the demonstration that Quintilian offers to explain how the architectural memory technique can be put into practice:

> Let us suppose a symbol of navigation, such as an anchor, or of warfare,
>
> such as a weapon. Then this is how they arrange it. They place the first idea,

45 See Karl J. Hölkeskamp, 'History and Collective Memory in the Middle Republic', in *A Companion to the Roman Republic,* pp. 478–95 (pp. 486–87).

> as it were, in the vestibule, the second, let us say, in the atrium, and then they go round the open areas, assigning ideas systematically not only to bedrooms and bays, but to statues and the like. This done, when they have to revive the memory, they begin to go over these sites from the beginning, calling in whatever they deposited with each of them, as the images remind them. Thus, however many things have to be remembered, they become a single item, held together by a sort of outer shell, so that speakers do not make mistakes by trying to connect what follows with what goes before by the sole effort of learning by heart. What I said about a house can be done also with public buildings, a long road, a town perambulation, or pictures. One can even invent these settings for oneself. (*The Orator's Education,* XI.2.20–21)

Although the chief example given is of a private memory 'house' in which memories are stored in specific places, the examples of the public buildings and the walk around a town are also significant. Some of the tensions of the text as it stands are also apparent; the suggestion that a 'town perambulation' would serve to discover memory places seems to contradict the earlier suggestion in *Ad Herennium* that deserted places should be chosen, as crowds of people weaken the power to remember. Quintilian's discussion of images is also problematic, with 'corio' (here rendered as 'outer shell') proving a textual crux.[46]

Quintilian also further develops the wax-tablet model of the memory. The resolute physicality of Roman memory is apparent in his account. In this respect, it seems as if the suspicions of writing as an externalisation of memory in Plato have been resolved by emphasising the tablet's materiality and by incorporating the tablets into the mind. Through the close study of the physical features of the tablets, the external becomes internal. Quintilian suggests:

> Something that every student will find useful is to learn by heart from the same tablets on which he wrote the speech. He thus pursues his memory along a trail, as it were, and sees in his mind's eye not only the pages but almost the actual lines: and so, when he speaks, he is almost in the position of a person reading aloud. And if we come to an erasure or some addition

46 See Russell, editorial note, in *The Orator's Education*, p. 68.

> and alteration, these are a sort of signal, the sight of which prevents us from going wrong. This system, while it bears some resemblance to the Art which I began by describing, is, if my experience has taught me anything, both quicker and more effective. (Quintilian, *The Orator's Education,* XI.2.32–33)

This intense focus, requiring a sustained visualisation of 'the actual lines' and erasures and additions to the writing tablets, stands in a tense relationship with the presentation of Greek arts of memory. Quintilian repeats Cicero's incredulity about the Greek capacity to remember word-for-word:

> […] how can a verbal structure be grasped by this art? I say nothing of the fact that there are some words which cannot be represented by any Symbols, for example Conjunctions. For suppose that, like shorthand writers, we have definite Images for all these things and (of course) infinite Sites for them — enough to have room for all the words in the five books of the second pleading against Verres! — and suppose we remember them all, as if they were safe in the bank: will not the run of our speech actually be held up by this double effort of memorising? How can we produce a continuous flow of words if we have to refer to a distinct symbol for every individual word? So Charmadas and Metrodorus of Scepsis, whom I mentioned just now, both of whom Cicero tells us made use of this sort of training, may be left to their own devices. Let our business be to give some simpler advice. (*The Orator's Education,* XI.2.25–26)

Despite its material focus, the distinction between Quintilian's technique of memorising the lines and marks of a page and the Greek method of memorising individual words seems somewhat murkier than Quintilian indicates. Both require intense and sustained visual focus upon physical typographic features. Nevertheless, this division is a part of Quintilian's general strategy of distinguishing between Greek models and Roman innovations and is part of the complex relationship with Greek predecessors also shown by Cicero and the author of *Ad Herennium*.

This disapproval of Greek methodology is foreshadowed by Quintilian's allusion to Metrodorus of Scepsis. After quoting Cicero's rules for making the places of memory moderately

spaced and clearly defined, Quintilian remarks: 'This makes me wonder all the more how Metrodorus found 360 sites in the twelve signs of the Zodiac. No doubt this was vanity and ostentation in a man who, where memory was concerned, took more pride in his art than in his natural powers' (Quintilian, *The Orator's Education,* XI.2.22). Despite this scornful tone however, Quintilian is far from uniform in his condemnation of Greek excesses of memory. He finishes his account with an interesting list of significant figures:

> How much aptitude and application can do for memory is proved by Themistocles, who is known to have spoken excellent Persian within one year; by Mithridates who is said to have known twenty-two languages, as many as the nations over whom he ruled; by Crassus the Rich, who, as governor of Asia, had such mastery of the five dialects of Greek that he would give judgement in whatever language the case had been put forward; and by Cyrus, who is believed to have known the names of all his soldiers. Theodectes too is said to have repeated off the cuff any number of verses which he had heard once. There were said to be people in our own time who could do this, but I never had the good fortune to witness it. We ought to believe it, however, simply because believing it gives us hope. (*The Orator's Education,* XI.2.50–51)

This passage merges together figures from Roman history such as Crassus, Greek practitioners of artificial memory like Theodectes and even opponents of Rome such as Mithridates. The irritation expressed towards Metrodorus for his 'vanity' is no longer evident, and Quintilian appears wistful and nostalgic in his lament about exceptional memory that he himself 'never had the good fortune to witness'. This disparity between anger at Greek vanity and subsequent admiration seems in large part due to frustration over the facility with which men such as Metrodorus achieved their ends rather than the ends themselves.

This complex treatment of the Greeks is mirrored in the ambiguities of Quintilian's own approach to memory. Quintilian's memory system, like so many before him, always seems contingent and unstable, itself haunted by the memory of previous theorisations of the arts of memory. In this regard the passage quoted earlier is instructive. For example, Quintilian's account of the artificial

memory is firmly rooted in lived-existence (that is to say, the architectural models are public buildings or houses), and so the notion of having 'infinite sites' to store words which the mind must traverse during a speech possesses a sense of ludicrousness not immediately apparent. Quintilian states:

> For suppose that, like shorthand writers, we have definite Images for all these things and (of course) infinite Sites for them — enough to have room for all the words in the five books of the second pleading against Verres! — and suppose we remember them all, as if they were safe in the bank: will not the run of our speech actually be held up by this double effort of memorising? How can we produce a continuous flow of words if we have to refer to a distinct symbol for every individual word? So Charmadas and Metrodorus of Scepsis, whom I mentioned just now, both of whom Cicero tells us made use of this sort of training, may be left to their own devices. (*The Orator's Education*, XI.II.25–26)

Quintilian also observes: 'If a longish speech has to be held in the memory, it will be best to learn it section by section (memory suffers most from being overburdened), but these sections should not be too small, or there will be a lot of them, and they will distract and fragment the memory' (Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, XI.II.27). Already present here are the destructive images of dissolution and fragmentation. Also notable in this respect is the phrase 'memory suffers most from being overburdened'. As López astutely notes of Quintilian 'Cicero is his stylistic model'.[47]

Throughout his account, Quintilian draws heavily upon Cicero's text: for example, both begin with the myth of Simonides, Quintilian quotes Cicero at length and frequently uses constructions such as 'Cicero said' or 'Cicero tells us'. However, once again as with the Greeks the influence of Cicero upon Quintilian is far from straightforward and provides another source of tension in Quintilian's artificial memory system. Cicero serves as a model for style and content, and the men of many nationalities at the end of Quintilian's account (notably the Greeks) can be admired. As Quintilian offers: 'There were said to be people in our own time who could do this, but I never had the good fortune to witness it. We ought to believe it, however, simply because believing it gives us hope' (*The*

47 Jorge Fernández López, 'Quintilian as Rhetorician and Teacher', in *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, pp. 307–23 (p. 317).

Orator's Education, XI.2.51). The past can therefore serve as a source of hope for declined times. However, the influence of Cicero also leads to a sense of competition and anxiety. A figure of the past, he was perhaps too closely associated with Greece for Quintilian. It is often in terms of Greeks that Quintilian competes with Cicero, such as the rival accounts of Simonides. In his own narrative Cicero states: 'Nor is it true, as unscientific people assert, that memory is crushed beneath a weight of images and even what might have been retained by nature unassisted is obscured; for I have myself met eminent people with almost superhuman powers of memory, Charmadas at Athens and Metrodorus of Scepsis in Asia [...]' (*De Oratore*, II.87.359–60). This of course contradicts Quintilian's later opinion, which cautioned against the risk of fragmentation posed by overburdening, and it could be significant that whilst Cicero admires Metrodorus as having 'superhuman powers of memory', Quintilian condemns the very same figure as vain. This sense of contest with a rhetorical precursor is also perhaps the rationale for Quintilian's digression into historiography after presenting the myth of Simonides:

> There is however great disagreement among our authorities whether the poem was written for Glaucus of Carystus, Leocrates, Agatharchus, or Scopas, and whether the house was at Pharsalus (as Simonides himself seems to indicate in one passage, and as Apollodorus, Eratosthenes, Euphorion and Eruypylus of Larissa all say) or at Crannon, as according to Apollas [and] Callimachus, whom Cicero followed when he popularised the story. (*The Orator's Education*, XI.2.14–15)

Influenced by his predecessor, Quintilian feels compelled to begin with the same account, although driven to display his superior learning. This double sense of both influence and competition is perhaps evident in the form of Quintilian's text itself. *The Orator's Education* provides a relatively comprehensive account of the artificial memory system and the methods by which striking images can be sited in architectural places of the mind. However, it is not a system that Quintilian himself finds particularly useful. After his initial discussion Quintilian outlines his own method of memorising the appearance of the tablets from which one is reading, and summarises: 'This system, while it bears some resemblance to the Art which I began by describing is, if my experience has taught me anything, both quicker and more effective' (*The Orator's Education* , XI.II.33). Indeed, he suggests 'if I am

asked what is the one great art of Memory, the answer is "practice and effort": the most important thing is to learn a lot by heart and think a lot out without writing, if possible every day'(*The Orator's Education* , XI.II.41).

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In the trajectory we have explored so far in this chapter, several motifs and recurring images in the classical memory treatises have become apparent. As I have suggested above, the larger rationale for the observed shift from the more abstract pattern of Greek thought to the far more physical model of Roman memory can perhaps be traced to broader trends. It is useful at this point, however, to spend a bit more time on the one image or model which would be the lasting inheritance of the Renaissance world from the Roman arts of memory.

The significance of the physical form of Rome for how the Romans remembered has been gaining increasing critical attention, attracting the insights of scholars such as Catharine Edwards and Diane Favro.[48] Hölkeskamp notes the massive popularity of statuary and physical monuments in Rome:

> A fundamental feature of the Roman republican cultural memory, then, is the 'monumental memory' developed in the third and second centuries, the arrangement and evolution of this core area of cultural memory, i.e. the public spaces in the center of the city, the temples and altars, statues, and other images of all kinds, as well as the semantics of their symbolism and the messages and stories contained therein.[49]

Strikingly, Hölkeskamp goes on to suggest that this represents a colonisation, an arresting image given the earlier discussion of the colonisation of Greece by Rome and the concomitant movement of Greek rhetorical schools into Rome. In addition, the development of the art of memory discussed above can be considered as a Roman colonization of Greek approaches to memory. In both instances, spatiality and memory are interdependent and conflated with ideas of loss, recovery and remaking.

This was also reflected in the treatment of ancestors: Gowing describes Roman practices of

48 See Catherine Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) and Diane Favro, *The Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

49 Hölkeskamp, 'History and Collective Memory in the Middle Republic', p. 482.

burial, noting that the spaces of the dead and of the living often overlapped.[50] For the Romans the dead were co-existent with the living, sharing the same space. This usefully explains some of the seeming paradoxes of artificial memory systems, such as the blurring between interiority and exteriority demonstrated by the crowds of people that threaten to overwhelm memory systems, or the way in which the mind's eye is subject to the limitations of the physical eye. Just as with Quintilian's system of memorising the pages from which one learns, the Roman landscape is something to be brought into oneself. This association between internal and external forms has been noticed by critics: Gowing remarks 'Roman aristocratic houses are very much a *locus* of memory, capturing in their design and ornamentation the character of the owner'.[51] Indeed, this device functions as a submerged joke in Cicero's *De Oratore.* Stroup quotes the conclusion of the text and offers incisive commentary:

> And if we do win this favor from you both Crassus, I shall owe deep gratitude to this little école in your Tusculan villa, and I shall consider this semirural training ground of yours far superior to the famous Academy and Lyceum.

Stroup notes that Cicero had by this point purchased a villa containing gymnasia, one of which was called the Academy, and suggests that Cicero is memorialising his own homes in this account of memory.[52] Such associations of architecture and memory were of course not individuated and discrete. As Hölkeskamp remarks on the Roman nexus of temples, statues and monuments: 'Not only can such a landscape be "read" like a text, since it stores the full spectrum of myths, historical, etiological and other stories — it can also be experienced directly, by Roman citizens as viewers, in the concrete sense of walking through it and looking around'.[53] Of course, the artificial memory systems were navigated through 'walking' as well. In Hölkeskamp's account, the memorial topography of Rome was far from a passive environment to be experienced;

> New monuments, together with their attending stories, were thus constantly added to those already in place. The larger urban context of Rome's monumental memory in general on the one hand and the concrete messages

50 Gowing, *Empire and Memory*, p. 13.
51 Gowing, *Empire and Memory,* p. 80.
52 Cicero, *De Oratore,* I. 98; Stroup, 'Greek Rhetoric Meets Rome', p. 36.
53 Hölkeskamp, 'History and Collective Memory in the Middle Republic', p. 483.

of the older monuments in this landscape on the other assigned a special

place and meaning to every new element in the rich texture of the whole.[54]

The changing contents led to an ever shifting milieu which defied monolithic stability and required repetition and relearning. Hölkeskamp notes for example the specific conventions of the triumph, which always followed a set path around the city. A triumph would enter through a special gate only employed for triumphs, before touring the major 'memory clusters' of the capital offering set sacrifices. Indeed, this need for repetition of topographical memory through procession and triumphs suggests a nascent awareness of mutability and the risk of loss. Julius Caesar, for example, was condemned by his opponents in terms which draw attention to his destructive ignorance of the physical forms of memory.

He walks around a name to be remembered — torched Troy —

and looks for the vestiges of Apollo's great wall.

Now barren woods and trees, robbed by rot of all their limbs,

weigh down upon the houses of Assaracus and grasp the temples

of the gods with their weary roots; and all of Pergamum is covered

with thickets; even the ruins are ruined.

He gazes on the rock of Hesione and the bedchamber of Anchises,

lying hidden in woods; on the grove where the judge sat,

on the place from where the boy was snatched, on the summit

where the Naiad Oenone grieved: no rock is nameless.

In his ignorance he had crossed the stream wending its way through

dry dust:

this was the Xanthus. Incautiously he stepped in the deep

grass: a local Phrygian warned him not to tread on the shades

of Hector. Stones lay strewn about,

preserving no semblance of any holy place:

His guide says, "Don't you see the altars of Hercean Zeus?".[55]

54 Hölkeskamp, 'History and Collective Memory in the Middle Republic', p. 487.

55 Lucan, *Civil War*, trans. by S.H. Braund (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), IX. 964–79; see also Gowing,

Caesar is ignorant of what the ruins of Troy import: for him, the stones are nameless. This ignorance about one of the mythical origin points of Rome and the Romans by implication identifies Caesar as a threat to Rome. Hölkeskamp's suggestion of the triumph as a form of re-inscribing the landscape of memory is particularly fruitful in relation to the triumphs of Pompey. His first was illegal under Roman law, whilst his third saw the creation of a huge public theatre within Rome. In some senses then, unwanted memories could be imposed on the landscape and a new architectural 'gift' such as the theatre could change the whole memorial context, and indeed alter artificial memory systems that were based upon the previous landscape of memory. Rome's topography of memory was dynamic and always in flux, subject to constant additions of new buildings and statuary and requiring the re-emphasising of old sites through rituals such as the triumph or the procession. Concurrent with this was the fear and threat of erasure from a Pompey or a Caesar, who might undo or change the landscape of memory. This duality of the search for stability in a changing environment was reflected in the artificial memory systems expounded by Cicero, Quintilian and the author of the *Ad Herennium*. Amidst the standard rules and guidelines the threat of dissolution and fear of destruction is always detectable.

There is then perhaps a link here to be noted between the ever-changing topography of Rome and the internal artificial memory systems based upon it: both required application and repetition to learn, and the attempt to impart stability to a dynamic system (which fact is hinted at by the crowds that wander in the artificial memory systems blurring perception). In both cases, there is a deep-rooted yet uneasy relationship between the private and the public, the individual and the communal, the affective and the performative. These will remain abiding spectres in the arts of memory inherited by the Renaissance.

In subsequent chapters, we shall see how the two models of memory-as-architecture and memory as akin to a text to be read had endured and recur in much later accounts of memory, both Medieval and early modern. In some instances the two approaches were conflated and the distinctions between text and architecture blurred. The approach of both models required establishing a relationship between interior and exterior worlds, a fact which will prove crucial in my final discussion of *Hamlet*. Another inheritance for later approaches was the instabilities of

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Empire and Memory for more on this link.

memory systems. This fact is evidenced by the early myth of Simonides and the collapsing roof. Memory begins with destruction and death; it is always haunted by the thing remembered, even as it is haunted by the very task of remembrance itself. Equally significant however is the manner in which this mythical history introduces the relationship between memory and fiction, so that when Quintilian noted that '[w]hat I said about a house can be done also with public buildings, a long road, a town perambulation, or pictures. One can even invent these settings for oneself' (*The Orator's Education,* XI.2.21), his single statement brought together all of these elements: loss and recovery, writing, architecture, remembering and invention. All of these aspects are found in later accounts of memory, but Platonic approaches to memory provided a particularly key inheritance, crucially informing medieval and early modern approaches to memory, and itself transformed in turn by them. It is to these Neoplatonic accounts of memory that we now turn.

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Chapter Two:

Neoplatonism: Memory, Forgetting and Theatres

A discussion of Neoplatonic approaches to memory is instructive on a number of fronts. Firstly, as I suggested in the previous chapter, they provide a crucial example of the interplay of memory and forgetting and the complex relationship of interior and exterior worlds evident in seemingly all systematised approaches to memory. Secondly, a discussion of the patterns of both change and continuity that Neoplatonic approaches display over time also provides an example of how memorial practices developed. Thirdly and most importantly, Neoplatonic approaches to memory also formed a continuum from late antiquity down to the early modern stage.

In order to investigate both this continuity and change, as well as the perennial issues of memory and forgetting, interiority and exteriority, this chapter is structured around a number of key texts: from Anicius Boethius's *The Consolation of Philosophy* (*c.* 524) and Marsilio Ficino's *Oration on the Dignity of Man* (1486), to the writings of Ramon Lull, Petrus Ramus, Giulio Camillo and Edmund Spenser, on which Neoplatonic concepts of memory and the arts of memory have left their mark. Just as the first chapter undertook a reading of both fictive and mythical approaches to memory (such as the discussion of Simonides and the Platonic account of the birth of writing) and more didactic accounts (such as the *Ad Herennium*), so here a reading of a diversity of texts across several genres will allow a more complete picture of Neoplatonism and memory to emerge.

To this end, a discussion of Neoplatonism is to be undertaken, beginning with a consideration of the thought and memory doctrines of the early Neoplatonist Plotinus (204–70). Before we use this to inform the discussion and close reading of the Neoplatonist texts, exploring the often complex doctrines which are implicit in the pattern of their thought and approaches to memory, it would be useful at this juncture to review five major and distinctive doctrines which hold true for almost all Neoplatonic thinkers.[56] Particularly relevant for our purposes throughout these doctrines is the

continuing emphasis on the relationships between unity and duality, and the key interrelationship between the human mind and the physical universe. Both of these factors, as we shall see, inflect Neoplatonic doctrines of memory and contribute to its complexities.

Neoplatonic beliefs postulated an absolute and complete unity called the One existing above the level of intellect, with intellect here meant in the Aristotelian sense of *nous*, an abstract realm of thought in which individual intellects partake when thinking. The One exists beyond description for reasons similar to Christian *via negativa* theology: it is beyond reason and the description of language, both of which will ultimately fall short and prove misleading. According to Neoplatonic thinking, everything in existence is ultimately derived from the One. This aspect lends a significant hierarchical tinge to Neoplatonic thought. A second key doctrine is the proliferation of ontological and metaphysical distinctions. Platonism holds to a distinction between the world of sensory experience and a realm of intellect, in which the true Forms of sensory things exist. Neoplatonism introduces a series of gradations within this intelligible realm and concurrent complexity. Thirdly, Neoplatonism holds that antecedant layers of ontology and metaphysics are more unified and perfect than succeeding ones. Hence and in accordance with the hierarchical aspect of Neoplatonic thought, the One is the most perfect and unified and the stages down to sensory reality become progressively less perfect and more diverse. A fourth tenet of Neoplatonic thought is the attempt to reconcile both metaphysical realism — that is to say, that reality exists independent of mind — and a central place for the human mind within the universe not only as a participating aspect but intimately involved with reality: in some sense reality is 'in' the mind. As Remes describes:

> The complexity of thinking must coincide with the complexity of being. Reality is thereby essentially minded or intelligible, that is, both intelligibly organized and penetrable to reason, as well as in some sense essentially thought. Neoplatonists incorporate in this their idea of hierarchy, differentiating not only levels of metaphysics but levels of human experience

56 The discussion that follows draws upon Pauliina Remes, *Neoplatonism* (Stocksfield: Acument, 2008), p. 2. For further readings of common principles of Neoplatonism see Stephen Gersh, 'The First Principles of Latin Neoplatonism: Augustine, Macrobius, Boethius', *Vivarium*, 50 (2012), 113–38; Ransom Baine Harris, 'A Brief Description of Neoplatonism', in *The Significance of Neoplatonism,* ed. by R. Baine Harris (Norfolk, VA: International Society for Neoplatonic Studies, 1976), pp. 1–21; John Charles Holoduek Jr., 'The Philosophy of Neoplatonism and Its Effects on the Thought of St. Augustine of Hippo', *Dialogue*, 55 (2013), 136–57.

and thought.[57]

Finally, Neoplatonism holds that sensory life and activity are directed towards perfection and wholeness: in this sense it is indicative of the general striving towards the higher unity of the One. Neoplatonism identifies in the everyday existence of human and animal life motion towards the One, albeit in a confused fashion. In accordance with the doctrines outlined above, humans occupy a place of great significance within the cosmological hierarchy. Neither wholly sensual like animal existence, nor entirely rational and intellectual (in the sense of moving through thought amongst the Forms and participating in nous) humanity is able to traverse between the higher and the lower. This principle of ascent and descent, most particularly its spatiality, is significant and recurs in much later Neoplatonic texts, especially in the context of memory.

Memory's place within Neoplatonic thought is an intrinsic part of its basic principles. Platonic accounts of memory hold that memory is the retrieval of knowledge known before birth; the drawing forth of things forgotten when the soul is embodied. This approach would seem to preclude the possibility of forgetting once something is truly remembered, for remembrance is akin to awakening rather than to an act of finding.[58] True memory equates to knowledge (to know something is to have remembered it) and indeed to a more fully realised selfhood, a doctrine that was to have a significant impact upon later Renaissance thought. This also perhaps led to some of the tensions discernible in early modern Neoplatonic concepts of memory, where to forget became an act of metaphysical shortcoming rather than a mere human failure.

To illustrate this rather complex relationship, the work of Plotinus, the Neoplatonist par excellence, is useful. On the link between knowledge, memory and selfhood, Richard Wallis writes of: '[…] Plotinus's interpretation of Plato's description of knowledge as Recollection as denoting not a temporal recovery of what the soul knew in the past, but an awakening to what her true self knows eternally'.[59] For Plotinus, the human soul is both a divided and a unified thing, both complex and adhering to the principle of unity so important to Neoplatonic thought. There is a lower, perceptive aspect of soul that participates in sensory existence and a higher rational soul. Both sections have their

57 Remes, *Neoplatonism*, p. 8.

58 For more on memory as awakening within Neoplatonic thought see Deirdre Carabine, 'The Mystical Journeys of Plotinus and Gregory of Nyssa', in *The Perennial Tradition of Neoplatonism*, ed. by John J. Cleary (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1997), pp. 188–205.

59 R. T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism,* 2nd edn (London: Duckworth, 1995), p. 80.

own imagination, *phantasia*. This division is reflected in the different approaches to memory that both deal in. The lower soul deals with common sensory memories whilst the higher is associated with higher or rational memories, such as the knowledge of the Forms.[60] These two aspects of soul and memory are unified and work in tandem. Crucially they are both driven by the Neoplatonic doctrine of the soul and memory as active principle, rather than passive objects. This sense of memory as active force and of true memory equating to true knowledge and a full sense of selfhood will prove crucial in later Neoplatonist memorial thinking. Their shaping impact is seen in one of the foundational philosophical texts of the period, heavily influenced by Neoplatonic doctrines of memory, Anicius Boethius's *The Consolation of Philosophy* (*Consolatio Philosophiae*), hereafter referred to as *The Consolation*.

Written after the author's exile from the court of Theodoric and whilst awaiting execution, *The Consolation* functions as a justification of the author and relates the wrongs he has suffered, and traces his rediscovery of a fuller and more complete sense of self through the recovery of his memory and a proper understanding of things. In this regard, *The Consolation* exemplifies the association of these three factors as discussed above.

The first appearance of Philosophy in *The Consolation* is as a striking visualisation. After lamenting the vicissitudes of fortune, the narrator notices standing over him:

> The figure of a woman whose look filled me with awe. Her burning gaze was indescribably penetrating, unlike that of anyone I have ever met, and while her complexion was as fresh and glowing as that of a girl, I realized that she was ancient and that nobody would mistake her for a creature of our time. It was impossible to estimate her height, for she seemed at first to be of ordinary measure, but then, without seeming to change, she appeared to be extraordinarily tall, so that her head all but touched the heavens. I was certain that if she had a mind to stretch her neck just a little, her face would penetrate the skies, where it would be utterly lost to human view.[61]

Here Philosophy exemplifies Neoplatonic ideas about the human condition existing in both the

60 See Pauliina Remes, *Neoplatonism*, p. 142.

61 Ancius Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. by David R. Slavitt (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), I. 1. All subsequent references will be drawn from this edition.

sensory and ideal realms and the possibility of motion between the two. Philosophy is at once old and young and the notion of a changing height illustrates the Neoplatonist principle of ascent; when her head pierces the sky it leaves the realm of sensory perception. These ideas are given further emphasis by subsequent aspects of Philosophy's appearance. For example:

> Her dress was a miracle of fine cloth and meticulous workmanship, and, as I later learned, she had woven it herself. But it had darkened like a smoke-blackened family statue in the atrium as if through neglect and was dingy and worn. I could see worked into the bottom border the Greek letters (pi – for practice) and slightly higher (theta – for theory) with steps that were marked between them to form a ladder by which one might climb from the lower to the upper. Some ruffians had done violence to her elegant dress, and clearly bits of the fabric had been torn away. In her right hand she held a few books, and in her left she carried a scepter. (*The Consolation of Philosophy,* I.1)

The letters Pi and Theta represent practical and speculative philosophy respectively. In this sense Philosophy represents the possibility of ascent once again from earthly material concerns (i.e. sensory philosophy) to metaphysical heights and the realm of intellect. Once again the notion of unity is emphasised. As it is subsequently made clear, the 'marauders' were the successors of Plato such as the Stoics and Epicureans who only partook of part of philosophy and hence only gained partial fragments of her robe. Finally, despite the concept of ascent to a realm of pure abstract intellect and understanding away from the material world, the physical and spatial implications of a ladder are apparent. Although a useful means of conceptualising a vertical ascent through discrete stages (like the rungs of a ladder) the image retains its material connotations, a fact which would prove somewhat problematic for later thinkers such as Ramon Lull. Alongside this tension rests the suggestion that Philosophy's robe has been torn, indicative once again of the enduring presence of a problematic physicality and the possibility of the dissolution of memory.

Memory shapes this encounter at multiple other levels as well. When Philosophy first begins to speak to the narrator, for instance, he is at first unable to speak, of which Philosophy remarks:

> He is in no real danger. He merely suffers from a lethargy, a sickness that is

> common among the depressed. He has forgotten who he really is, but he will recover, for he used to know me, and all I have to do is clear the mist that beclouds his vision. (*The Consolation of Philosophy,* I.1)

Several things are notable here. The narrator is partaking of the amnesia common to minds focused upon material and earthly concerns and has indeed forgotten his own identity. As the means of remembering is through first remembering Philosophy — for as of yet the narrator does not recognised his interlocutor — we see an example of the two kinds of memory discernible in Plotinus both lower and higher, and their relationship. Memory of the self in the material world is led by recognition and remembering of the higher eternal truths of Philosophy, the 'awakening to what her true self knows eternally' referenced earlier in the discussion of Plotinus. Also significant is the visual focus. Immediately following these observation, Philosophy wipes the narrator's eyes, and this wiping of the narrator's eyes leads to a song in praise of light and understanding. The narrator concludes:

> It was exactly like that sudden dispersal of clouds on a dark day with the rays of the sun pouring down again. I recovered myself enough to recognize now the face of my healer. As I gazed, her features came into clear focus and I beheld the nurse who had reared me and whose house I had visited from my earliest youth, none other than the lady Philosophy. (*The Consolation of Philosophy,* I.3)

The interlinking of vision, understanding, memory and self, which we have seen emerging already in the classical tradition, are closely associated here, propagating a pattern that recurs in later Neoplatonic memorial texts. This pattern is also evident elsewhere in *The Consolation.* The course of the text follows the ascent of the soul. Guided by Philosophy, the narrator gains in both wisdom and self-awareness. Crucially however these responses are patterned on increasing memory; the narrator follows Philosophy and through a didactic dialogue remembers the answers to increasingly abstract questions. The answers to these questions have been forgotten due to an over-focus upon earthly deprivations that have in a sense blinded the narrator.

In a song in Book III several crucial elements are explicitly restated and several aspects of memory not yet discussed are made apparent. Once again, the visual focus and its relationship to memory are made evident when Boethius comments on inward vision, characterised by the

significance of light and the seeds of truth. Error is typified by gloomy clouds, and memory comes from an inward gaze.[62] Most helpfully this song exemplifies the relationship between Neoplatonic accounts of memory and epistemology. As indicated earlier, the most significant memories come from introspection and reason rather than empirical observation. Once again a spatial aspect to thinking is indicated in the idea of searching and of 'wandering thoughts'. The description of thoughts travelling 'in circle home' is also significant. Although seemingly incidental here, geometric structures would abound in Neoplatonic thinking, particularly those of the triangle, square and circle.[63] Geometry is useful for Neoplatonism both in its abstract qualities and unity (that is to say, it is definable in abstract mathematical terms) and as a means for associating the higher realms of intellect with the visible, sensible world.[64] Later Renaissance memorialists such as Lull made extensive use of such geometry.

One final aspect of Boethius's *The Consolation* is notable, which is the reference to a library. The narrator asks of Philosophy:

> "Look around! Do you need to ask such questions? Is my terrible treatment at Fortune's hands not clear? Look at this dreadful cell! Does it resemble that cozy library where you used to visit in my house, where we would sit and discuss all kinds of interesting matters, both human and divine? Was this what I looked like? Was this the expression on my face when you showed me the paths of the stars and how the order of the universe implied an ethical system for mankind?" (*The Consolation of Philosophy*, I.4)

The library as a *locus* of memory in a Neoplatonic context is a complex issue and its occurrence here marks a development of the Platonic heritage. As has been discussed, Plato was sceptical about the link between memory and writing; true memory consists of a remembering of the Forms rather than the recollections prompted by words. However, Neoplatonic accounts, as previously discussed, describe the human as the nexus between spatial sensible reality and the higher abstract realms and, as Plotinus suggests, human selfhood and memory consist of both a lower, more physical aspect and a higher, more abstract aspect. In this regard libraries are both problematic as images of

62 Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy,* III. 1.

63 See Sara Rappe, *Reading Neoplatonism: Non-Discursive Thinking in the Texts of Plotinus, Proclus, and Damascius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 117–43.

64 See Dominic J. O'Meara, 'Geometry and the Divine in Proclus', in *Mathematics and the Divine: A Historical Study,* ed. by Teun Koetsier and Luc Bergmans (Oxford: Elsevier, 2005), pp. 133–45 (pp. 136–41).

Neoplatonic memory but also useful concessions to human duality in their status as physical containers of abstract knowledge. This doubleness, as we shall see later in this chapter, emerges strikingly in English Renaissance texts such as Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1596), when his adoption of the model of the library as a structural basis for memory systems also inherited the tensions of libraries and books as images of memory. Spenser's response, however, is pre-dated by a rich history. Throughout this period in general, this complex association of the abstract and the physical and the necessity for concessions to human limitations and mutability, I would argue, shaped the memorial approaches of later thinkers such as Ramon Lull, to whom we shall next turn.

***

The Art of the Catalan philosopher and mystic, Ramon Lull, (1232–1315) long occupied a place of high prestige in European thought, marking at once an increasing and influential public focus on memory, and the developing anxiety about the utility of a universal scheme of memory for fallible human practitioners.[65] Lull believed that his Art was given to him by God atop Mount Randa as a means of proselytising and converting Muslims and Jews to Christianity and attempted to employ his Art to just such a missionary end. The crucial basis for Lull's belief in the utility of his Art for conversion was that the Art worked on entirely rational principles and hence could appeal to everyone, a perfect instantiation of Isaiah 1:18 'Come now, and let us reason together, saith the LORD'. Perhaps equally suggestive is the description of Lull's revelation; we are told that '[…] it happened that one day while he was gazing intently heavenward the Lord suddenly illuminated his mind, giving him the form and method for writing the aforementioned book against the errors of the unbelievers'.[66] Although gazing heavenward and divine illumination are religious commonplaces they are also suggestive of tenets of Neoplatonism. Such a reading is further supported by the Art itself.

Ramon Lull's Art was a vast edifice of writings — at least two hundred and sixty five works — that all drew upon the Art, created it and nuanced it for disparate audiences including children and courtiers.[67] As such, the sheer complexity of the Art is difficult to comprehend and any discussion of it

65 As a number of variant spellings of Ramon Lull exist they have been standardized throughout this account, although renderings of Ramond, Llull, Llullus etc are not infrequent.

66 Anon., *Contemporary Life* ([Paris (?)], 1311), trans. by Anthony Bonner in *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader,* ed. by Anthony Bonner (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 18. All subsequent references to the works of Lull will be drawn from this edition.

67 'Lull's 'Thought', *Doctor Illuminatus,* p. 45.

must be almost by definition be partial and incomplete, but a focus here on Lull's *Ars Brevis* (1308) is useful as this was Lull's most popular and most frequently printed work. The guiding principles of Lullism seem to be rationalism, principles of unity, ascent and descent and an approach to memory very similar to those of Italian Neoplatonism and of Pico that were to develop in later centuries; that is to say, the formal structure of Lull's Art aimed to answer any possible question through remembering the general principles that shape the Universe. As with *The Consolation'*s library, the *Ars Brevis* represents a concession to human fallibility — it is a greatly simplified version of Lull's much longer *Ars Magna* (*c.* 1305).[68] Yet even as the *Ars Brevis* demonstrates that concession, it opens up other fissures. Fundamental to it is a memorial framework consisting of an alphabet of nine letters each assigned six separate meanings; below a partial selection have been quoted. Immediately apparent is the sheer complexity of the scheme.

> The Alphabet
>
> B signifies goodness, difference, whether?, God, justice and avarice
>
> C signifies greatness, concordance, what?, angel, prudence, and gluttony
>
> D signifies eternity or duration, contrareity, of what? Heaven, fortitude and lust
>
> E signifies power, beginning, why?, man, temperance and pride.[69]

Lull remarks: 'And this alphabet must be learned by heart, for otherwise the artist will not be able to make proper use of this Art'.[70] Memory is therefore key to the function of the Art, but the means by which fifty four attributes divided amongst nine abstract letters is to be remembered is gestured away with the blandishment that they are simply to be 'learned by heart.' The *Ars Brevis* is divided into twelve sections and the suggestion that various lists must be 'learned by heart' occurs with some frequency. It may be ventured that Lull's simplicity on this point emerges from his belief that the alphabet, as an aspect of the Art so closely corresponds with the structure of reality that to comprehend is to remember, but this is tentative. In Lull's conceptualisation, to understand the Art is to understand reality (and vice versa) and to understand is to remember. The possibility of forgetting

68 For useful overviews of Lull's thought see Charles Lohr, 'Mathematics and the Divine: Ramon Lull', in *Mathematics and the Divine*, pp. 213–28. and Mark Johnston, 'The Natural Rhetoric of Ramon Lull', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, 3 (1986), 174–91.

69 Ramon Lull, *Ars Brevis* ([Montpellier (?)], 1308), trans. by Anthony Bonner in *Doctor Illuminatus*, p. 298.

70 Lull, *Ars Brevis,* p. 298.

therefore entails failure of knowledge of reality and the Art, but if the Art is truly universal and logical this is anathema to Lull's scheme: in a text that is itself a concession to human fallibility (that is to say, it is an abbreviation of a longer text that is more difficult to conceptualise and to remember), it seems therefore that the possibility of forgetting must be effaced.

The alphabet can be applied to four separate geometric figures depending on the problem in hand and the nature of the question. The first figure for example allows comparison of the terms listed first under the alphabet e.g. goodness, greatness etc. both individually and in relationship to one another, as shown by the interconnecting lines. These figures are notable as later developments of the geometric emphasis discussed in relation to Boethius's *The Consolation,* and for the fact that they add to the great complexity of Lull's memorial art, deepening its strained negotiation between memory and forgetting. This tension is in part because the geometric figures are conceptualised as a means of negotiating between the general and the particular, a difficult demand of Neoplatonic thought also addressed by Boethius's library.[71] Lull emphasises the circularity of the figure and in a remarkable passage states:

> Each principle, taken by itself, is completely general, as when one says 'goodness' or 'greatness'. However, as soon as one principle is applied to another, then it is subordinate, as when we say 'great goodness'. And when some principle is applied to a singular thing, then it is completely particular, as when we say 'Peter's goodness is great'. And thus the intellect has a ladder for ascending and descending […] Everything that exists is implicit in the principles of this figure, for everything is either good or great etc., as God and angels, which are good great etc. Therefore, whatever exists is reducible to the above-mentioned principles.[72]

Present once again are notions of ascent and descent, ladders and a circle, lending a suggestion of motion and dynamism to the system. The other figures will not be considered for reasons of brevity, but deal with the other significations of the alphabet. Figure two however is notable for its emphasis upon triangular relationships, and figure three for its squares. Perhaps most remarkable is the fact that

71 See figures 1–4.
72 Lull, *Ars Brevis*, p. 301.

Lull is able to once again casually remark of these four intricate figures that they are things 'which the artist must learn by heart'.[73]

As above, the odd suggestion that the four ornate figures must be remembered by heart (plus of course the many different words and terms that could be affixed to each letter) suggests Lull's dismissal of the possibility of forgetting itself, as forgetting would indicate a failure of his universal Art. Such an attempted dismissal, particularly in a text which was itself a heavily simplified version of the difficult and massive *Ars Magna*, as I have mentioned above, is of course deeply problematic. Further evidence of tension between universal memory and human forgetfulness is represented by the fact that Lull produced a separate short work on memory, the *Liber ad Memoriam Confirmandam* (1308) which recommends as virtually its only tenet constant repetition, rather than any understanding of cosmological unity or general principle. Lull's Art conceptualises knowledge as memory (and thus to understand is to remember) and suggests the 'learning by heart' of ornate figures, necessarily effacing the possibility of forgetting as damaging to the universality of the Art. However, this tendency rests atop concessions to human forgetfulness.

Lull's abstract yet structural art of circle, triangle and square and its ladders of ascent and descent would continue to be deeply influential. Lullism, however, is not exclusive in its systematic aspect. Subsequent authors propagated similar if less complex systems which also pursued the odd dual ambition of both raising memory to a new height and changing it beyond recognition, as well as attempting to efface the possibility of forgetting. An analysis of another such approach exemplifies patterns of continuity as well as innovation across seemingly disparate approaches. One such system was the body of texts that came to constitute Ramism, a topic of particular interest given that it stands in opposition to the Aristotelian approach to memory discussed in the first chapter. Ramism also proceeds through logical categories laid out on a page, and in this respect deals with the perennial issue of the relationship between writing and memory.

The writings of Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) advocated for a supposed rationalisation of subjects through dialectic. Subjects would be analysed in terms of their general qualities and thence through their specific features.[74] In this way any subject could be treated to a series of dialectic

73 Lull, *Ars Brevis*, p. 308.

divisions in which every aspect would be divided and sub-divided until classified. The results were committed to tables that demonstrated this process of division, beginning on the left hand of the page and proceeding inexorably towards the right. In Ramus's division of subjects and qualities, memory became part of logic. The divided topics were then, in the Ramist approach, logicalised and ready to be memorised.

At first appearances this approach may seem entirely different from that of Lullism. Ramism seemingly makes no motions towards ideas of ascent or descent, universal knowledge or memory and although the same 'sorting principles' (i.e. logical categories) are applied on each occasion, Ramism seems to work on a case-by-case basis rather than the universalising approach of Lullism. However, the similarities lie in the fact that both propose a single method which it is imagined can be applied to all cases and hence seemingly remove the need for memory as traditionally understood. In the Ramist conception, if the material is organised logically and memory is an aspect of logic, then an understanding of logic and its application to a text or issue will ensure memory of it, whilst in a manner similar to Lull's Art, memory becomes conflated with knowledge. Walter Ong adroitly summarises Ramus's stance: 'his whole scheme of the arts based on a topically conceived logic, is a system of local memory'.[75] Furthermore, Ramus's philosophical positioning seems to be inclined towards Plato; Yates notes the imagery of light and shadows, praise of Plato and Neoplatonic imagery in the Ramist tract *Dialecticae Institutiones* (1543).[76]

Both Lullism and Ramism therefore present abstract systems which resonate with Neoplatonic ideas of the relationship between knowledge and memory. For both, memory is key, and for both, memory seems to emerge from the features of the systems themselves; in the case of Lull, to comprehend the universal Art is to remember, whilst for Ramus the process of logical division simultaneously makes memory a function of logical understanding. Both approaches also exemplify the tensions of systematised Neoplatonic accounts of memory, denying and responding to memory's troubled relationship with an enduring human anxiety about amnesia and forgetting. This would

74 For useful discussions of Ramus see Walter J. Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958); Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory* (Routledge: Penguin, 1966) and *Ramus, Pedagogy, and the Liberal Arts: Ramism in Britain and the Wider World*, ed. by Emma Annette Wilson and Steven J. Reid (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

75 Ong, *Ramus, Method and the Decay of Dialogue*, p. 280.

76 Yates, *The Art of Memory*, p. 236.

continue to shape Neoplatonic accounts of memory in the Italian Renaissance fundamentally and substantially: within Renaissance Neoplatonism, true memory is of the higher abstract forms, but the duality of the human entails problematic concessions to spatial models. These patterns of thought and tensions of memory are discernible in a seminal text that stands at the divide between late antiquity and the Renaissance, Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man*.[77]

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Several factors make the *Oration* worthy of consideration. Firstly, Neoplatonism as a doctrine exemplifies a re-reading of past ideas, namely Platonism. In this respect, the *Oration* neatly demonstrates this principle and shows the fluidity of Neoplatonism and therefore Neoplatonic approaches to memory, and most importantly, as indicated above, the role of the *Oration* as a boundary point between classical and Renaissance Neoplatonic accounts of memory. As Ernst Cassirer observes: 'An historical criticism of the sources, like that of Konrad Burdach, could point everywhere in Pico's oration to particular strains derived from the hermetic literature. On the other hand, however, Pico himself indicated clearly and exactly the point at which he was departing from traditional and conventional views'.[78] Perhaps most striking and influential for early modern authors influenced by both Neoplatonism and the writings of Pico was the public focus of Pico's project. Although predecessors such as Plotinus and Boethius had touched upon public events in their writing, Pico's work was intended as a public oration, characterised by rhetorical flourishes. Notably Pico refers to the 'stage' on which he is delivering his oration, and this suggestion of public memorial architecture endures in later Neoplatonic accounts, whilst both the public and rhetorical aspects of Pico's work are distinctive from his predecessors and influenced subsequent authors such as Giulio Camillo, with Camillo adopting the theatrical stage as his model for memory. [79] Pico's notion of his nine hundred theses in themselves provide a point of divergence from earlier Neoplatonic works through their sheer

77Two major sources for Renaissance Neoplatonic thinking were the writings of Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola; Ficino translated the entirety of Plato into Latin and then equally significantly translated Plotinus and later Neoplatonic authors, whilst Pico was similarly heavily influenced by Neoplatonism. For the text itself see Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man,* trans. by A. Robert Caponigri **(**Gateway: Washington, 1956) and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. *Oration on the Dignity of Man: A New Translation and Commentary*, ed. by Francesco Borghesi and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

78 Ernst Cassirer, 'Giovanni Pico Della Mirandola: A Study in the History of Renaissance Ideas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 3 (1942), 319–46 (p. 319).

79 Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *Oration on the Dignity of Man,* trans. by A. Robert Caponigri **(**Gateway: Washington, 1956), p. 3. All subsequent references to the text will be drawn from this edition.

multiplicity. Although preceded by Lull's systematic Art, Pico's influential text marked the start of subsequent Neoplatonic attempts at producing grand and complete systems of knowledge and therefore in the Neoplatonic way of thinking, also of memory. Finally, another of Pico della Mirandola's innovations was to introduce a fictive element to Neoplatonic treatments of memory. Although this aspect is apparent to some extent in *The Consolation,* which straddles fiction and autobiography, and is also apparent in the writings of Lull, given that Lull's Art is also expounded in his large output of fiction, Pico's text radically develops this trend.

Pico establishes his Neoplatonic influences quickly in the *Oration*. He begins with an account of the creation of humanity which follows Neoplatonic precepts: there is the notion for example of a systematic and plentiful distribution. Also notable is the fictive focus; a particularly theologically-informed mythography is central to Pico's project. Pico describes:

> All space was already filled; all things had been distributed in the highest, the middle and the lowest orders. Still, it was not in the nature of the power of the Father to fail in this last creative act; nor was it in the nature of that supreme Wisdom to hesitate through lack of counsel in so crucial a matter; nor, finally, in the nature of His beneficent love to compel the creature destined to praise the divine generosity in all other things to find it wanting in himself. (*Oration on the Dignity of Man*, p. 5)

Notably the text is predicated upon memory. It begins with an account of past events as a means of understanding the present and as it cannot be an individual memory of Pico's, suggests rather a recollection of higher events through introspection and reason. As Pico continues, several other factors are striking. The idea of human centrality is once again present. There is also the notion of ascent and descent. As the *Oration* continues its mythical account:

> I have placed you at the very center of the world, so that from that vantage point you may with greater ease glance round about you on all that the world contains. We have made you a creature neither of heaven nor of earth, neither mortal nor immortal, in order that you may, as the free and proud shaper of your own being, fashion yourself in the form you may prefer. It will be in your power to descend to the lower, brutish forms of life; you will

> be able, through your own decision, to rise again to the superior orders whose life is divine. (*Oration on the Dignity of Man,* pp. 7–8)

In an image strikingly redolent of Boethius and Lull, Pico expands his ideas about ascent and descent through a discussion once again of ladders. Ascent to the rational realm is of course associated again with memory and memory associated with unity: when ascending the method will be 'recollecting' the many. Pico notes:

> This wisest of the Fathers who though sleeping in the lower world, still has his eyes fixed on the world above, will admonish us. He will admonish, however, in a figure, for all things appeared in figures to the men of those times: a ladder rises by many rungs from earth to the height of heaven and at its summit sits the Lord, while over its rungs the contemplative angels move, alternately ascending and descending […] At one time we shall descend, dismembering with titanic force the "unity" of the "many," like the members of Osiris; at another time, we shall ascend, recollecting those same members, by the power of Phoebus, into their original unity. (*Oration on the Dignity of Man,* p. 9)

Despite fulsome praise for other philosophers, the emphasis here is clearly Neoplatonic. Pico remarks for example after such a bout of praise:

> These considerations have motivated me in my determination to bring to men's attention the opinions of all schools rather than the doctrine of some one or other (as some might have preferred), for it seems to me that by the confrontation of many schools and the discussion of many philosophical systems that "effulgence of truth" of which Plato writes in his letters might illuminate our minds more clearly, like the sun rising from the sea. (*Oration on the Dignity of Man,* p. 12)

Despite this stated intent, the Platonic idea of mental illumination and more specifically the higher aspects of reality (whether the realm of intellect or the One is alluded to here is unclear) as akin to the sun display the primary importance of the Platonic influence.

That Neoplatonism shapes Pico's approach to epistemology and hence memory is made

perhaps most explicit in his pointed critique of text-dependent rote learning towards the end of the *Oration*. Clear once again is the suggestion of knowledge as an active principle, and the Platonic view of writing as a cause of the ossification of memory.

> Indeed, it is the characteristic of the impotent (as Seneca writes) to have their knowledge all written down in their note-books, as though the discoveries of those who preceded us had closed the path to our own efforts, as though the power of nature had become effete in us and could bring forth nothing which, if it could not demonstrate the truth, might at least point to it from afar. The farmer hates sterility in his field and the husband deplores it in his wife; even more then must the divine mind hate the sterile mind with which it is joined and associated, because it hopes from that source to have offspring of such a high nature. (*Oration on the Dignity of Man,* p. 13)

One of Pico's final innovations was, as suggested above, the introduction of a systematised approach to memory that was to prove formative upon subsequent Neoplatonic memorial thinkers. Pico notes:

> In the second place, along with my own reflections on and developments of both the Aristotelian and the Platonic philosophies, I have adduced seventy-two theses in physics and metaphysics. If I am not mistaken (and this will become clearer in the course of the proposed disputation) anyone subscribing to these theses will be able to resolve any question proposed to him in natural philosophy or theology on a principle quite other than that taught us in the philosophy which is at present to be learned in the schools and is taught by the masters of the present generation. (*Oration on the Dignity of Man,* p. 15)

Memory of Pico's theses will allow access both to an active means of answering any question but also to indirectly remember the eternal truths of existence. However, the complexities of such an approach, particularly when faced with the limitations of human understanding, is a problem already evident in texts such as *The Consolation* with its complex treatment of libraries, and will recur in later systems. In the next section, we shall see how it leaves its mark on one of the best known literary texts

of the English Renaissance, Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene.* This text exemplifies some of the tendencies of Neoplatonic approaches to memory already discussed in this chapter, namely the problematic fusion of systematic and universalising systems with concessions to human fallibility and the inevitable materiality of conceptualisations of memory. *The Faerie Queene* exhibits a clear familiarity with Neoplatonic thought and specifically *The Consolation*.[80] The text also proved tremendously influential on subsequent Renaissance thought, and it is for these reasons that we now turn to it.

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Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* is in many ways a memorative text and has been treated as such in critical work with some frequency.[81] As Albert Hamilton suggests of Spenser:

> Since 'vertues seat is deepe within the mynd', however, he does not so much plant the virtues in them as nurture what is already there. To spell out this point using the familiar Platonic doctrine of anamnesis: while Spenser needed an exact knowledge of the virtues in order to write his poem, his readers need only to be reminded of what they already known (even today) but have largely forgotten (especially today).[82]

Equally, the complex allegory of *The Faerie Queene* is instructive when considering its nuanced approaches to memory and the navigation between the particular and the general. Also of note in *The Faerie Queene* is the movement towards an increasing physicality of memory. Specific incidents make clearer the Platonic and Neoplatonic influences upon both Spenser's thought and his complex treatment of memory.

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80 Jon A. Quitslund, 'Platonism', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia,* ed. by A.C. Hamilton and others (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 546–47 (p. 546).

81 For a representative sample of the literature see Rebecca Helfer, *Spenser's Ruins and the Art of Recollection* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Andrew King, *The Faerie Queene and Middle English Romance: The Matter of Just Memory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Daniel C. Boughner, 'The Psychology of Memory in Spenser's Faerie Queene', *PMLA*, 47 (1932), 89–96; David Landreth, 'At Home with Mammon: Matter, Money, and Memory in Book II of the "Faerie Queene"', *ELH*, 73 (2006), 245–74.

82 A.C. Hamilton, 'General Introduction' in *The Faerie Queene* ed. by A. C. Hamilton, 2nd edn (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), p. 7. All subsequent citations will be drawn from this edition.

A particularly useful example of this comes in Book II, Canto IX of *The Faerie Queene*.[83] The knights Guyon and Arthur are travelling together and discussing the Faerie Queene when they come upon the castle of Alma. Suddenly beset by hostile forces (we learn that they have been besieging the castle for seven years) the two knights drive them away and gain admission into the castle. It quickly becomes apparent that the castle is intended as an allegory for the human body. In common with so much of *The Faerie Queene,* however, the allegory is complex and multi-faceted. Alma represents in part the soul. As John J. O'Connor suggests:

> The castle of Alma is not merely the body inhabited by the soul but also the house that is the soul, traditionally divided into three parts: the vegetable soul of nourishment and growth (the triangle of the lower functions), the sensitive soul (the quadrate of the breast), and the intellectual soul (the circle of memory, judgment and imagination).[84]

Here once again we may discern the movement towards increasing physicality; we are presented with the soul as structure.

In the description provided of the castle, a concern with the link between the specific and the general, the abstract and the figural, reminiscent of Lull and Ramus is again apparent. Of the base of the castle we learn:

> The frame thereof seemd partly circulare,
> And part triangulare, O worke divine;
> Those two the first and last proportions are,
> The one imperfect, mortall, feminine;
> Th'other immortall, perfect, masculine,
> And twixt them both a quadrate was the base,
> Proportioned equally by seven and nine;

83 Although the reading adopted here focuses upon the Neoplatonic aspects of this incident, a useful discussion of Spenser's eclecticism and the Aristotelian aspects of the castle is provided by Robert L. Reid, 'Platonic Psychology', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia,* pp. 568–69. For further readings of this episode see Leonard Barkan, *Nature's Work of Art: The Human Body as Image of the World* (London: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 201–77; M. Pauline Parker, *The Allegory of the Faerie Queene* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp. 138–46; Nicholas Davis, *Early Modern Writing and the Privatisation of Experience* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 87–113; Nicholas Davis,'Mirroring, Anatomy, Transparency: The Collective Body and the Co-opted Individual in Spenser, Hobbes and Bunyan', *Polymath*, 1 (2011), 42–58 (pp. 42–49).

84 John J. O'Connor, 'Castle of Alma', in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, pp. 24–25 (p. 25).

Nine was the circle set in heavens place,

All which compacted made a goodly diapause. (*The Faerie Queene,* II.9.22)

A great deal of criticism has attempted to explicate the exact import of the circle, triangle and square, and despite O'Connor's useful reading quoted above, the flexibility of Spenser's allegories suggest that the matter may resist full resolution.[85] It is notable that the abstract nature of the figures bears a close resemblance both to the significance that they are accorded in Lull's memory system and more generally to Neoplatonic thinking, a reading buttressed by subsequent events in *Faerie Queene*. Furthermore, the quadrate proportioned by seven may bear resemblance to the seven years that the castle has been besieged, suggesting an affinity between the interior and exterior.

The suggestion of the building as body is confirmed when the knights journey through the castle, passing through the stomach and heart until:

Up to a stately Turret she them brought,

Ascending by ten steps of Alabaster wrought.

That turret's fame most admirable was,

Like highest heauen compassed around,

And lifted high aboue this earthly masse,

Which it suruewd as hils doen lower ground;

But not on ground mote like this to be found,

Not that, which antique *Cadmus* whylome built

In *Thebes,* which *Alexander* did confound;

Nor that proud towre of *Troy*, though richly guilt,

From which young *Hectors* blood by cruell *Greekes* was spilt. (*The Faerie Queene,* II.9.44–45)

Although in a mundane sense this description plays upon the head as simply the highest point of the body, more seems to be going on. There is the ascent, redolent of Neoplatonist ideas about the ascent to reason and the higher realms and the suggestion that it is 'lifted high aboue this earthly masse',

85 See Alastair Fowler, 'Numerical Composition in The Faerie Queene', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 25 (1962), 199–239; Vincent Foster Hopper, 'Spenser's "House of Temperance"', *PMLA*, 55 (1940), 958–67. The idea of this stanza as being deliberately open and complex is explored in Nicholas Davis, *Stories of Chaos: Reason and its Displacement in Early Modern English Narrative* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), p. 79.

which further suggests such a reading. The tower also serves to exemplify the complex treatment of memory. The tower provokes the memories related, whilst Spenser denies that the invoked memories are apt; 'not on ground mote like this to be found'.The tower suggests particular memories, such as of Thebes and Troy whilst simultaneously denying that such memories apply here. Indeed, as the tower-memories all relate to mythology, this further exemplifies Spenser's development of the fictive and rhetorical links to memory suggested in the writings of Lull and Pico.[86]

Guyon and Arthur find the head divided into multiple chambers, although three are chief. Sense impressions pass through the first chamber and become sources for imagination, then through judgement and into memory, perhaps again suggesting a possible link between memory and fiction and invention. As Daniel Boughner summarises, the house of memory is dilapidated but still firm, whilst Eumnestes who controls the memory is at once aged and yet lively.[87] The animation of Eumnestes is suggestive of the Neoplatonic idea of memory as an active principle. The brain or top of the tower is also a library that serves to stage memory, and is in this respect redolent of Boethius's *The Consolation*. Just as *The Consolation* moves between abstract memory and physical space, so too does *The Faerie Queene*, with equally complex results. The unique features of this memorial library are apparent in the subsequent stanza:

> This man of infinite remembraunce was,
> And things foregone through many ages held.
> Which he recorded still, as they did pas,
> Ne suffred them to perish through long eld,
> As all things els, the which this world doth weld,
> But laid them up in his immortal scrine,
> Where they for ever incorrupted dweld:
> The warres he well remembred of king Nine,
> Of old Assaracus, and Inachus divine. (*The Faerie Queene,* II.9.56)

86 For more on Spenser's memorial uses of Troy as part of a broader narrative strategy see James Carscallen, 'How Troy Came to Spenser', in *Fantasies of Troy: Classical Tales and the Social Imaginary in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* ,ed. by Alan Shepard and Stephen D. Powell (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004), pp. 15–39.

87 Daniel C. Boughner, 'The Psychology of Memory in Spenser's Faerie Queene', PMLA, 47 (1932), 89–96 (p. 91).

Interestingly, the old man Eumnestes ('well-remembering') has infinite remembrance and the memories he stores in his 'immortal scrine' endure and are not corrupted. This fact makes for a useful comparison to the state of the library itself presented in the following stanza which is in a state of seeming decay:

> […]
>
> His chamber all was hangd about with rolls,
>
> And old records from auncient times deriud,
>
> Some made in books, some in long parchment scrolls,
>
> That were all worm-eaten, and full of canker holes. (*The Faerie Queene* II.9.57)

The scrolls that are worm-eaten and holed (and hence by implication not 'incorrupted') suggests a Neoplatonic distrust of writing as an *aide-mémoire*, as evidenced in Pico's *Oration.* This model is further complicated by the presence of another figure within the memory, Anamnestes, 'Able to call to mind' who brings Eumnestes the materials that he has 'laid amis' that Eumnestes then parses and stores in his infinite scrine.[88] Hamilton's textual gloss usefully associates the phrasing 'laid amis' with Platonic doctrines of memory as recollection, further suggesting a Neoplatonic reading of this scene.[89]

Within the mutable space of the top of the tower (it is of course at once a library, brain and representation of the ascent of the soul amongst many other possibilities) the interrelationship between memory and fiction is again apparent. Arthur reads an account of British history whilst Guyon studies the history of Faerie land. Arthur's book is ostensibly historical (although of course it dips into the myth of Brute amongst other things) whilst Guyon's text is more clearly fictitious. Several things are at work here. Firstly, the very fluidity of the space in which they are reading calls into question the integrity of the boundaries between narrative and memory. This is only accentuated by the fact that the texts are all 'worm-eaten', undermining their validity (as suggested above, they are exemplars of the Neoplatonic distrust of writing-as-memory) and emphasising the necessity of memory as active principle reaching beyond temporal contingencies. Indeed, this dynamic could be seen as subverting the project of *The Faerie Queene* itself; once completed (and of course, it was never completed) will it

88 Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, II. 9. 56.
89 A.C Hamilton, 'footnote', in *The Faerie Queene*, II. 9. 58.

become another mouldering chronicle? Equally however, whilst the space in which the characters find themselves is ambiguous, the explicit presentation of it as a library allows it to serve as a grounding *locus;* whilst the ambiguity allows questions of the validity of the distinction between memory and narrative fiction to be raised, the authority of the library allows them to be restrained, at least temporarily, in the service of a broader memorial project, namely the creation of *The Faerie Queene*.

What we see in Spenser's Castle of Alma is the familiar mix of fascination and anxiety that we have seen taking shape around ideas of memory and forgetting since the classical period. It is written into Spenser's depiction of memory's relationship with text, as into the repeated motifs of the triangle, circle and square that literally give his imaginative concept shape and presence in this episode. It is the latter which particularly demands our focus: the ascent to memory is now located specifically in a physical space, representing a further development of the Boethian approach.[90] Although there is a suggestion of a physical orientation in Pico's *Oration* which places the human figure at both the centre of the Universe and in the centre of the discourse, on a 'stage', this tendency reaches a further state of development here. Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* is significant for Neoplatonic accounts of memory not just for its development of the links between fiction and memory nascent in the theoretical texts of the arts of memory, but also because it is evidence of the evolution of an increasing focus on physical instantiations of memory. To understand its appeal, it would be useful to turn now to two other figures: Giulio Camillo (1480–1544) and Robert Fludd (1574–1637). Both authors interrelate physical locations with conceptual metaphysical schemes, and are crucial for readings of memory in the early modern imagination and on the early modern stage.

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Camillo's ideas, formulated in Padua and Bologna but recorded late in his career in France and Milan, added an increasingly public focus to Neoplatonic accounts of memory, as well as marking an increasing unity between the rhetorical and Neoplatonic approaches to memory. In his *L'idea del Theatro dell'Eccellen* (hereafter *L'idea*, 1550), Camillo describes an outline of his memory theatre. The actual theatre was a wooden construction big enough to hold several people. Camillo originally

90 The associations between memory, forgetting and physicality are usefully discussed in Jennifer Summit, 'Reading Reformed: Spenser and the Problem of the English Library', in *Forgetting in Early Modern English Literature and Culture: Lethe's Legacies,* ed. by Christoper Ivic and Grant Williams (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 165–79.

showed his creation to the King of France before returning with it to Italy. Yates suggests:

> One of the most striking manifestations of the Renaissance use of the art is the Memory Theatre of Giulio Camillo. Using images disposed on places in a neoclassical theatre — that is using the technique of the artificial memory in a perfectly correct way — Camillo's memory system is based (so he believes) on archetypes of reality on which depend secondary images covering the whole realm of nature and of man. Camillo's view of memory is fundamentally Platonic (though Hermetic and Cabalist influences are also present in the Theatre) and he aims at constructing an artificial memory based on truth.[91]

The theatre is divided into seven ascending stages with seven gangways representing the seven planets. Specific properties and memories are located at the top whilst at the bottom lie the seven most important and general aspects of the Universe. In the centre, taking the place of the stage, would stand the user of the theatre. Both the links to Pico's 'stage' and the developments of Neoplatonic approaches to memory are apparent. Here the architecture of memory has become far more public.

This system also seems to mark an increasing conflation of the Neoplatonic and Ciceronian approaches to memory; although Pico's Neoplatonic *Oration* displays scepticism about the utility of writing for memory that is also occasionally evident in rhetorically-inflected approaches to memory, Camillo's text greatly increases the similarities between the two approaches. The seven 'planets' seem to function according to the place system of memory and here with the memory theatre we have memorative architecture. Indeed, Camillo indicates that beneath the seven signs are drawers in which texts can be placed, suggesting a system both for remembering things and for remembering words as advocated by Cicero.

While Camillo's approach presents a synthesis of the Neoplatonic and Ciceronian models, the most explicit synthesis of the two is found in the writings of Robert Fludd. Leaving aside the long-running scholarly debate regarding whether his system was, as Yates contends, based upon the Globe, his writings present a culmination of several trends traced throughout this chapter that fed into the early modern stage. Fludd distinguishes between two differing approaches to memory. Strikingly, he

91 Yates, *The Art of Memory,* pp. 51–52.

dubs these the round art and the square art, with the resonances to Neoplatonic thought immediately apparent. The definition of these terms makes this further obvious. To Fludd, the circle represents things abstracted from the material realm. As he describes: 'The first way is through *ideas*, which are forms separated from corporeal things, such as spirits, shadows, souls and so on, also angels, which we chiefly use in our *ars rotunda*'.[92]

Conversely, the square art is based upon the relations of everyday sensible things. In this regard it is remarkably similar to the classical architectural system proposed by Cicero and others in the rhetorical tradition. Indeed, Fludd also stipulates that real places should be used for the place system of the square art rather than invented ones. Fludd dubs his 'square' places theatres, stating: 'I call a theatre [a place in which] all actions of words, of sentences, of particulars of a speech or of subjects are shown, as in a public theatre in which comedies and tragedies are acted'.[93] Fludd's memory theatres contain five doors and five columns each. The synthesis of Fludd's two arts came in the placing of the square art within the round art: a diagram included in his text allowed exactly this operation to be conducted.[94]

In some respects this system represented both the zenith and the nadir of Neoplatonic thought on memory and approaches to memory systems. Since the earliest Neoplatonist writings themes of ascent and descent had been emphasised, of humanity as occupying a central place within the metaphysical system of the universe. Indeed, the emphasis on cosmic regularity and harmony and symmetry between the metaphysical levels of existence meant that in some regards the conjunction of the wooden-O of the stage with the circle of the heavens was entirely fitting, still more so when the stage itself was replaced by the would be thinker ascending the stages (or ladder-rungs) of existence to partake in universal knowledge through memory.

Conversely, Fludd's writings marked the final conjunction of the tendency of Neoplatonic authors to link Neoplatonic abstractions with the physicality of the created world which represented a further concession to imagery and sensualism rather than the pure rational principles of the thinking

92 Robert Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmologica,* sectio. II. Cited in Yates, *Art of Memory,* p. 315.
93 Fludd, *Utriusque Cosmologica,* sectio. II. Cited in Yates, *Art of Memory,* p. 319.
94 It is possible that Fludd chose these shapes to suggest the mathematical perfection of his arts. The perfect overlapping of the square and circle is suggestive of a resolution to the ancient mathematical problem of squaring the circle (that is to say, constructing a square with the same area as a circle using a compass within a finite sequence).

mind. This tendency had been nascent since the first Neoplatonic thinkers; Plotinus for example engages in descriptions of the One despite frequent proclamations that the One exists beyond comprehension or language. An aspect of Ramon Lull's Art was its transmission in a wide variety of contexts, and the popularisation of the Art for a mass audience often involved movement away from the abstract geometric principles of the various tracts and into images of trees or animal fables such as *The Book of The Beasts* (*c.* 1311). Even a rationalist such as Ramus is prone to depicting dialectic as a tree around which Aristotle paced trying to seize the fruit. This imagery points to another trend of Neoplatonic memorial thought that found its culmination in Fludd's writings, namely the increasing association of fiction and memory. Already nascent in Boethius's imaginary dialogues, Pico's *Oration* and in the fictional writings of Lull that expound the Art, this tendency became more pronounced in Fludd and Camillo, who explicitly tie memory to the fictive and imaginative space of the early modern theatre, and in *The Faerie Queene*, which interrogates the relationship of memory and fiction in the library of Alma.

A final development that reached culmination in Fludd and Camillo is the increasing physicality of the Neoplatonic memory systems, and their growing correspondence to Ciceronian and rhetorically oriented schemes. This similarity also marked another point of contact with rhetorical artificial memory systems, namely the perennial fear of forgetting. Lull for example needs to exclude the possibility of forgetting from his Art, as its inclusion would indicate a failure, Ramus's tree is menaced by Aristotle, indicative of false or corrupt memory, whilst Spenser's tower of memory is under siege from attackers who assault Arthur as he approaches, whilst the chamber of memory is also dilapidated.

Ultimately, rhetorically inflected artificial memory systems were to prove of greater significance for the early modern stage. However, the presence of Neoplatonic schemes in popular early modern texts such as *The Faerie Queene* suggests the endurance of this approach to memory, lingering insistently in the minds of early modern audiences of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. This is particularly apparent when we consider the reception history of *The Faerie Queene.* Although its monumental form and dense allegories prevented mass popularity, *The Faerie Queene* influenced early modern drama. David Hill Radcliffe identifies the influence of *The Faerie Queene* in the plays of

Robert Greene, Christopher Marlowe, Cyril Tourneur and others.[95] In this respect it also demonstrates the enduring importance of the Neoplatonic tradition and the continuing adaptability of Neoplatonic doctrines; *The Faerie Queene* draws upon a long heritage of philosophical thinking and yet also functions not as a terminus but as a continuing source for further adaptations. Spenser's text is also significant, however, in that alongside classical philosophy and allegory there are of course marked Protestant allusions, and in this regard stands alongside the writings of Lull in demonstrating the overlapping of ancient thought with Christianity. It is to this latter aspect that we turn in the next chapter.

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95 David Hill Radcliffe, *Edmund Spenser: A Reception History* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1996), pp. 10–11.

Chapter Three:

Medieval Memory: Dreams of Texts

I have explored how Neoplatonism provided a path of transmission and mutation for ideas about memory from antiquity to the Renaissance imagination. I now intend to retrace my steps in a different direction. This chapter traces the path of memorial practices from classical to medieval Christian contexts and the concurrent changes that the tradition undergoes. The memorial tradition is particularly interesting as medieval thought inherited both Neoplatonic and rhetorically inflected approaches to memory.

As medieval memory texts range between the secular and the explicitly religious, this chapter begins by juxtaposing Boethius's secular *The Consolation of Philosophy* with Augustine's Christian *Confessions* (*c.* 398) as two foundational texts on the subject in this period. Both of these texts also explore differing models of time and the relationship of the interior and the exterior, perennial concerns of memorial texts spanning from antiquity to the early modern period. In the process, the meditative and visionary themes that both *The Consolation* and *Confessions* introduce serve as preludes to subsequent considerations of dreams and visions and their relationship to time and memory in later medieval texts, as well as establishing their influence upon the tone of memory in post-Reformation England and the early modern stage.

Boethius's *The Consolation* has been discussed in the previous chapter, which focused upon the Neoplatonic features of the text. However, *The Consolation* synthesizes disparate strands of memorial traditions, in that it also draws upon rhetorically derived approaches to memory. Despite the author's Christianity, *The Consolation* prioritises reason over faith, and commentators have observed that it is from philosophy and not religion that Boethius draws his consolation whilst awaiting execution.[96] This latter point is particularly significant given the influence of Boethius and *The Consolation* on medieval thought.[97] Indeed, given this pronounced secular aspect, Chaucer's

96 See Wendy Raudenbush Olmsted, 'Philosophical Inquiry and Religious Transformation in Boethius's "The Consolation of Philosophy" and Augustine's "Confessions"', *The Journal of Religion,* 69 (1989), 14–35 (p. 15).

97 See *Chaucer's Boece and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius,* ed. by A. J. Minnis (Cambridge: Brewer, 1993).

description of his translation of the text as belonging with 'bookes of legendes of seintes, and omelies, and moralitie, and devocioun' is striking. [98] Chaucer does not only treat Boethius's secular text as a seemingly religious one however, he also makes frequent allusion to *The Consolation* in his own secular memorial texts such as *The House of Fame* (*c*. 1380) and *The Book of The Duchess* (*c*. 1368). *The Consolation* was therefore both central and its treatment of memory was flexible and adaptable into different contexts, and these two features contributed to later medieval accounts of memory.

As suggested above, certain aspects of *The Consolation* seem to lend themselves to an interpretation in terms of a rhetorically inflected artificial memory system. The description of Philosophy herself as she first appears to the narrator fits this description, presenting a singularly striking visual image. As discussed in the previous chapter, the narrator notes her changeable height and that:

> Her dress was a miracle of fine cloth and meticulous workmanship, and, as I later learned, she had woven it herself. But it had darkened like a smoke-blackened family statue in the atrium as if through neglect and was dingy and worn. (*The Consolation of Philosophy,* I.1)

This presentation is redolent of the advice given in the *Ad Herennium* for the selection of memorial images. The *Ad Herennium* suggests both selecting images of extraordinary beauty and of mobility and that:

> […] we somehow disfigure them, as by introducing one stained with blood or soiled with mud and smeared with red paint, so that its form is more striking, or by assigning certain comic effects to our images, for that, too, will ensure our remembering them more readily.[99]

In this respect the dynamism of the presentation of philosophy is notable, as is the similarity to the 'disfiguration' recommended by the author of *Ad Herennium*: philosophy has a smoke-stained and torn dress. The description of the woven ladder of philosophy also suggests this as an instructive and memorable image. Similarly, the idea that philosophy is in some visual aspects akin to 'a smoke-blackened family statue in the atrium' also introduces a concern with images in their appropriate

98 Geoffrey Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales,* ed. by V.A. Kolve (London: Norton, 2005), X. 1088.
99 Anon, *Ad Herennium*, trans. by Caplan, III. 22.

backgrounds or places, once again a concern of artificial memory systems. Throughout Boethius's text, philosophy is consistently associated with place. As well as *The Consolation*'s broad concerns with exile this also takes on more specific forms. Boethius's narrator angrily remonstrates with Philosophy about the conditions of his imprisonment, and the difference between his current circumstances and the comfortable library in which Philosophy educated him about how cosmic order implied a system of ethics for humanity. [100]

Of course, in the previous chapter, the Neoplatonic aspects of *The Consolation* were discussed, and these features also shaped the Medieval and early modern approaches to memory. In *The Consolation,* Philosophy sings: 'That light of the mind was never altogether dimmed by the heavy flesh that causes men to forget the seeds of truth that were never lost and that teaching can revive to blossom again'.[101] Here the body is a 'heavy' agent of forgetfulness and true memory comes from turning the sight inwards, rather than to external stimuli. It is not surprising, therefore, that the text takes the form of a vision, once again relying on internal revelation.[102]

This, perhaps, is one of the most significant contributions that Boethius's *The Consolation of Philosophy* was to bequeath to medieval England: the skepticism of external stimuli and the focus upon memory in terms of grief and consolation, rather than rhetoric, which infuses and shapes the form of the memorial dream or vision intrinsically. The relationship of memory and dream was to prove particularly crucial, shaping medieval thinking and contributing to the memorial inheritance of the early modern stage, as shall be discussed in Chapter Six. In *The Consolation*, although Boethius relates events from an external, public world, they are dealt with abstractly, whilst seemingly intractable philosophical problems are resolved by *a priori* reasoning rather than *a posteriori* analysis. In its focus upon grieving and the right understanding of loss and grief, Boethius's *The Consolation* also introduced a multifaceted approach to memory and time into medieval thinking on the subject. Consolation involves making present and apparent the cause of the human, exterior distress and without negating it altering it, so that the memory as both past event and present awareness is shifted. The shifting spatial and temporal frames of medieval texts are an aspect of this, as is the frequent

100 Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, pp. 33–34.
101 Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, pp. 120–21.
102 Although it is not clear whether the descent of Philosophy is intended as vision or dream, the fact that Philosophy sits on the narrator's bed when she first appears may indicate the latter.

motif of books, with the book being both a tangible object and *locus* of internalised thought and memory. These aspects will be discussed presently. As suggested above, however, Boethius's text addresses memory from a secular approach. As many medieval memory texts were explicitly Christian in their outlook, a discussion of the tremendously influential Augustine, an author who of course writes in an explicitly Christian vein, will prove useful in setting the scene for subsequent medieval authors on memory influenced by his work.

As with *The Consolation*, the writings of Augustine also demonstrate both Neoplatonic and rhetorical approaches to memory, an unsurprising fact given that Augustine was both a professor of rhetoric and a Neoplatonist before his conversion to Christianity.[103] In a similar fashion to Boethius, these disparate approaches to memory in Augustine's work sit in a complex relationship. In a memorable passage that exemplifies this, Augustine discusses ascent, suggestive of standard Neoplatonic patterns of thinking. He also cites the memorial architecture of his classical precedents; in the spacious palaces of memory, images are pursued, retrieved and fetched, furthering this spatial analogy. Also present are the classical established rules for artificial memory systems; images are interpreted in an almost exclusively visual fashion and present themselves in order as *Ad Herennium* and other memorial texts suggest:

> I will therefore rise above that natural capacity in a step by step ascent to him who made me. I come to the fields and vast palaces of memory, where are the treasuries of innumerable images of all kinds of objects brought in by sense-perception. Hidden there is whatever we think about, a process which may increase or diminish or in some way alter the deliverance of the senses and whatever else has been deposited and placed on reserve and has not been swallowed up and buried in oblivion. When I am in this storehouse, I ask that it produce what I want to recall, and immediately certain things come out; some things require a longer search, and have to be drawn out as it were from more recondite receptacles. Some memories pour out to crowd the mind and, when one is searching and asking for something quite different,

103 For more on this see Henry Chadwick, 'Self-Justification in Augustine's Confessions', *The English Historical Review*, 118 (2003), 1161–75; Dave Tell, 'Augustine and the "Chair of Lies": Rhetoric in The Confessions', *Rhetorica,* 28 (2010), 384–407.

> leap forward into the centre as if saying 'Surely we are what you want?' With the hand of the heart I chase them away from the face of my memory until what I want is freed of mist and emerges from its hiding places. Other memories come before me on demand with ease and without any confusion in their order.[104]

The allusion to forgetfulness swallowing and burying whatever has not been committed to memory is also suggestive of the myth of Simonides and the fateful banquet, whilst the notion of the images rushing out in troops echoes *Ad Herennium*'s advice: 'Again, it will be more advantageous to obtain backgrounds in a deserted than in a populous region, because the crowding and passing to and fro of people confuse and weaken the impress of the images, while solitude keeps their outlines sharp'.[105]

A further example of Augustine's simultaneously Neoplatonic and rhetorical approach to memory can be seen in the implicit power relations of memory. Within rhetorical conceptualisations of memory, memory is always situated in relationship to a dynamic external environment (such as the city and statuary of Rome as discussed in Chapter One). Within Platonic traditions, however, the focus lies more upon introspection and the recovery of knowledge of the world of Forms rather than illusory sensory input. It is perhaps for this reason that Augustine can 'demand' things of his memory and 'chase' things away whilst simultaneously he must also 'ask' things of his memory and on occasion the wrong memory answers back; the first conceptualisation seems more Platonic and the second more indicative of the dynamism of the rhetorical artificial memory systems.

The nuanced relationship between interior and exterior and rhetorical and Neoplatonic approaches to memory is further complicated by the presence of God, or rather the presence of an image of God within Augustine's mind. This introduces the problem both of forming a memorial image of something infinite and incorporeal and adds further tension to the issue of power within the memory. Augustine questions:

> But where in my consciousness, Lord, do you dwell? Where in it do you make your home? What resting-place have you made for yourself? What kind of sanctuary have you made for yourself? What kind of sanctuary have

104 Augustine, *Confessions,* ed. and trans. by Henry Chadwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), X. 8. All subsequent citations of this text will be drawn from this edition unless stated otherwise.
105 Anon, *Ad Herennium,* III. 22.

you built for yourself? (*Confessions*, X.24)

The increasingly religious inflection of Augustine's memorial system is apparent through terms such as 'sanctuary', whilst in this presentation it is God who dictates the terms of his 'place' in Augustine's memory. Augustine adds a complicating factor a few paragraphs later however: 'Why do I ask in which area of my memory you dwell, as if there really are places there? Surely my memory is where you dwell, because I remember you since first I learnt of you, and I find you there when I think about you' (Augustine, *Confessions*, X.25). Although on one reading this is merely Augustine acknowledging the memorial *loci* as tools and devices rather than physical things, this quotation also undercuts the idea of God's sanctuary in the memory, through the demotion of notions of place. The power balance also seems to have shifted somewhat towards Augustine; it is he who finds God when he thinks about Him: Augustine seems to be the active agent. This aspect evokes the rhetorical tradition with its emphasis upon the agency of the rememberer: the artificial memory system can be toured at the discretion of the person remembering, albeit subject to rules of order and place. More generally this focus upon human role and agency is developed in subsequent disparate Medieval memory texts such as *Pearl* (*c.* fourteenth century) and *The House of Fame* (*c.* 1380), both of which rely upon an active role for the dreamer and rememberer, and indeed in the York Mystery Cycle, the performance of which at discrete places around York meant that the performances could be viewed from multiple perspectives or spatial locations subject to the viewer's discretion and agency.

Indeed, this flexibility of the memory is apparent in other aspects of Augustine's memorial system. Augustine, for instance, inverts the classical artificial memory rules for forming images by focusing upon darkness in contradiction of the explicit rules of the classical artificial memory systems that memory images must be well lit:

> But who can say how images are created, even though it may be clear by which senses they are grasped and stored within. For even when I am in darkness and silence, in my memory I can produce colours at will, and distinguish between white and black and between whatever other colours I wish. Sounds do not invade and disturb my consideration of what my eyes absorb, even though they are present and as it were hide in an independent storehouse. (*Confessions*, X.8)

The image presented is at first orderly: neither the sounds nor images of colours intrude or interrupt. Sounds however also 'hide'. The device of composition at night is also recommended by Martianus Capella, a late classical teacher of rhetoric in the *De Nuptiis* (*c.* 470 CE) and Augustine's association of memory and nocturnal spaces was to evolve into medieval narratives of dream memory, an aspect of medieval memory also contributed to by Boethius's memorial visions.[106] However, the creation of well-lit and ordered mental images in a context of 'darkness and silence' is potentially problematic and stands in opposition to the repeated insistence in Cicero and other seminal authors on both the primacy of vision and proper illumination of the mental images. The potential perils of creation by night are apparent in other and later memorial treatises. Albertus Magnus for example remarks:

> Those wishing to reminisce […] withdraw from the public light into obscure privacy: because in the public light the images of sensible things (sensibilia) are scattered and their movement is confused. In obscurity, however, they are unified and are moved in order. This is why Tullius in the ars memorandi which he gives in the Second Rhetoric prescribes that we should imagine and seek out dark places having little light. And because reminiscence requires many images, not one, he prescribes that we should figure to ourselves through many similtudes, and unite in figures, that which we wish to retain and remember (reminisci). For example, if we wish to record what is brought against us in a law-suit, we should imagine some ram, with huge horns and testicles, coming towards us in the darkness. The horns will bring to memory our adversaries, and the testicles the dispositions of the witnesses[107]

The rules regarding images being well-lit have been inverted and scrambled in Magnus's account, so that he incorrectly suggests that Cicero encourages darkness. Although no explicit mention is made to this as a nocturnal composition, the isolation and darkness emphasised by Augustine recur. Furthermore, as Yates notes, Magnus gave this rule in its correct form elsewhere (in the *De Bono*, *c.*

106 For a further analysis of ecclesiastical memorial composition at night see Carruthers, *The Book of Memory*, pp. 195–202.

107 Albertus Magnus, *De Bono* in *Opera Omnia,* ed. by A. Borgent and E. Borgnet **(**Paris:Vivès, 1890–99), IX. pp. 97 ff; cited in Yates, *The Art of Memory,* p. 68.

1450).[108] This indicates either a failure of Magnus' memory or an adaptation, perhaps for composition by night. Both dream-focused accounts of memory and their potential instabilities recur in a medieval context.

Another influence of Augustine upon later memorial works was the frequency of invoking memorial cities. Augustine often alludes to Carthage as a mental image, and once again the interconnection of rhetorical and Neoplatonic approaches to memory is evident here. He remarks '[...] for the image of an object to be impressed upon the memory, it is first necessary for the object itself to be present, so that an impression of the image becomes possible? That is how I remember Carthage' (Augustine, *Confessions,* X.16). Carthage is at once a memorial place but also draws upon the standard Platonic image of the impression made upon the wax tablet of the mind. Medieval memorial authors also share the Augustinian conflation of a memorial city and spatial place and an impression on a wax tablet, akin to writing. Later memorial accounts, as will be seen, combine memory-as-text and memory-as-architecture, treating memorial locations in terms of literary language and providing a welter of textual references for their memorial architecture. This is in part due to Biblical precedents. The discussion of New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelations informed later memorial cities (such as in *Pearl*) and served as both textual and visual model; a vivid and memorable visual account preserved in authoritative text.

Augustine's comments on memory are interrelated with the nuanced and expansive discussion of time undertaken in Book XI. The relationship of time and memory is of course a perennial one, and Augustine's writings profoundly influenced medieval thought on the relationship between the two. As Augustine notes, time seems to function as a measure of change in an external world — if nothing passes away or arrives then stasis is attained:

> What then is time? Provided that no one asks me, I know. If I want to explain it to an inquirer, I do not know. But I confidently affirm myself to know that if nothing passes away, there is no past time, and if nothing arrives, there is no future time, and if nothing existed there would be no future time. Take the two tenses, past and future. How can they 'be' when the past is not now present and the future is not yet present? Yet if the present

108 Yates, *The Art of Memory*, pp. 79–80.

were always present, it would not pass into the past: it would not be time but eternity. (*Confessions,* XI.14)

Memory requires recognising and ordering a chronological sequence, whilst also subverting it; a memory of the past requires making that memory with its concomitant sense of pastness immediately present. This complexity is apparent in almost all of the texts considered in this chapter, particularly *Noah* (*c.* 1376), which is to be analysed next. Augustine is ultimately unable to resolve his conundrum. This is perhaps linked to the duality of Augustine's Neoplatonic and rhetorical approaches to memory. The Neoplatonic method deals with eternal truths whilst the latter conceptualisation is more concerned with temporal existence and memories rooted in an external, spatial world. Later authors were to inherit however his central concern with the relationship of time and memory. The dreams and visions of medieval literature exemplify this complex relationship. Dreams were used both to enunciate Biblical accounts conceptualised as eternal truths and for secular purposes of remembering. In both treatments, however, memory-as-text and memory-as-image are interrelated and both secular and religious memorial dreams deal with the relationship of time and memory in the ambiguous space of the dream. In both religious and secular accounts the dream as a Neoplatonic interior space and the dream as something rooted in temporal existence also occur, often within the same texts and with unusual results.

Notably, both *The Consolation* and *Confessions* contain elegiac qualities. *Confessions* laments a misspent youth, whilst Boethius writes *The Consolation* whilst imprisoned on what he maintains were spurious charges. Although both texts ultimately resolve these issues and move into a state of acceptance, the relationship between elegy and memory is a perennial one. This is particularly apparent in the literature of medieval England which bequeathed to early modern memory texts some of their often elegiac qualities. Through a consideration of the adaptation of memory in the Medieval context, the subsequent changes of memory in early modern England become more apparent. This is exemplified in the Chester Cycle play *Noah.* Despite the consideration above of issues of interiority and its relationship to exteriority in *The Consolation* and *Confessions*, *Noah*'s role as a dramatic presentation staged in a particular setting more clearly illustrates these issues and exemplifies the relationship between elegy and theatre, an association that will be explored further in the final chapter.

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Just as *Confessions* engages with the link between time, eternity and memory, so too does *Noah*. The exposition of eternal truths in accessible and subjective form was a key concern of Cycle plays more widely, whilst their status as parts of a cycle limited them to individual incompleteness. As David Mills notes: 'In Tudor Chester, where there was already an impulse to locate the plays themselves within a particular point in the city's past, the relationship of the present to the past becomes a major theme in the cycle. The past becomes the context which explains the present'.[109] In analysing only one play this complex and fragmented treatment of time is particularly apparent. The selection of the biblical events and stories that became cycle plays is particularly interesting, comprising a seemingly random mixture of Old Testament and New Testament occurrences. As Pamela King observes however: 'The arrangement is eccentric only if one comes to the cycle expecting a smooth biblical narrative; in fact something else altogether is going on'.[110] The 'something else,' as King convincingly demonstrates, is a selection principle focused upon the patterns of weekly ecclesiastical bible reading in English churches and the feasts of Christmas and Easter.[111] In this respect *Noah* as a microcosm of the entire sequence serves to remember not just the biblical account but also the ecclesiastical calendar. Central to *Noah* are both memory and, more specifically, a layering of memories.

The central theological motif is a memorial one: the play culminates with the appearance of the rainbow as a visual sign that God will remember his pledge not to repeat the devastation:

> GOD*:* Here I behet thee an hest,
>
> That man, woman, fowl ne beast
>
> With water, while this world shall last,
>
> I will no more spill.
>
> My bow between you and me
>
> In the firmament shall be,
>
> By verray token that you may see [...].[112]

In this respect *Noah* also contains traces of both Boethius's and Augustine's overcoming of sadness

109 David Mills, *Recycling the Cycle: The City of Chester and its Whitsun Plays* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 153.
110 Pamela King, 'York Mystery Plays', in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture c. 1350–1500,* ed. by Peter Brown (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), pp. 491–507 (p. 496).
111 Pamela King, 'York Mystery Plays', pp. 496–98.
112 Anon, *Noah,* in *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments*, ed. by Arthur F. Kinney, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 352–57.

and of eulogy. Although the message of the rainbow is a positive one, it is predicated on a memory of human sinfulness. God also advises Noah over the course of his one hundred and twenty year project that his food preparation 'For that no way be forgotten'. However, the interrelationship of time, space and memory become most apparent when the Ark itself is considered.

The loading of the ark runs to over thirty lines of dialogue and lists lions, oxen, sheep, rats, herons swans and apes amongst many other species. The stage description reads: 'Then Noah shall go into the ark with all his family, his wife excepted, and the ark must be boarded round about. And on the boards all the beasts and fowls hereafter rehearsed must be painted, so that their words may agree with the pictures'.[113] The painted boards are particularly suggestive; the list of creatures has been 'fixed' to the memory with vivid visual imagery. Chester spectators were pre-conditioned to consider spatial factors in the memorialising — the Cycle plays were performed at numerous different locations in the town. Arthur Kinney pictures '[...] separate pageant wagons proceeding, one after another, through the town streets, stopping at fixed stations where the crowds stood or sat, waiting as the procession stopped to put on a show, allowing the whole of human history to unfold before them'.[114] However, King also usefully highlights the agency of the viewers of the production, noting that the audience were free to follow particular wagons, skip productions and move forward and backward in the temporal sequence by physical movement.[115] In this sense internal memorisation, external spectacle and the movement through ordered memorial places drawn from the outside world typical of the architectural memory systems are all apparent. Indeed, exactly this potential link between artificial memory systems and the Cycle plays has been productively suggested by Nicholas Davis.[116] This interrelationship of the internal and external is important in that it prevents any easy division between the public *Noah* and the seemingly private literary dream texts to be discussed later.

Arks and 'chests' of memory (also referenced by Augustine in *Confessions*) became significant models for medieval ecclesiastical memory.[117] Although arks could serve as the architectural plan for artificial memory systems, they also enjoyed a more localised plasticity of

113 Anon, *Noah,* 160.
114 Kinney, 'Introduction to the Cycle Plays', in *Renaissance Drama,* pp. 39–42 (p. 40).
115 King, 'York Mystery Plays', p. 499.
116 Nicholas M. Davis, 'The English Mystery Plays and "Ciceronian" Mnemonics', in *Atti del IV Colloquio della Société for l'Etude du Théâtre Médiéval,* ed. by M.Chiabo, F. Doglio and M. Maymone (Viterbo: Centro Studi sul Teatro Medioevale e Rinascimentale, 1983), pp. 1–12.
117 See *Confessions,* X.

reference with memorial 'chests', both in the sense of Aristotelian *loci* and the well-established trope of memories as precious treasure.[118] It is in this vein that Noah's wife refers to his ark as 'thy chest'.[119] Theodore K. Lerud has convincingly suggested that readings of medieval religious drama must focus far more upon classical artificial memory treaties, specifically in terms of memorial image and place or backgrounds, tracing the evolution of such thought through the Wycliffite controversy over drama and image.[120] Just as *Noah* serves to remember the events of the biblical account and also the ecclesiastical calendar, so too the ark serves a dual purpose, a focus upon order and place and temporal succession alongside the more static notions of eternity; the ark is at once indicative of Providence and eternal order but can also be put to more mutable and forward-focused memorial uses as mental image and receptacle. As with Augustine, the two tendencies occur in parallel and their occurrence in an explicitly didactic Christian play further indicates the complex relationship between Classical and Christian thought.

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To move from *Noah* to some of the most prominent poetic texts of the medieval period is to move from that emphasis on order, place and time, to the structural, narrative and affective role of memory and dreaming. The aspects of Augustine's and Boethius's memorial texts that touch upon dream and vision have already been outlined. The relationship of memory and dream reaches its fullest development in medieval dream texts. In many respects, dream and memory function in a similar fashion. Both partake of the interrelationship of the interior and exterior, with memories stocked with images drawn from the world or modelled on the book whilst literary dream narratives similarly explore internal and external worlds and in a sense remember previous literary dreams, as will be seen. Both approaches also stand in a particularly complicated relationship to time. Memories require bringing the past to the present – that is to say, re-presenting what is past – whilst dreams often follow disordered or changing internal logics of time which can be disrupted by events in the external world. Literary dreams and memories also contain fictive aspects, an association apparent in the discussion of

118 For arks as an artificial memory system, see John A.H. Lewis, 'History and Everlastingness in Hugh of St Victor's Figures of Noah's Ark', in *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse,* ed. by Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riaño (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp. 203–23.

119 Anon, *Noah*, 206.

120 Theodore K. Lerud, *Memory, Images and the English Corpus Christi Drama* (Houndmills: MacMillan, 2008).

the classical arts of memory and which developed through medieval England and through the Reformation to have a shaping effect upon the presentation of memory on the Shakespearian stage. Memory and fiction also share a phantasmagoric quality. The memorial image is not the same thing as that which is remembered; in Cicero's memorial building his friend Decimus is daubed with red paint to make him striking, whilst the dream image is a simulacrum of the real thing. This ambiguity may account in part for two marked characteristics of the dream vision. Firstly, religious memory dreams are almost invariably guided by a theologically astute guide. In *Piers Plowman* (*c.* 1360) the titular character guides the narrator Will in his early dreams; in *Pearl*, the maiden leads the narrator's understanding and shows him New Jerusalem. Although Dante's guide Virgil is denied admission to Paradise as a non-Christian, Virgil serves as authoritative due to his own earlier literary dream visions. This second aspect, namely of frequent citation of previous textual authority is also apparent and perhaps is employed to cement the veritable status of the memorial dream by inciting memories of previous dream narratives .This textuality is wide-spread in Medieval dream visions. Phillips lists at least eight different texts of the genre that either begin with meditation upon a book or culminate with the dream either being written into a book or transmogrifying into a book.[121] This once again demonstrates the confusion of the internal and external and the book as pattern for dream / memory and as spatial object.

It is in this regard that *Pearl* (*c.* fourteenth century) is illuminating. If the writings of Boethius and Augustine touch upon eulogy and memory and the relationship between memory and dreaming, *Pearl*, like *Noah*, adds to this through a multifaceted treatment of memory, time and space that exemplifies the complexities of putting didactic Christian thought into a particularised and local context. In addition to this, *Pearl* serves to introduce one of the key elements to be explored in the remainder of this chapter, namely the idea outlined above, the textual (and intertextual) nature of medieval dream visions. As Patricia Kean suggests, 'the description of the New Jerusalem follows the

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121 Helen Phillips, 'Dream Poems', in *A Companion to Medieval English Literature and Culture*, pp. 374–87. See also Peter Brown, 'On the Borders of Middle English Dream Visions', in *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare*, ed. by Peter Brown (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 22–55. For a reading of dream literature in relation to popular dream books see Steven F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 7–16.

corresponding passages in the Book of Revelations closely. But, more than this, the poem as a whole is built up on a network of biblical quotation and allusion'.[122] The text is intimately concerned with memory, and the approach to memory is tied to the imagery of the poem. The poem's eulogistic tone is apparent from the start, in which the narrator laments his lost pearl, which can be identified with his dead child. This reading is justified in part by the text which describes how the narrator 'leste hyr'. The specific description of the qualities of the pearl are also notable:

> Perle, plesaunte to prynces paye
> To clanly clos in golde so clere;
> Oute of oryent, I hardyly saye.
> Ne proved I never her precios pere.
> So rounde, so reken in uche araye,
> So smal, so smoþe her syde3 were,
> Quere-so-ever I jugged gemme3 gaye,
> I sette hyr sengely in synglere.
> Allas! I leste hyr in on erbere;
> Þur3 gresse to ground hit fro me yot,
> I dewyne, fordolked of luf-daungere
> Of þat pryvy perle wythouten spot.[123]

However smooth the sides, we can open a reading of the text by considering the ways in which the pearl functions as a striking and changeable image of memory. The opening stanza establishes the conflation of theological and memorial practices, which participate in and contribute to this flexibility. The qualities of the pearl 'So rounde, so reken in uche araye, | So smal, so smoþe her syde3 were' suggest both aesthetic perfection and the purity and completeness desirable for 'prynces paye', giving the quotation its biblical flavour. In a similar vein, the narrator notes 'Quere-so-ever I jugged gemme3 gaye', introducing a central conceit of the narrator as jeweller. This is of course laden with theological symbolism and allusion, such as to the pearl of great price; 'Again, the kingdom of

122 P. M. Kean, *The Pearl: An Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 1967), p. 7.
123 Anon., *Pearl*, in *The Poems of The Pearl Manuscript,* ed. by Malcolm Andrew and Ronald Waldron, 4th edn (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), I. 1–12. All subsequent citations of the text will be drawn from this edition.

heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls: Who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it' (Matthew 13: 45–46).

The persistence of gems and riches within memorial discourses, such as to fill the 'treasure chests' of the mind or as visual mental iconography, provides a further example of the expansiveness of the pearl as icon of memory, in a similar fashion to the ark of *Noah* which is similarly flexible. As Maidie Hilmo suggests, pearls occupied a variety of positions: they frequently functioned as border decoration and ornament.[124] This can be seen as encouraging a Quintilian-style of memorising the visual details of pages and scrolls, with the striking beauty of pearls serving to make individual pages memorable. As an exemplar of wealth pearls also of course functioned as memorial images for the 'treasure chests' of memory. The mutability of memory apparent in the texts of Augustine and Boethius reaches a new stage of development here, with the pearl at once child, a referent to biblical text and material object associated with common medieval practices of memory.

This adaptability of the pearl in relation to memory is developed throughout the text, with all three readings frequently at work. As a later stanza reads:

> "Bot, jueler gente, if þou schal lose
> Þy ioy for a gemme þat þe wat3 lef,
> Me þynk þe put in a mad porpose,
> And busye3 þe aboute a raysoun bref;
> For þat þou leste3 wat3 bot a rose
> Þat flowred and fayled as kynde hyt gef.
> Now þur3 kynde of þe kyste þat hyt con close
> To a perle of prys hit is put in pref.
> And þou hat3 called þy wyrde a þef,
> Þat o3t of no3t hat3 mad þe cler;
> Þou blame3 þe bote of þy meschef,
> Þou art no kynde jueler." (*Pearl,* V.265–77)

The pearl is seemingly akin to a rose that has withered, suggesting a eulogistic reading. Here

124 Maidie Hilmo, *Medieval Images, Icons and Illustrated English Literary Texts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 164.

again proper memory and the flexibility of the pearl as memorial icon is apparent. As Kean suggests, the child is presented in two aspects 'her mortal nature (symbolized by the rose) and her immortal part (symbolized by the pearl)'.[125] The narrator's duty is to remember the Christian offer of salvation and the pearl in its proper place. The jeweller imagery is also present at both the beginning and the end, and the pearl's material aspect is discernible in the 'þe kyste þat hyt con close', the chest that gives the pearl its value. Although Heaven is surely intended here, providing an example of a theological reading of the pearl, the pertinence of the chests of memory for a full understanding of the quotation is also apparent.

The structural properties of *Pearl* are also identifiable in the above extract. The repetition evidenced between 'jueler' of the first and last line is a microcosm of the overarching structure that governs the text. John Anderson suggests: 'Its most striking feature is the linking of one stanza to another in five-stanza sections, and the linking of one section to another, by the use of the same word (the 'link-word') in the last line of each of the five stanzas, and in the first line of the stanza following'.[126] Numerology is rife throughout (the focus upon twelves shown in the number of lines per stanza, the one thousand two hundred and twelve lines of the poem and the twelve gates of the celestial city amongst many other examples) and the symmetry of beginning and ending is shown by a comparison of the first and last lines: 'Perle, plesaunte to prynces paye' 'Ande precious perle3 vnto his pay'(*Pearl,* I.1; XX.1212). The cumulative effect of this is to suggest both the inner and outer perfection of the pearl (without spot) through the structure of the poem and to promote memory in all of its complexity (of the poem, the offer of Christian salvation and *Revelations* amongst other things) through order, the repetition adding to the sense of completion. The versatility of the pearl as an image of memory is apparent.

The significance of number extends beyond numerology and typology however and serves to efface the distinction between image and text. Anderson suggests: 'As with *Gawain,* and the manuscript as a whole, the key to *Pearl's* complicated thematic structure is to consider it as tripartite, with an inner part contained within two framing parts. In *Pearl* there is an intricate symmetry between the opening and closing frames, each of which consists of four sections of grouped stanzas; thus the

125 Kean, *The Pearl*, p. 94.
126 J.J. Anderson, *Language and Imagination in the Gawain Poems* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), p. 18.

four sections at the beginning are mirrored by the four at the end (17–20).'[127] This pattern of completeness is suggestive of the pearl as a striking and memorable text, as well as a striking visual image, linking it to the two patterns of memorising in the discussion of Augustine's memorial Carthage above. Augustine's approach conflates spatial and written approaches to memory, and this can also be seen operating in the Chaucerian memorial texts to be discussed.

This pattern of conflating text and image is also discernible in other memorial practices of the period. Carruthers outlines thirteenth century monastic trends to divide sermons numerically, often following a mental grid pattern for storing memorial images. She cites Thomas of Waleys: 'Indeed if only one division of the theme is made, still that division will be beneficial as to those matters, as much for the preacher as for the hearer [...] Truly it is useful for the preacher, because division of the theme into separate parts affords an opportunity for dilation in the farthest continuation of his sermon'.[128]

As examples of division by five are then given, it is easy to imagine *Pearl* as written with a similar schema in mind. The five stanza structure and the tripartite division which Anderson identifies suggest that the fourteenth century *Pearl* may have been written to be memorised and incorporated into a memorial system. Although not a sermon, *Pearl* is concerned with ecclesiastical and theological affairs and proceeds in some respects like a homiletic sermon, in the presentation of a knotty religious problem that is resolved through analysis and reference to biblical proof-texts.[129] Indeed in some respects the pedagogical dialogue between the maiden and the narrator echoes this advice, with the maiden recapitulating points of difficulty. In this respect, *Pearl* partakes of the increasing textuality or 'bookishness' of medieval memory, but with the concomitant tensions of memory that accompany effacing the distinctions between memory as image and memory as text.

Indeed, the very changeability of the pearl as a memorial image discussed earlier suggests conversely that the pearl may be unsuitable as a memorial tool: the complexity of the pearl means that in some respects it is overdetermined. A memorial image that is not specific would not be efficient according to the classical rhetorical rules. Tellingly, aspects of forgetting are evident in this memorial

127 Anderson, *Language and Imagination in the Gawain Poems*, p. 19.
128 Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, p. 103.
129 The genre of *Pearl* has of course long been a source of critical debate. For a broad overview of the debate see Ian Bishop, *Pearl in its Setting* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), pp. 13–26.

text: the dreamer's lament for the lost pearl is predicated on a forgetting of the perils of despair and of the joys of Heaven, shortcomings which the maiden explains to the dreamer at length. *Pearl's* success as a general didactic work draws heavily from the presentation of an intense and particularised grief of the narrator. The transition from an individual account of loss and memory towards more general literary models (both in the trope of the heavenly garden and the account of the memorial city) moves the memory away from spatial and temporally inflected memory and towards more abstract approaches, perhaps tracing once again the dual inheritance of Neoplatonic and rhetorical approaches to memory. Potentially, however, this typical feature of dream visions counts against the success of *Pearl* as a memorial text, with the recitation of standard models and idioms of memory negating the immediacy of the related grief and shifting the focus to other texts.

For example, the dreamer falls asleep in a garden before entering a terrestrial paradise that seems to be strongly related to the initial garden. Anthony Spearing traces a line of transmission of idealised places of a set description from classical antiquity to medieval authors through rhetorical textbooks, describing the landscape of heavenly dreams as essentially Mediterranean; a bright but shaded meadow containing water and a breeze. [130] The similarities between the dreamer's vision of Jerusalem to Augustine's memorial Carthage are also apparent, as well as to the biblical New Jerusalem. Given the overlap between classical memorial traditions and Christian thought in Augustine, this dimly suggests the persistence of classical memorial techniques in even such a theologically minded work as *Pearl,* as well as providing an example of the conflation of memory as text and as image or architecture: *Pearl's* vivid image is a memory of a previous textual account. In this instance, the architecture matches the textual descriptions provided in *Revelations.*[21] In this respect the account of the city with streets of gold and plentiful jasper as well as numerous other gems is significant:

> 3et joyned John þe crysolyt
> Þe seuenþe gemme in fundament;
> Þe a3tþe þe beryl cler and quyt;
> Þe topasye twynne-hew þe nente endent;
> Þe crysopase þe tenþe is ty3t;

130 Anthony Colin Spearing, *Medieval Dream Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. 17.

Þe jacynght þe enleuenþe gent;

Þe twelfþe, þe gentyleste in vch a plyt,

Þe amatyst purpre wyth ynde blente;

Þe wal abof þe bantels bent

O jasporye, as glas þat glysnande schon;

I knew hit by his deuysement

In þe Apocalyppe3, þe apostel John. (*Pearl,* XVII.1010–17)

The memorial image of the city is in its turn decorated with the precious gem stones of memory. This is both a notable point of comparison to Augustine and evidence of an attempt to prove the veracity of the dream-as-literature by imitating sanctified forms. It has already been suggested that *Pearl* participates in the increasing textuality of medieval memory and effaces the distinctions between memory as image and memory as text. Both of these features, as well as the trope of citing authoritative textual precedent, shape subsequent medieval memorial writing.

The author of *Pearl* also shares a concern with Augustine regarding the interrelationship of memory and time. The Dreamer for example remembers:

More meruayle con my dom adaunt:

I se3 by3onde þat myry mere

A crystal clyffe ful relusaunt;

Mony ryal ray con fro hit rere.

At þe fote þerof þer sete a faunt,

A mayden of menske, ful debonere;

Blysnande whyt wat3 hyr bleaunt.

[…]

On lenghe I loked to hyr þere;

Þe lenger, I knew hyr more and more. (*Pearl,* III.155–67)

The maiden of whom the Dreamer claims he ‘knew hyr wel’ is in physical appearances different than from the lost child, and resembles the ‘crystal clyffe’, at once physical but also identifiable with the gems of memory. Similarly, the biblical parable of the vineyard from Matthew 20 is recounted:

“More haf we serued, vus þynk so,

Þat suffred han þe daye3 hete,

Þenn þyse þat wro3t not houre3 two,

And þou dot3 hem vus to counterfete."

Þenne sayde þe lorde to on of þo:

"Frende, no waning I wyl þe 3ete;

Take þat is þyn owne, and go." (*Pearl,* X.553–60)

This goes towards an explanation of the difference between human temporal perception and divine models, with the entire course of Christian suffering and toiling towards ecclesiastical ends proving comparable to a day toiling in the vineyard. Finally, the Dreamer is physically separated in his memorial dream from the maiden by a river. This 'place' proves to be both a temporal and spatial barrier: it is the attempt to cross the river that occasions the reawakening of the Dreamer and the disruption of the dream-space which he occupied. In this sense it is once again suggestive of the paradoxes of memory in Augustine and his treatment of the river of time. The Dreamer also expresses the concern that the garden in which he lost his pearl was an unsuitable place; the garden is itself of course richly laden as a memorial image with the iconography of the Garden of Eden and fall. As with *Noah*, a multiplicity of memorial reference is apparent — in *Noah*, to the city festivities, the Biblical account and the ecclesiastical calendar. Also as with *Noah*, the juxtaposition between temporal stasis and the resurrection of the past through memory is apparent.

This complex treatment of time is again due in part to *Pearl*'s status as dream vision. Despite the pedigree of dream vision going back to John, night and sleep also represented for monks the threat of night terrors, *succubi*, and the potential uncertainties represented by the disordered images of Augustine and the threatening memorial ram of Albertus Magnus emerging from the darkness discussed earlier in the chapter. Attempts to reinforce the memorial dream space with reference to other authoritative texts undermines the uniqueness of the memory being recounted. In this respect the ambiguous nature of the dream works against the notion of the self-contained purity and completeness of the pearl — the dream is never a complete thing; as with *Pearl,* the dreamer wakes up.

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It is in this regard that Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* (*c.* 1368) and *House of Fame* (*c.* 1379) are illuminating. Both texts share with the explicitly religious dreams a conflation of memory-as-text and

memory-as-image and a concern with citing textual memories within the dream-memory, often with an explicitly fictive focus absent from *Pearl.* Perhaps most notable is the status of *Book of the Duchess* as a dream vision of grief. In this respect the text carries echoes of *Pearl* and further demonstrates the interrelationship of dream and memory in medieval literature. Due to references to 'Richmond' and 'Lancaster' and the verbal similarity between the knight's lost queen 'White' and John of Gaunt's dead wife Blanche, the poem is often considered as written to commemorate her. Here again there is a link between internal and external: real world events inspire an ostensibly inner experience commemorated through literary creation.[131] The temporal aspect of reading is also of note here given the mutable time references of literary dreams. As an object, the book recounts past events, but it is the act of reading that brings the related events to present consciousness. The narrator falls asleep whilst reading a book, suggesting the book both as an *aide-mémoire* but also that the suspension of reading serves to shift and confuse the passage of time: in a sense to stop reading is to stop remembering, providing another link between memory and texts but also a point of difference between dreaming and remembering in that one has to cease reading in order to remember. Chaucer's narrator relates:

> Swich a lust anoon me took
> To slepe, that right upon my book
> I fil aslepe, and therwith even
> Me mette so inly swete a sweven.[132]

Once again the complex nature of medieval dreaming-as-memory is apparent. The intriguing suggestion by Albertus Magnus of the necessity of darkness for proper memorialising (as against the classical well-lit *loci* suggested by Cicero, Quintilian and others) and its relationship to sleep may also be apparent. Chaucer's dream narrator meets a black knight lamenting his lost lady, a particular kind of emotionally charged memory. The knight suggests:

> To make that fair, that trewly she
> Was hir cheef patron of beautee,
> And cheef ensample of al hir werke,

131 See editorial preface to Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Book of the Duchess*, in *The Riverside Chaucer* ed. by Larry D. Benson, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 329–30 (p. 329). Subsequent references to *The Book of the Duchess* and *The House of Fame* are drawn from this edition.

132 *The Book of the Duchess*, 271–76.

And moustre; for, be hit never so derke,

Me thinketh I see hir ever-mo. (*Book of the Duchess,* 271–76)

For the knight, the lost lady functions as a visual icon of memory, most discernible in darkest conditions. In its turn this scene is a recapitulation of the earlier words of Juno. The body of the king being presented before the queen represents striking visual iconography ideally suited for incorporation into an artificial memory system – at the least here the dead king is acting as an avatar of memory to Alcyone

'Go bet', quod Juno, 'to Morpheus,

Thou knowest hym wel, the god of sleep;

Now understond wel, and tak keep.

Sey thus on my halfe, that he

Go faste into the grete see,

And bid him that, on alle thing,

He take up Seys body the king,

That lyth ful pale and no-thing rody.

Bid him crepe into the body,

Aud do it goon to Alcyone (*Book of the Duchess,* 136–45)

It is also striking that the visit occurs at night and is orchestrated by Morpheus, god of sleep; this would seem to further establish the close integration of sleep and dream-spaces with medieval memory. In the dream itself we learn the dreamer's observations:

And, sooth to seyn, my chambre was

Ful wel depeynted, and with glas

Were al the windowes wel y-glased,

Ful clere, and nat an hole y-crased,

That to beholde hit was gret Ioye.

For hoolly al the storie of Troye

Was in the glasing y-wroght thus,

Of Ector and of king Priamus,

Of Achilles and king Lamedon,

Of Medea and of Iason,

Of Paris, Eleyne, and Lavyne.

And alle the walles with colours fyne

Were peynted, bothe text and glose,

Of al the Romaunce of the Rose. (*Book of the Duchess,* 321–34)

Once again the standard allusion to memorial architecture is present, and as seen with previous texts it is conflated with memorial texts — the paintings are from the *Romance of the Rose* (*c.* 1275). It reveals, I would suggest, an aspect of second-order memory potentially discernible in *Pearl* — transforming the poem into a memory of memories, marking a shift in focus from the original site of the memory to a memory of texts. Particularly notable is the recurrence of the device of a memorial city found in Augustine's *Confessions* and *Pearl*. In *Pearl*, the New Jerusalem functions as a visionary and memorial device whilst Augustine's Carthage seems to function as a rhetorical anchor. Here however the view presented is that of Troy, albeit a second-order pictorial representation rather than a vision of the city itself: Chaucer's dreamer beholds the painted story of Troy, although it is not his own memories being recalled. This is the memorial Troy:

Of Ector and of king Priamus,

Of Achilles and king Lamedon,

Of Medea and of Iason,

Of Paris, Eleyne, and Lavyne. (*Book of the Duchess,* 328–31)

Similarly, the boundary between medieval memory and invention seems pliable here, as seen with the opening device of the narrator falling asleep on a book. The Dreamer's recollection of how the walls are decorated with scenes from the *Romance of the Rose* seems to suggest that texts can serve as continuing prompts of both memory and creation even within dreams. Although the act of falling asleep opened a space for literary creation, recognition of the Romance of the Rose serves to inspire continuing creation, suggesting once again a shared link between memory and dreams through the shared fictive aspects of both.

In some respects *The House of Fame* reads as a remembrance of *The Book of the Duchess* and develops to the furthest the 'bookishness' of medieval dream narratives. Chaucer's later poem recounts a dream vision to the House of Fame, a remarkable building upon which reputation and gossip inscribe

carved messages. Once again of course the significance and import of dreaming for medieval memory is obvious. The paradoxes of the dream-as-memory are also apparent through the fractures and fissures of the text and its multi-faceted approach to memory, including an artificial memory system. The architectural motif of the artificial memory systems is discernible in the Dreamer's relation, in which the classic rules seem presented here in truncated form.

> But as I sleep, me mette I was
> Within a temple y-mad of glas;
> In whiche ther were mo images
> Of gold, stondinge in sondry stages,
> And mo riche tabernacles,
> And with perre mo pinacles,
> And mo curious portreytures,
> And queynte maner of figures
> Of olde werke, then I saw ever. (*The House of Fame,* I.119–27)

'Images' stand in niches ('tabernacles'), suggestive of the artificial memory systems device of images on *loci*. The 'curious portreytures' support such a reading, as does the 'queynte maner' of the figures, indicating perhaps the stark and memorable visual aspects recommended for the signs of an artificial memory system. The *Ad Herennium* suggests of course creating striking and unique images.[133]

The figures are therefore redolent both of the statuary of classical Rome discussed in Chapter One and also, given the influence of Boethius upon Chaucer discussed at the start of this chapter, perhaps provides a further point of contact with previous memorial texts, specifically the appearance of Philosophy in *The Consolation* in similar terms of striking visual imagery akin to a statue. In this regard the figures of *The House of Fame* seem well chosen as stimuli to memory; or at least the preliminary figures, as Chaucer's Dreamer has not yet reached the titular house.

The links between *The House of Fame* and artificial memory accounts and the evident instabilities are only heightened when the Dreamer lands upon the hill of ice which holds the House of Fame. He describes a writing on the dream / memory landscape:

> Tho saw I al the half y-grave

133 Anon, *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, trans. by Rackham, III. 22.

With famous folkes names fele,

That had y-been in mochel wele,

And hir fames wyde y-blowe.

But wel unethes coude I knowe

Any lettres for to rede

Hir names by; for, out of drede,

They were almost of-thowed so,

That of the lettres oon or two

Was molte away of every name,

So unfamous was wexe hir fame;

But men seyn, `What may ever laste? (*The House of Fame,* III.1136–47)

The writing is evocative of the memorial approach espoused by Quintillian and others based upon conceptualising the mind as a wax tablet to be printed upon; the crucial sensual perception is vision ('saw', 'rede') as with the artificial memory systems. Equally apparent are the instabilities: names are thawing away.

The visual motif is sustained through the notion of the Dreamer 'pour[e]ing' over the writings, his view eclipsed by the shadow of the castle standing overhead. All of this is redolent of the artificial memory texts in which vision and repetition are the keys to memory. This aspect is only enhanced by the population of the House of Fame:

Ther herde I pleyen on an harpe

Orpheus ful craftely,

And on his syde, faste by,

Sat the harper Orion,

And Eacides Chiron,

And other harpers many oon,

And the Bret Glascurion. (*The House of Fame,* III.1201–08)

The figures of fame seem partly identifiable with those of memory, sharing features such as order, regularity and visual iconography. Although the description is aural in part the visual iconography also clusters around the image of the 'harpe'. In similar style the Dreamer recounts:

Ther saugh I Colle tregetour

Upon a table of sicamour

Pleye an uncouthe thing to telle;

I saugh him carien a wind-melle

Under a walsh-note shale. (*The House of Fame,* III.1277–84)

The imagery of the giant under the walnut shell is once again a striking visual image. The plausibility of a memorial reading The House of Fame is further suggested by the description of the interior.[134] Prominent are the pinacles (pedestals) and 'tabernacles', as well as the 'Imageries', whilst the prominence of the rich stones of Beryl and other decorations are suggestive of the precious jewels of memory. These two aspects are synthesised in the appearance of a procession (itself perhaps denoting regularity and order as commended by the classical artificial memory texts) of memorial figures. The fact that the Dreamer's artificial memory system seems to be stocked with invented figures pushes further the concern with fiction in the text. A memory system based upon invented images rather than images drawn from everyday life gestures towards the very pronounced fictive aspects of the text.

Thus herde I cryen alle, And faste comen out of halle,

And shoken nobles and sterlinges.

And somme crouned were as kinges,

With crounes wroght ful of losenges;

And many riban, and many frenges

Were on hir clothes trewely.

Tho atte laste aspyed I

That pursevauntes and heraudes,

That cryen riche folkes laudes,

Hit weren alle; and every man

Of hem, as I yow tellen can,

Had on him throwen a vesture,

Which that men clepe a cote-armure,

Enbrowded wonderliche riche,

134 Chaucer, *House of Fame*, III. 1181–92.

Al-though they nere nought y-liche. (*The House of Fame,* III.1314–28)

Here the figures exemplify both the rules for creating striking mental iconography of memory (i.e visually striking and distinctive figures) and the prominence given to pearls and gems as the stock icons of memory; the passersby wear 'losenges', helping perhaps to distinguish them. The pronounced fictive aspects of *The House of Fame* are also discernible in its very frequent allusions to other literary texts. For example, the Dreamer notes:

But as I romed up and doun,
I fond that on a wal ther was
Thus writen, on a table of bras:
'I wol now singe, if that I can,
The armes, and al-so the man,
That first cam, through his destinee,
Fugitif of Troye contree,
In Itaile, with ful moche pyne,
Unto the strondes of Lavyne.'
And tho began the story anoon,
As I shal telle yow echoon.
First saw I the destruccioun
Of Troye, through the Greek Sinoun. (*The House of Fame,* I.140–52)

The reference to Troy is of course suggestive of *The Book of the Duchess*. Once again only a second-order representation of events is on show, suggesting further abstraction from the description.

Even seemingly singular features such as the eagle function as an allusion to other texts. As Mary Carruthers remarks: 'The metaphoric relationship of birds, especially pigeons, to thoughts and memories persisted in the Middle Ages, probably aided by Boethius and the Holy Spirit, as well as the dove (columba) released by Noah from the Ark'.[135] The eagle serves as a memorable visual icon within *The House of Fame*, acquiring some of its memorial signification through its similarities to the rumours and legends that populate the house, such as its mobility. The motion also alludes to literary texts, demonstrating both the interrelationship of these two approaches to memory and the extravagant

135 Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, p. 37.

allusions to literary texts in *The House of Fame*. The narrator's description of the flight links directly to Boethius and to Chaucer's translation of *The Consolation*. As they fly he notes 'al the world, as to myn yë | No more semed than a prikke' (*The House of Fame,* II.906–7); or, as Philosophy puts it to Boethius, 'al the envyrounynge of the erthe aoute ne halt but the resoun of a prykke at regard of the gretnesse of hevene' (II.7.24–6). Here Chaucer seems to remember both his own and past memorial texts. The eagle asks of the Dreamer:

> 'Yis, pardee,' quod he; 'wostow why?
> For when thou redest poetrye,
> How goddes gonne stellifye
> Brid, fish, beste, or him or here,
> As the Raven, or either Bere,
> Or Ariones harpe fyn,
> Castor, Pollux, or Delphyn,
> Or Atlantes doughtres sevene,
> How alle these arn set in hevene;
> For though thou have hem ofte on honde,
> Yet nostow not wher that they stonde.'
> 'No fors,' quod I, 'hit is no nede;
> I leve as wel, so god me spede,
> Hem that wryte of this matere,
> As though I knew hir places here;
> And eek they shynen here so brighte,
> Hit shulde shenden al my sighte
> To loke on hem'. (*The House of Fame,* II.1001–1017)

The imagery is striking; Castor and Pollux, the divine twins of Simonides's memorial banquet and perennial fixture of artificial memory treatises are once again present (albeit in the form of constellations 'set in hevene'). The discussion of the animals is also interesting, and suggestive of Noah's bestiary of memory. In addition to this, the description of the 'places' that 'shynen here so brighte' is suggestive of the rules of the classical artificial memory texts which stipulated neither

excessive light nor darkness — here things seem potentially amiss, or rather skewed to serve the purposes of this romance-tinged text. Given the glass temple, susceptible to shattering and the ambiguity displayed towards texts and memory (namely that although the scenes from the *Romance of the Rose* inspired the narrator earlier, the text begins with a book sending the narrator to sleep), the general intention seems to be to highlight once again the fictive and unreliable aspects of memory.

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BOTTOM *wakes*

BOTTOM: When my cue comes, call me and I will answer. My next is 'most fair Pyramus'. Heigh-ho. Peter Quince? Flute the bellows-mender? Snout the tinker? Starveling? God's my life! Stolen hence, and left me asleep? — I have had a most rare vision. I have had a dream past the wit of man to say what it was. Man is but an ass if he go about t'expound this dream. Methought I was — there is no man can tell what. Methought I was, and methought I had — but man is but a poor patched fool if he will offer to say what methought I had. The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report what my dream was. I will get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream. It shall be called 'Bottom's Dream' because it hath no bottom, and I will sing it in the latter end of a play, before the Duke.[136]

Bottom's words as he awakens from his dream in Shakespeare's play are not just comic, but also instructive for thinking about the forms of medieval memory, or at least early modern received ideas about medieval memory. To describe *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1590) as medieval may seem unusual. Despite scholarship linking Shakespeare to a medieval context, the play is typically discussed

136 William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in *The Norton Shakespeare,* ed. by Stephen Greenblatt and others (London: Norton, 1997), IV. 1. 196–210.

in terms of its classical borrowings or early modern staging.[137] However, the tessellation of the typically medieval place of the mysterious and ambiguous woods with the ballad form that was immensely popular in the period is striking. Beyond this, David Hale notes convincing parallels between Bottom's speech and Chaucer's *The Book of the Duchess*, suggesting that Bottom's lament on the inexpressibility of his dream closely parallels the Chaucerian:

> Me mette so inly swete a sweven,
>
> So wonderful, that never yit
>
> I trowe no man hadde the wit
>
> To conne wel my sweven rede. (*Book of the Duchess*, 276–279)

As well as this, both Chaucer's narrator and Bottom decide upon literary creation as a result of their dreaming.[138] The link between dreaming, memory and fictive creation is not the only notable thing about this passage however. When Bottom awakens he has in his mind a memory of the lines he has memorized for delivery in a play. This link between memory and dramatic performance is evident not only in Shakespeare but also in the medieval texts discussed, as is a deep sense of loss and forgetting which can be partially assuaged by the creation of a new text, be it Bottom's ballad or Chaucer's text. Of equal importance is the 'bookishness' of Bottom's speech. Beyond merely echoing an earlier Chaucerian text in its form, Bottom's words seem to obliquely allude to a prompt-book in his discussion of prompts and lines, whilst the mention of ballads adds to the effect. Finally, forgetting is once again intimately bound to remembrance. Bottom cannot articulate his memory beyond general befuddlement: it is Bottom's memory that will be recalled in a ballad, but like the ballad 'it hath no bottom'.

Both this 'bookishness' and its relationship to dreams is evident in the other texts considered in this chapter. Medieval dream literature inherited both the ambiguity of dreams and the need for literary guiding figures from antiquity, such as Boethius's guide of Philosophy, but this tendency found its fullest expression in medieval dream memories. The ambiguity of dream spaces led to the incorporation of visual imagery from previous memorial texts such as *Revelations*, leading to frequent citations of past texts as proof of the veracity of the memorial dream. This aspect lends memorial

137 However, see, for instance, Helen Cooper, *Shakespeare and the Medieval World* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010).

138 David G. Hale, 'Bottom's Dream and Chaucer', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 36 (1985), 219–20.

dreams an odd status as both bearers of memory and as artefacts of second-order memory: in effect memories of memories. Although subsequent early modern thinking would focus increasingly on rhetorical schemes of memory, both this ethical dimension and a concern for the relationship of the internal and external never entirely disappeared and is especially pertinent in later texts exploring the interface of grief, bereavement and the paradoxes of memory.

This complex treatment is echoed in the other ways in which medieval memorial literature partook of the inheritance of the classical antecedents of Boethius and Augustine. In some respects the distinctions between Christian and Classical thinking on memory and memory schemes became difficult to discern; even in the writings of the two such influential Christian predecessors, architectural memorial devices (which rely on external sources such as statuary for the creation of memorial images) ran in parallel with Neoplatonic ideas of the memory and of the unreliability of external stimuli. Distinctive features are present in the texts that emerged from this negotiation, such as the increasing tendency to present memory and memorial techniques in terms of ethics and providence, and the co-opting of rhetorical techniques of order, striking visual imagery and regularity into this new scheme. Even in this however, the pattern that we can begin to discern is generally one of overlap and mutation rather than radical change. Chaucer's dream vision of the giant under the walnut shell is in its combination of the vast and the tiny redolent of Hamlet's 'O God, I could be bounded in a nutshell and count myself a king of infinite space, were it not that I have bad dreams'.[139] Given the links between Chaucer and Shakespeare, a literary borrowing is possible. Even if coincidental however, this combination of dreaming, memory and fiction usefully exemplifies the key early modern inheritances from medieval literature.

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139 Chaucer, *The House of Fame,* III.1277–84; William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, in *The Norton Shakespeare,* II. 2. 246–48.

Chapter Four:

Cicero in the Early Modern School: Grammar, Rhetoric and Memory

Early modern England displayed both points of contact with its immediate medieval context and striking points of divergence. Some of these differences are most marked in treatments of memory. An emergent English humanism often defined itself in terms of memory, namely a recovery of the 'true' classicism of the Rome of Cicero and others and away from what English humanists considered the vulgarity of medieval Latin and medieval classicism.[140] In some senses, therefore, early modern English humanism staged a deliberate forgetting of its medieval inheritances and similarities. Medieval uses of Latin and classicism were overlooked or slighted whilst Medieval Latin inheritances were ignored, even when they contributed to major memorial texts such as *Lily's Grammar*.[141] Early modern grammar schools dealt extensively with memory, and proliferated rapidly in this period. In the previous two chapters memory and forgetting and their relationship to material culture have been examined, as well as the evolution of approaches to memory in particularised contexts. This chapter will explore a similar adaption of memorial practices in the early modern schoolroom, as well as the perennial relationship between memory and forgetting. This is informative for memorial readings of the early modern stage, and Shakespeare in particular, since both also emerged from this milieu.[142] More broadly however, the centrality and significance of grammar schools to early modern England make them a useful *locus* for considering memorial practice in the Renaissance.

This is of course not a new observation. As Thomas Baldwin states in his seminal *William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,* 'If we are to understand the creation but especially the propagation of the Renaissance, we must clear up the function of the Elizabethan grammar school'.[143] Baldwin's insight remains fundamentally sound. Early modern education was a nexus of differing and

140 Ian Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 129. See also Hanna H. Gray, 'Renaissance Humanism: The Pursuit of Eloquence', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 24 (1963), 497–514.
141 Ian Green, *Humanism and Protestantism,* p. 132.
142 Thomas Whitfield Baldwin, *William Shakespere's Small Latine and Less Greeke,* 2 vols (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944), II, p. 101.
143 Baldwin, *Small Latine and Less Greeke,* I, p. 117.

often contrasting trends, but in order to appreciate this, the nature of the grammar school itself requires investigation.

Sixteenth and seventeenth century England saw a rapid (albeit irregular) rise in the number of schools of various kinds.[144] Despite the undoubted significance of petty and cathedral schools, the present focus is chiefly upon grammar schools: it was this type of educational establishment which saw the greatest rate of increase in numbers. In addition to the burgeoning influence of humanism, the existence of the grammar school system was predicated upon the traditional medieval scholastic scheme of grammar, logic and rhetoric (providing a further point of continuity with the medieval past). Within these three broad areas, students would firstly study grammar almost exclusively in their initial years of study, followed by the other two subjects in the higher forms of grammar school as well as university. Grammar of course denoted a concept more expansive than its current sense. As well as covering syntax and the usual structural features of language, it also touched upon issues of style and provided the foundation for subsequent study. The language for which students learnt their 'grammar' was Latin and not English.

Now that the background has been established, some of the tensions that circulated in this central cultural institution can be investigated. Many of these tensions took the form of anxieties over education and its associations with the classical past. Given the intimate relationship of the grammar school to memory, it is natural that these anxieties are expressed in the form of angst over the nature and reliability of memory. Roger Ascham's *The Scholemaster* (1570) was a seminal pedagogic text and exemplifies these tensions, particularly in its treatment of the classical past and time. As will be seen, these anxieties are also pronounced in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* (*c.* 1588).

The full title of Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster* (1570) is instructive.

> The Scholemaster or Plaine and Perfite Way of Teachyng Children, to Understand, Write, and Speake the Latin Tong, but Specially Purposed for the Private Bringing Up of Youth in Gentlemen and Noble Mens Houses, and Commodious also for All Such, as Have Forgot the Latin Tonge, and Would, by Themselves, Without a Scholemaster, in Short Tyme, and with

144 Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education*, p. 64.

Small Paines, Recovuer a Sufficient Habilite, to Understand, Write, and Speake Latin.[145]

The sheer length of the seventy-word title suggests an exhaustive treatise, as does the promise within a relatively short text of a perfect way to teach Latin so that it may be understood, written and spoken. Against this however runs the assurance that the technique is 'plaine', and that those readers who have forgotten their Latin may without a scholemaster and with a bare minimum of effort (with 'short tyme and with small paines') also benefit. The issue of memory is particularly suggestive. In Ascham's account, *The Scholemaster* will help to inscribe Latin into the memory of the young in a 'perfite' fashion for their future benefit, whilst also serving as a means for an adult audience to recover through their own reading of the text what has been forgotten from their youth.

Indeed, the text of *The Scholemaster* expands this curiously multi-temporal aspect. Before the main body of the text may be addressed a reader is presented with a dedication of the book 'To the honorable Sir William | Cecill Knight, principall Secretarie to | the Quenes most excellent Maiestie'.[146] This inscription of the book to a set point in time stands against the sense of the title of a book suitable for ongoing future actions, for the bringing up of youth. Indeed, this aspect is only heightened by the fact that this dedication and two subsequent paragraphs were written by Margaret Ascham following the death of her husband Roger. Posthumously published, the text becomes a static memorial artefact whilst promising future edification. References to memory abound in Margaret Ascham's short prose insertion; she remarks: 'For well remembryng how much all good learnyng oweth unto you [...] how gladly and comfortably he used in hys lyfe to recognise and report your goodnesse toward hym [...] accept the thankefull recognition of me and my poore children, trustyng of the continuance of your good memorie of M. Ascham and his [...]'.[147]

Within the text itself, several other such references to the passage of time occur. Ascham consciously situates his text in support of the classical Roman position on school discipline, and against current pedagogical practices, whilst lines of Greek and Latin citations and quotations buttress

145 Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster,* in *English Works: Toxophilus; Report of the Affairs and State of Germany; The Scholemaster,* ed. by W.A. Wright **(**Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903). All subsequent citations to the text and its prefatory material will be drawn from this edition.

146 Margaret Ascham,'To the Honourable Sir William Cecil Knight, Principall Secretarie to the Quenes most Excellent Majestie', in *The Scholemaster*, pp. 173–74 (p. 173).

147 Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, p. 174.

Ascham's arguments, also followed by a translation into English for the adult reader who may have forgotten their Latin.[148] Particularly striking is Ascham's conceptualisation of his memory-focused work as both a creation of a particular place and time and as a piece of classical memorial architecture. His representation of his 'Scholehouse', in this respect, is an apt metaphor for the intellectual tradition inherited by the English Renaissance:

> But, as it chanceth to busie builders, so, in building thys my poore Scholehouse (the rather bicause the forme of it is somewhat new, and differing from others) the worke rose dailie higher and wider, than I thought it would at the beginninge.
>
> And though it appeare now, and be in verie deede, but à small cottage[…] I was lothe to giue it ouer, but the making so costlie, outreaching my habilitie, as many tymes I wished, that some one of those three, my deare frendes, with full pursses, Syr Tho. Smithe , M. Haddon , or M. Watson , had had the doing of it. Yet, neuerthelesse, I my selfe, spending gladlie that litle, that I gatte at home by good Syr John Cheke , and that that I borrowed abroad of my frend Sturmius, beside somewhat that was left me in Reversion by my olde Masters, Plato, Aristotle , and Cicero , I have at last patched it up, as I could, and as you see.[149]

The form of Ascham's school house is 'somewhat new' and its creation is supplemented by borrowings from Ascham's contemporary authors on memory, Cheke and Sturmius, but the school house also relies on his 'olde Masters,' Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, all of course authors who wrote on memory. As with the memorial architecture of Cicero discussed in Chapter One, so too Ascham's school house is under threat. Ascham imagines the schoolhouse as a 'sanctuarie against feare', suggesting a hostile exterior environment.[150] He is also keen to emphasise that despite his scepticism of contemporary Italy, there was a time in which it was a reputable school:

> […] tyme was, whan Italie and Rome, have bene, to the greate good of us that now live, the best bréeders and bringers up, of the worthiest men, not

148 Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, p. 185.
149 Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, pp. 178–79.
150 Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, p. 203.

> onelie for wise speakinge, but also for well doing, in all Civill affaires, that ever was in the worlde. But now, that tyme is gone, and though the place remayne, yet the olde and present maners, do differ as farre, as blacke and white, as vertue and vice.[151]

Despite these caveats however, the form and function of memorial-architecture itself appears as a disputed zone. Ascham states: 'Erasmus the honor of learning of all oure time, saide wiselie that experience is the common scholehouse of foles, and ill men [...]'.[152] Such sedate objections give way to a withering volley of invective against travellers, in which, as is evident above, Ascham characterises Italy as a rival school house characterised by a host of corruptions and degradations; a school house characterised by Catholicism and the diabolical, from which a scholar will often leave with less knowledge than when they entered:

> If you thinke, we judge amisse, and write to sore against you, heare, what the Italian sayth of the English man, what the master reporteth of the scholer: who uttereth playnlie, what is taught by him, and what is learned by you, saying, Englese Italianato, evn diabolo incarnato , that is to say, you remaine men in shape and facion, but becum devils in life and condition. [...] and those maners, which you gather in Italie: a good Scholehouse of wholesome doctrine: and worthy Masters of commendable Scholers, where the Master had rather diffame hym selfe for hys teachyng, than not shame his Scholer for his learning [...].[153]

Italy in Ascham's conceptualisation, I would suggest, is a school house of the wrong time, no longer what it had once been. The curious tessellation of temporal periods within the text is striking, as is the seeming paradox of the mutable school house as at once a zone of instruction and remembering and potentially a place of moral and religious decline and forgetfulness. These aspects, in addition to the conflation of pedagogic and religious discourses, are indicative of broader trends across early modern school houses.

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151 Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, p. 223.
152 Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, p. 215.
153 Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, p. 229.

The influence of scholars and pedagogues such as Ascham was written deeply into the educational environment of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. 28 June 1553 marked the charter for the new King's free grammar school in Stratford. As Baldwin notes, 'While there is no direct record surviving of Shakspere's having attended any grammar school, yet the familiarity with school texts and especially with school ways displayed in his undoubted works furnishes unimpeachable evidence that he had done so'.[154] Although the absence of records for the period for the Stratford grammar school complicates the issue, Baldwin marshals an impressive array of evidence for his contention.[155] For example, Baldwin usefully compares the exchange between Huw Evans and William Page in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (*c.* 1597) to educational practice in the form of the interrogative procedure and the testing of memory of Latin cases. Also notable however is the presence in comic form of strong moral disapproval by Mistress Quickly:

HUW: What is your genitive case plural?

WILL: Genitive case?

HUW: I

WILL: Genitive horum, harum, horum.

QUICKLY: Vengeance of Ginyes case; fie on her; never name her childe if she be a whore.

HUW: For shame 'oman.

QUICKLY: You doe ill to teach the childe such words: hee teaches him to hic, and to hac; which they'll doe fast enough of themselves, and to call *horum;* fie upon you.

HUW: O'man, art thou Lunaties? Hast thou no understanding for thy Cases, and the numbers of the Genders? Thou art as foolish

154 Baldwin, *Small Latine and Less Greeke,* I, p. 464.
155 Baldwin, *Small Latine and Less Greeke*, II, pp. 1–197.

Christian creatures, as I would desires. [156]

Such an exchange is of course comic and should not be overworked. However, similar themes of an anxiety over educational practice recur in *Titus Andronicus*, which will be considered later in this chapter. Before then however, further context is required, particularly about the anxieties surrounding the early modern grammar school. For example, John Stockwood preached:

> For a wicked thing once learned in youth, is very hardely rooted out in age. And such moste shameful filthiness is there in many, and the same the chief of our schole bookes, that in things most secret both in ma[n] and woman, no bawd, no ruffian, no not hel it selfe can spew out more detestable and lothsom filthe.[157]

Although expressed in unusually severe terms Stockwood's stance is by no means atypical. Indeed the passage bears comparison to Ascham's text. Both lament the degradation of the schools and both intersperse pedagogic and religious discourse, through the preacher Stockwood's allusions to 'hel' or Ascham's condemnation of the Catholic school room of Italy.

One notable feature that emerges from such critiques is something we have seen developing already: the conflation of the textual and spatial *loci* of knowledge and memory in the forms of books and architecture. When Ascham remarks on childhood aptitude for knowledge, his choice of images is suggestive of Platonic and Roman models of memory:

> For we remember nothyng so well when we be olde, as those thinges which we learned when we were yong: And this is not straunge, but common in all natures workes. Every man sées, (as I sayd before) new wax is best for printyng: new claie, fittest for working: new shorne woll, aptest for sone and surest dying: new fresh flesh, for good and durable salting. And this similitude is not rude, nor borowed of the larder house, but out of his scholehouse, of whom, the wisest of England, néede not be ashamed to learne.[158]

156 William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wives of Windsor,* in *The Norton Shakespeare,* IV. I. 50–58.
157 John Stockwood, *A Very Fruiteful Sermon Preched at Paules Crosse the Tenth of May Last, Etc* (London, 1579), K_5 e ff. Cited in *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,* I, p. 110.
158 Ascham, *The Scholemaster*, p. 200.

The familiar allusion to imprint on wax is typical of Ascham's tendency to seek past models for future action. Similarly, despite the slight way in which the comparison is handled, the comparison between school house and larder house may well indicate a further trans-temporal aspect; the model of memory as digestion is an ancient one found in Horace and others. At the same time, *The Scholemaster* is a conscious act of textual competition with predecessors and contemporaries nearer placed in time. Immediately following the diatribe against travel and Italy as a defective school room cited earlier, Ascham implicitly posits his own text against others that strive to shape impressionable memory:

> Therfore, when the busie and open Papistes abroad, could not, by their contentious bookes, turne men in England fast enough, from troth and right judgement in doctrine, than the sutle and secrete Papistes at home, procured bawdie bookes to be translated out of the Italian tonge, whereby over many yong willes and wittes allured to wantonnes, do now boldly contemne all severe bookes that sounde to honestie and godlines.[159]

The contentious role of books for memory is a central issue that merits investigation. Chapter Three has traced the early development of the 'bookishness' of memory and its problematic relationship to physical artefacts; a similar principle is at work here. The 'chief of our schole bookes' alluded to by Stockwood in all probability refers to *Lily's Grammar* (*c.* 1540), a central text which was by a royal decree of 1542 to be used in all English schools which taught Latin, and in which the turbulent pedagogic and social currents evident in Ascham and others may also be detected.

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Lily's text itself falls into two chief sections, being firstly the 'accidence' (which describes rules for the proper inflections of Latin words in English) and then the larger and more in depth second section written in Latin. Students would spend the first period of their time in grammar school attempting to memorise the first section, before moving on to the second, with which they attempted both transcription and construction of Latin sentences, referring back to the opening part of the grammar for reference as required. This dual aspect is indicative of the overall nature of this text. Despite the singular form of the title, the text was in fact a composite of material contributed by people separated

159 Ascham, *The Scholemaster,* p. 27.

spatially and temporally and conducted via epistles: Lily's own material written for St Paul's school, contributions by Colet and the editorial work of Erasmus.[160] This curious aspect is reflected in the heterogenous themes and contents of *Lily's Grammar* itself, which exemplify the multi-temporal and multi-spatial nature of memory in the early modern schoolroom by drawing upon an eclectic range of sources and examples for the text. Equally important is the significance given to regulation and punishment of the body, themes also prevalent in *Titus Andronicus*. Corporal punishment formed a part of pedagogic memorial practice in that beatings were used to ensure that the students remained focused upon their task of memorialising and to punish failures of memory. Corporal punishment was but one aspect of a broader trend of control and stricture. As Green astutely notes of *Lily's Grammar* and its regulatory features:

> It was an authoritarian text not just because of its royal backing and ecclesiastical support, or because its authors reflected that vein of humanist thought which saw Latin grammar as the product of usage or custom and humanist grammarians as the best custodians of the purest Latin. It exuded authority also because of the language of law used by its authors. Its text was dominated by 'rules', 'concords', 'rules of agreement' and 'rules of government'; and although there were endless exceptions to these rules, it was held to be vital for the student to accept and memorize both the norms and the approved exceptions.[161]

This trend is further demonstrated in the tendency of grammar schools to mandate and control the language of the students. For example, the educational charter for Canterbury grammar school reads in part: 'Lastly, whatever they are doing in earnest or in play they shall never use any language but Latin or Greek', whilst that for Bangor grammar school advises 'They shall use to speak Latin as well without the School as within'.[162] Indeed, the school master Christopher Johnson at Winchester provides further evidence of this trend, including punishment of the body. He dictated:

160 Baldwin, *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, I, pp. 1–43.
161 Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education*, p. 144.
162 L.S. Knight, *Welsh Independent Grammar Schools to 1600* (Newtown: Welsh Outlook Press, 1936), p. 94. Cited in Baldwin, *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,* I, p. 303.

> The speech of youth we wish to be Latin, of all even of those who are buried in the obscurity of the lowest classes, nor anyone to use his native tongue except when it shall be necessary. This custom must be especially preserved and practiced in the upper forms, must both be decreed by law, and preserved with severity and castigation. When the boys come to school and when they return home, when they play together, when they walke together, whenever they meet, let their speech be Latin or Greek. Let there be no place for lenience if anyone offends against this criminally.[163]

The persistence of this focus on the body alongside the textuality of early modern grammar school memory will prove significant.

The authoritarian positioning of the grammar schools in relation to the English language is also notable, particularly given the structural issues of instability which beset attempts to inculcate fine Latin into students. The multi-temporal features of the central grammar school texts are again apparent. As Cummings remarks:'Latin grammar stood as a paradigm for all languages. Indeed, even early grammarians of English such as Bullokar assumed the norms of Latin applied equally in English'.[164] This instability is particularly apparent in certain features of *Lily's Grammar*, such as his attempts to wholly subsume problematic classes and features of English into those of Latin. Cummings cites the example of Lily's attempts to identify the verbal auxiliary form of English with a (non-existent) Latin equivalent.[165] Indeed, despite the central position of *Lily's Grammar* in the English (Latin) curriculum these instabilities reflect the tensions and energies to which this apparently monolithic text was subject.

Multi-temporality and fragmentation are apparent therefore. Adopting classical Latin standards for an early modern curriculum led to the introduction of temporal and memorial fissures into the edifice of the early modern grammar school. These issues are also apparent in the memorial practices of the early modern schoolroom. In order to appreciate this, the significance of Cicero in this context must be appraised, whose writings were central to *Lily's Grammar*. The focus upon Cicero

163 William Badger, *Notebook from Eton*, 141v. Cited in Baldwin,*Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,* II, appendix.
164 Brian Cummings, *The Literary Culture of The Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 206.
165 Cummings, *Literary Culture of the Reformation*, p. 208.

demonstrates both the continuity of classical thinking about memory into an early modern context and provides another example of the adaptation of memorial practices to particularised contexts.

Almost universally admired as a Latin stylist, Ciceronian texts such as the *De Oratore* and *Topoi* featured heavily on school curricula, as did the *Ad Herennium* which was widely and erroneously ascribed to him. Ciceronian sentences also recur as models for emulation and examples of high style. This tendency found particular expression in the pedagogical works of Ascham and Sturm. Following Baldwin: '[...] the fundamental attitude of Sturm in 1565, and that of Ascham as he was constructing the *Scholemaster* at that time is the same. Ascham, too, would use only Cicero in the fundamental position, without any other author at all'.[166] Although perhaps atypical in the strength of their positions, nevertheless both authors demonstrate the influence of Ciceronianism.

There is however a tension between the avid Ciceroninism espoused by many pedagogical authors and the approaches they adopted towards one aspect of his writings expressed in both the pseudo-Ciceronian *Ad Herennium* and the authentically Ciceronian *De Oratore*, namely the artificial memory systems. References to such an approach are few and undetailed, and when they do occur generally dismissive. Sturm wrote of the *Ad Herennium*: 'The third book, which deals with memory, I do not wish to be taught. For they hinder our course; and the observation of art, and dialectic precepts increase and strengthen memory more than do they'.[167] It is notable that the artificial memory systems were not wholly disavowed: despite being a hindrance, it is not that they are entirely useless, merely that art and dialectic improve the memory more. As Baldwin summarises '[...] the theorists advised that it was rather a waste of time to trouble about these artificial systems of memory [...] If after all the drill the boy had received in memorizing his schoolwork, he had developed no ability at memorization it was not likely that some magic system would be of much avail [...].'[168] These positions however are a pronounced evolution from earlier pedagogic approaches to memory in Renaissance Europe. They stand for example in marked contrast to the earlier suggestions of Erasmus, whose position is close to that of the continental artificial memory theorists. Although Erasmus frequently praises Quintilian and provides details for creating a commonplace book, the same concern with order and repetition familiar

166 Baldwin, *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, I, p. 292.
167 Johannes Sturm, *De Literarum Ludis Recte Aperiendis* (Strasbourg, 1538), p. F3r. Cited in Baldwin, *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, II, p. 24.
168 Baldwin, *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,* II, p. 101.

from the architectural artificial memory systems occurs, as does the focus upon visual memory. Equally significant is the conceptualisation of memory in similar architectural terms, also redolent of Ascham's memorial 'schoole house':

> Supplement writing by learning by heart. Upon this latter question, memory depends at bottom upon three conditions: thorough understanding of the subject, logical ordering of the contents, repetition to ourselves. Without these we can neither retain securely nor reproduce promptly. Read, then, attentively, read over and over again, test your memory vigorously and minutely. Verbal memory may with advantage be aided by ocular impressions; thus, for instance, we can have charts of geographical facts, genealogical trees, large-typed tables of rules of syntax and prosody, which we can hang on the walls. Or again, the scholar may make a practice of copying striking quotations at the top of his exercise books. I have known a proverb inscribed upon a ring, or a cup, sentences worth remembering painted on a door or a window. These are all devices for adding to our intellectual stores, which, trivial as they may seem individually, have a distinct cumulative value.[169]

It is true that the reasons for this transition away from the artificial memory systems were chiefly those that the authors of pedagogic texts stated, namely that practice and repetition better served the propagation of a good memory. In the absence of any strong evidence to the contrary it would be ill-advised to suggest that there was any ulterior motive to these seemingly straight forward accounts. A similar and related reason for the change lies in the structure of the school curriculum. Both the *Ad Herennium* and *De Oratore* treat memory as a part of rhetoric, which following the curriculum was only touched upon long after the subject of grammar was treated exhaustively. For practical reasons therefore, the students needed a method of memorisation long before they encountered that stage of their education where artificial memory systems would have been touched upon.

169 Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii,* in *Desiderius Erasmus Concerning the Aim and Method of Education,* ed. and trans. by William Harrison Woodward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), p. 166. All subsequent references to the text will refer to this edition.

However, given the multi-temporal aspects of memory in this period already discussed, as well as the mutable space of the schoolhouse, a complex replacement for the artificial memory systems suggested itself, namely the commonplace books. Fred Shurink observes:

> Reflecting the widely differing interests and backgrounds of their compilers, notebooks survive in a bewildering variety of shapes and forms. It is helpful, therefore, to adopt Peter Beal's distinction between miscellanies, which include any kind of material, frequently without order, and commonplace books, which record extracts from a person's reading with some form of organization.[170]

Given their central significance and their diversity, a discussion of the form of the commonplace book is a necessary antecedent to considering their impact upon grammar school memory. Before beginning a commonplace book, grammar school boys in lower forms kept and maintained a hornbook. These objects were typically large and flat pieces of horn attached to a wooden handle, with text (usually the alphabet) inscribed into a grid. Over this went a piece of transparent paper upon which the child practiced. The transposition and overlaying of texts which this encouraged was further heightened by the subsequent use of the commonplace book, which Vives describes:

> Make a book of blank leaves of a proper size. Divide it into certain topics, so to say, into nests (*nidos*). In one, jot down the names of those subjects of daily converse, *e.g.*, the mind, body, our occupations, games, clothes, divisions of time, dwellings, foods; in another, rare words, exquisitely fit words; in another, idioms, and *formulae dicendi*, which either few understand or which require often to be used; in another, *sententiae* (maxims); in another, joyous expressions; in another, witty sayings; in another, proverbs; in another, difficult passages in authors; in another, other matters which seem worthy of note to thy teacher or thyself. So that thou shalt have all these noted down and digested. Then will thy book alone know what must be read by thee, read, committed, and fixed to the memory, so that

170 Fred Shurink, 'Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature and Reading in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 73 (2010), 453–69 (p. 454).

> thou mayst bear in thy breast the names thus written down, which are in thy book and refer to them as often as is necessary. For it is little good to possess learned books if your mind is unfurnished for studying them.[171]

The commonplace book was however more significant than a simple *aide-mémoire*; instead the device encouraged active readers and a multi-directional, multi-temporal approach, which I would suggest led to a particular kind of fragmentation in early modern memorial practises. For example, Eugene Kintgen considers the reading advice offered by Thomas Blundeville as pertinent to the role of the commonplace book:

> Eyther in beginning wyth the verye first thing that tendeth to any ende, and so forwarde from one thing to an other, until you come to the last, or else contrarywise in beginning with the last meane, next to the ende, and so backewarde from meane to meane vntill you come to the first, or leaving both these waies, you maye take the thirde, which is to devide all the means into their general kinds, and to consider of all the meanes contayned in every kinde, apart by themselves.[172]

Whilst the first two methods are entirely consistent with architectural memory systems (which emphasised the ability to move forward or backward from any point), the third encourages decontextualisation and a disruption of standard order. This tendency was only exacerbated by the disparate forms of commonplace books. As Ann Moss notes: 'The notion of the 'places' inherited by educationists and writers of the sixteenth century was an amalgamation of the classical and the medieval; of ancient rhetoric restored, revalued, and rewritten by humanists; of ancient logic reworked by the scholastics; of patterns of composition modelled in imitation of classical writers and modelled in opposition to medieval Latin'.[173]

Given the significance of writing and memory in the early modern grammar schools, the enduring popularity of Quintilian — the key influence on conceptualising the memory as a wax tablet

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171 Juan Luis de Vives, *De Ratione Studii* (Basel, 1523). Cited in Baldwin, *Small Latine and Lesse Greek*, I, p. 189.

172 Thomas Blundeville, *The True Order and Methode of Wryting and Reading Hystories* (London, 1574), G_2v. Cited in Eugene R. Kintgen, 'Reconstructing Elizabethan Reading', *Studies in English Literature,* 30 (1990), 1– 14 (p. 7).

173 Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 22.

— may also prove significant. As Baldwin notes: 'Along with Cicero, Quintilian was *the Rhetorician*, at the pinnacle of grammar school' [emphasis in original].[174] Similarly, the prestige in which Quintilian was held is neatly captured by Rainolde's remark: '[...] No man is able to invente a more profitable waie and order, to instructe any one in the exquisite and absolute perfeccion, of wisedome and eloquence than *Aphthonius Quintilianus* and *Hermogenes*'.[175] Texts such as Thomas Elyot's *Boke Named The Governour* of 1531 also recommend Quintilian. The influence of Quintilian is further testament both to the classical focus of early modern grammar schools and the focus upon books and writing.

Quintilian suggests that: 'What will be of service, however, to everyone is to learn by heart from the same tablets on which he has written, for he will pursue the remembrance of what he has composed by certain traces and will look, as it were, with the eye of his mind, not only on the pages, but on almost every individual line, resembling, while he speaks, a person reading. If, moreover, any erasure, addition, or alteration has been made, they will be as so many marks, and while we attend to them, we shall not go astray'.[176] This advice was adapted by later authors on memory. As Erasmus suggests: 'Having been instructed in these things, in reading authors you will carefully pick out any unusual word, archaism, or innovation, anything reasoned or invented unusually well, or aptly turned, any outstanding ornament of speech or any adage, exemplum, *sententia* worthy to be committed to memory. And that place must be marked out with some fitting little sign'.[177] Quintilian's striking visual motif with its emphasis upon visual recognition and repetition has been copied. Such an educational philosophy is also more apt for a pedagogical approach which emphasised active and intense reading and writing, especially one which encouraged students to create their own extensive 'tablets'. If the Ciceronian architectural memorial device is notable by its absence, then its place has been taken by a Quintilian inspired focus upon the visual page from which information is to be retained. The early modern educational focus upon the books from which learning was to occur found its counterpart in Quintilian's advice to memorise the pages from which one studied.

174 Baldwin, *Small Latin and Less Greeke,* II, p. 197.
175 Richard Rainolde, *A Booke Called the Foundacion of Rhetorike* (London, 1563), A_4r. Cited in Baldwin, *Shakespere's Small Latin and Lesse Greeke*, II, p. 44.
176 Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, XI. 2.
177 Erasmus, *De Ratione Studii,* p. 165.

Ascham's schoolhouse, *Lily's Grammar* and early modern grammar school education itself have been established as both central and significant and also participating in anxieties over memory. It is unsurprising therefore that commonplace books, similarly central, should also exhibit similar tendencies. An account of Princess Mary's commonplace book will demonstrate this, as well as providing an example of this fluid and mobile memory in action. Such a text by its narrow socio-political focus is perhaps not representative of general early modern education, which would of course not have been able to dedicate such resources to single pupils. However it remains useful as an 'ideal' approach to education:

> [...] She will be delighted meantime with little tales which teach life, which she herself can tell to others, as of the boy Papyrius Praetextatus in Gellius, of Joseph in the sacred books, of Lucrece in Livy, of Griselda and others, as from Valerius, Sabellicus, and writers of this kind, which will pertain to some commendation of virtue or detestation of vice. Let her have a dictionary Latin and English, which she must often consult that she may know what each word means. When she does not understand things, they will be explained by the preceptor. Let her not learn the words of evil and filthy things, nor if it be possible read or hear them. Let her make for herself a little book of blank leaves, in which let her write little sentences with her own hand, which must be committed to memory and will be to her in place of an enchiridion.[178]

The suggestions for the commonplace book demonstrate a concern at once with the classical and with Renaissance England. The writings of Cato, Valerius and Livy are placed alongside those of Erasmus. Also notable is the emphasis upon textual reference and mediation. The disparate worlds of the classical Latin and contemporary early modern are negotiated through a dictionary. Although few would disavow the use of such a tool, the similarity of the orderly dictionary page with its regularised headings and lay-out to the commonplace book, equally characterised by abstract linguistic fragments (that is to say, divorced from their original context) is remarkable. Immediately before this extract

178 Vives, *De Ratione* (Bruges, 1523) cited in Baldwin, *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, I, pp. 186–87.

Vives provides an account of the commonplace book that Mary is to construct. Several factors are noteworthy. The sentences must be written by her, with a typically Quintilian-like focus upon both repetition and the visual image (namely the visualisation of Mary's own hand as a facilitating tool when trying to recall the commonplace book). This link between hand as handwriting and the bodily hand, writing, will be investigated further. The curious temporality of the description is also apparent. Mary's commonplace book is directly compared to an enchiridion, a classical form of Roman notebook which again represents a meditation through texts, as does the focus upon the tale of Lucrece in Livy, which as well as proving a Roman classic also enjoyed perennial favour in early modern England. The tale of Lucrece will inform the discussion of *Titus Andronicus* that concludes this chapter, as well as later discussions of memory on the early modern stage.

Before turning to *Titus* however, it is important to re-emphasise two factors. Firstly, despite the textual focus of schoolroom memory, the corporeal and regulatory aspects of grammar schools previously discussed must not be neglected, namely the focus upon rules, regulations and bodily punishments for breaking the rules. These form a crucial part of a schoolroom reading of *Titus Andronicus*. To this end a discussion of *A Book Containing Divers Sorts Of Hands* (1572) will be undertaken. In addition, given the emulative patterning of *Titus Andronicus* and the significance in the play of the figure of Lucrece, Shakespeare's *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594) will be discussed. *The Rape of Lucrece* also demonstrates a concern with static image in common with the final text to be discussed before *Titus Andronicus*, namely the Peacham drawing of *Titus* (*c.* 1595?) This drawing also serves to suggest a link between the grammar school approach to memory and drama and provides an example of the perennial link between memory and fiction.

The popularity and therefore pertinence of *A Book Containing Divers Sorts of Hands* is attested to by the fact that it ran to at least seven editions between 1550 and 1610.[179] The text begins with a frontispiece that further illustrates the multi-temporal frame of reference for pedagogical texts in the period; Christian imagery is freely mixed with classical icons.[180] Also apparent are both the text's pedagogical focus and the presence of the regulatory aspect apparent in other school texts; the *Book Containing Divers Sorts of Hands* begins with 'Rules for children'. Two things are notable about

179 Jehan de Beau-Chesne, *A Book Containing Divers Sorts of Hands* (London, 1571).
180 Beau-Chesne, *A Book Containing Divers Sorts of Hands*, p. 1.

this. Firstly, the rules section is expressed in verse, with the seeming intent of facilitating memorisation, which suggests that poetry could be utilised as a vehicle for memory even amidst the more generally restrictive repetition based practices of the schoolroom. Secondly, the rules section concerns itself with the bodily process of writing itself and the body in relation to pedagogy. This tendency had always been apparent in school room texts. Johnson of Winchester wrote that the use of Latin 'must both be decreed by law, and preserved with severity and castigation', whilst Ascham's *Scholemaster* relates 'With the common use of teaching and beating in common schools of England, I will not greatlie contend: which if I did, it were but a small grammaticall controversie [...]', playfully blurring the lines between the grammar of writing and grammar schools.[181] Chesne however brings the bodily focus into sharper perspective. The advice 'To houlde your penne' reads:

> Your thoumbe on your penne as hiest bestowem
> The fore finger next, the middle belowe:
> And holding it thus in most comely wyfe,
> Your Bodyupryght, stoupe not wyth your Heade:
> Your Breast from the borde if that you be wyse,
> Least that ye take hurte, when ye have well fed.[182]

Here the thumb, fingers, general posture, position of the head, placement of the chest on the writing surface and the stomach (through the digestive imagery of having well fed) all play a part in writing. Whilst it is a minor point, there is also the suggestion of pain or injury through improper placement of the body whilst writing; the reader is advised to keep their breast from the board 'Least that ye take hurte'. Chesne also provides an image of hands in the act of writing that are either 'good' or 'naught' (see figure 5.0). Memory, textuality and the physical corpus of both the writer and the written are entangled intrinsically in documents such as this. The act of remembering through textual production is enabled through the body, and the conduct of the body itself in turn in enabled by a combination of text and memory. Such early lessons, as we shall see, would leave their marks on Shakespeare's pedagogically inflected *Titus Andronicus.*

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181 Badger, 'Notebook from Eton', 141v. Cited in Baldwin, *Small Latine and Lesse Greeke,*II, appendix; Ascham, *The Scholemaster,* p. 187.

182 Beau-Chesne, *A Book Containing Divers Sorts of Hands,* p. 3.

Before we turn to that, however, *The Rape of Lucrece*, although not explicitly pedagogical, demonstrates a concern with memorial place and memorial text. Furthermore, the text focuses upon emulation and patterning, as well as the threat of physical dismemberment. The observation of the tapestry within the poem points towards the static image of the Longleat manuscript, whilst *The Rape of Lucrece* also explores the interrelationship of memory and forgetting central to texts in the period. This is most apparent in the lengthy lament of Lucrece following her rape by Tarquin, a desire to be forgotten preserved in a text which recounts and remembers the event and its ramifications. She states:

> Where now I have no one to blush with me,
> To cross their arms and hang their heads with mine,
> To mask their brows and hide their infamy,
> But I alone, alone must sit and pine,
> Seasoning the earth with showers of silver brine,
> Mingling my talk with tears, my grief with groans,
> Poor wasting monuments of lasting moans.[183]

Through her solitude Lucrece becomes a striking image of memory suitable for incorporation into an artificial memory scheme, a reading given further plausibility by subsequent events in the text. The paradoxes of memory are also apparent: in a speech desiring to be forgotten Lucrece laments that her tears are changeable and will not endure; they are 'Poor wasting monuments'. The significance of both place and the visual aspect crucial to artificial memory systems becomes more apparent in the subsequent lines:

> O night, thou furnace of foul reeking smoke,
> Let not the jealous day behold that face
> Which underneath thy black all-hiding cloak
> Immodestly lies martyred with disgrace!
> Keep still possession of thy gloomy place,
> That all the faults which in thy reign are made
> May likewise be sepulchred in thy shade. (*The Rape of Lucrece*, 799–805)

183 William Shakespeare, *The Rape of Lucrece,* in *The Norton Shakespeare*, 792–98. All subsequent citations of the text will be drawn from this edition.

Once again Lucrece conceptualises herself in confused terms; she is to be forgotten in darkness and yet the faults of night's reign are to be sepulchred, the sepulchre functioning as another kind of monument of memory, as will be discussed in the reading of *Titus Andronicus*. As she continues, Lucrece's specific fear seems to be becoming an icon of other's memories, her body a text of memory which even the illiterate can discern and understand. Although the text alludes to orators and the 'hearers' of minstrels, the visual focus is also striking here. She laments:

> Make me not object to the tell-tale day:
> The light will show charactered in my brow
> The story of sweet chastity's decay,
> The impious breach of holy wedlock vow.
> Yea, the illiterate that know not how
> To cipher what is writ in learned books
> Will quote my loathsome trespass in my looks.
>
> The nurse to still her child will tell my story,
> And fright her crying babe with Tarquin's name.
> The orator to deck his oratory
> Will couple my reproach to Tarquin's shame.
> Feast-finding minstrels tuning my defame
> Will tie the hearers to attend each line,
> How Tarquin wronged me, I Collatine. (*The Rape of Lucrece,* 806–19)

The artificial memory systems of Cicero and others were explicitly recommended for oratory and relied on striking and memorable mental imagery in order to keep one's 'place' in the text; Lucrece seems to fear providing such an example, and this reading does not seem overly fanciful given both the demonstrated prevalence of the classical artificial memory systems in early modern England and the Classical Roman focus of the text. Similarly the hearers of the minstrels will 'attend each line', a potential allusion back to Lucrece's fear that 'The light will show charactered in my brow | The story of sweet chastity's decay'. Finally, it is notable that Lucrece fears that the memory of her

suffering will become narrative, related as a nursery tale to frighten children; once again the insistent relationship between memory and story-telling is apparent.

Another aspect of this anxiety over memory is that of time. Lucrece's description of the role of time emphasises its duality in serving both good and bad ends. In this sense it is interrelated to Lucrece's memorial architecture such as the monument and sepulchre, which must simultaneously be hidden or 'in thy shade'. Lucrece states:

> Time's glory is to calm contending kings,
> To unmask falsehood and bring truth to light,
> To stamp the seal of time in aged things,
> To wake the morn and sentinel the night,
> To wrong the wronger till he render right,
> To ruinate proud buildings with thy hours
> And smear with dust their glitt'ring towers;
>
> To fill with worm-holes stately monuments,
> To feed oblivion with decay of things,
> To blot old books and alter their contents,
> To pluck the quills from ancient ravens' wings,
> To dry the old oak's sap and blemish springs,
> To spoil antiquities of hammered steel,
> And turn the giddy round of fortune's wheel (*The Rape of Lucrece*, 939–52)

Although the passage of time allows for a correct understanding and memory of what has passed (to 'bring truth to light') and to 'stamp' its seal, it also works to efface; it will 'blot old books' and destroy monuments. This links to the frequent imagery in the poem of Lucrece as building or city and Tarquin as invader. She decries of her soul:

> Her house is sacked, her quiet interrupted,
> Her mansion battered by the enemy,
> Her sacred temple spotted, spoiled, corrupted,
> Grossly engirt with daring infamy,

Then let it not be called impiety

If in this blemished fort I make some hole

Through which I may convey this troubled soul. (*The Rape of Lucrece,* 1170–76)

Although the imagery is relatively conventional, its relationship with the memorial aspects of the poem makes it striking. Lucrece is at once a text, a building and a striking image of memory, torn between the desire for effacement and the necessity of standing testimony to Tarquin's crime.

The visual focus and connection of memory with architecture reaches its zenith in Lucrece's contemplation of her tapestry. The tapestry depicts an instructive scene: 'Priam's Troy, | Before the which is drawn the power of Greece, | For Helen's rape the city to destroy' (*The Rape of Lucrece,* 1367–69). The threatened place of Troy, hanging in its place in Lucrece's home incorporates the poem into an explicitly memorial context, and a complex one at that; Troy also formed something of a memorial commonplace in other early modern texts, such as *The Faerie Queene*.[184] The tapestry functions with the principles of the classical artificial memory systems, serving as both a reminder of the past and also instructive for future action. A great deal of attention is spent on not only the skill of the artist but also the import of the images. We learn for example that:

In Ajax and Ulysses, O what art

Of physiognomy might one behold!

The face of either ciphered either's heart;

Their face their manners most expressly told.

In Ajax' eyes blunt rage and rigour rolled,

But the mild glance that sly Ulysses lent

Showed deep regard and smiling government. (*The Rape of Lucrece,* 1394–1400)

Their striking visual aspects seem to serve as memorial guides, akin to the striking visual images of artificial memory systems, 'The face of either ciphered either's heart' providing the key to remembering their crucial traits, the anger of Ajax and the slyness of Ulysses. The guide that their

184 Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene,* ed. by A. C. Hamilton (Harlow: Pearson, 2007), II. 9.

faces provide for remembering echoes Lucrece's earlier fear that 'Yea, the illiterate that know not how | To cipher what is writ in learned books | Will quote my loathsome trespass in my looks'.

The paradoxical elements of the scene are apparent in the description of Achilles in the battle:

> For much imaginary work was there;
> Conceit deceitful, so compact, so kind,
> That for Achilles' image stood his spear
> Gripped in an armed hand; himself behind
> Was left unseen save to the eye of mind;
> A hand, a foot, a face, a leg, a head,
> Stood for the whole to be imagined. (*The Rape of Lucrece,* 1422–28)

The confusion of the figures in the battle violates the rules for artificial memory systems which emphasise order, striking imagery and regularity, something that the fragments of 'a hand, a foot, a face, a leg, a head' all disrupt; this example of synecdoche is suggestive of a displacement of memory by rhetoric. Conversely, the image of Achilles is successful in the terms of artificial memory. Associated with his iconic spear the representation of this alone is sufficient to suggest Achilles himself to 'the eye of the mind'. The tapestry seems to capture the contradictory elements of artificial memory systems and of *The Rape of Lucrece*, both staging memory and its dissolution.

The mutability of memorial iconography and the manner in which it is simultaneously instructive (Achilles and Ajax's characters are revealed by their faces) and confusing (the jumbled fragments of a hand, a foot, a face, a leg and a head) is further evident in the person of Sinon, the Greek who posed as a Trojan:

> In him the painter laboured with his skill
> To hide deceit and give the harmless show
> An humble gait, calm looks, eyes wailing still,
> A brow unbent that seemed to welcome woe;
> Cheeks neither red nor pale, but mingled so
> That blushing red no guilty instance gave,
> Nor ashy pale the fear that false hearts have. (*The Rape of Lucrece,* 1506–12)

Sinon's face and figure do not indicate his memorable characteristics (in Lucrece's reading, his 'guile'); indeed the nondescriptness of Sinon with his cheeks neither red nor pale and his calm looks means in some ways the image lacks impact. Lucrece spots him 'at last'. However, Lucrece goes on to interpret the very innocuousness of Sinon as proof of his guilt. She explains: 'For even as subtle Sinon here is painted [...] To me came Tarquin armed, too beguiled | With outward honesty, but yet defiled | With inward vice. As Priam him did cherish, | So did I Tarquin, so my Troy did perish' (1541–47). The relationship of architecture and memory is once more reiterated, particularly ruined architecture.Throughout the text, a complex engagement with memory and memorial architecture is apparent; Lucrece hopes to be sepulchred in night and hence forgotten in memorial architecture and describes her tears as 'wasting monuments'. From Chapter One onwards we have seen how the fear of the collapse of architectural memory gives rise to attempts to reinforce and re-edify through story telling; this dynamic is apparent at the conclusion of the text.

The resolution of the poem unites the disparate imagery of Lucrece as striking image of memory, written text and as ruined monument or architecture of memory. After stabbing herself we learn of Collatine and Brutus that:

> They did conclude to bear dead Lucrece thence,
> To show her bleeding body through Rome,
> And so to publish Tarquin's foul offence;
> Which being done with speedy diligence,
> The Romans plausibly did give consent
> To Tarquin's everlasting banishment. (*The Rape of Lucrece,* 1849–65)

Her bleeding body is made to serve as memorable icon, although the image is not that of her earlier fear that her rape would be 'charactered in my brow'. Similarly the persistently decaying or collapsing memorial architecture of the poem seems to be fixed with the correcting of Rome through the banishment of Tarquin. In this manner the necessity of remembering and the desire to be forgotten seem reconciled. However, her suicide remains problematic. Brutus laments to Collatine that 'Thy wretched wife mistook the matter so' (1826) and the ambiguities of memory seem to remain. Whether Lucrece is to be remembered as perfect memorial icon or example of misjudgement remains in flux, whilst the incorporation into narrative feared in the poem by Lucrece occurs frequently in Renaissance

memorial texts, serving as a pattern for emulation. This issue is discussed further in Chapter Six, but of course is also apparent in *Titus Andronicus*. Before *Titus* is discussed in relation to both Lucrece and pedagogy however, a final piece of background discussion must be undertaken.

A further reason for a pedagogical reading of *Titus* may be seen in the Peacham drawing, also known as the Longleat manuscript.[185] The image portrays a scene containing a variety of characters from the play. Although not all may be identified, the figures of Tamora, Titus and Aaron are generally accepted. Intriguingly however, the characters wear a differing assortment of clothing (some classical and some more in keeping with typical early modern garments), and the visual scene appears to be a conflation of several different play scenes combined with elements which do not obviously occur in the text, such as the figure of Aaron seemingly threatening Tamora's sons with a sword. In effect then this picture would seem to depict the active eye of a grammar school trained boy used to keeping a commonplace book; only the most striking or memorable scenes have been preserved, and, like the commonplace book, decontextualised. Such a reading is buttressed by the text below the scene. It contains some of Tamora's plea to Titus in I.2, the first line of his reply, an invented stage direction and invented lines addressed to Aaron. This might again suggest an active selection of particularly pleasing aspects suitable for retention and perhaps — although this is conjectural — an attempt at applying the retained lines from the commonplace book (or in this instance sheet) to the creation of the new dialogue for Aaron. Such a reading has limitations; the Peacham drawing continues to be the subject of scholarly debate due to the lingering suspicion that the Shakespearean forger Collier may have created it, or that it may be linked to a German adaptation of the play.[186] However, Waith identifies several other play texts which employed woodcuts that summarised the action (such as *The Spanish Tragedy*), suggesting the plausibility of such a reading.[187] The image both draws upon several points of time and, through their decontextualisation and recreation on the page, 'freezes' them into a fixed tableau. In this sense the Peacham manuscript neatly exemplifies both the paradoxes of early modern education (namely the insistent focus upon memory and the concomitant dislocation of

185 See Figure 6.
186 June Schlueter, 'Rereading the Peacham Drawing', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 50 (1999), 171–84.
187 Eugene M. Waith, 'Introduction' in *Titus Andronicus,* ed. by Eugene Waith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 1–69 (p. 21).

memory from a specific milieu) and indeed the play itself. With this context established a grammar school reading of *Titus Andronicus* can be undertaken.

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Titus Andronicus provides a useful early Shakespearean example of the multi-temporal nature of a grammar school memory, as well as the focus upon disciplining the body, the textual nature of memory and the importance of classical precedents, particularly in a pedagogical setting. The late imperial setting of the play immediately problematises readings and reactions to it. The Rome presented is neither the republican era of Cicero nor that of a glorious empire, nor indeed is the play exclusively concerned with the perilous state of late imperial Rome surrounded by hostile Goths. Instead however the play presents a curious mixture of different temporal features. The central figure of Titus provides a point around which such features move, and can (and perhaps inevitably will be) read through a variety of disparate texts and mythological accounts. The severance of Titus's left hand is redolent of the ancient Roman myth of Gaius Mucius Scaevola sacrificing his hand for Rome. Andronicus himself, through the act of sacrificing a human victim to the gods, is committing a kind of textual anachronism, as the last recorded actual Roman human sacrifice fell after the disastrous loss at Cannae, a number of centuries before *Titus Andronicus* could be set. Indeed, Titus's decorous and rather untimely moralising carries echoes of the Roman virtue of a Cato, whilst through the name of Andronicus (roughly 'man of victory') and the Roman memorial ceremony of the triumph that he celebrates such specificity is effaced, or at least complicated. In effect *Titus Andronicus* can be read as a play in which memory is fluid and contested.

In a productive reading of the text, Vernon Dickson notes this emulative patterning:

> The process of modelling actions based on prior precedents has deep roots in the Renaissance, as Titus's own contexts manifest. Not only is *Titus* Shakespeare's emulation of Ovid's tale of Procne and Philomela — as well as reflective of Seneca's emulation of Ovid in Thyestes and Shakespeare's emulation of Christopher Marlowe (1564–93), Thomas Kyd (1558–94), George Peele (ca. 1557–96), and his other contemporaries — but the characters are also themselves enmeshed in emulative practices, seeking precedents from a wide range of classical sources — Horace, Seneca, Ovid,

and Homer, among others — in order to 'rival and vie with the original', in Quintilian's phrase. As the characters compete to outdo available texts and each other's imitations of these texts and precedents, they weave throughout Titus a destructive pattern of conflicted, partial, and uncritical emulations.[188]

The reference to Horace is particularly loaded. In Act IV Scene 2 the villainous Demetrius and Chiron are presented with a scroll by Young Lucius:

DEMETRIUS: What's here — a scroll, and written round about?
Let's see.
'Integer vitae, scelerisque purus,
Non eget Mauri iaculis, nec arcu.'

CHIRON: O, 'tis a verse in Horace, I know it well.
I read it in the grammar long ago.[189]

In addition to the humour of the situation much else seems at work. The Horatian quotation 'The man upright in life and free from crime needs neither the Moorish javelin nor the bow' was quoted in *Lily's Grammar* to which Chiron certainly refers. In essence, therefore, a Gothic character is relating his fictional childhood in an early modern English classical education; a 'long ago' which is yet to happen. Four frames of reference (both temporal and memorial) are applied: the Gothic, the Roman, the early modern English school house and classical Rome as read backwards from an early modern perspective. Although Chiron recognises the quotation through hearing Demetrius read it aloud, it was something once read, suggesting the primacy of the visual. The fissures of time and knowledge (such as the gap between recognition and true understanding), therefore, are mediated here fundamentally through a physical text. Indeed the significance of Cicero's *Orator* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Act IV Scene I highlights this association between memory and text in the play.

TITUS: How now, Lavinia? Marcus, what means this?
Some book there is that she desires to see.
Which is it girl? Of these? — Open them, boy.

188 Vernon Guy Dickson, '"A pattern, precedent, and lively warrant": Emulation, Rhetoric, and Cruel Propriety in "Titus Andronicus"', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 62 (2009), 376–409 (p. 379).
189 William Shakespeare, *The Most Lamentable Tragedy of Titus Andronicus*, in *The Norton Shakespeare*, IV. 2. 18–23. All subsequent references to the play will be from this edition unless stated otherwise.

[TO LAVINIA] But thou art deeper read and better skilled.
Come and take choice of all my library,
And so beguile thy sorrows till the heavens
Reveal the damned contriver of this deed. (*Titus Andronicus*, IV.I.30–36)

Significant emphasis is placed upon the fact that the books in question are school texts: Young Lucius was carrying them, Titus dismisses them as inferior to those of his own library and Young Lucius highlights their familial significance, observing:

YOUNG LUCIUS: Grandsire, tis Ovid's *Metamorphoses*
My mother gave it me.
MARCUS: For love of her that's gone,
Perhaps she culled it from among the rest. (*Titus Andronicus,* IV.I.42-44)

However, despite the ostensible singularity of the text of the *Metamorphoses*, in actuality this scene dramatizes multiple texts. Young Lucius has already alluded to his reading of Cicero's *Orator* and was carrying books, whilst Titus and Marcus allude both to Titus's private library and the role of Young Lucius's mother. Beyond this however there emerges a swirl of competing and often irreconcilable readings of the 'real' events of the play through the medium of the book of *Metamorphoses*. The characters pattern their responses on what they have read, and memorised, with the tale of the rape of Philomel in *Metamorphoses* leading to references to 'Tarquin', 'Lucrece', 'Roman Hector', 'Lord Junius Brutus' and 'Sibyl'. Once again both the disordered temporality of the scene and the pertinence of a pedagogical reading become apparent. Both of Young Lucius's texts were staples of the early modern grammar school as well as seminal Roman texts. A minimum of fourteen references either to sight or reading occur in the short 128 line scene, suggesting again the aspects of visuality and repetition essential to early modern education, whilst Titus describes Lavinia's scrawlings in the dirt as 'our lesson' (*Titus Andronicus,* IV.1.118) and that 'I'll teach thee another course' (*Titus Andronicus,* IV.1.127). The duality of the temporal focus is apparent in Titus's cry: 'Magni dominator poli, | Tam lentus audis scelera, tam lentus vides?' (*Titus Andronicus,* IV.I.105) which the Norton edition translates as 'Ruler of the great heavens, are you so slow to hear and see

crimes? (adapted from Seneca's Hippolytus)'.[190] A Latin character who has been speaking English offers an adaptation of a quotation in Latin both historical and (from the perspective of the play) forward looking, designed to appeal to educated early modern audience members.

The scene appears to dramatise both the associational thinking encouraged by the commonplace book and its confusion of memory. The quote seems somewhat misplaced and mistimed; the play offers no evidence for the intercessory actions of the gods at all. Indeed, despite attempts at finality, Lavinia's inscription in the dirt is problematic. Titus's comparison of her writings to those of the Sibyl of Cumae places them into the genre of the mythical and allegorical. Although Titus proposes to write the message in a 'leaf of brass' to prevent it blowing away like the Sibyl's prophetic leaves, this is complex. Such an activity seems solely to serve a repetitive and visually orientated memorial process as the facts of the case as presented in the play seem quite straightforward. Furthermore, the metaphorical sheet of brass does not appear, denying the search for a final and fixed text to be memorised on its own merits alone. As Dickson notes:

> At the height of Titus Andronicus's final banquet, Titus cites a version of the supposed history of 'rash' Virginius, who killed his daughter 'because she was enforced, stained and deflowered,' questioning Saturninus on the propriety of the act. Saturninus agrees briefly that the act was 'well done', offering at Titus's renewed urging what sounds like a textbook answer: 'Because the girl should not survive her shame, | And by her presence still renew his sorrows'. That this answer does not reflect Saturninus's feelings, and seems instead to be merely a rote answer, is made clear when Saturninus responds, after Titus explicitly links his actions with Virginius's precedents, with immediate horror at Titus's subsequent killing of his own 'enforced' daughter Lavinia: 'What hast thou done, unnatural and unkind?'[191]

In addition to memory in the play as commonplace book association and repetition, there also remain vestiges of a collapsed architecture of memory. This chapter has explored mutable spaces as well as texts, such as Ascham's problematic schoolroom, as well as the complex relationship between

190 Greenblatt, 'footnote', in *Titus Andronicus*, p. 412.
191 Dickson, 'A Pattern, Precedent and Lively Warrant', pp. 376–77.

memory-as-text and memory focused upon object or place, seen in the movement from Erasmus's advice focused upon objects towards commonplace books. This motif of architectural collapse and conflation with texts is significant not just for *Titus Andronicus* but for other Shakespearian texts that will be discussed.

Lavinia exemplifies this collapse of memory and conflation of the two approaches: threatened and searching for textual precedents in the woods she offers to 'teach' them at least twice, whilst remarking:

> LAVINIA: 'Tis true, the raven doth not hatch a lark.
>
> Yet have I heard — O, could I find it now! —
>
> The lion, moved with pity, did endure
>
> To have his princely paws all pared away. (*Titus Andronicus,* II.3.149–52)

The desire to 'find' something in the memory is suggestive: although the tale is one Lavinia has 'heard', 'find' has pronounced visual and spatial connotations. Although such a fact fits with a visually orientated commonplace book focus for the memory, it is also applicable to a collapsed Ciceronian architecture of memory.

The pit for example is a problematic space that exemplifies ideas of a collapsed architecture of memory. It is a 'subtle hole' (II.3.198), 'A very fatal place' (II.3.202), 'unhallowed and bloodstainèd hole' (II.3.210), a 'detested, dark, blood-drinking pit' (II.3.224) and a 'fell devouring recepticle' (II.3.234). Although a supernatural element is implied through the ominous trope of sleepiness ascribed to Martius and Quintus, much of the horror of the pit seems to arise from context and allusion. It is in effect a microcosm of the forest in which as Titus later suggests Lavinia was: 'Ravished and wronged as Philomela was, | Forced in the ruthless, vast and gloomy woods' (*Titus Andronicus,* IV.1.52–53), a site of both loss and the memory that replaces it. The forest seems to at once invite the overlapping of current events with those of memory through repetition and the presentation of a similar topography, whilst the landscape resists the Ciceronian emphasis upon familiarity and the importance of illumination; the forest is vast and gloomy.

This motif of both memory and resistance to memory is continued in the space of the pit. Although ostensibly serving as the perfect trap for the criminals caught 'red-handed', in fact the pit serves as a device for confused knowledge and a fraudulent execution. Although in this hole there is some light (achieved through the rather creaking stage business of a 'precious ring'), it serves only to show that the hole may be compared to a 'monument' linking the two structures as memorial places. Indeed, such light serves to allow Martius to remark: 'So pale did shine the moon on Pyramus | When he by night lay bathed in maiden blood' (*Titus Andronicus,* II.3.237). The pertinence of this memory seems obscure, fitting the current situation only very loosely. Lavinia's request: 'O, keep me from their worse-than-killing lust | And tumble me into some loathsome pit | Where never man's eyes may behold my body.' (*Titus Andronicus,* II.3.175–77) exemplifies this tendency with its emphasis upon the visual as well as the association between spatial disappearance and the dissolution of knowledge and memory. Although less pronounced, other aspects of the play support such a reading. Tamora for example disguised as revenge states:

> TAMORA: Come down and welcome me to this world's light,
> Confer with me of murder and of death.
> There's not a hollow cave or lurking place,
> No vast obscurity or misty vale,
> Where bloody murder or detested rape
> Can couch for fear but I will find them out. (*Titus Andronicus,* II.3.228)

Here Tamora discusses a variety of spaces into which she may investigate to avenge the memory of Titus, whilst her disguised state suggests that any such search will be fraudulent or deceptive. Finally, the physical space of the tomb of the Andronici becomes a contested space for memory, as demonstrated by the altercation between Titus and his family over whether Mutius deserves honourable burial and commemoration with his brothers. Indeed, at the play's conclusion Lucius commands:

> LUCIUS: My father and Lavinia shall forthwith
> Be closed in our household's monument.
> As for that heinous tiger, Tamora,

> No funeral rite, nor man m mourning weeds,
> No mournful bell shall ring her burial;
> But throw her forth to beasts and birds of prey:
> Her life was beast-like, and devoid of pity;
> And, being so, shall have like want of pity. (*Titus Andronicus*, V.3.190–98)

The seeming contrast between the memorial rites and physical space of memory of the Andronici and Tamora's lack of such things is, however, illusory. Continuing the play's allusive habit her fate is redolent of that of the biblical Jezebel thrown before the city walls, suggesting a pattern of memorial continuity. The fate of Aaron meanwhile also complicates any easy opposition. Condemned to starve to death buried to chest-height in a pit, Aaron receives ritual but no 'funeral rite' of memory; in the confused space between a collapsed architecture of memory and an outer world he serves as an exemplification of the paradoxes of early modern memory.

It seems then that an early modern education would have exposed Shakespeare to a variety of memory texts. Further, through the transposition of a different spatial and temporal period into the commonplace books and school texts of early modern England, numerous tensions arose. A mixture of pedagogic practicality and a regulatory approach to memory led to a focus in the grammar schools chiefly upon a Quintilian-style visually orientated 'page learning', largely through the use of the commonplace book. However the form of the book, at once organised into headings but also through its form encouraging associational and endlessly referential thinking combined with other cultural anxieties to help produce a text such as *The Scholemaster* and a play such as *Titus Andronicus,* both obsessed with the necessity and the paradox of memory. The impact of Shakespeare's grammar school education can be felt in multiple places throughout the canon. As mentioned above, grammar school scenes appear in comedies such as *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, tragedies such as *Titus Andronicus* and the history plays, most notably *Henry IV Part 2.* Whilst the discussion of grammar school motifs in such a diverse range of plays and genres exemplifies both the significance of grammar schools in the period and the mutability of the grammar school education discussed in this chapter, the multi-directional and multi-temporal influence of grammar school education and commonplace books on early modern drama and specifically on Shakespeare will be explored in the chapters that follow.

Equally, despite the disavowal of artificial memory systems by pedagogical texts, the idea of a collapsed architecture of memory can also be identified in many of the texts discussed. In searching for the origins of this, the next chapter takes us to a different kind of crisis of memory, one that left its mark on the very fabric of English cultural life: the Reformation and England's separation from the Church of Rome.

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Chapter Five

Traumas of Memory: The English Reformation

MAMILLUS: There was a man […] Dwelt by a churchyard.[192]

Circa 1566, radical changes were made to Holy Trinity Church in Stratford-Upon-Avon.[193] Previously the richly coloured images and icons of the church had been removed by zealous reformers and iconoclasts, and carved representations of the saints and elaborate tableaux of St George and the Dragon had been defaced or damaged almost beyond recognition. Now the rood loft of Holy Trinity Church was being removed; the meticulously worked and painted archway, one of the very last remaining vestiges of the former visual glories of the church, was carefully disassembled. The fate of the rood loft had traced the disputes over ecclesiastical memory both inside and outside of the church. Following the prohibition of burning candles before the images of the saints, the rood had become the last place within the church before which such a thing was permitted. Less than fifty years previously, Candlemas Eve had proven one of the most popular of a group of relatively new festivals of the Catholic Church, with the lights believed to possess both powers of healing and redemption and also serving to remind the viewer of the Christian principles of light and renewal.[194] Now, as the rood was removed, the candles — many of which were provided or funded by the wills of deceased parishioners — were extinguished.

The delicate frescoes of the church were painted over with whitewash. At the behest of John Shakespeare, the acting chamberlain, the ornate and detailed scenes of angels, devils, Mary and the saints vanished beneath white paint.[195] Although a somewhat belated step, this was far from atypical on a national scale, and signalled an exquisitely ambiguous gesture. Iconoclasm had begun under

192 William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale* in *The Norton Shakespeare,* I. 2. 31–32.
193 The historical details that follow are drawn from S. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press: 1975), pp. 30–31 and <http://www.folger.edu/html/folger_institute/cultural_stress/church_idolatry.html> accessed on 3.12.12.
194 See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of The Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 15–21.
195 See Figure 7 for an example of one of the pieces of Holy Trinity Church covered during this process.

Edward VI and was explicitly aimed at memory. Injunction twenty-eight of 1547 stated:

> Take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindles or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatory and superstition; so that there remain no memory of the same.[196]

The interconnection of image, text and architecture, and the interrelationship of the differing models of memory-as-text and memory-as-architecture, are both evident here — a painting is a 'monument', the effacing of the frescoes turns architecture into palimpsest, an apt metaphor given the frequency of references from Catholic authors to the images of churches being books for the illiterate. However, arguably the iconoclasts themselves would not recognise their actions as hostile to memory at all, but rather the restitution of 'true' memory; a proper ecclesiastical focus upon the memory of Christ crucified rather than the earthly accoutrements of churches. This ambivalent engagement contributed to some of the complexities of memorial practice in the period. In some parts of Britain, iconoclasm proceeded with vigour as a combined activity initiated by ecclesiastical authorities and laymen alike, with large bonfires marking a collective ceremony of forgetting. In others, remnants of roods, icons, saints and paintings were hidden in the homes of parishioners.[197] In some early cases before iconoclasm gained its full momentum, images of banned saints such as Thomas Becket were simply slightly altered with paint to make them acceptable. Here is a strange instance of the original *aide-mémoire* being adapted — the image of the Saint was changed sufficiently to pass muster but retained its potency only if the memory of what it had once represented remained. Similarly at Stratford-upon-Avon, the whitewashing preserved the frescoes from the full deprivations of iconoclasts, allowing the process to be reversed eventually, re-presenting the images. At the same time, the appearance of the white surfaces preserved, if not the memory of what had been before, at least the memory that something had been. Instead of attempting to delete the memories, the whitewashed walls could thus be read as a conscious acknowledgement of the persistence of former memories and attempting to overwrite them; not a *tabula rasa*, but through the stark walls, a staging of the inadequacies of the approaches to memory that the frescoes represented. Indeed, Margaret Aston

196 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* p. 480.
197 Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars,* pp. 448–99.

relates just such an incidence, albeit dealing with images:

> When Archbishop Laud defended himself at his trial against the charge of setting up popish imagery in the windows of his chapel at Lambeth by claiming he had merely repaired old broken pictures, he was told that images officially broken 'at the beginning of Reformation' remained thereafter unrepaired 'as monuments of our indignation and detestation against them, like the ruins of our abbeys and monasteries'.[198]

The exact motivation of John Shakespeare's whitewashing is lost, unrecoverable from the historical record. In a similar vein, the opening account provided above relies upon imaginative embellishments; the surviving facts do not attest to whether the people who removed the woodwork of the church were zealous or if the rood was carefully disassembled. This is of course intended neither as a slight upon the meticulous and revealing research of literary, cultural and historical scholars upon which this chapter draws, nor a licence to engage in fanciful speculations. It is intended instead as an acknowledgement that detailed historical accounts of the Reformation can (by merit of the sheer amount of evidence marshalled) seem to present solid and monolithic accounts of events without schisms or paradoxes. Historians with the benefit of hindsight can 'look into the seeds of time, | And say which grain will grow and which will not', applying an unwarranted teleological aspect to events.[199] The juxtaposition of a Shakespearian quotation about prophecy with the professional work of historians is not accidental. Once again, this is not to make a facile suggestion that there is no distinction between history and fiction, but that as we have seen repeatedly in previous chapters, memory is associated both with textuality and more specifically with fiction. This is particularly true of periods of national trauma, a useful conceptual lens for examining the Reformation's particular relationship with memory.

One period of collective trauma whose problematic relationship with memory has attracted ample attention in recent decades is the Great War. Janet Watson's seminal *Fighting Different Wars*, for instance, traces the evolution of memories, narratives and public perceptions of the First World War and demonstrates the centrality of the relationship between memory and fiction in creating the

198 Margaret Aston, 'Public Worship and Iconoclasm', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 9–29 (p. 17).
199 William Shakespeare, *Macbeth,* in *The Norton Shakespeare*, I. 3. 58–59.

received image of the First World War.[200] For example, Watson cites Robert Graves's position on this issue as 'claiming that memoirs were not "truthful" about the war *unless* they were inaccurate about the details. If one had really experienced the worst that trench warfare had to offer, it would be impossible to maintain accuracy in its representation' [emphasis in original].[201] The work of World War scholars, therefore, has repeatedly illuminated how stories of trauma are told and remembered, how they lead to a multiplicity of stories negotiating with each other and with actual historical events in personal accounts and public perception, and how memory plays its role in general in the wake of major collective trauma.

The utility of reading the Reformation through the scholarship on trauma that has emerged from First World War studies lies in that sense of disruption, marked by fiction and story-telling, which is discernible in both periods. This is not to suggest that the long and complex schisms and processes through which the Reformation took place in England are simply and directly comparable to the violent destruction of the Great War. Indeed, the complexities of Reformation ensure that applying the concept of memorial trauma overly broadly can prove problematic. As well as traumatic change for some sections of the populace, Reformation could also represent a happy return to early church orthodoxy for others and present the chance for the creation of new memories, such as John Foxe's explicitly memorial *Actes and Monuments* (1563). The pattern of historical research has increasingly focused upon local studies in order to finesse broader claims about iconoclasm and attitudes towards religious policy, and has increasingly discerned marked regional and local differences in the reception and creation of the Reformation.[202] The facet of the Reformation that is focused on here is of the Reformation as not only a period of religious and political crisis, debate and change, but also collective loss and communal trauma, defined as a process of recurrent readjustments of fundamental world-views, a loss of communality and shared customs, rituals and memories that bound

200 Janet Watson, *Fighting Different Wars: Experience, Memory and the First World War in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

201 Watson, *Fighting Different Wars,* p. 216.

202 See for example Stephen Lander, 'Church Courts and the Reformation in the Diocese of Chichester, 1500-58', in *The English Reformation Revised*, ed. by Christopher Haigh (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1987), pp. 34–56; Robert Whiting, *Local Responses to the English Reformation* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1998), especially pp. 55-71; Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (London: Yale University Press, 2001); Niall Oakey, 'Fixtures or Fittings? Can Surviving Pre-Reformation Ecclesiastical Material Culture be Used as a Barometer of Contemporary Attitudes to the Reformation in England?', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 58–73.

communities and nations together, as well as a creation of new bonds of communal identity forged through times of threat, insecurity and crisis.[203] Attending to the scholarship on trauma and memory in war studies helps to throw a raking light on that communal aspect of this much earlier era of disruption, on the fictive and narrative processes triggered both by the threat to memory and the urgency to preserve and create new memories that bind a community together. To employ the terminology of trauma is therefore not to efface the experiences of the English population that celebrated Protestant changes or to suggest a simplistic view of the Reformation; rather, it is a decision made in the knowledge that the full scale of the Reformation could never be summarised in one chapter to focus upon a particular aspect. In order therefore to recognise the usefulness of a traumatic reading of the Reformation in England, all that must be accepted is David Palliser's contention that 'Historians will always disagree how far the divisions reflected real doctrinal disagreement and how far they were provoked by the social, economic and political changes that were bound up with the successive church settlements; but the fact of a deeply divided country is incontrovertible'.[204] This chapter begins with a discussion of pre-Reformation memorial practices, outlining their significance and durability, before tracing the effect of their disruption, namely attempts to replace their absence with different fictions.

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Pre-Reformation Christian practice was characterised by ritualised and insistent approaches to memory. The liturgical year was structured not only around the great Christian festivals such as Easter and Christmas but also the numerous saints days. For many of the saints days and feast days, people were encouraged to fast on the eve before the day itself and to remember the saint, whilst many guilds and occupations had their own patron saints: people of those professions would not work upon the

203 The term 'Reformation' is used throughout this chapter, a fact that may seem incongruous given the multiple stages and national contexts of 'The Reformation' and the historiographical focus upon regional differences outlined above. However, this usage is intended as a heuristic device to impose a sense of unity for the sake of writing on a large and massively complex period of religious, political, social and demographic history. Referring to a singular 'Reformation' is an approach that has historiographical precedent, and as long as it is recognised as a consciously simplified model should not prove too much of an impediment. See for example Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Mark Greengrass, *The European Reformation c. 1500-1618* (London: Longman, 1998); Peter Marshall, *Reformation England: 1480-1642* (London: Arnold, 2003). Once again, this is not to suggest that these authors present a unified and singular event, rather that they employ the idea of a 'Reformation' as a framing device.

204 D.M. Palliser, 'Popular Reactions to the Reformation During the Years of Uncertainty 1530-70,' in *The English Reformation Revised*, pp. 94–114 (p. 94).

days of their patron saints in remembrance of them. Although the focus of the great festivals upon remembrance is clear, the sheer extent of the effort and structure invested into the acts of remembering is remarkable. Speaking of the Candlemas celebrations, Eamon Duffy suggests that there was a 'tradition, embodied in such works as the Meditationes Vitae Christi [that] stressed the spiritual value of vivid mental imagining of the events of the life of Christ, especially his Passion, to "make hym-selfe present in his thoghte as if he sawe fully with his bodyly eghe all the thynges that be-fell abowte the crosse and the glorious passione of our Lord Ihesu"'.[205] This mental imagining is illuminating. It suggests both a close compact between memory and imagination in the period and is also faintly redolent of the striking visual images recommended by the artificial memory systems. In isolation, neither suggestion can be advanced beyond conjecture but a number of other points lead in a similar direction. For example, Duffy also notes that laymen were encouraged to interpret the gestures of the priests and ministers in terms of the events and actions of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday.[206] This fact seems to also point to a similarity to the Ciceronian artificial memory systems, namely the interrelationship of interior and exterior; just as a change in the external world could provide a change to the internal artificial one, so here internal mental imagining and memory of Christ (that is to say, a memory constructed largely through a combination of remembered scripture, the visual images of the church and imaginative 'filling in the blanks') draws upon external movements and pattern.

Candlemas provides a further example of both the interrelationship of interior and exterior worlds and the interrelationship of memory and imaginative construction. The festival, held on 2 February, involved parishioners presenting blessed candles and pennies to the priest during Mass, which were often lit before an image of Mary. As Duffy suggests, however, the popularity of the festival lay not only in the more scripturally rigorous function of recalling to memory Jesus as the light of the world and a source of renewal but also in widely held folk beliefs about the abilities of such candles to ward off ill-health, ill-luck, storms, spirits and a host of other evils.[207] The blessed candles were removed from the church and taken to the homes of the parishioners: this neatly exemplifies the

205 Anon., 'The Privity of the Passion', in *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole an English Father of the Church and His Followers,* ed. by C. Horstmann, 2 vols (London: Sonnenschien, 1895), I, pp. 198–218 (p. 198). Cited in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* p. 19.

206 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* p. 19. See also Lucy Wooding, 'Remembrance in the Eucharist', in *The Arts of Remembrance in Early Modern England,* ed. by Andrew Gordon and Thomas Rist (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 19–37.

207 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 16–17.

overlap of memory and imagination, as well as not only the significance but also the mutability of architecturally inflected memory. The candles received their significance and power through their dedication to the memory of the tenets of the Christian faith in the church, following a prescribed ceremony of ritual and progression. They could be removed from their original context but only retained their import if the memory of their origin could be retained; one can obtain little benefit from a blessed candle if it is forgotten that the candle is blessed.

The appropriation of patterned, ordered and repeated movement characteristic of the artificial memory systems can also be discerned in other parish activities. Rogationtide saw a series of events featuring festival elements, such as ritualised processions featuring dragons and lions. Many parishioners would also, for example, walk as a group in a set route on a set date every year around the boundaries of the parish to re-inscribe the memory of the borders between one parish and another. The provision of food at set locations neatly captures in microcosm the progress and feast days of the liturgical year. Similarly, religious guilds would often stage ritualised recreations of biblical scenes, proceeding in set order from a number of sites of memory; in this respect it is not overly fanciful to compare it to the highly ritualised Roman triumphs discussed in the opening chapter. Duffy describes one such procession of the guild of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Beverley. It exemplifies the practice neatly, whilst the detail preserved indicates the specificity and importance of the minutiae recorded by the guild.

> Each year on the morning of Candlemas the guild assembled at some place distant from the church. One of their number, 'qui ad hoc aptior invenietur', nobly and decently dressed and adorned as the Queen of Heaven, carried a doll in her arms to represent the Christ child. Two other guild members dressed as Joseph and Simeon, and yet another two dressed as angels carried a candelabrum or hearse of twenty-four thick wax lights. Surrounded by other great lights, and to the accompaniment of 'Music and rejoicing', they processed to the church, the sisters of the guild immediately after the Blessed Virgin, followed by the brethren, two by two, each carrying a candle of half a pound weight. At the church, the Virgin was to offer her Son to Simeon at the high altar, and then the guild members, one by one, offered their candles

and a penny apiece.[208]

This is of course not to suggest that the average church-goer or priest were avid Ciceronians — such an approach could have been arrived at either as an inheritance of the mediation of Ciceronian approaches through the early medieval church described in Chapter Three, or as an independently developed pattern of organising memory. This latter suggestion is not a retreat into unrefined structuralism (that is to say, the suggestion is not that structuring thought by striking visual image, order, repetition and regularity is some kind of human universal), rather that useful and successful approaches are likely to evolve and be retained in a multitude of cultures. Indeed, the other major classical approach to artificial memory, the notion of the wax tablets of the mind upon which memories can be inscribed and erased also seems to recur. *Meditatyons for Goostely Exercyse* (*c*. 1500) suggests that laymen should 'Call to your remembrance and Imprinte Inwardly In [sic] your hart by holy meditation, the holl processe of the passyon, frome the Mandy unto the point of crysts deeth'.[209] Also evident here is the overlapping between memory-as-architecture and memory-as-text. The memory to be imprinted is of movement through space, namely the passion moving 'frome' and 'unto'. This sense of motion seems an unusual fit for the more static idea of a memory akin to a wax tablet to be written upon. Indeed, the 'holl processe of the passyon' could also refer to the performance of the rituals in church, as discussed earlier in Duffy's observation that parishioners were encouraged to memorise the gestures of priests and ministers.[210] As with the previously noted perceptions of the illustrated walls of the church as akin to an alphabet for the unlettered and the 'layering' effect of memories achieved by whitewashing, the effect here seems to be not only of conflation of memory-as-architecture and memory-as-text but also a suggestion of potential instabilities accompanying this.

Memory also lay at or very near the base of late medieval death customs which were of course in themselves central to pre-Reformation culture and which also exemplify the relationship of memory and fiction and performance, and memory and place. The 'Mind' or 'Remembrance' was a service held on the seventh and thirtieth days after burial for the deceased, as well as on the one year anniversary of

208 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 20. See also Christopher Marsh, *Popular Religion in Sixteenth-Century England* (Houndmills: MacMillan, 1998), pp. 96–107.

209 Anon., 'Langforde's Meditations in the Time of the Mass', in *Tracts on the Mass,* ed. by J. Wickham Legg (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904), pp. 17–31 (pp. 25–26). Cited in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* p. 19.

210 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars,* p. 19.

death. The wealthy dead would often specify through their wills that the one year Mind was to feature mourners in full costume staging a recreation of the funeral, including proceeding along the funeral route. Such endeavours not only reminded the participating mourners of the dead but also through the presentation of striking visual images following a fixed course reminded observers of the deceased. Wills would often specify the bequest of items for the church designed to act as *aide-mémoires*. Depending on the wealth of the individual such objects could range from ornate chalices, to coverings for the altar, to wax candles to be burnt in specific parts of the church and a large number of other items besides.[211] These items had a dual memorial focus. The candle burning before the image of Mary served to encourage parishioners to remember her, whilst the object itself in the context of its placement in a patterned religious context served to encourage the viewer to remember the donor. Bede rolls that listed the dead of the parish provided a cheap means for the poor to be remembered: the rolls were ceremonially read aloud on an annual basis. Becon was later to provide a parody:

> And here in your mind and thought […] ye pray for Philip and Cheny, more than a good meany, for the souls of your great grand sir and your old Beldam Hurre, for the souls of Father Princhard and of Mother Puddingwright, for the souls of good man Rinsepitcher and good wife Pintpot, for the souls of Sir John Huslegoose and Sir Simon Sweetlips.[212]

The rhythm and rhyme such as of 'Cheny' and 'meany' may not be Becon's innovation but rather an attempt to emulate the endeavours of priests to make a long list of names individual and personalised in the better encouragement of parishioners to remember them. The overlapping of death, memory and architecture is also apparent in the creation of chantries by the very wealthy, dedicated ecclesiastical spaces in which the soul of the benefactor would be prayed for. Another example was the physical placement of the sepulchres of the rich within the church. Burial within the church itself was valued, with the premium locations being near the altar.[213] Sepulchres positioned in such a way partook of physical proximity to the Mass (and hence, following the Catholic doctrine of

211 For a illustrative example of this in practice see Caroline Litzenberger, *The English Reformation and the Laity: Gloucestershire 1540–1580* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 24–25.
212 Thomas Becon, *Prayers and Other Pieces,* ed. by J. Ayre (London: Parker Society, 1844), p. 276.
213 For the enduring popularity of this practice throughout the Reformation see Vanessa Harding, 'Choices and Changes: Death, Burial and the English Reformation', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 386–98 (p. 389).

transubstantiation, Jesus) but also came to feature in the annual festivities of Easter. Many such sepulchres became places that were ritually used to denote the tomb of Jesus before resurrection. This fact neatly exemplifies the centrality and the paradox of death and memory in pre-Reformation England. The tomb provided a striking visual image (especially the so-called cadaver sepulchres of the very rich, presenting the stone forms of the inhabitants in an advanced state of decay) within a patterned and ordered memorial context, namely the masses and services of Easter. However, the tomb could be read as trigger to remember the dead individual, to remember the death of Jesus or as a *memento mori* for the viewer, and in all likelihood all three at once. This layering of memories cannot have always been neat; it seems relatively uncontroversial to suggest that some memories would take precedence over others or perhaps even 'bleed through' into one another. The gain in complexity and force of this convergence would have been strong but perhaps marked by a reduction in the specificity of individual memories.[214] The cadaver sepulchres may have provided another instance of the relationship between memory and imagination and fiction in the period. Although it is conjectural, one can imagine a parishioner gazing upon a cadaver sepulchre and finding the figures of the deceased, Jesus and themselves merging into the imaginative stone-work of the body, perhaps leading to further reflections, each less and less tethered to memory and more and more fictive.

This insistence upon memory and being remembered rarely arose from narcissism. Although issues of familial prestige, personal vanity, ostentation and socio-economic competition between individuals and families would have inflected and contributed to memorial practices, there is no reason to doubt the reason reiterated constantly in wills and sermons, namely, the anxiety about Purgatory. The presence of Purgatory may have inspired fear, loathing or hope for salvation amongst parishioners, but its presence was almost undoubted. Purgatory therefore provides a key doctrine through which to examine memory, place, text and fiction, albeit a doctrine that saw significant changes in focus and interpretation in the period.

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214 Although located in a post-trauma context rather than the pre-trauma situation of pre-Reformation England, an example from post-World War Two Germany demonstrates exactly this multiplicity and the problems associated with it. Torgau in Germany served as the site of Nazi military prisons and immediately after the war as the site of Soviet military prisons. Attempts to create a monument(s) have been beset by debates about wording, location, the relative size given to different categories of victim and whether a single monument is desirable at all. See Andrew H. Beattie, 'The Fight in the Prison Car Park: Memorialising Germany's 'Double Past' in Torgau since 1990', in *Memorialization in Germany Since 1945,* ed. by Bill Niven and Chloe Paver (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), pp. 328–41.

Purgatory was of course identified as a region in which the souls of the vast majority of Christians would endure punishment and cleansing before ascent to heaven; a third place, or middle ground, for the souls of those who were not saints but sinners, albeit not the very wicked. Critical debate continues regarding whether Purgatory conceptualised as a distinctive physical place emerged only in the late twelfth century or had earlier origins.[215] Regardless of this debate however, late medieval Christians sincerely believed in a forthcoming period of pain incomparable to the suffering of the living. The belief that both charitable good works and the prayers of the living could expedite the release of the soul from Purgatory was a commonplace. Examples abound of this in great number: the citation of two will suffice. The first is a rhyme sometimes incorporated into epitaphs and funeral brasses:

> For Jhus love pray for me
> I may not pray nowe pray ye
> With a pater noster and ave
> That my paynes Relessyd may be.[216]

The second is the Lyke-wake Dirge, a text worth citing at length to capture the rhyme, the sense of a spatial journey and the progress of an argument of line of thought from one point to another:

> This ae night, this ae night
> Every night and alle;
> Fire and fleet and candle light
> And Christ receive thy saule.
>
> When thou from hence away are paste,
> Every night and alle;
> To Whinny-muir thou comest at laste
> And Christe receive thy saule.

215 See Jacques le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (London: Scolar Press, 1984); Brian Patrick McGuire, 'Purgatory, the Communion of Saints, and Medieval Change', *Viator*, 20 (1989), 61–84.

216 Peter Sherlock, *Monuments and Memory in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 76.

[…]

From Whinny-muir when thou mayst passe,

Every night and alle;

To Brigg o'Dread thou comest at laste;

And Christe receive thy saule.

From Brigg o'Dread when thou mayst pass,

Every night and alle;

To purgatory fire thou comest at laste,

And Christe receive thy saule.

If ever thou gavest meat or drink,

Every night and alle;

The fire shall never make thee shrinke;

And Christe receive thy saule.

If meate or drinke thou never gavest nane,

Every night and alle;

The fire will burn thee to the bare bane;

And Christe receive thy saule.[…].[217]

The combination of fear and hope ('If ever thou gavest meat or drink', 'If meate or drinke thou never gavest nane') is perhaps indicative of the complex reactions Purgatory could inspire. The familiar import of the candle is once again present. It is perhaps not overly fanciful to also see an association of the geographies of the dead with those of the living. Late medieval wills often left donations for the explicit purpose of maintaining bridges, pathways and roads as acts of public charity.[218] In accounts of explorations of Purgatory, the narrative device of crossing a narrow and dangerous bridge is frequent; one example will be considered shortly. Given the appearance in this

217 Anon., 'Lyke-Wake Dirge', in *Border Ballads*, ed. by William Beattie (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965), pp. 176–77. Cited in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 358–59.

218 Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 367.

verse of such a bridge and the mutability expressed in the dirge, namely 'From Brigg'o Dread when thou mayst pass', the suggestion seems to be of another way in which earthly charitable good works assist in Purgatory; those who maintain bridges cross them easily. In isolation this is tentative, but other such examples will be considered. Finally, the refrain 'Every night and alle' has a significance that goes beyond its structural function. In combination with the opening and closing stanza's 'This ae night, this ae nighte | Every night and alle' it suggests some confusion or paradox regarding time, as if any one night is akin to every night and the set of all nights.

This confusion is reflected in ideas about the temporal dimensions of Purgatory. On the one hand, testators left a record that suggests both the great haste needed for prayers to deliver them from Purgatory, with the apparent expectation of a lengthy stay. Wills ask for doles for the soul 'as hastily as possible […] after my departing frome this world' and 'as sone as I am deade w'toute eny terying' whilst another blurs the boundaries between life and Purgatory: Sir John Manyngham requested masses to commence 'If tyme and season be, whan I lye in the article and poynt of deth laboring towards the everlasting life'.[219] Conversely, folk beliefs persisted that special acts and deeds performed in certain spots could expedite or entirely remove the duration of confinement in Purgatory, whilst burial in certain spots could drastically reduce the duration of punishment in Purgatory without regard for the duration of confinement incurred by earthly sin. The accretion of popular myths about central cultural practices is unsurprising in itself: however, these temporal irregularities were accompanied by a multitude of conflicting ideas about the spatial dimensions, location and geographical features of Purgatory. Given the significance that Purgatory assumed for late medieval Christians as a focus and site of memory, these irregularities warrant some further investigation.

As Marshall summarises, 'The Councils of Lyons (1274) and Florence (1439) had formally defined the theological rationale of Purgatory (the painful purgation of satisfaction due for sins) and described some means of relieving its pains (offering of the mass, prayer, alms, and other works of piety), but they offered no more circumstantial detail'.[220] Perhaps the most crucial debate was whether Purgatory was to be more closely associated with Heaven or Hell: whether it was a realm in which

219 Henry Thomas Weyman, 'Chantry Chapels in Ludlow Church', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*, IV (1904), 355–56. Cited in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, p. 346.

220 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*, p. 8.

penitent sinners joyfully accepted chastisement or a realm of agony only separated from Hell in that the duration of the agonies had a (potentially vast) date of expiration. Dante located Purgatory as a place near to Heaven, whereas for Fisher, leaning heavily towards Purgatory as a suburb of Hell, Purgatory was 'so great acerbite of pynes that no dyfference is betweene the paynes of hell and them, but only eternyte, the paynes of helle be eternall, and the paynes of purgatory have an ende'.[221]

In addition to this general ontological confusion about Purgatory, debates about its physical placement abounded. *The Golden Legend* states:

> Be it said that the souls are purged in some place located near hell and called purgatory. This is the opinion held by most learned men, although others think the place is in the air and in the torrid zone. However, by divine dispensation different places are sometimes appointed for different souls, and this for a number of reasons — either because their punishment is lighter or their liberation faster, or for our instruction, or because their sin was committed in this particular place, or on account of the prayer of some saint.[222]

Myths also circulated about the dead and churchyards. As Marshall notes, *The Golden Legend* itself reported that when a man who had always recited *De Profundis* for the dead was pursued by enemies through a churchyard, 'the buried, each one armed with the tool proper to his craft, quickly rose and defended the fleeing man with might and main'.[223] Purgatory was also linked with certain specific geographical locations, such as Lough Derg in Donegal, an account of which will be considered shortly. Indeed, Purgatory was also permitted in some accounts to acquire a double or a split aspect. *The Gast of Gy* tells of a discourse between a priest and a spirit. The priest pushes the spirit on the nature of Purgatory and its place, and the spirit reveals that Purgatory could have a double aspect, being both specific and general. Despite the priest's scepticism that 'A saule may noght in a tyme ga | To be ponyst in places twa' the spirit reveals that he can be tormented both in the bedroom which he haunts and in a general Purgatory below the earth.

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221 John Fisher, 'Treatise Concernynge The Seven Penytencyall Psalmes', in *The English Works of John Fisher,* ed. by John Eyton Bickersteth Mayor (London: Early English Text Society, 1876), pp. 1–267 (p. 10).

222 Jacobus de Voraigne, *The Golden Legend*, trans. by William. Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), II, 282.

223 *Golden Legend,* II, 285. Cited in Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* p. 36.

The voyce answerd and said in hy:

'I am here in Purgatory.'

Than said the Pryor: 'Proved thou hase

That Purgatory es in this place.'

[…]

The voyce answerd on this manere

And said: 'Thare er Purgatoryes sere:

Ane es comon to mare and les,

And departabill aneother es.'

The Pryor said: 'Now wate I wele

That thou ert fals in ilk a dele.

A saule may noght in a tyme ga

To be ponyst in places twa'

[…]

The voice than said: 'This es certayne,

For I am here, withouten fabyll,

In Purgatory departabyll

Ilk a day, als God vouches save.

Bot other payn behoves me have:

For ilk a nyght behoves me

In comon Purgatory pyned be

For to suffyr paynes sare

With other saules that er thare.'[…].[224]

Such a discourse reveals, if not a scepticism about Purgatory, at least some uncertainties. The priest's misgivings are addressed and rebutted, and the spirit earnestly insists that he is telling the truth 'withouten fabyll', suggesting that for an audience there is at least the possibility of scepticism.

Part of this flexibility of Purgatory, this adaptability to differing spatial locations, can be

224 Anon., *The Gast of Gy,* in *Three Purgatory Poems: The Gast of Gy, Sir Owain, The Vision of Tundale,* ed. by Edward E. Foster (Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), 527–560.

linked to the fictive elements of it, perhaps alluded to in the ghost's speech above that is insistently 'withouten fabyll'. Indeed, despite the firm belief of the populace in Purgatory and its status as established doctrine, literary visions of Purgatory such as *Pilgrimage of the Soul* (*c.* 1540) and *The Gast of Guy* (*c*. 1350) were often included with Romances in manuscripts.[225] Earlier, points of similarity and relationship were established between memory and imagination in the period, with acts of memory predicated upon strong imaginative powers. So too with Purgatory, attempts to remember a dead friend or family member required creating striking visual imagery to make the thought memorable and individualised. Such undertakings would invariably generate a multitude of differing and sometimes conflicting accounts. Perhaps equally important however are the instabilities of memory in the period; as has been discussed in previous chapters, memory incorporates the perennial risk (perhaps at times necessity) of forgetting. As a memorial *locus*, Purgatory would inevitably be shaped by fissures and debates around memory, even before ecclesiastical reformers attempted to abolish Purgatory entirely.

A particularly popular English folk tale of the period details an untrustworthy executor of a will being confronted by the ghost of the dead and then dragged directly to Hell (and it is probably significant that the executor is dragged to Hell and not merely to Purgatory himself).[226] This tale captures in microcosm the anxieties over being forgotten common in the period. It is a commonplace of wills to command sons and executors to follow the will upon pain of judgement on doomsday, whilst Thomas More lamented of the dead that 'we have bene wyth many folke mych forgoten of neglygence […] that olde sayd saw, owte of syght owte of mynde'.[227] Speaking of ghost stories of the period, Marshall notes 'Ghosts might be identifiable individuals with specific social attributes, or they might be (literally) faceless representatives of a broad collectivity'; presumably at least some part of their horror arose from their very anonymity serving to remind the viewer that they have been forgotten, their stay in Purgatory prolonged, and as *momento mori* for the viewer of what may await

225 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England*, p. 12.
226 *Golden Legend*, II, 89. This popular fiction and the proverbial unreliability of executors is discussed in Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England,* pp. 39–41.
227 Thomas More, *The Supplication of Souls* (London, 1529), III. 218–19. Cited in Marshall, *Beliefs and The Dead*,
pp. 41–42.

them.[228] This also illustrates once again the fluidity of the relationship between the individual and the public in the period. Marshall describes the relative frequency of charnel houses, into which the bones of the long buried would be emptied to form a large and indiscriminate pile, as well as the not infrequent excavation of bodies from churchyards throughout England for pragmatic reasons such as overcrowding.[229] In such an environment in which the spaces of the dead such as graves are changeable, it is not unreasonable to expect spaces of the dead such as Purgatory to also be so, particularly given the association of the earthly and deathly geographies previously discussed, such as bridge building as an act of charity and the contingencies of passage over the bridge of Purgatory. Indeed, within the context of memory as an inscription akin to a wax tablet, events of the period point towards the possibility of erasure. Marshall lists examples of funerary brasses re-appropriated and re-inscribed, often by the simple procedure of turning the brass over and inscribing the reverse side. This habit seems significant given the frequent protests of Catholic authors of the later Reformation about iconoclasm.[230] As has been suggested above, the icons and images are often explicitly referred to as an alphabet for the unlettered, suggesting once again a close association of memory-as-text and memory-as-architecture or as image, with the brasses performing dual memorative work as *loci* and palpable visual icons and as texts, and significantly threatened with erasure or destruction in either form.[231]

The relationship of image, text and location is exemplified by a consideration of literary treatments of Purgatory. It has already been mentioned that imagination and memory seem to be closely allied in the period, as seen by the Candlemass activities, and the inclusion of manuscripts about explorations of Purgatory alongside Romances emphasises the relationship between memory and fiction. I am defining imagination and the imaginative as vignettes of fancy such as reflections

228 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 35.

229 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 39–41.

230 The strength of feeling regarding iconoclasm of course varied over time. For a few examples see Nicholas Sander, *A Treatise of the Images of Christ and His Saints: and That It Is Ynlaufull to Breake Them, and Lauful To Honour Them. With a Confutation of Such False Doctrines as M. Iewel Hath Yttered in His Replie, Concerning That Matter. Made by Nicolas Sander, Doctour of Diuinitie* ([Lourdes(?)], 1567); Thomas Stapleton, *A Reply to Fulke, In Defense of M. D. Allens Scroll of Articles, and Booke of Purgatorie. By Richard Bristo Doctor of Diuinitie ... Perused and Allowed by Me Th. Stapleton* ([n.p.], 1580) William Allen, *An Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution and Endeuours of the Two English Colleges, the One in Rome, the Other Now Resident in Rhemes against Certaine Sinister Informations Given Yp Against the Same* (Rheims, 1581); William Allen, *An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland Concerninge the Present Warres Made for the Execution of his Holines Sentence, by the Highe and Mightie Kinge Catholike of Spaine. By the Cardinal of Englande* (Antwerp, 1588)

231 For a useful further discussion of both this duality and the concomitant tensions see Peter Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* pp. 168–75.

upon the candles at Candlesmas. Conversely, fiction indicates sustained episodes of imagination subject to narrative tropes such as journeys, dialogue and narrative structure. The relationship between memory and fiction has been explored since Chapter One, in which the appropriation or creation of fantastic and striking visual imagery to the ends of an artificial memory system was explored; this is fictive rather than imaginative as the imagery is put to use in a systemised and ordered fashion: the artificial memory system is 'toured' from one point to another. As Purgatory served as a striking visual image or 'place' of memory and attracted numerous texts about itself, a consideration of literary accounts will illustrate not only the centrality of Purgatory and its fissures but also how treatments of it foreshadowed later developments in textual memory in the Reformation.

As Stephen Greenblatt notes, the most frequent accounts of Purgatory were tales of Owein Miles, and all derived from the Latin prose text *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* (*Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii c.* 1180).[232] Two things are notable here: firstly, that as Greenblatt notes, Owein is a variant of Ywain or Gwain, a knight of the round table.[233] This is a further suggestion of the linking of Purgatory with Romance and should be read as another example of the association of memory with imagination in the period. Secondly, the single original text gave birth to a multitude of offspring texts that often acquired a kind of second-order memory; as well as describing the memorial place of Purgatory, they remember the *Tractatus de Purgatorio* and allude to each other, using the memory of a previous text and its supposed mistakes as a starting point or raison d'être. In such accounts, the place of Purgatory becomes increasingly obscured.

Another notable feature of the original is the network of names that inscribes the text. According to the text, H. of Sawtry is writing at the request of the Abbot of Sartis. H of Sawtry was not the person who originally experienced the events, nor the person who first learnt of them. Instead, H. of Sawtry heard them from a monk Gilbert, who related a tale told to him by Owein who actually entered Purgatory. Although Greenblatt suggests of all this that 'direct testimony is evidently less prized than an authorizing medium of transmission' this conclusion seems incomplete. [234] At the very least, such a web of allusions and nesting accounts invites parody as will be seen later. The origin of Purgatory is explained: St Patrick found the people of Ireland reticent to believe and was granted a

232 Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 73.
233 Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, p. 73.
234 Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, p. 74.

dream vision of Jesus revealing the location of Purgatory as a deep black pit. St Patrick then built a monastery over this pit. Owein enters Purgatory and it is after this that later accounts begin to diverge. Owein confronts a variety of demons and sees sinners suffering a variety of punishments, generally crosses a narrow bridge and then safely returns to recount his adventures. The accounts display a mixture of specificity and ambiguity. The authenticity of the account is suggested by St Patrick's reception of a dream vision, a device considered in the previous chapter, and the accounts all firmly fix that black pit of Purgatory to Lough Derg. However, the nebulous and fluid borders of Purgatory and its contents exemplifies the confusions and fluidity of conceptions of Purgatory in the period; in this regard it is useful to think of St Patrick's monastery built atop the mutable pit of Purgatory: Purgatory is at once a central feature of ecclesiastical memory but also a confused and ambiguous space. This duality of presentation — of something at once central and fixed but also fluid and mutable — and the interrelationship of memorial texts, places and dreams provides another example to the discussion of these themes undertaken in the previous chapter.

As will be seen, in the swerves of ecclesiastical policy between Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary I, Purgatory came to lose its centrality and to occupy a more ambiguous and marginal place. In some respects, the doctrine was *hic et ubique*; never truly forgotten but equally often not discussed for pragmatic reasons. This discussion is important as a prelude to a discussion of religious pamphlets and tracts which mirror this complex presentation and also demonstrate attempts to fill the communal void left by the excavation of the doctrine of Purgatory.

As Marshall suggests, 'The outright proscription of purgatory, and of the whole gamut of traditional means of assisting the repose of the souls of the dead, must rank as one of the most audacious attempts at the restructuring of beliefs and values ever attempted in England, a kind of collective cultural de-programming'.[235] Following Henry VIII's death in 1547, his own vacillations over Purgatory's existence were replaced by an increasing official certainty over its non-existence, as evidenced by the Book of Homilies and the Royal Visitation Injunctions of the summer of 1547, both of which denounced the doctrine. This official condemnation continued under Edward, with Purgatory restored under Mary; Marshall notes for example that 'Londoners were soon hearing messages that

235 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 100. See also Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory,* and R. N. Swanson, 'The Pre-Reformation Church', in *The Reformation World,* ed. by Andrew Pettegree (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 9–31 (pp. 22–23).

had not been publically articulated for over a decade. In October 1553 Dr Hugh Weston preached at Paul's Cross, beginning his sermon by urging his auditors: 'You shall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in heaven, nor hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to heaven, that they may be relieved by your devout prayers'.[236]

However, as suggested above, the treatment of Purgatory in discourse does not match this neat chronology. Marshall identifies both a number of Marian official texts promulgating the doctrine of Purgatory and also relatively low popular participation, as well as a disinclination on the part of Catholic polemicists to use the term Purgatory.[237] Conversely, Marshall productively suggests:

> With the dissolutions of 1547-8 it is tempting to think of a chapter finally closing, the Chantries Act delivering, as Diarmaid MacCulloch has put it, 'the *coup de grâce* to the moribund purgatory industry'. Yet there are few indications that mid-Tudor reformers felt in any way complacent about what they had achieved. Edwardian England witnessed the publication of only one substantial work against the doctrine of post-mortem purgation, a *Liber de Purgatorio* by the Hamburg Lutheran reformer Johannes Aepinus (or Hoeck), printed at London in 1549, and dedicated to Edward VI. But diatribes against purgatory and intercessory prayer are to be found in many mid-Tudor Protestant works.[238]

This duality of Purgatory — its perennial presence but also instability — is mirrored in the textual debates that circulated around it. These often took Purgatory as a central focus and exemplify the same tendency of the earlier texts on Purgatory to move from the original site of memory that it represents and into secondary memories of other and previous texts. The discussion that follows attempts to trace discussions of Purgatory in pamphlet literature, and identify how a welter of texts both marks the trauma of the complex loss of Purgatory and its ambiguous endurability, and the attempts to 'plug the gap' with something else.

Given the vast bulk of pamphlet literature and the historical contingencies under which it was

236 John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments,* ed. by S. R. Cattely and G. Townsend, 8 vols (London, 1837–41), VI. 541–42, cited in Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, p. 115.
237 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead*, pp. 115–19.
238 Marshall, *Beliefs and the Dead,* p. 98; citing Diarmaid MacCulloch, *The Boy King: Edward VI and the Protestant Reformation,* 2nd edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 81.

produced, several caveats are in order. For example, the fact that British monarchs burnt texts shapes the surviving record; a paucity of certain texts may indicate the success of repression rather than the absence of opinion. Similarly, *cuius regio, eius religio* was of course the policy, meaning that dissident texts had to be published in secret or abroad, affecting the speed of response to orthodox treatises. Indeed, oscillations of memory were reflected in the narrative forms of the texts. As the national approach to memory changed and heterodoxy became orthodoxy and vice versa, texts accrued a penumbra of extra-textual material that shielded the text from too searching and direct an analysis.[239]

The rhetorical contest began in earnest with the publication of Simon Fish's *A Supplication For the Beggars* (1529), and the early exchanges illustrate the prominence of fiction and of moving from remembering the initial issue towards a secondary memory of other texts. Fish's *Supplication* contends that the monastic classes are not only parasitic but actively engage in wanton crimes, and that monks not only deprive the masses of money but by the promulgation of Purgatory turn the memory of the people to the unheeding dead, rather than the deserving living. Thomas More's response, *The Supplication of Souls* (1529), set the pattern for the ensuing pamphleteering wars of point and riposte, although this grew into increasingly Byzantine schemes of riposte, counter-riposte, counter-counter-riposte and so forth. A focus of later Protestant polemic was to characterise Purgatory as wholly poetic invention and damn it for this fictive aspect: it was 'a poet's fable', and a product of 'vain and idle imaginations'.[240] Despite this, Fish's text is itself replete with fictions both obvious and (slightly) more subtle. In the former category, the imagined poor are given words; this text which draws on memory also engages in poetic fictions. In the latter category lie such supposed facts as Fish's invented figures about the amount of wealth consumed by the monasteries.

A deep cause for the fundamental debate between Protestant and Catholic over Purgatory was obviously differing interpretations of scripture. The Protestant rejection of fourfold allegorical

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239 Particularly notable are the frequency of authorial pseudonyms and misstatements of the place of publication. For a useful discussion of Reformation pamphlets, see Peter Matheson, *The Rhetoric of the Reformation* (Edinburgh:T&T, 1998), pp.183–214; for the ways in which pamphlets adopted extra-textual material and responded to the demands of consumers see Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 156–84.

240 William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* ([n.p], 1531); Thomas. Wilcox, *The Unfouldyng of Sundry Untruths and Absurde Propositions* ([n.p.], 1581). Cited in Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, p. 36.

readings of the Bible and rejection of patristic authority for the reading of the text led (or at least contributed) to characterisations of the Catholic interpretations as fanciful or fictive, whilst for the Catholic part their reading was felt to be the more nuanced and to extrapolate from the text in the same fashion that Protestants themselves did — as More replied to Tyndale, Tyndale believed in a Holy Trinity never explicitly mentioned in the text. Thus, the debate about Purgatory as a site of memory was mediated through textual disputes from the beginning, with both sides increasingly citing scriptual precedent to remind the reader of the basis for the claims being made. Even this 'basic' text was however a site of contest; Protestants and Catholics used different translations, and early Protestant translations such as Tyndale's were larded with marginalia to justify the translational choices that were made. Hence, even before the accretion of pamphlets about Purgatory both sides were citing texts that cited other texts.

Given the sheer number of proliferating texts, an attempt to establish either a chronology of increasing confusion and complexity or identify specific triggers is fraught. It is perhaps sufficient to note that the development of extra-textual material and the 'forgetting' of the subject being discussed began early. This is not to suggest that the pamphleteers engaged in bad faith or entirely failed to make substantive points, but rather that in the environment of response and counter-response, recrimination and counter-recrimination, the original subjects were often largely lost. In this respect, Miriam Chrisman's criteria of the distinction between polemic and propaganda is useful. Chrisman identifies polemic as denoting a two-way process, whilst propaganda is systematically uni-vocal and aimed solely at the propagation of a particular viewpoint.[241] Speaking of the development of the pamphlet wars in Northern Europe, Pettegree uses this model to trace a development from polemic to propaganda.[242] This increasing heat of rhetoric probably also applies to the pamphlet debates in Reformation England, helping to explain how subjects such as Purgatory could be both maintained and forgotten: the pamphleteers were writing past one another. Similarly, the weight of publication also added to this effect. Speaking once again of the pamphlets of Northern Europe, Pettegree suggests a volume of publication in the order of six million texts and notes the habit of bookshops and binders to

241 Miriam Usher Chrisman, 'From Polemic to Propaganda', *Archiv fűr Reformationsgeschichte,* 73 (1982), 175–96 (p. 175).

242 Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 183; see also Peter Matheson, *The Rhetoric of Reformation,* pp. 157–215.

print pamphlets in collections. He suggests:

> In this scenario, pamphlets had a dual life as individual artefacts and as part of a collective body of material. Which was more important to the way they were 'read'? Their impact came partly from what they said, but the impact was heightened by the multiplication effect of reinforcement. A case was made not just because the individual arguments were strong, but because many voices were making them. Their impact was greater than had they been a single text, because they created an impression of cacophony and irresistible pressure. They were the crowd made text.[243]

In the pamphlets of the English Reformation this weight of publication acquired its own logic: the number of tracts ensured that doctrines such as Purgatory were remembered but through a veil of texts. This complexity neatly matches the odd place of Purgatory in the period outlined above, neither entirely present nor entirely exorcised, and can be read as both drawing upon and contributing to this memorial confusion.

A tract by Alexander Alesius illustrates this. It is entitled*: Of the Auctorite of the Word of God Agaynst the Bisshop of London Wherein Are Conteyned Certen Disputacyons Had in the Parlament Howse Betwene the Bisshops Abowt the Nomber of the Sacramen[n]ts and Other Things, Very Necessary To Be Known, Made by Alexa[n]der Alane Scot and Sent to the Duke of Saxon* (1544). Although some engagement is made with the issue of the authority of the word of God, a large section of the pamphlet is dominated by a long and confusing introduction explaining the rationale for its existence, engagements with previous, often unnamed writings, and disputations with often unnamed interlocutors.[244] Indeed, whilst it seems eminently reasonable to expect a discussion of the contentious Purgatory as one of the 'other things, very necessary to be known', the term occurs only twice in a text of over sixteen thousand words length, and there only very briefly and in passing. It seems in this pamphlet that both the page of biblical references that commence the text proper and the long introductory epistle have obscured the original intent. In isolation, this might be attributable to the

243 Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, pp. 160–62.

244 Alexander Alesius, *Of the Auctorite of the Word of God agaynst the Bisshop of London Wherein are Conteyned Certen Disputacyons had in the Parlament Howse betwene the Bisshops abowt the Nomber of the Sacramen[n]ts and Other Things, Very Necessary to be Known, Made by Alexa[n]der Alane Scot and Sent to the Duke of Saxon* (Strasbourg, 1544).

predilections of individual authors, but this pattern recurs.

An example may be found in Thomas Bilson's *The True Difference Betweene Christian Subjection and Unchristian Rebellion* (1585). The full title runs to some thirty plus words, outlining the full scheme and justification for its publication; even given the vogue for long titles in the period, this is suggestive of the memory of, and response to, previous texts, and indeed Bilson's tract is a response to two of William Allen's accounts. The major part of Bilson's text is a reply to *A True, Sincere and Modest Defence of English Catholics That Suffer For Their Faith Both At Home And Abroad, Against A False, Seditious And Slanderous Libel Entitled: 'The Execution Of Justice In England'* (1584), itself a response to another text. Allen's text is notable in itself in that although quite vigorously focused on Purgatory, it still alludes widely in its opening sections to other Protestant writings on Purgatory and surrounds the main body of the text with marginalia, both commentary and scriptural citation, to support itself. Bilson's text includes a dedication to Elizabeth and an epistle to the reader:

> It is some time since, good Christian Reader, that lighting on the Jesuits Apologie, I received the same with purpose to refute it, if the matter so imported. […] No sooner had I breathed from this unwoonted travell, and betaken my selfe to my former purpose, but my happe was to light on the Jesuites *Defence of English Catholikes*, not having the Authors name, but in order of writing and phrase of speech resembling right *D. Allen* the maker of their Apologies.[245]

Of course, such introductory flourishes serve both as a rhetorical means to minimise the importance of the text being responded to and to justify a text as necessary and not a vanity publication. Bilson's treatment is unusual however. After the usual preliminaries about Catholic myths and obscurantism (which forms a substantial part of the thirteen page introduction before the text proper), he launches into a curious didactic dialogue between 'Theophilus, a Christian', and 'Philander', a Jesuit. Philander is intended as a representation of Allen, repeating many of his arguments (albeit of course through the lens of Bilson's reading of them and his presentation of them).

245 Thomas Bilson, *The True Difference Betweene Christian Subiection and Unchristian Rebellion* (Oxford, 1585), p. i.

Immediately apparent of course is the freely fictive nature of the exchange. The dialogue begins:

> *THEOPH.*
>
> It is so long since I saw you, *Philander*, that I had almost forgotten you: I thought I should remember your face, but this apparell made me doubt of you.[246]

Although of course intended as a jibe about Jesuits moving in disguise in England, the comment about almost forgetting Philander (i.e. Allen) seems incongruous in a text that almost serves to memorialise him. What really comes close to being 'forgotten' in some senses, rather, is Purgatory itself. Even granted that this is a response to two separate texts by Allen, the term 'Purgatory' is barely mentioned at all. Allowance must of course be made for the fact that England was by this point under the reign of Elizabeth, and that as discussed above, even under Marian rule Purgatory occupied an odd place, at once doctrinally restored and yet seemingly divorced from lay enthusiasm. However, this text is in response to Allen who does discuss Purgatory at length, and given that even at the late date of 1580 Allen is being identified as 'Maister Allen of Purgatory' by William Fulke, Purgatory would seem to remain a live issue.[247] Although this is oversimplifying the matter somewhat as there are other more coded allusions to the doctrine, it shows in stark terms how seemingly crucial doctrinal issues could come to be crushed beneath the bulk of textual and biblical references, errata, introductory epistles and dedications. Bilson's text negotiates a strange place of forgetting and remembrance. Purgatory is remembered (that is, it is discussed as is Allen's tract about it) that it may be forgotten, but the monstrous size of the text obscures any meaning; although this is conjectural, it is hard to imagine even the most pious Protestant reader remembering a significant number of the points raised in a tract of almost five hundred thousand words.

Again, whilst literary convention and rhetorical flourish must not be discarded as motivating factors, even pamphlets of the period seem attuned to the bizarreness of the unending welter of responses to responses. William Fulke's pamphlet *Two Treatises Written Against The Papistes* (1577) acknowledges the popularity of Allen's earlier work — with the proviso that Allen's writing is itself

246 Thomas Bilson, *The True Difference Betweene Christian Subiection and Unchristian Rebellion*, p. 1.
247 William Fulke, *T. Stapleton and Martiall (Two Popish Heretikes) Confuted, and of their Particular Heresies Detected. By D. Fulke, Master of Pembrooke Hall in Cambridge. Done and Directed to all those that Love the Truth, and Hate Superstitious Vanities. Seene and Allowed* (London, 1580), p. 100.

derivative and unconvincing — and finding the boasts of the Catholics intolerable sets forth to combat it.[248] However, the pamphlet laments: 'I was altogether unwilling to deale with it, both because there hath bene so much already written of that argument, and for that I thought, that our contrymen were now, as well by reading of that which hath ben written before, as also by continuall preaching against that absurde doctrine, sufficiently dissuaded from that blasphemous heresie of Purgatory'.[249] Again, whilst rhetorical flourish cannot be discounted, a certain 'war weariness' seems in play here: despite the masses of preaching and writing, Purgatory has not been eliminated: perhaps there is even the suggestion that it is the mass of writings which help keep Purgatory in the memory. This self-awareness over the limits of print for shaping memory is perhaps most marked in the wonderfully convoluted *A Treatise Against the Defense of the Censure, Given upon the Bookes of W.Charke and Meredith Hanmer, by an Unknowne Popish Traytor* (1586).[250] This is a response to a defence of a literary edict censuring the writings of Charke and Hanmer. To add to the confusion, we learn in the epistle that 'Against this Popish and trayterous defense of the proude *Censures* given upon *Master Charkes* and *M. Hanmers* bookes, there hath bene alreadie set forth an answer conteining a maintenaunce of the creditre of those excellent ministers, and Elders of God's Church, which this malitious slaunderer hath sought to deface'. [emphasis in original][251] The path out of this labyrinth of texts is almost impossible to discern.

There is a crucial development occurring here that demands our attention. It seems that attempts to debate, reinforce or efface the memorial space of Purgatory became increasingly confused. The pattern of response after response move the texts further away from the doctrine under discussion, whilst attempts to write 'final' texts either degenerate into disarray through the blizzard of references, such as Charke's *Treatise* discussed above, or by their monumental form, such as Bilson's effort, ossified the subjects under discussion. It seems reasonable to suppose that such treatises both drew upon and contributed to the general confusion regarding Purgatory and memory in the period, creating instead a kind of generalised textual ersatz memory. This was only one aspect of a larger phenomenon however. Whilst the pamphlets are almost universally forthright and explicit in their aims, with the

248 Fulke, *Two Treatises Written Against the Papistes* (London, 1577).
249 Fulke, *Two Treatises Written Against the Papistes*, *$_{ii}$.
250 William Charke, *A Treatise Against the Defense of the Censure, Given Upon the Bookes of W.Charke and Meredith Hanmer, by an Unknowne Popish Traytor* (London, 1586).
251 Charke, *A Treatise Against the Defense of the Censure*, p. 2.

textual apparatus such as marginalia intended to buttress the claims made, other Reformation literature arose which appropriated nested discourse, ironic commentary and marginalia for the intended purpose of ambiguity and confusion.

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I have tried to suggest in this chapter so far that memory and fiction were closely associated in Reformation England. The memorial rites of death and burial partook of imaginative practices whilst places of memory such as Purgatory were also fictive spaces. Furthermore, the proliferation of writings centred on the memorial space of Purgatory illuminate a particular habit of thought and literary practice. It stems from the central trauma that the Reformation posed to established memorial spaces such as Purgatory, and responds by filling that void with a narrative, discursive fabric that is so closely and densely interconnected with intertextual presence, that the wound of the originary trauma — the gaping lack of now-forbidden communal ceremonies and beliefs — is almost subsumed under it. The pamphlet literature in particular deals with Purgatory and partakes of fictional aspects in discussions about memory, whilst the sheer weight of publications served to bury the issue being debated. However, this effect does not remain limited to religious debates of the period; it is also echoed in the secular arena. These memorial trends not only drew on fiction but also shaped it, as seen in the sixteenth century narrative, William Baldwin's *Beware the Cat* (1561).

Baldwin's text ostensibly deals with a narration provided by a Master Streamer about his own experiences listening to cats plot and scheme. Given William Baldwin's association with the Protestant printer John Day and his own publishing and preaching career as a Protestant, *Beware the Cat* has quite reasonably been read as a satire of Catholic belief and practice, with the superstitious and malicious cats placed alongside similarly characterised Catholics. This was seemingly the response taken by the anonymous author of *A Shorte Answer to the Boke Called Beware the Cat*.[252] A point of interest however is the credence that the author of the Answer gives to one of the central fictions of Baldwin's text, namely one of the major narrators, Master Streamer.

Streamer is but one of the many voices of the text. As Ringler and Flachmann note, we also hear from the man from Staffordshire, who told of the cat in Kankwood forty years ago, Thomas, who had been in Ireland thirty-three years ago and who repeats a tale of Grimalkin told to him by a churl,

252 Anon, *A Shorte Answer To The Boke Called Beware the Cat* ([n.p.], [n.d.]).

an interlocutor who doubted Thomas's tale and Master Sherry.[253] Most of the speakers are involved with recounting the death of Grimalkin, the king of cats and as such this is a memorative account. The number of links in the chain and the combination of a fantastical account of a ravenous murderous cat with the odd specificity of the number of years and the faux accuracy of the reported speech combines to give the account its humour. Doubtlessly this is largely intended as a parody of Catholic folk-tales such as *Saint Patrick's Purgatory* discussed above, which rely on very similar conventions, especially given the proximity of a discussion of Saint Patrick in the text to the incident in question. However, as Streamer presents this list of witnesses and his account as veritable it also undermines the seemingly central feature of *Beware the Cat*, which is the absurdity of Catholic practice and doctrine. As Streamer is recounting from memory Mouse-Slayer's account of her life which relies on her memory, readings of Streamer and memory shape the reading of the text.

An early 'tell' is the combination of good and bad memory in Streamer's first words of the narrative. Streamer relates with considerable accuracy the placement of John Day's printing house in London, before launching into a long and remarkably wrong account of the history of Aldersgate, linking it to the history of other famous gates in the city.[254] Each account is wide of the mark and based upon a simplistic folk-etymology. It is unclear whether Streamer is incorrectly remembering their histories or whether he is credulously regurgitating a fictional memory that has been created for the areas: in either case, his own memory is questionable. The text is also surrounded by marginalia. In this instance, rather than providing a gloss on the action or a summary they just repeat the text, such as 'why Moorgate', 'why Ludgate' and 'why Cripplegate'. Throughout Beware the Cat the marginal voice is in flux. At times it provides a bland statement of what has been claimed, at others it assumes an ironic or sardonic aspect such as 'a wonderful wit of a cat', the marginalia comments on Streamer sarcastically such as 'Master Streamer is well seen in tongues', can assume a bawdy tone such as 'Transubstantiationers destroy Christ's manhood' or at times provide a learned (but presumably sarcastic) gloss on Streamer's alchemy, citing in Latin the texts Streamer alludes to.[255] This ambiguity is of course part of the fun of the text but is also only one part of the general shielding that the extra-

253 William Baldwin, *Beware the Cat*, ed. by W Ringler Jr. and M. Flachmann, 2nd edn (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1995), p. 59. All subsequent references to the text refer to this edition.
254 Baldwin, *Beware the Cat*, p. 9.
255 Baldwin, *Beware the Cat*, pp. 11, 17, 27.

textual material provides. The text was written under the reign of Mary and published (under a pseudonym) under Elizabeth, suggesting in part historical reasons to cultivate a studied ambiguity, an idea further supported by the claim of *Beware the Cat* to contain 'diverse wounderfull and incredible matters. Very pleasant and mery to read'.[256] Whilst it does indeed contain these things this is of course not the whole story.

The combination of accurate and inaccurate memories shown in Streamer's opening words continues throughout *Beware the Cat.* Whilst, as Ringler and Flachmann note, 'the action of *Beware the Cat* takes place at a definitely specified time in locations that are clearly described and recognizable', confusions do occur.[257] For example, when Mouse-slayer is recounting her life to justify herself to the other cats (an imitation of Catholic confession) she reports that she travelled with her mate Bird-hunt and her lord: '[…] to a town where he dwelt called Stratford — either Stony, upon Tine, or upon Avon, I do not well remember which — where I dwelled half a year — and this was in the time when preachers had leave to speak against the Mass, but it was not forbidden til half a year after'.[258] Here we are presented with a sharp memory of time but a hazy memory of place. Indeed, the central conceit of the text, which is Streamer's ability to understand the cats, interlinks imagination and memory intimately as has been seen with previous accounts and navigates a small space between plausibility and farce. After Streamer drugs himself with a concoction of animal and plant products he 'purged' at least a pint of 'yellow, white and tawny matters'.[259] After this we learn:

> my head and all my body was in exceeding good temper, and a thousand things which I had not thought of in twenty years before came so freshly to my mind as if they had been then presently done, heard or seen. Whereby I perceived that my brain (chiefly the nuke memorative) was marvelously well purged. My imagination also was so fresh that by and by I could show a probable reason what, and in what sort, and upon what matter, everything which I had taken wrought, and the cause why.[260]

The ambiguous idea of having a well purged brain (that is, at once clarified but also having

256 'Frontispiece' in Baldwin, *Beware the Cat,* p. xxxi.
257 Flachmann, 'Introduction', *in Beware the Cat,* p. xxii.
258 Baldwin, *Beware the Cat,* p. 37.
259 Baldwin, *Beware the Cat*, p. 28.
260 Baldwin, *Beware the Cat*, p. 28.

vomited forth bile) and the centrality of Streamer's powers of imagination here, as well as the ironic marginal comments 'The remembrance lieth in the noodle of the head' suggests that the whole of the account of the cats might have been fantasy.

Indeed, although it is always fraught to identify authorial intent, the delicate balance of allegory and fantasy, memory and forgetting may well have been Baldwin's plan for the whole text. Although it is rather meagre evidence, the fact that Baldwin continued to work at printing under the Catholic John Wayland during Mary's reign, rather than entering exile as some of his colleagues did suggests a personality attuned to discretion, or at least the avoidance of overt religious sentiment. The figure of Streamer was believable enough to apparently convince the author of *A Shorte Answer to the Boke Called Beware the Cat* that Streamer was a real person. However, the narrator of *Beware the Cat* is often wrong or ludicrous or both, undermining the trust of the reader in the veracity of his conclusions, observations and memory, complicating the reading of *Beware the Cat* as straight anti-Catholic allegory. Similarly, the penumbra of material that surrounds the text, and the narrative device of relying on characters recounting from memory what other characters have related to them from memory, makes gathering a reading of what is 'really' being claimed difficult. The original contention is lost beneath a welter of voices, a feature of the text that bears echoes of the Purgatory texts with their multiple voices. It is unclear whether the presentation of both very accurate and very inaccurate memories in the text is a conscious strategy towards the same end or an effect of the turbulence regarding memory in the period. It does not seem unreasonable however to suppose that an author who wrote secretly under Mary, who had previously written a paean to a Protestant king (Edward) and who lived to see a further change back to Protestantism under Elizabeth, might couch his words with deliberate ambiguity. The welter of textual voices in *Beware the Cat* play with memory and forgetting, with narratives and performances that can and cannot be trusted, often at the same time. Baldwin's fiction, in that sense, sits atop the trauma of Reformation and the collapsed memories of faith, its narrative both a denial and a memorial of that which is lost, much like the whitewashing on the walls of the Holy Trinity Church in Stratford-Upon-Avon.

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Reaching conclusions about reading the Reformation is complex, all the more so given that this account has been focused primarily upon one aspect of it, namely memory, and even more specifically,

upon the traumatic aspects of English memory in the Reformation. What this chapter has hopefully established, however, is the ways in which in pre-Reformation England, memory was crucial in an ecclesiastical context, and was often found closely linked to strong imaginative efforts. The patterns of memory in the period often fit into the standard classical models of memory-as-architecture and memory-as-wax-tablet, with the spatial and textual aspects often overlapping. Indeed, the centrality of memory in the period also brought issues of forgetting to the fore, and the combination of memory and the fluidity of imagination that Purgatory represented both drew upon and contributed to the survival of some of the pre-Reformation fissures of memory. The Protestant attack on Purgatory however cannot be reduced to such simple equations as an attack on memory and imagination. As well as the destruction of icons and texts, new texts were created. In the case of secular texts such as *Beware the Cat*, these availed themselves of the Catholic association of memory and imagination and fiction, whilst shaping and being shaped by the general confusions of memory and the pattern of obfuscating textual penumbras. With iconoclasm, images were destroyed or moved to new contexts, changing their reading, whilst others were whitewashed, paradoxically marking the deletion of them as *aide-mémoires* but also preserving the traces of their presence.

I would like to conclude this chapter with a poem written about Walsingham Abbey after its dissolution. It is instructive, not least because it illustrates how deeply the Reformation was haunted by memory, and how much of that is caught up in a repeated recursion of the well-known *loci* of place and architecture, the interrelationship of public and private, individual and social, as well as the prevalence of dreams, haunting and fiction. Lamenting the post-Reformation destruction and the change that overcomes the Abbey, the anonymous poet concludes:

> Owls do shriek where the sweetest hymns
> Lately were sung;
> Toads and serpents hold their dens
> Where the palmers did throng.
> Weep, weep o Walsingham,
> Whose days are nights,
> Blessings are turned to blasphemies,
> Holy deeds to despites.

Sin is where our Lady sat,

Heaven turned is to hell.

Satan sits where Our Lord did sway;

Walsingham, O, farewell.[261]

The memorial poem is haunted by memories of past figures, erased, dissolved, yet still oddly present even through denial and superimposition ('Owls do shriek where the sweetest hymns | Lately were sung'). In this respect the discussions of Purgatory, afterlife and ghosts undertaken at several places in this chapter exemplify the complexities of treatments of memory in the period. As a simulacrum, neither one thing nor another, ghosts demonstrate the blurred line between memory and fiction, past and present. They are revenants, by definition derived from the Latin word, *revenans* ('returning'), their very presence indicating the loss, the departure, the absence that created it in the first place. The contours of such losses and the returnings that they trigger — memorial, material and textual (what I have called the memorial response to the trauma of the Reformation here) are discernible behind much of the literature of this period. It can be seen, strikingly — even hauntingly, perhaps — behind Shakespeare's sonnet 73, where the dirge of old age ('That time of year thou mayst in me behold | When yellow leaves, or none, or few, do hang | Upon those boughs which shake against the cold') suddenly turns into the shades of the 'bare ruined choirs, where late the sweet birds sang'.[262] It turns up, too, more memorably in the ghosts that haunt *Hamlet*, to which we are now drawing closer in the final two chapters that follow.

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261 Anon, Boldeian Library MS Rawl. Poet. 291 fol 16; cited in Duffy, *Stripping of The Altars*, p. 378.

262 William Shakespeare, 'Sonnet 73', in *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, ed. by Katerine Duncan-Jones (London: Methuen Drama, 2010), 1–4.

Chapter Six:

The Materials of Early Modern Memory

Speaking of the reign of Cymbeline, Raphael Holinshed provides a remarkable summary:

> Little other mention is made of his dooings, except that during his reigne, the saviour of the world our Lord Jesus Christ the onelie sonne of God was borne of a virgine, about the 23 yeare of the reigne of this Kymbeline, in the 42 yeare of the emperor Octavius Augustus, that is to wit, in the yeare of the worlde 3966, in the second yeare of the 194 Olympiad, after the building of the citie of Rome 750 nigh at an end, after the universall floud 2311, from the birth of Abraham 2019, after the departure of the Israelits out of Egypt 1513, after the captivitie of Babylon 535, from the arrival of Brute 1116, complet. Touching the continuance of the yeares of Kymbellines reigne, some writers doo varie, but the best approved affirme, that he reigned 35 yeares and then died and was buried at London, leaving behind him two sonnes, Guiderius and Arviragus.[263]

Holinshed deftly moves from a listing of ten seemingly specific dates to a brief and almost off-hand summary of what is generally thought to have been the fate of Cymbeline. Indeed, the exact import of Holinshed's long list is difficult to understand. It is of course intended at some level as recognition of the providential aspect of history, with events taking their point of reference from the birth of Christ. However, Holinshed's structuring is obscure. The listing of events is not in chronological sequence. The order in which the points of reference are cited also does not obviously adhere to any providential teleology; although the list includes notable events in Christian history, they are intermixed with secular landmarks and the list's Christian references end with the captivity in Babylon, which seems a somewhat arbitrary choice. Even allowing for Holinshed citing Christ's birth at the start of the list rather than in its more natural position at the end as an example of Johannine

263 Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (London, 1587), p. 32. All subsequent references to the text and its prefatory material will refer to this edition.

Christology, Holinshed's conclusion seems abrupt.[264] Equally, although the reference to Brute at the very end of the list invites suggestions of *Translatio Imperii,* the earlier garbled temporal sequencing obstructs such a move: firstly Cymbeline, then Augustus, then the Olympiad, then Rome once again, Egypt and finally Brute are mentioned.

This multiplicity of reference is particularly relevant given the fact that Holinshed's work is immersed in memory. Of course, as a monumental text detailing the history of Britain, the *Chronicles* are by definition memorial in focus. More than this however, the text calls attention to this aspect. The second edition of 1587 is described in the frontispiece as 'now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold matters of singular note and worthie memorie) to the year 1586 […]', whilst the frontispiece retains the original date of 1577.[265] This text is innovative but also takes authority from its predecessors. Equally, contributors adopt a similar strategy.[266] William Harrison wrote the 'Descriptions of Britain and England' for the project. In his dedication to Sir William Brooke, Harrison strikes the customary early modern note of authorial humility, pleading for indulgence for any shortcomings of the text and remarking that he began the project 'almost as one leaning altogether unto memoire, sith my books and I were parted by fourtie miles in sunder'.[267] Given the obvious scope of the emendations to the *Chronicles,* the boldness of the claims of the frontispiece and the facility with which classical sources are cited, this seemingly diffident remark also functions as a kind of self-promotion, albeit tied to the authority and use of source material. This strategy is all the more evident in Harrison's self-effacing claim to responsibility for 'the barbarous composition showed herein'.[268] By playing on the classical Latinate distinction between Romans and the surrounding tribes that lacked either Hellenistic or Latinate culture (barbarians), Harrison points up both that he will be dealing with the affairs of outsiders (the British) and not Greek or Roman history, whilst also through his literary joke indicating his own continuity with the classical tradition.[269]

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264 Here Johannine Christology is used to denote an emphasis upon the eternity of Christ before his immanence on earth.

265 William Harrison, 'Dedication to Sir William Brooke', in *Holinshed's Chronicles,* I, pp. i–iii (p. i).

266 For a detailed account of the publication history of the text see <http://www.cems.ox.ac.uk/holinshed/chronicles.shtml>

267 Harrison, 'Dedication to Sir William Brooke', I, p. i.

268 Harrison, 'Dedication to Sir William Brooke', I, p. i.

269 Accessed at <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/15397?rskey=gJp18N&result=1#eid> on 25.1.2014.

From Holinshed's odd list and Harrison's literary gambits, it is apparent that both the past itself and historiographical attempts to capture the same are subject to a complex treatment. Previous events and previous records serve both to anchor and authenticate subsequent work whilst also providing a basis for future efforts; this aspect echoes the relationship between Greek and Roman approaches to memory discussed in Chapter One. This theme provides some of the structural principles of this chapter, which explores the relationship between new attempts to memorialise and commemorate in early modern England in relation to an awareness of both the necessity and inadequacy of previous endeavours. In this it marks a discussion of broad literary and cultural trends as opposed to the analysis undertaken in the preceding chapters, where we examined aspects of pedagogical and ecclesiastical memory. In particular, architectural devices, both literal and literary, will be considered due to their frequent enmeshment in memorial thinking in the period, as well as the role of memorial texts. To serve this dual ambition, William Camden's *Britannia* (1695) will be discussed, before a consideration is given to texts surrounding James I's triumphal entry to London.[270] The discussion culminates in a reading of the early modern stage. Plays of the period exemplify a focus upon both the past and upon historiography; plays with a classical setting are frequent, and draw upon both Holinshed and Camden, whilst the historical tragedies of Jonson make explicit reference to their historiographical lineage. As well as this, the play texts are of course performed in a physical architectural space of memory. Before turning to these however it will be useful and necessary to consider Camden's *Britannia*. Camden claims that 'there are many things in these Studies — *cineri suppôsta doloso*, which glittering are not gold. Many Errours are owing to a treacherous memory; for who is so much master of it, as to treasure up every occurrence there, so as to produce it upon all occasions?' [emphasis in original].[271] Despite this *caveat lector*, Camden's text is a perfect demonstration of practices of memory in early modern England.

270 For reasons of translational fidelity, the 1695 edition and translation of *Britannia* (London: Edmund Gibson, 1695) has been employed over Philemon Holland's chronologically closer but linguistically more distant translation of 1607 (London, 1607).

271 William Camden, 'Mr Camden's Preface', in *Britannia*, trans and ed. by Edmund Gibson and others, 2 vols (London,1695; repr. Newton Abbot: David and Charles Reprints, 1976), I, pp. i–iii, (p. iii). All subsequent references to the text and its prefatory material will be to this edition.

The focus and purpose of *Britannia* are uncertain. Although the bulky text provides a monument to memory, what is being remembered and to what end remain in flux.[272] *Britannia* has been variously described as devoted to telling the tale of the ancient people of Britain, or contrarily, as focused upon Roman Britain.[273] Even these views invite further analysis; in arguing for the second position Stuart Piggott acknowledged that 'if we accept this view of the original intention of the *Britannia*, we can also recognize that the scheme […] was not pedantically followed. To the Roman skeleton Camden added English flesh and blood'.[274] This complexity is due in part to the variety of materials marshalled by Camden and the dual focus of the *Britannia* upon past and present. Equally, Camden's position within a tradition of Protestant historiography shapes his narrative and inflects it with a particularly Protestant sense of teleology, although this fact does not overwhelm the delicate negotiations Camden enters into with his source material and the relationship between past and present.[275] Although the nuance of Camden's writing cannot be either ignored or simply resolved, the guiding principles and rhetorical strategies of this memorative text can be identified.

To trace these factors, it is useful to consider how Camden approaches his source material by juxtaposing his approach with one of his main predecessors, Holinshed, with whom we began this chapter. *Holinshed's Chronicles* begins with a list of sources that precedes the main body of the text, employs quotation to support points and notes when authorities differ upon a point, as seen in the quotation cited above about Cymbeline. Indeed, Harrison fastidiously remarks that 'I have had an especiall eye unto the truth of things' and details his measured treatment of sources: 'I marked in what things the talkers did agree, and wherin they impugned ech other, choosing in the end the former, and rejecting the later, as one desirous to set foorth the truth absolutelie, or such things in deed as were most likelie to be true.'[276] Despite this however, Holinshed's narrative has drawn criticism for the

272 *Britannia* can of course be productively associated with 'Britons moniments' which Arthur studies in Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. This latter incident is productively read in Bart van Es, *Spenser's Forms of History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), especially pp. 21–48. In this reading van Es also considers the ways in which Camden treats monuments as both textual and architectural, an idea that is pursued throughout this chapter.

273 William Rockett, 'The Structural Plan of Camden's Britannia', *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* 26 (1995), 829–41; Stuart Piggott, 'William Camden and the Britannia', in *Britannia*, I, pp. v–ix (p. ix).

274 Piggott, 'William Camden and the Britannia', I, p. ix.

275 For a reading of Camden in relation to this Protestant historiographical tendency, see Jennifer Summit, *Memory's Library: Medieval Books in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), pp. 182–83. For a reading of this Protestant historiographical trend more generally see Alexandra Walsham, 'History, Memory and the English Reformation', *The Historical Journal*, 55 (2012), 899–938.

276 Harrison, 'Dedication to Sir William Brooke', I, p. ii.

seemingly credulous way in which sources are cited — Geoffrey of Monmouth is, for example, used as a reliable source — whilst the repetition of the same account in different contexts has also been criticised.[277] In themselves these factors may be read as rhetorical and literary strategies rather than as deficiencies.[278] However, Camden's *Britannia* provides a useful counterpoint given that it ostensibly takes a more sceptical and scholarly approach to historically inherited memory and textual records whilst simultaneously pursuing rhetorical ends.

For example, Camden piously suggests that 'Tis enough for me to have broke the Ice; and I have gain'd my ends, if I have set others about the same work, whether it be to write more, or amend what I have written. […] I have not slander'd any Family, nor blasted any one's Reputation; neither have I taken the liberty of descanting upon any one's Name, nor violated their Credit, nay, not so much as *Jeffrey's* of *Monmouth*, whose History (which I would by all the means I can use, establish) is yet of little authority amongst men of Learning'.[279] In itself this description seems close to the defence adopted in William Harrison's *Dedication*. However, Camden's variation on the standard trope of decrying one's own literary shortcomings and the manner with which he actually engages with Geoffrey of Monmouth better illustrates the clearly dual historical and rhetorical purposes of *Britannia.* Camden argues 'There are others perhaps who will cavil at the meanness and roughness of my language, and the ungentileness of my stile. I frankly confess, Neither is every word weigh'd in Varro's scale; nor did I deign to gratifie the Reader with a nosegay of all the flowers I could meet with in the garden of Eloquence. But, why should they object this, when Cicero the father of Eloquence deny'd, that such a subject as this could ἀνθηρογραφείσθαι, i.e. bear a flourish, which, as Pomponius said, *is not a proper subject for Rhetorick* [emphasis in original].[280] In this renunciation of rhetoric, Camden manages to cite both the great rhetorical model of Cicero and the very standard image of rhetorical composition as a gathering of flowers. It is also crucial of course to remember that Camden was writing a Latin text, and as such his citing of classical precedents whilst recognising his own limitations echoes William Harrison's joke about having a barbarous style of writing. More about

277 For a brief overview of the complaints levelled at the *Chronicles* see Igor Djordjevic, *Holinshed's Nation: Ideals, Memory, and Practical Policy in the Chronicles* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 15–30; Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 3–9.
278 See Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles*, pp. 35–42.
279 Camden, 'Mr Camden's Preface', I, p. ii.
280 Camden, 'Mr Camden's Preface', I, p. ii.

Camden's use of Latin will be said subsequently. It is in the treatment of Geoffrey of Monmouth, however, that Camden's dual rhetorical and historical aims can be most clearly discerned and his conceptualisation of the relationship between *Britannia* and memory most clearly identified.

Camden's main point of attack is the mythical account of Britain being founded by Brutus, an account very strongly associated with Geoffrey of Monmouth. In a crushingly dry manner Camden deconstructs this tale by presenting it in all of its implausible twists and turns before presenting his own ideas. In order to capture the full scale of the account, as well as the clipped flatness of Camden's remark to conclude it all, it is necessary to quote at some length. Camden writes:

> But to omit all other writers, there is one of our own nation, *Geoffry ap Arthur* of *Monmouth*, (whom I am loth to represent amiss in this point) publish'd in the Reign of Henry II. an *History of Britain,* translated, as he pretends, out of the *British* Tongue: wherein he tells us, That one *Brutus*, a Trojan by descent, the Son of *Silvius*, Grandchild to *Ascanius,* and Great-Grandchild to the famous Aeneas (whose mother was *Venus*, and consequently herself descended from *Jove.*) That this man at his birth cost his mother her life: and by chance having killed his Father in hunting, (which thing the magicians had foretold) was forc'd to fly into *Greece*; that there he rescued from slavery the progeny of *Helenus,* son of *Priam*, overcame King *Pandrasus*, marry'd his daughter, put to sea with the small remained of the Trojans, and falling upon the Island of *Leogetia,* was there advised by the Oracle of Diana, to steer his course towards this our western Island. Accordingly, that he sail'd through the *Streights of Gibraltar,* (where he escaped the *Syrens*) and afterwards, passing through the *Thuscan* Sea, arrived in *Aquitain.* That in a pitcht battle, he routed *Golsarius Pictus*, King of Aquitain, together with twelves Princes of *Gaule* that assisted him. And then after he had built the city of *Tours* (as he says *Homer* tells us) and overran Gaule, he crossed over into this Island, then inhabited by Giants. That having conquered them, together with *Gogmagog*, who was the greatest of them all, from his own name he gave this Island the name of *Britain*, in

the year of the world 2855. and 334 years before the first Olympiad, and

before the nativity of Christ 1108. Thus far Geoffry.[281]

Given the terseness of 'Thus far Geoffry' and the parenthetical '(as he says *Homer* tells us)' and '(where he escaped the *Syrens*),' Camden's own views on all this seem clear; the whole business is nonsense. After this account, Camden initially suggests that the issue is of no great import, before launching his own suggestions, replete with etymological evidence and citation of historical sources.[282] This can of course be read as a simple historiographical overgoing, a proving of the worth of Camden's project in instantiating a new memorial record of Britain. However, Camden's writing can be more properly identified as an ideological project through his treatment of Latin and the Romans in Britain. Camden aims to clear away the inherited memorial narratives of Brutus as a prelude to a stronger identification with Rome and a simultaneous sense of outdoing the Romans; a shared history but a British triumph.

In itself, Camden's reliance upon classical sources could be considered unremarkable, being both a product of humanism and historiographical necessity. Indeed, even the giving over of the narrative to more than thirteen consecutive folio pages of quotation from Tacitus can be overlooked as the expected rigour of Humanist scholarship and *copia*.[283] The crucial aspect of Camden's employment of the Romans, however, can be discerned in two quotations. Firstly, writing of course in Latin, Camden states 'For there is no man, I suppose, but will readily allow, that those People which speak the same Language, must necessarily be derived from one common original. As for instance, suppose all our Histories that ever were written had chanced to be lost, or, suppose no Author had ever told us, that we *English* are descended from the Germans, the natural *Scots* from the Irish, the *Britains* of Bretagne in France, from our Britains of this Island; yet the great affinity of language, would alone manifestly prove it […]'.[284] The ostensible subject here is language relations between European nations, and Camden is certainly not suggesting that the ancient British and the Romans both spoke Latin and hence have a common origin. Rather, the idea seems to be that Camden's Latin *Britannia*

281 Camden, *Britannia*, I, p. 5. For more on Camden and Geoffrey of Monmouth see John E. Curran Jr., *Roman Invasions: The British History, Protestant Anti-Romanism, and the Historical Imagination in England, 1530-1660* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), pp. 148–75.
282 Camden, *Britannia*, I, pp. 6–12.
283 Camden, *Britannia*, I, pp. 50–64.
284 Camden, *Britannia*, I, p. 18.

draws authority from its kinship to the great classical precedents, whilst also staging a surpassing. This second sense emerges most clearly in the second crucial quotation. In the very first sentence of the section detailing the Roman occupation of Britain, Camden begins 'When Valour and Fortune had so conspir'd, or rather Providence had decree'd, that Rome should be Mistress of the world […]'.[285] This emphasis upon providence marks the complexity of Camden's engagement with the Romans. He relates for example that the Emperor Constantine was born in Britain and that 'This emperor was very happy in the enjoyment of much praise and commendation; and he highly deserv'd it. For he not only set the Roman Empire at liberty, but dispelling the clouds of superstition (which were great at that time) he introduc'd the pure light of the Gospel, opened temples for the worship of the true God, and shut up those that were dedicated to the false'.[286] Here seemingly the Romano-British Constantine has reversed the order of conquest by going into Europe from Britain to liberate the nations, whilst also serving as the tool of providence in spreading the gospel. However, Camden goes on to recount the decline and fall of the Roman presence in Britain.[287] Camden's strategy cannot be as simple as reducing British achievements to Roman and vice versa, as this would entail an equal acceptance of the shortcomings.

It is perhaps to maintain a distinction that Camden relates the military resistance and successes of the British people against the Romans. Camden's strategy seems to be, as he suggests 'And 'tis easie to believe that the Britains and Romans, by a mutual *engrafting* for so many years together, have grown up into one Nation […]'[emphasis in original].[288] This project however involves a negotiation on Camden's part in his great memorial text between alternately prioritising Roman and British aspects of history. The *Britannia*, in making a new historical memory for Britain occasionally sets these aspects in tension, with a concomitant effect upon memory. This is evident in the treatment both Holinshed and Camden give to the invasion of Britain by Caligula. Holinshed's *Chronicles* relates that after gathering shells 'which he called the spoile of the ocean', Caligula 'required therefore verie earnestlie to have a triumph decreed unto him For the accomplishment of this enterprise.'[289] Camden states that 'seated in a high pulpit, gave the sign of battle to his soldiers, commanding an alarm to be

285 Camden, *Britannia*, I, p. 39.
286 Camden, *Britannia*, I, pp. 75–76.
287 Camden, *Britannia*, I, p. 77.
288 Camden, *Britannia*, I, p. 88.
289 Holinshed, *Chronicles*, I, p. 33.

sounded; and on a sudden ordered them to gather shells. With these spoils (for he wanted those of the enemy wherewith to triumph) he pleased himself, as if he had conquered the very Ocean; and so having rewarded his soldiers, he brought the shells to Rome, that his booty might be seen there also. And in memory of his victory he built a very high tower, from which, as from a watchtower, there might be lights kept for the direction of sailers in the night'.[290] Here, the *loci* of the texts (the British and Romans) collide in open conflict. Both authors are at pains to avoid either denigrating the Roman or over celebrating the British victory, as a part of the strategy of negotiating between Roman and British history. Despite Caligula's behaviour the British are triumphant, but the farcical nature of the whole affair deflates any sense of damage to the authorising Roman model. Equally however, the memorial architecture erected by Caligula is suspect due to the ridiculousness of the battle; they are weighty mischaracterisations and misrememberances of a trivial affair.

Camden and Holinshed both pursue historiographical projects. Intimately bound with these are rhetorical ends, namely the surpassing of Roman models through both identification with them and the maintenance of distinctions, in order to leave room for particularly British successes. This proved difficult, and could lead at times to questionable architectures of memory like the example discussed above. Both the difficulty of emulation whilst also preserving individual space and the potential for memorial architecture to pose complex problems will be further shown in the section that follows which deals with other projects of remembrance.

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As discussed above, the collision of Rome and Britain could lead to absurd attempts to memorialise through architecture. It is this tension that will now be turned to, namely in attempts to memorialise James I's early modern Roman triumphs. The circumstances of James's plague-hit entry to London in July 1603 and the delayed nature of the entertainments performed are incidental to the discussion to follow, and are already well-summarised by scholars such as Martin Butler.[291] The focus here is rather upon the overlapping between memorial texts and memorial architecture and the recurrence of the tension identified above between Roman and British memories. To this end, Ben Jonson's *Ben Jonson*

290 Camden, *Britannia*, I, p. 44.

291 Martin Butler, 'Introduction', in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. by David Bevington, Martin Butler and Ian Donaldson, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), II, pp. 421–25. All subsequent references to *Ben Jonson his Part of King James His Royal and Magnificent Entertainment* and its prefatory material will be to this edition.

his Part of King James His Royal and Magnificent Entertainment (1604) and Stephen Harrison's lavish *The Arches of Triumph* (1604) will be considered.[292]

The relationship between memorial text and architecture and the complex negotiations involved in bringing the classical to the early modern can be seen in Stephen Harrison's introductory epistle, which marks a particular kind of national remembering. He notes that the triumphal day: '[…] is here new wrought up againe, and shall endure for ever. For albeit those Monuments of your loves were erected up to the Cloudes, and were built never so strongly, yet now their lastingness should live but in the tongues and memories of men: But that the hand of arte gives them here a second more perfect being, advanceth them higher than they were before, and warrants them that they shall doe honour to this Citie, so long as this Citie shall bear a name'.[293] Here Harrison studiously avoids naming the city, either in the title to his epistle or in the main text. Presumably this is done to preserve the studied classicality of the text itself and that familiar dual sense of past and present that we have observed developing in sixteenth century historiography. The very next page, however, relates that the first triumphal arch bore in large letters the name 'Londinium'. Two other instances of this curious multi-temporality are evident, with a concomitant impact on what is remembered and how. Firstly, Harrison's text notes that the arches created by both the Dutch and the Italians were delivered in Latin, but in the text providing his images he offers the Italian speech in both Latin and English and the Dutch in English only. Whilst there may be historical contingencies leading to this difference, it seems equally likely that both the classical past of the Italians as Romans-by-proxy and their current status as dependents of the King is being commemorated and celebrated; they are simultaneously triumphantly Latinate and subservient Italians. Secondly, Harrison refers to 'this pegme or arch triumphal' when describing the first arch.[294] Butler glosses 'pegme' as a Jonsonian coinage meaning 'a stage machine constructed of wood'.[295] It is apparent that Harrison's rather glib use of 'or' elides an important distinction; are these constructions ephemera suited to the early modern stage or the grand arches of antiquity? If the former, are they then worthy for their memory to 'endure for ever'? If the latter, is a festival-book even required to support these monuments? It is perhaps in response to these tensions

292 Hereafter Jonson's text will be referred to as *Magnificent Entertainment*.
293 Stephen Harrison, 'To The Right Honourable Sir Thomas Bennet Knight, Lord Maior of this Citie', in *Arches of Triumph* (London, 1604), p. i.
294 Stephen Harrison, *Arches of Triumph*, C_1
295 Martin Butler, 'footnote' in *Magnificent Entertainment*, p. 431.

that Harrison attempts to control and fix the meanings of these structures of memory textually, through prefacing each of the elaborate images with a description of what was said and of what each icon represents.[296]

This tendency is all the more marked in Ben Jonson's *Magnificent Entertainment* (1604). It has long been a critical commonplace to note Jonson's attempts to regulate and control his texts.[297] Given the complex layering of memories in *Magnificent Entertainment*, and the inherent tensions involved in bringing Roman triumphs to Britain as discussed with the Caligula incident above, these three aspects in unison ensure that the potential temporal and spatial ambiguities are more pronounced than ever in *Magnificent Entertainment*. [298]

Jonson's problem is similar to that outlined above for *Britannia*. The triumphal proceedings draw precedent and authority from classical Rome. However, James's procession cannot be simply subsumed into classical models as this would imply repetition and emulation rather than an overgoing; the attempts to create a striking and memorable occasion for James would be lost beneath levels of classical allusion. Yet the classical past from which it derives its power cannot be erased either. Jonson manages this tricky negotiation by delicately holding in tension past and present and surrounding the text with a penumbra of annotation and scholarly allusion. A part of Jonson's method is through the imagery of the fasces, the Roman bundle tied around the axe. Jonson employs it to suggest *e pluribus unum;* disparate times and memories bundled around a common core. The fasces appear for example in the hands of Bouleutes, representing the council of the city, shortly before the Genius of the city speaks about the inauguration of James as the fulfilment of Time.[299] The Genius (a classical conceptualisation) speaks to Tamesis, a Latin version of the Thames about how James is both the teleological end point of history and a new beginning: 'Time, Fate, and Fortune have at length conspired | To give our age the day so much desired'.[300] The potential tensions of this strategy can be discerned in his allusion to both 'the glory and light of our kingdom, Master Camden' and within the

296 As a point of historical overlap it is notable that the images for *Arches of Triumph* were made by William Kip who provided the maps for Camden's 1610 edition of the *Britannia* (London, 1610).

297 See, for example, any of the prefatory matter of Jonson's plays. A seminal critical account is available in Joseph Loewenstein, *Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

298 For more on the potential instabilities of Roman triumphs in the reign of James, see Anthony Miller, *Roman Triumphs and Early Modern English Culture* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 107–13.

299 Jonson, *Magnificent Entertainment*, p. 435.

300 Jonson, *Magnificent Entertainment*, p. 441.

same section to the myth of Brutus founding London.[301] Here classical past and antiquarian present collide with British mythology and in his note about this latter incident, the usually fastidious Jonson studiously avoids mentioning that this account is derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth. In itself the fasces incident may seem insignificant, but it is part of a larger plan by Jonson. This is laid out clearly in his description of the first triumphal arch which emphasises the emergence of unity from disparate parts:

> wherein was not only laboured the expression of state and magnificent, as proper to a triumphal arch, but the very site, fabric, strength, policy, dignity, and affections of the city were all laid down to life: the nature and property of these devices being to present always some one entire body or figure, consisting of distinct members and each of those expressing itself in the own active sphere, yet all with that general harmony so connexed and disposed, as no one little part can be missing to the illustration of the whole; where also is to be noted that the symbols used are not, neither ought to be simply hieroglyphics, emblems or impresas, but a mixed character, partaking somewhat of all […].[302]

Here once again we may see the idea of the fasces at work, albeit indirectly. The constitutent elements embody unity and self-sufficiency, whilst simultaneously both drawing from, and contributing to, the overall order and harmony. This pattern in the Jonsonian conceptualisation works both on the macro-level of the image and the micro-level of symbol and hieroglyph. Jonson's other major device is that of Janus. The arch representing the temple of Janus would seem to allow a smooth meshing of classical past and the present — James becomes the figure looked for backwards into the past and forwards into the future. The scene presents an upstaging of the Roman past, with the traditional Flamen of Mars offering burnt tribute being replaced by the Genius of London making a greater offering to Peace (and of course, by implication, the pacific James).[303] Jonson is not entirely successful in this however; the complex negotiations of memory involved leads to ambiguities. Instead of 'those thy masculine gums' the Genius offers 'My city's heart; which shall for ever burn | Upon this

301 Jonson, *Magnificent Entertainment*, pp. 432, 442.
302 Jonson, *Magnificent Entertainment*, p. 441.
303 Jonson, *Magnificent Entertainment*, pp. 452–53.

altar, and no time shall turn | The same to ashes'.[304] Instead of James as the fulfilment of the past and augur of the future, the moment seems to have collapsed into temporal stasis; the weight of balancing the two has led to an endless fire that will never turn to ash. As such, the distinctiveness of past and future has become indistinct and the memorial frame of reference confused. Equally, Jonson's account of the engraving over the altar includes the line 'S.P.Q.L.', a clever adaptation of the Roman motto *Senātus Populusque Rōmānus* (S.P.Q.R.). In conflating the two cities and period so directly, the distinctiveness of James's procession is perhaps lost; James may pass through the temple of Janus, but the identity of the city is firmly rooted in the classical past by its inscription as Londinium.

As has been seen with the works of Camden and Harrison and Jonson, conflating the past and present often leads to complexities of memorialization. More specifically, these accounts harness history and historiography for rhetorical ends, attempting to shape new memories for early modern England using classical materials. Equally clear is the overlap between memorial text and memorial architecture. Memorial architecture acquires a penumbra of textual material that attempts to shape and control the memories invoked. However, this could lead to confusions and the loss of the originary point. In the section that follows, this layering of classical past and early modern present, memorial texts and memorial architecture will be attended to through a consideration of the popular stage which functions as a nexus of these tendencies, being the meeting place of memorial text and memorial architecture, particularly in the form of classically orientated plays. The classical tragedies of Jonson and Shakespeare will be the chief texts considered and a number of recurring images and motifs of memory identified.

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The relationship of theatres and architectural conceptualisations of memory has long been recognised; the interrelationship of the theatre and the places of memory extends back to Pompey and his illegally built theatre in Rome discussed in Chapter One, and is of course apparent in Fludd's theatrical model discussed in Chapter Two. Equally important is the relationship between memory-as-architecture and memory-as-text. Andrew Gurr notes of the Globe's predecessor 'The Theatre' built by James Burbage: 'He chose the name at a time when a 'theatre' was the word not for a playhouse but for an atlas, a book

304 Jonson, *Magnificent Entertainment*, p. 454.

of maps. Burbage chose the name as a reminder of Rome's theatres and amphitheatres, and as a reminder of the classical grandeur that was Rome which he was now trying to re-create in London'.[305]

Memory was also of course crucial to early modern players, both in the content of plays and in the more immediate necessity of memorising large amounts. As Evelyn Tribble notes: 'Companies performed a staggering number of plays: six different plays a week, with relatively infrequent repetition and with the additional demands of putting on a new play roughly every fortnight'.[306] Equally, this density of memory led to a degree of overlapping, due in part to the stage's dual nature as a physical and a performative space: new places of memory can be created, imposed and re-imposed upon the familiar space of the stage, familiar actors cast in new roles. As Julie Peters suggests:

> [...] practical theaters (as they were built over the course of the sixteenth century) were built and conceived as memory sites. [...]Shakespeare implicitly identifies the Globe Theatre as a space for the performance of classical mnemonics in his characterization of it as a 'wooden O' in which the actors were 'crooked figures' who, like the hieroglyphs that served as memory images, could 'attest in little place a million … ciphers to [a] great accompt'. [307]

The actors are figures: at once people and marks of writing. This layering effect and the close association between stage and page also allows the stage to function as a kind of palimpsest, leading to its own kind of confusion and overlapping between memories, between the past and the present.

John Marston's *The Malcontent* (1603), for instance, is unusually clear on the nuanced relationship between memorial text and place. As such, despite the rather asynchronous nature of my approach in attending to it first, it provides us with a useful demonstration of the complexities of this interrelationship that can function as a prelude to the discussion of Jonsonian and Shakespearian texts that follows. The text itself, a work written by Marston with later additions by Webster, is multi-faceted and complex. The staging history of the play is also notable. Initially written for the children's

305 Andrew Gurr, 'Shakespeare's Playhouses', in *A Companion to Shakespeare,* ed. by David Scott Kastan (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 362–77 (p. 365).
306 Evelyn Tribble, 'Distributing Cognition in the Globe', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 56 (2005), 135–55 (pp. 135–36).
307 Julie Stone Peters, 'Theater and Book in the History of Memory: Materializing Mnemosyne in the Age of Print', *Modern Philology,* 102 (2004), 179–206 (pp.187–88).

company at Blackfriars and incorporating various features of the indoor theatres and children's companies such as multiple songs, the text was adapted for performance at the Globe, which led to the emendations of Webster. The rationale offered for this adaptation of the text to a particular stage is illuminating. In the 'Induction' unique to the third quarto text of the play for performance at the Globe, Sly asks of Condell

> SLY: I wonder you would play it, another company have interest in it
>
> CONDELL: Why not Malevole in folio with us, as Jeronimo in decimo-sexto with them? They taught us a name for our play:
> we call it, *One for Another*. [308]

Condell alludes to the alleged theft by the Blackfriars company of one of the adult company's texts, 'Jeronimo', probably an allusion to *The Spanish Tragedy.* This adds an immediate memorial aspect to the staging of *The Malcontent*. The actors are memorising and repeating on the memorial place of the stage the theft of a text.

The Malcontent explores other aspects of memory as well as the text-place link. A useful critical model for understanding the role of memory and the globe is provided by Evelyn Tribble's work on distributed cognition.[309] Tribble proposes a model for thinking and acting in the Globe akin to the functioning of a ship. Regulated and distributed practices and models of action provide the means of combining experience and inexperience. Just as the running of the ship is an emergent property not dependent upon any one crew member, so too stage business and memory is distributed between the Globe stage, players, stage hands and stage-business rules-of-thumb, allowing a good deal of thinking outside of the head. As Tribble suggests:

> Since fictional space is by definition different for each play and each scene, employing it as the basis for conventions that govern stage movement is risky at best. The more thinking that can be off-loaded onto the environment,

308 John Marston and John Webster, 'Induction' in *The Malcontent,* ed. by W. David Kay, 2nd edn (London: A & C Black, 1998), 75–79. All subsequent citations of the play and its prefatory material will draw on this edition unless stated otherwise.

309 Evelyn Tribble, 'Distributing Cognition in the Globe', 135–55.

> the more mental energy remains available for those tasks that are primarily internal (memory for the spoken lines, for instance). The stage, then, is the work-space of the company, simple in its melding of horizontal and vertical structures yet capable of great variety.[310]

Arguably Tribble does not distribute cognition widely enough; in a paper focused upon the links between cognition and staging, the audience's role is not included. If the audience and their memories of performances on the stage are taken into account, this further helps to explain the diverse nature of memory in the Globe and the layering of memory, as will be seen in the further discussion of *The Malcontent* undertaken below.

In the Induction, Sly intends to set his stool at the side of stage front in the Globe. The presence of audience members on the stage was of course common at the more exclusive indoor theatres but would obscure the view of spectators at the Globe. This delicately enacts the differences between different stage-spaces and draws attention to the history of the play on stage. This memorial aspect is enhanced by other features of the Induction. William Sly the actor appears in the guise of a young gallant and rudely demands to talk to the principle actors of *The Malcontent*, including William Sly. The principle actors of the Globe production, Richard Burbage, Henry Condell and John Lowin also feature in the Induction playing themselves. As these actors would of course be well-known and familiar to Globe audiences, this in-joke serves to reinforce the idea of the Globe as a space of memory.

The concern of the Induction with memory and space is further evident in an exchange between Sly and Condell. After Sinklo suggests that Sly has an 'excellent memory' Sly replies:

> SLY: Who, I? I'll tell you a strange thing of myself, and I can tell
> You, for one that never studied the art of memory 'tis very
> Strange, too.
> CONDELL: What's that, sir?
> SLY: Why, I'll lay a hundred pound, I'll walk but once down by

310 Tribble, 'Distributing Cognition in the Globe', p. 144.

The Goldsmith's row in Cheap, take notice of the signs,
and tell you them with a breath instantly.

LOWIN: 'Tis very strange.

SLY: They begin as the world did, with Adam and Eve. There's in
all just five and fifty. (Induction, 100–09)

This exchange clearly enacts in comic form the tenets of the artificial memory system. The places are the signs, arranged in a familiar location drawn from the outside world. The order is imposed by the walking, giving a direction to the mental signage and the numbering of the signs. Also evident is the perennial feature of time in memorial accounts. A sign which seemingly depicts Adam and Eve provides a visually striking and memorable place to begin, adding a temporal order to the spatial one. The levity with which these characters treat the artificial memory systems introduces a pronounced flexibility of memory apparent in the Induction as a whole, whilst the rest of Sly's dialogue serves to illustrate the perennial link between memory and fiction discussed in the previous chapter. Continuing immediately from his numbering of the signs of Goldsmith's row Sly observes:

SLY: [...] I do use to meditate much when I
come to plays, too. What do you think might come into a
man's head now, seeing all this company?

CONDELL: I know not, sir.

SLY: I have an excellent thought: if some fifty of the Grecians
That were crammed in the horse-belly had eaten garlic, do
you not think the Trojans might have smelt out their
knavery?

CONDELL: Very likely.

SLY: By God, I would they had, for I love Hector horribly.

SINKLO: Oh, but coz, coz:
'Great Alexander when he came to the tomb of Achilles
Spake with a big loud voice, "oh thou thrice-blessed and
Happy!"' (Induction, 109–22)

In the same train of thought with which the signs have been recounted, Sly uses the sight (or rather, smell) of the groundling's pungent garlic breath to re-imagine the Greeks in the wooden horse at Troy. An episode of history memorised is re-read through current experience, leading to an odd juxtaposition of past and present and memory and fiction. This is only accentuated by Sinklo's rejoinder about Great Alexander. Warren Kay identifies this speech as 'A mangled version of John Harvey's hexameter translation of Petrarch's Sonnet CLIII, printed in Gabriel Harvey's *Three Proper, and Wittie, Familiar Letters* (1580)'.[311] Sinklo responds to this exercise in memory with a garbled and misremembered quotation made at another 'place' of memory, Achilles's tomb. The stage of the Globe serves as a place for the layering of textual and locational memories. The dynamic features of memory are also evident in the closing lines of the Induction. Complaining about the absence of a prologue Sly states:

> SLY: Let me see, I will make one extempore: come to them, and
> fencing of a congee with arms and legs, be round with them
> 'Gentlemen, I could wish for the women's sakes you had
> all soft cushions; and gentlewomen, I could wish that for
> the men's sakes you had all more easy standings' [...]. (Induction, 128–32)

Sly's bawdy suggestion plays upon the features of the Globe audience and their seating arrangements and as such seems to draw upon the same source of inspiration as his earlier musings on the Greeks at Troy that were inspired by the breath of the audience members. The neat symmetry and order of the artificial memory system discussed earlier by Sly with the inn signs gives way to memory as multi-temporal and complex, negotiated through the dynamic space of the Globe; memory can be adjusted through current events (such as the re-membering of the Greeks) and used to inspire fictive construction such as Sly's pseudo-prologue.

Of course, just as the crowd could serve to provoke both memory and fictive creation, so too could features of the stage itself. Gurr notes that the Globe's impresa was:

> [...] an image of Hercules carrying the globe on his shoulders. Depicted on its flag, and in the decoration on the stage's *frons scenae*, the impresa of

311 W. David Kay, footnote to 'Induction', p. 14.

> Hercules and his globe prompted the three references that Hamlet makes to it, contrasting himself to the mythical man of action Hercules, and actually calling the throbbing head on his own shoulders 'this distracted globe'.[312]

The image of Hercules on the Globe stage seems to function as a striking visual image around which the more temporary memories created and effaced during performances could be based. It is notable that *The Malcontent* in the third quarto edition performed at the Globe alludes frequently both to Hamlet and to Hercules. In a listing of mythological figures Malevole notes 'Hercules, whose back bore up heaven and got forty wenches with child in one night'.[313] He later exclaims:

> MALEVOLE: Oh, Hercules!
>
> BILIOSO: Hercules? Hercules was the son of Jupiter and Alcema. (*The Malcontent,* IV.5.108–10)

Given the context of this second quotation which is a discussion of political fickleness, Hercules seems an unusual oath, suggesting a reference to the stage icon of the Globe. As seen with Bilioso's nonsensical response, the possibility of a wrong or inappropriate memory surfacing also endures, perhaps as a result of the accretion of different memories from different performances around the permanent icon of the stage. Although Hercules was a commonplace in Renaissance classical thinking and the references to Hercules are present in earlier pre-Globe editions of the play, the frequent allusions to *Hamlet* in *The Malcontent* deepen the association of *The Malcontent* with memory. *The Malcontent* functions as a kind of textual remembrance of the earlier play, an association deepened by performance upon the same stage in front of a crowd with memories of previous productions. The effect of this is to firmly situate the play within a network of performances and memories, putting the play in a relationship of 'eristic' or oppositional emulation of its predecessor, which, despite the difference in setting, has much in common with the fundamental negotiation of past and present that we had seen operating in Camden's handling of earlier classical and English precedents.[314]

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312 Gurr, 'Shakespeare's Playhouses' in *A Companion to Shakespeare,* p. 369.
313 John Marston, *The Malcontent*, IV. 5. 61.
314 For further discussion of eristic imitation see Nandini Das, *Renaissance Romance: The Transformation of English Prose Fiction, 1570-1620* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 175–85 and George W. Pigman III, 'Versions of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 33 (1980), 1–32.

Keeping that aspect in mind, it is useful now to turn to Ben Jonson's *Sejanus His Fall* (1603). This play is germane to the discussion not least because the play was in its original form a theatrical and commercial disaster, and the extant version represents Jonson's second attempt to recoup the fortunes of his creation.[315] This factor gives the play's very frequent allusions to memory and architecture (especially ruins) an added edge, particularly so given the references to theatres that occur throughout. The beginning of this chapter followed the ways in which historiographical projects such as Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Camden's *Britannia* engaged with the classical past through emulation and competition and noted the relationship between memorial text and place. The imitation and rivalry was achieved in part through negotiating both a shared heritage and a uniquely British place. This dynamic is equally apparent in Jonson.

Jonson's introductory epistle sets the stage for much of the imagery that is to follow. Writing to Lord Aubigny, he remarks 'If ever any ruin were so great as to survive, I think this be one I send you: *The Fall of Sejanus*. It is a poem that — if I well remember — in your Lordship's sight, suffered no less violence from our people here than the subject of it did from the rage of the people of Rome, but with a different fate, as (I hope) merit'.[316] Clearly here Jonson has both classical Rome and the early modern stage present in his mind; in itself hardly unusual, given that this is a play for the early modern stage set in classical Rome. Mutable architectural space as the setting for memory is a recurring theme in the play however, as will be seen, whilst Jonson's suggestion that his play is a poem gestures towards his positive attitude towards memorial texts.

The emperor Tiberius establishes *Sejanus* as a play concerned with memory swiftly. He suggests that his audience of attendants and onlookers will add:

> Abounding grace unto our memory
>
> That shall report us worthy our forefathers,
>
> Careful of your affairs, constant in dangers,
>
> And not afraid of any private frown

315 The play was performed for the court in 1603 and the Globe in 1604; it is the public performance for which dislike is recorded. The play was published in adapted form in quarto in 1605 and in folio in 1616, from which the epistle to Lord Aubigny is drawn.

316 Ben Jonson, 'To the No Less Noble, by Virtue Than Blood: Esme, Lord Aubigny', in *Sejanus,* ed. by Jonas A. Barrish (London: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 25. All subsequent references to the play and its prefatory material draw upon this edition.

For public good. These things shall be to us

Temples and statues reared in your minds,

The fairest and most during imag'ry.

For those of stone or brass, if they become

Odious in judgment of posterity,

Are more contemnded as dying sepulchres

Than ta'en for living monuments. (*Sejanus,* I.1.480–90)

These words hold true for the course of the play. The architecture of the play is often explicitly memorial and almost universally with negative connotations; equally it seems perennially threatened with collapse. Although there is much talk of the vitality of ruins, this aspect only seems to encapsulate the direction of the plot, which is circular rather than straight. As the plot begins and ends with a wicked and supercilious emperor supported by a hated lackey, so too the idea of resurrection from ruins seems to augur more ruins rather than a new beginning. In this regard the play can perhaps be aligned with Jonson's own classicism that identifies the most enduring and reliable relics of antiquity as memorial texts. In this respect Jonson's strategy echoes Camden's rhetorical ploy in *Britannia*. In that text, Camden attacks existing narratives of memory such as the myth of Brut as a prelude to establishing a greater identification with Rome, and a simultaneous surpassing. Here Jonson presents an example of Roman memorial practice as characterised by public report and problematizes it by placing these words into the mouth of Sejanus. This in effect copies the dynamic of emulation and surpassing. Jonson's play also relies upon public acclaim and being reported as 'worthy our forefathers' (that is to say, a worthy successor of previous plays), but given its previous failure within the theatre, challenges the audience to find a better and more reliable standard than the Roman one, particularly as the model for memory presented is given by the vicious Sejanus. Equally however (and akin to Jonson's treatment of the interrelationship between classical past and early modern present in *Magnificent Entertainment*, discussed earlier), the division between past and present is complicated by the collision of historiographical memory with the conditions of performance. Jonson's presentation of this memorial challenge in the awareness of his own previous failure with a historical play upon the stage suggests an anxiety about this that can be traced throughout the play.

Pompey the Great's theatre was discussed in Chapter One as itself an architectural memorial imposition, being constructed illegally by Pompey in Rome. Here the image recurs, a trend that can be identified as running across Jonson's and Shakespeare's classical plays, as will be seen. The theatre is first introduced when Tiberius observes that Sejanus has prevented a fire from destroying Rome at the cost of only the theatre, and for this will have a statue raised on the spot.[317] Whilst this would seem to amount to the creation of a new memory atop the old, things are not that simple. Sejanus's statue subsequently becomes deformed and cracked, with the head being removed, as a prelude to Sejanus's own fall. Equally however, this cannot be seen as either a removal of the imposed memory or as any kind of return to natural order. The unruly mob is quite redolent of Jonson's own view of the majority of his contemporary audience. They move to destroy Sejanus's statue 'with that speed and heat of appetite | With which they greedily devour the way | To some great sports, or a new theatre' (*Sejanus,*V.I.763–65). Equally, the mob is profoundly ignorant, neither knowing Sejanus nor the reason for his disgrace.[318] The violent populace that dismember first his statue and then Sejanus himself do not achieve any kind of memorial restitution, instead adhering once again to the will of the emperor and his assistant, formerly Sejanus of course and now Macro.

This idea is particularly developed in the images of ruins which rarely perform what they seem to. Sejanus plots of Tiberius:

> And he in ruins of his house, and hate
> Of all his subjects, bury his own state;
> When, with my peace and safety, I will rise,
> By making him the public sacrifice. (*Sejanus,* II.1.401–05)

Equally, Macro laments of Sejanus: 'If he recover, thou art lost. Yea, all | The weight of preparation to his fall | Will turn on thee and crush thee' (*Sejanus,* IV.1.87–89). Of course, neither of these things occurs. Whilst not explicitly memorial, these incidents fit into a broader pattern of unexpected outcomes. In these aspects then, memory in *Sejanus* is complex, characterised by a pattern of layering and an inability to return to an originary point, whilst the expected outcome of ruination is often neither the expected crush nor an opportunity for new beginnings. In these respects it echoes

317 Jonson, *Sejanus,* I. 1. 518–45.
318 Jonson, *Sejanus*, V. 1. 780–98.

Camden's own treatment of historiographical memory. As a part of building a new identification with Rome, Camden effaces the old myth of Brutus and the historiography of Geoffrey of Monmouth. In so doing however, Camden preserves these accounts as ephemeral presences in *Britannia* by quoting them and engaging with them. Essentially, Camden begins to build a new project by trying to demolish the ruins of the old but achieves only partial success.

Conversely however, as with Jonson's *Magnificent Entertainment*, *Sejanus* is loaded with marginalia, references and sources. Given the political situation of early modern England and the obvious dangers of showing a King as tyrannous and surrounded by flatterers, it is perhaps unsurprising to see this material, which can be read as more than a display of Jonson's customarily ostentatious classicism. Rather, it functions to fix and determine what memory is being recorded by the play; very firmly a historical, classical reign and nothing else. In this regard it is suggestive of the treatment of sources within *Britannia*. In that text, supplementary material serves of course to support what is being claimed. Equally however, Camden stages *Britannia* as a site of contest between his narrative and that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, with the use of source material serving as a critical difference between that account and his own.[319] Camden's use of supporting texts serves to validate his own narrative and support the project of re-establishing the relationship between Britain and Rome that he attempts against earlier accounts. Trust in the authority of written memorial record over memorial architecture is perhaps also attested to within the play. Cordus has his history of Brutus, Cassius and others destroyed on the grounds that it is licentious, a move decried by Arruntius as both wrong-headed in blaming a text and as inadequate: 'Let 'em be burnt! Oh, how ridiculous | Appears the Senate's brainless diligence, | Who think they can, with present power, extinguish | The memory of all succeeding times!' (*Sejanus,* III.1.471–74). We might conjecture (lightly, given the relative paucity of evidence) that this further represents a Jonsonian view of the greater viability of textual memory over architectural memory alongside an awareness of the need for memory and its vulnerability, particular given that he challenges the suitability of Pompey's theatre as a stage of memory, and explicitly presents his memorial work in his dedicatory epistle as a poem rather than a play. Whether

319 See the discussion undertaken at the start of the chapter and William Camden, *Britannia*, I, pp. 6–12.

this view is Jonson's own or not, a similar dynamic of the relationship between memorial architecture and text is at work in *Catiline His Conspiracy* (1611).

Catiline is once again, in Jonson's view, a 'poem'.[320] Equally, the play was once again not a commercial success, and as with *Sejanus,* Jonson situates the play within a context of early modern memory. To the reader in ordinary, Jonson graciously suggests that 'Though you commend the two first acts with the people, because they are the worst; and dislike the oration of Cicero, in regard you read some pieces of it, at school, and understand them not yet; I shall find the way to forgive you'.[321] Here Jonson's own memory of how his play was received in the theatre, his ideas about what the ordinary reader will remember from school and his own elevated classicism collide. The distinction between Jonson's view of the first two acts and the later speech of Cicero is pronounced, and is echoed by the differing treatment of memory between these two parts of the play.

In Act I Sylla's ghost appears, offering a brief recap of his former exploits and pledging to lead Catiline to further debauched conduct. Interestingly, this memorial figure characterises itself: 'As a dire vapour, that had cleft the ground, | To engender with the night, and blast the day' (*Catiline,* I.1.12–13). This suggestion of a link between memory and subterranean rupture is echoed by Catiline himself, who after recalling his perceived slights by the people of Rome decides that: 'If she can lose her nature, I can lose | My piety; and in her stony entrails | Dig me a seat where I will live again, | the labour of her womb […]' (*Catiline,* I.1.92–95). Here the memory is spatial and architectural in conceptualisation and is disorderly and ruinous, a motif captured by the chorus that laments 'Can nothing great, and at the height | Remain so long, but its own weight | Will ruin it?' (*Catiline,* I.1.531–33).

Against this, memory finds a stable setting in the temple of Jupiter in Act Four. Cicero's long and almost unbroken narration (*Catiline,* IV.I.170–461) is memorial in at least three ways. The speech recounts the whole progress and history of Catiline's conspiracy. In doing so it also refreshes (in theory at least) the memory of the audience, and also recalls Cicero's actual first oration against Catiline. It would fit with the Jonsonian tendency outlined above to privilege textual memories over

320 Ben Jonson, 'To the Great Example of Honour and Virtue the Most Noble William, Earl of Pembroke', in *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson,*ed. by Gerald Alfred Wilkes, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), III, p. 359. All subsequent references to *Catiline* and its prefatory matter refer to this edition.

321 Ben Jonson, 'To the Reader in Ordinary', in *Complete Plays of Ben Jonson,* III. p. 360.

architectural that this architectural space is stable to the extent that it has a classical textual source, unlike the architecture of the first acts. By implication, this anxiety would extend to the theatres, which housed groundlings that favoured ghosts over long and elevated orations. Jonson laments in Barnardohis address to the reader in ordinary that they were inclined to remember the wrong parts, namely the ghost and not the classically derived speech; that is to say, stage business rather than elevated oratory with textual precedent.

It is apparent, therefore, that Jonson negotiates a space between architectural memory and textual memory, privileging the textual over the material. In Chapter Four, the influence of Shakespeare's classically orientated grammar school education upon *Titus Andronicus* was explored. Given Jonson's oft cited opinion that Shakespeare enjoyed 'Small Latin and less Greek' it will also prove useful to consider the classical plays of this (apparently) less classically oriented playwright and identify to what extent the treatment of memory is characteristic of the period.[322]

Of Shakespeare's classical plays, *Julius Caesar* (1599) perhaps demonstrates the connection of memory, forgetfulness and memorial creation most fully as well as the perennial importance of text and architecture.

As part of an oration to Brutus, Cassius declaims:

> CASSIUS: When could they say till now, that talked of Rome,
> That her wide walls encompassed but one man?
> Now is it Rome indeed, and room enough
> When there is in it but one only man.
> O, you and I have heard our fathers say
> There was a Brutus once that would have brooked
> Th'eternal devil to keep his state in Rome
> As easily as a king.[323]

The allusion to 'a Brutus once' is of course to Marcus Brutus's ancestor who expelled the Tarquins from Rome. The play takes the form of a contest of memory set within the architecture of Rome and

322 Ben Jonson, 'To the Memory of My Belovèd, the Author Master William Shakespeare and What he Hath Left Us', in *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson,* V, pp. 638–42 (p. 640).

323 William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar,* in *The Norton Shakespeare* ed. by Stephen Greenblatt and others (London: Norton, 1997). I.2.155-62. All subsequent references to the text will be to this edition unless stated otherwise.

its places. This much is apparent in the actions of the conspirators. They meet in 'Pompey's Porch' (I.3.125) and 'Pompey's Theatre'(I.3.147), references to the theatre illegally established in Rome by Pompey the Great. Similarly, Cassius arranges for papers praising (Marcus) Brutus to be put on both his praetor's chair and the statue of his ancestor Lucius Brutus. The conspirators intend to connect past and present through place.

Indeed, it seems as if the conspirators intend to create themselves as spectacular and memorable images. Shortly after the murder of Caesar they plot a triumph of sorts through Rome to write their own version of how Caesar should be remembered.

> BRUTUS: And let us bathe our hands in Caesar's blood
> Up to the elbows, and besmear our swords;
> Then walk we forth even to the market-place,
> And, waving our red weapons o'er our heads,
> Let's all cry 'peace, freedom and liberty!' (*Julius Caesar,* III.1.107–11)

This procession of striking images, stained with blood draws upon both the Ciceronian advice that memorial images could (and perhaps should) be stained with blood or paint and the traditional Roman practice of painting the face of generals leading triumphs in red. Indeed, such is their confidence that as they are washing themselves with the blood that they remark:

> CASSIUS: […]How many ages hence
> Shall this our lofty scene be acted over,
> In states unborn and accents yet unknown!
> BRUTUS: How many times shall Caesar bleed in sport,
> That now on Pompey's basis lies along,
> No worthier than the dust!
> CASSIUS: So oft as that shall be,
> So often shall the knot of us be called
> The men that gave their country liberty. (*Julius Caesar,* III.1.112–18)

This misplaced optimism calls attention to both the multiple ways in which subsequent generations remembered their actions and the ambiguities of memory. Both acting and memory require repetition, further linking the fictions of acting and the stage with memory. Indeed, this can be usefully linked to Tiberius's speech in Catiline as discussed above. That speech both calls attention to an idealistic model of memory and interrogates it through placing the words into the mouth of a questionable character. As with Jonson, Shakespeare here both presents a form of memory and uses the collision of classical past with the early modern stage to interrogate it. This multiplicity of perspective is of course redolent of the great historiographical works of Holinshed and Camden but is here pushed to greater heights of irony.

Memory's flexibility and competitive aspects are discernible in the competing funeral orations of Brutus and Antony. Both give persuasive speeches. One of the deciding factors however seems to be that Anthony produces the body of Caesar. The bleeding corpse serves as a powerful visual stimulus to the memory of the crowd. As Antony anatomises the wounds this becomes even more apparent:

ANTONY: If you have tears, prepare to shed them now.
You all do know this mantle. I remember
The first time ever Caesar put it on;
'Twas on a summer's evening, in his tent,
That day he overcame the Nervii.
Look, in this place ran Cassius's dagger through;
See what a rent the envious Casca made;
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabb'd.

The clothing of Caesar associated with the glorious victory of the Romans over the Gallic Nervii is stabbed and damaged, with the implication that the memories of Rome themselves are being effaced. Antony continues:

ANTONY: And as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
Mark how the blood of Caesar follow'd it,
As rushing out of doors, to be resolved
If Brutus so unkindly knock'd, or no;
For Brutus, as you know, was Caesar's angel.

> Judge, O you gods, how dearly Caesar loved him!
> This was the most unkindest cut of all;
> For when the noble Caesar saw him stab,
> Ingratitude, more strong than traitors'arms,
> Quite vanquish'd him. Then burst his mighty heart,
> And, in his mantle muffling up his face,
> Even at the base of Pompey's statue,
> Which all the while ran blood, great Caesar fell.
> O, what a fall was there, my countrymen!
> Then I, and you, and all of us fell down,
> Whilst bloody treason flourish'd over us. (*Julius Caesar,*
> III.2.163–86)

The architectural motif is heightened by the image of Caesar as a building with doors to be knocked upon, strengthening the memory of Caesar as akin to Rome itself; this is further developed in the idea of a great fall, akin to an architectural collapse harming all Romans. Finally, the association of the statue of Caesar's rival Pompey with Caesar himself performs a good deal of memorative work. Throughout the play, the conspirators decry the ease with which the populace have forgotten Pompey and associate themselves with his theatre and statue, whilst Caesar's wife dreams that a statue of Caesar bleeds. By suggesting that Pompey's statue bleeds from Caesar's wounds, the memories of the two are conflated. Although this proves an effective (and affective) tactic in the short term, it also illustrates the confusion with which the play ends; the Roman mob kills the wrong Cinna and Cassius commits suicide due to his poor vision. The memory and legacy of Caesar seems to be one of upheaval and discord, an uncertain triumvirate of realpolitik rather than any one single meaning. Notably, although the confusion of the ending and the role of the mob can be usefully compared to the conclusion of the later *Catiline*, the treatment of memory as text and memory as architecture here tends more towards overlapping than is found in Jonson. The extensive marginalia and citation of sources is also missing, potentially lending the play a more direct and affective and less allusive aspect.

This can be further discerned in Shakespeare's *The Tragedy of Coriolanus* (1605), a play that also links memorial text and memorial place but to differing effect, namely the loss of specificity. Coriolanus provides an excellent example of the dynamic identified above that presents an idealized model of classical memory before interrogating and ironizing it on the early modern stage. We learn of Coriolanus from his mother Volumnia that: '[…] There will be large | cicatrices to show the people when he shall stand for his | place. He received in the repulse of Tarquin seven hurts | i'th'body'.[324] Coriolanus's standing for his place denotes more than modern concepts of standing for office. He must also engage with the common people of Rome through the ceremony of meeting them in the marketplace, presenting himself and asking for their support, their 'voices' and becoming his own Ciceronian memorial statue. These scars prove both significant as signifiers of memory but also as mutable. Although they are the means to remind the citizens of his deeds in the service of Rome they shift and change. It is apparent that:

VOLUMNIA: He had before his last expedition twenty-five wounds
upon him
MENENIUS: Now it's twenty-seven. Every gash was an enemy's
grave. (Coriolanus, II.1.135–42)

Although it is natural for a soldier to acquire more scars, this complicates their import and the reading of them: the seven scars received in exiling Tarquin become lost in a proliferation of different wounds from different wars, a palimpsest that will seemingly constantly be added to whilst Coriolanus serves Rome. Something of this confusion is perhaps apparent in Menenius's observation that 'Every gash was an enemy's grave'. As well as marks on Coriolanus reminding viewers of his service, the scars also seem to be monuments to twenty-seven different enemies.

This aspect is only heightened by Coriolanus's own reticence to display his scars to the citizens. He is reluctant:

CORIOLANUS: To brag unto them 'Thus I did and thus',
Show them th'unaching scars, which I should hide,
As if I had received them for the hire

324 William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Coriolanus* in *The Norton Shakespeare,* II. 1. 133–36. All subsequent citations of the text will be from this edition unless indicated otherwise stated.

Of their breath only! (*Coriolanus,* II.3.144–47)

If Coriolanus's scars are reminders of memory then they are a text which Coriolanus himself is keen to control. The instability of memory in this play is further shown by both the architectural associations of memory and their undermining. Coriolanus of course acquires his honorary surname from his action at Corioles. The description of the scene is that of a striking figure (in both senses of the term) in an architectural place. We learn:

MENENIUS: […] His sword, death's stamp,
Where it did mark, it took. From face to foot
He was a thing of blood, whose every motion
Was timed with dying cries. Alone he entered
The mortal gate of th'city, which he, painted
With shunless destiny, aidless came off,
And with a sudden reinforcement struck
Corioles like a planet. (*Coriolanus,* II.2.103–10)

This speech is part of a longer discourse given by Menenius in support of Coriolanus's consulship. This adds an extra dimension of memory to the speech, and as Menenius is speaking after the events described it can be seen that he endeavours to inscribe Coriolanus into the memories of his audience, perhaps explicitly in terms of artificial memory systems. In the description Coriolanus is covered with blood, similar to the conspirators in *Julius Caesar*, matching Cicero's advice that the people of the artificial memory system might benefit from some eye catching visual effect such as red paint or blood, is dynamic and singular. On three separate occasions the isolation of Coriolanus at Coriole is mentioned. The citizens of Rome, the 'fragments' that Coriolanus despises are described in terms of their 'voices' only, this synecdoche occurring more than thirty times in the play; unlike Martius whose actions earn him the name Coriolanus, they are nameless.

Despite this, however, the architecture of the play proves to be shifting and the memories associated with it become unfamiliar. The tribunes conspire to have Coriolanus thrown from Tarpeian, the Roman cliff from which traitors and murderers were traditionally hurled. They attempt to both destroy Coriolanus and to re-write the memory of him as a traitor and not as hero. Similarly, complaining that the tribunes will remain the people's magistrates Coriolanus decries:

CORIOLANUS: That is the way to lay the city flat,

To bring the roof to the foundation,

And bury all which yet distinctly ranges

In heaps and piles of ruin. (*Coriolanus*, III.1.203–06)

This destruction of order, place and distinction is something Coriolanus himself attempts to inaugurate. Although he is turned back from his destruction of Rome through the intercession of his mother and his son (in a sense remembering himself) Coriolanus dies in a melee in the city of Corioles, denied by Aufidius the honory name 'Coriolanus', staging a forgetting. Aufidius goads him: 'Ay, Martius, Caius Martius. Dost thou think | I'll grace thee with that robbery, thy stol'n name, | 'Coriolanus' in Corioles?' (Coriolanus, V.6.90–92). Whereas earlier Corioles had served as a staging place for the creation of the memory of a striking, isolated figure here the process is reversed, Caius Martius overwhelmed by unnamed people and conspirators; in a sense, he is overthrown by the shifting and multiple approach to memory staged in the play in opposition to his own simple and univocal perspective

***

In early modern England, a classical heritage ensured neither a certain pedigree nor a guaranteed future but rather a site of imitation and a struggle. In many respects the authors of the period are akin to Tullus Aufidius wrestling with the classical past of Martius Coriolanus; having

Dreamt of encounters 'twixt thyself and me;

We have been down together in my sleep,

Unbuckling helms, fisting each other's throat,

And waked half dead with nothing. (*Coriolanus,* IV.5.124–27)

In itself the stage, drawing upon sources such as Camden and Holinshed, merely most clearly exemplifies broader cultural trends of the appropriation of history for rhetorical ends and the engagement and contest with a classical past, achieved through patterned emulation and in the case of the stage a studied ironizing of the seemingly stable classical memories presented. In this respect, the quotation below from *The Malcontent,* a play that strongly echoes *Hamlet* in both form, language and concern with memory and performed on the same stage, is instructive, particularly the focus upon the strangeness of memory:

SLY: Who, I? I'll tell you a strange thing of myself, and I can tell
You, for one that never studied the art of memory 'tis very
Strange, too.

CONDELL: What's that, sir?

SLY: Why, I'll lay a hundred pound, I'll walk but once down
by The Goldsmith's row in Cheap, take notice of the
signs, and tell you them with a breath instantly.

LOWIN: 'Tis very strange. (Induction, *The Malcontent,* 100–07)

This relationship of memory and strangeness recurs in *Hamlet*: in the first act alone, concerned with relating the appearances of the ghost and memory, 'strange' occurs six times. This strangeness and the spectral nature of memory will be explored in the following chapter upon *Hamlet*, which provides both a further demonstration of the link between stage and page and an extended close reading of the relationship and instabilities of textual and architectural memory in the period.

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Chapter Seven: *Hamlet*; 'Rights of Memory' and 'Rites of Memory'

From Chapter One onwards the thesis has traced two ideas. These are the relationship between artificial memory systems and their immediate material memorial culture, and an enduring association of memory with the fictive or the ghostly, that manifests itself at various different levels and in different ways. Artificial memory systems, as we have seen, found their origin in the myth of Simonides, with its vision of Castor and Pollux, and the deaths of a multitude through the striking collapse of the roof of a banqueting hall. Both classical and Neoplatonic memorial thought, in the centuries that followed, responded to the anxieties that circulate around memory's inevitable association with destruction, loss and forgetting. This was achieved through fictional and material means and through a paired emphasis on preservation, creation and remembering. In Chapter Three, we have seen how the dual focus of medieval memory was both text and dream based, always haunted by spectres of that which was lost. In the discussion of the early modern schoolroom and the Reformation, I have suggested that the arts of memory in this period, such as they were, could be seen to become increasingly fragmented through the very processes that were designed to shore up or shape individual and collective memory: the commonplace book focus of the grammar school that was shaped by a multi-temporal and mutable quality, and the insistent fictionality that circulated around the material memorial destruction of the Reformation. Finally, the great historiographical projects of Holinshed and Camden have been considered as examples of the ways in which creating new memories requires a careful negotiation between classical past and early modern present and the inevitable tensions that arise, a dynamic which can also be identified at work in classically based plays of the early modern stage.

In this final chapter I want to consider Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (*c.* 1600). This is not only because of the centrality of memory within the text, but also because of *Hamlet'*s central and iconic place within our shared cultural memory as a text of remembrance. This sense of memory also haunts *Hamlet* criticism — there is a marked sense of a critical penumbra around the text stretching both into the past and the future. Levy notes that '*Hamlet* criticism has evolved to the point where its practise is to divide attention judiciously between the dramatic text it addresses and the scholars and schools

which have earlier addressed the same play'.[325] Conversely, as Margreta de Grazia suggests, 'There is now something of a tradition in which critics reach beyond their predecessors with newly available insights into Hamlet's interiority. And yet there is no catching up. […] Hamlet remains perennially in the critical forefront as new (and newer still) explanations emerge to account for his singular interiority'.[326] In this sense, *Hamlet* is always *hic et ubique.* De Grazia's comments on Hamlet's interiority emphasize a perennial critical concern, namely the nature and extent of Hamlet's mind and his possession of 'that which passeth show'. De Grazia notes that Hamlet has been hailed by various respective critics as 'the Western hero of consciousnes, 'an icon of pure consciousness', 'a distinctly modern hero providing "the premier Western performance of consciousness"'.[327] De Grazia's project with *Hamlet without Hamlet* is to separate the play from overly interiorised readings and restore the main character to an external world rather than an exclusive and illusive internal one. This chapter will attempt to follow a similar line.[328] In this chapter, our focus on *Hamlet* and memory will draw upon the earlier chapters and will encompass the insistent inevitability of memory and memory in relation to material culture (namely the two models of memory-as-text and memory-as-architecture). It will be seen that *Hamlet* traces a similar path in its treatment of memory to that outlined in Chapter Five. Loss and memorial trauma lead inexorably to a kind of haunting — both literal, in terms of the visitations of the ghost, and conceptual, in terms of an innate drive towards fiction and narrative and attempts to create memorial structures. The insufficiency of these structures leads to the disruption of the ontologies of time and space within *Hamlet*. This approach is of course partial, but will at least endeavour to avoid the risk that Anselm Haverkamp identifies:

> Historically, the Hamlet commentators have been willing to leave certain

325 Eric P. Levy, *Hamlet and the Rethinking of Man* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh University Press, 2008), p. 13.
326 Margreta de Grazia, *Hamlet without Hamlet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 22.
327 de Grazia, *Hamlet without Hamlet*, p. 7. Citing Harold Bloom, *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (New York: Riverhead, 1998) p. 409; Jonathan Bate, *The Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Picador, 1997), p. 261; Alexander Welsh, *Hamlet in His Modern Guises* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 10; Marjorie Garber, *Shakespeare after All* (New York: Pantheon Books, 2004), p. 4.
328 To this end Q1, Q2 and F1 will all be used as source material of equal status, whilst Q1 will be labelled as such rather than the leading title of 'bad' quarto. Drawing upon multiple *Hamlets* (albeit a selection of the many disparate quartos) is not an attempt to create a unified text or discover the 'real' *Hamlet*, but rather to acknowledge that these three versions stand in a complex relationship with each other which divides critical opinion regarding which texts influenced which. In this aspect using three versions illustrates the murky memorial nature and confused chronology of *Hamlet* as a text and draws out differences in the treatment of memory within the different *Hamlets*; if not quite setting *Hamlet* against *Hamlet*, this at least demonstrates the conceptual, textual and practical complexities of the treatment of memory. The edition used for all three texts is *The Three Text Hamlet: Parallel Texts of the First and Second Quartos and First Folio,* ed. by Paul Bertram and Bernice W. Kliman (New York: Ams, 1991).

> ideas alone, as if identifying ambiguities and inconsistencies over explaining them was the goal. In the case of *Hamlet* there are mountains of literature on such forms of defense or denial, and every attempt at a new interpretation must inevitably run the risk of its own belatedness, that consequently confronts it with the obvious question: why didn't someone come up with it before. Even in the densest of receptions like Hamlet's, the latency of that which has not been discovered lies relatively motionless beneath the surface of the thousands of known details of a story that has by now been retold and replayed thousands of times.[329]

* * *

The nature of the ghost poses a key issue in the play. Hamlet demands:

> HAMLET: Let me not burst in Ignorance; but tell
>
> Why thy canonized bones hearsèd in death,
>
> Have burst their cerements, why the sepulchre
>
> Wherein we saw thee quietly enurn'd,
>
> Hath oped his ponderous and Marble jaws,
>
> To cast thee up again? What may this mean? (*Hamlet,*
>
> F1.I.4.28– 32)

What may this mean? The answer to this insistent questioning — two questions, two 'why's — defies easy explanation. Any answer must touch upon the uncertain ontological status of the ghost that ensures that attempts to memorialise it are problematic. A speech by Rosencrantz is instructive. Rosencrantz states:

> And peculiar life is bound
>
> With all the strength and Armour of the minde,
>
> To keepe it selfe from noyance: but much more,
>
> That Spirit, vpon whose spirit depends and rests

329 Anselm Haverkamp, 'The Ghost of History: Hamlet and the Politics of Paternity', *Law and Literature*, 18 (2006), 171–98 (pp. 171–72).

The liues of many, the cease of Maiestie

Dies not alone; but like a Gulfe doth draw

What's neere it, with it. It is a massie wheele

Fixt on the Somnet of the highest Mount.

To whose huge Spoakes, ten thousand lesser things

Are mortiz'd and adioyn'd: which when it falles,

Each small annexment, pettie consequence

Attends the boystrous Ruine. (*Hamlet,* F1.III.3.11–22)

This speech gains a certain irony both from its placement in the mouth of the sycophantic Rosencrantz and by his application of it to Claudius. However, the proximity of 'armour' and 'spirit' suggest this summary as better applied to Old Hamlet, whose 'cease of Majestie' sets into motion the events of the play. His untimely death does indeed function like a 'gulfe', drawing the things around it inwards and downwards; in modern terminology it is akin to a black hole, warping space and time around it. Stretching the black hole metaphor slightly further can illustrate this idea. From the perspective of an external observer an object within a black hole's event horizon will move increasingly slowly, seemingly never actually reaching the black hole, whilst of course for the object within the event horizon things are entirely different. After the object has been destroyed the external observer continues to see a simulacrum, an object of pure image devoid of the ontological status usually invested by the perceiver into perceived objects. The ghost has a similarly confused status — is it a demon, a ghost, Horatio's 'illusion' or a creaking bit of stage business that has been overanalysed, a *deux ex machina*?

What follows is a close reading of the ghost's problematic nature and the effect that this has on memory. Several aspects of the ghost's entrance are notable.[330] From its first appearance confusion over its status is enshrined.[331] Barnardo offers the puzzling summation that it is 'In the same figure,

330 In this discussion I intend to use both 'Old Hamlet' and 'ghost' interchangeably in order to try to preserve some of the ontological confusions the entity creates.

331 For more on the ontology of the ghost see John F. DeCarlo, 'Hamlet and the Ghost: A Joint Sense of Time', *Philosophy and Literature*, 37 (2013), 1–19; Eric P. Levy, '"Things Standing Thus Unknown": The Epistemology of Ignorance in "Hamlet"', *Studies in Philology*, 97 (2000), 192–209; Catherine Belsey, 'Shakespeare's Sad Tale for Winter: "Hamlet" and the Tradition of Fireside Ghost Stories', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 61 (2010), 1–27.

like the King that's dead' (*Hamlet,* F1.I.1.39). The import of being both 'the same' and 'like' is unclear. Horatio initially seems to take a stance upon this issue, treating old Hamlet as a thing, a 'what' rather than a 'who':

> HORATIO: What art thou that usurp'st this time of
> night,
> Together with that Faire and Warlike form
> In which the Majesty of buried Denmark
> Did sometimes march: By Heaven I charge thee speak.
> (*Hamlet,* F1.I.1.44–47)

As if to add to the confusions, it is also a 'thou', seemingly recognising the personhood of the ghost but by referring to it in informal terms, denying its kingship. In the speeches of the watchmen, this seeming decision to address the ghost as thing is both retained and complicated. Both the striking visual similarity and the tantalising 'like' are retained, frustrating final identification. This distinction is maintained throughout the first act:

> MARCELLUS: Is it not like the King?
> HORATIO: As thou art to thy self. (*Hamlet,* F1.I.1.57–58)

Later in describing the ghost to Hamlet, Horatio notes both the exactness and the distinction:

> HORATIO: A figure like your Father,
> Arm'd at all points exactly, cap-a-pie. (*Hamlet,* F1.I.2.199–
> 200)
> HORATIO: The Apparition comes. I knew your Father:
> These hands are not more like. (*Hamlet,* F1.I.2.211–12)

The persistence of 'like' invites and confutes an exact correlation. The confused status of Old Hamlet / ghost remains throughout the play; Hamlet of course reasons:

> HAMLET: Angels and Ministers of Grace defend us:
> Be thou a Spirit of health, or Goblin damned,
> Bring with thee airs from Heaven, or blasts from Hell,
> Be thy intents wicked or charitable,

Thou com'st in such a questionable shape
That I will speak to thee. I'll call thee Hamlet,
King, Father, Royal Dane. O answer me! (*Hamlet*,
F1.I.4.20–26)

The apparition may be a healthful spirit, or an evil spirit, from Heaven or Hell, with wicked aims or noble ones and in a changeable shape, and Hamlet refers to it again with the disrespectful 'thou'; but nevertheless he will 'call [it] Hamlet'.

Whilst it seems that the issue of the ghost is resolved to Hamlet's satisfaction, this is not quite settled. It is true that old Hamlet's account proves correct in the particulars and that after the performance of the Mousetrap, Hamlet declares that 'Oh good Horatio, Ile take the Ghosts word for | a thousand pound' (*Hamlet,* Q2.III.2.263–64). However, Horatio's earlier warning to Hamlet in terms which capture the significance of the ghost being *hic et ubique* should still ring in the minds of the spectators:

HORATIO: What if it tempt you toward the flood my Lord,
Or to the dreadful summit of the cliff
That beetles o'er his base into the sea,
And there assume some other horrible form
Which might deprive your sovereignty of reason,
And draw you into madness, think of it,
The very place puts toys of desperation
Without more motive, into every brain
That looks so many fathoms to the sea
And hears it roar beneath. (*Hamlet,* F1.I.4.50–55.6)

Place is mutable and the ghost vanishes into the sea, a mutable space, and as such, unstable and potentially untrustworthy. One roars beneath the cliff, the other beneath the stage. Finally, the phantasmagorical qualities of Old Hamlet serve to militate against ontological certainty, exemplifying the perennial link between memory and fiction. In the Reformation chapter, the link between trauma, memory and forgetting and fiction was discussed, with fiction and memory often becoming intimately associated in instances of trauma and often leading to forgetfulness. A similar thing seems to be

occurring here. From its first appearance the ghost is placed in terms of illusion or fantasy; it is an image as Horatio notes:

> HORATIO: Our last King,
>
> Whose Image even but now appear'd to us. (*Hamlet,*
>
> F1.I.1.29–30)

This suggestion of a second-order thing, an image rather than an actuality, occurs again in the Mousetrap, the representation of a murder staged by Hamlet to catch Claudius; 'This Play is the Image of a murder done in Vienna' (*Hamlet,* F1.III.2.217–18). Just as the play is an image of a thing rather than the thing itself, so too the ghost seems to be undeterminable, a fact that complicates its demand of Hamlet to be remembered; the thing that is to be remembered is in a state of flux.

The significance of the ghost for an account of memory becomes more apparent when the overlapping of ghost as image, ghost as *locus* of memory and memorial architecture is explored. In some ways the ghost should function as a perfect striking image of memory, being both a perfect resemblance of old Hamlet and indeed provoking memories in characters like Horatio, who notes that the ghost's armour reminds him of the combat between Old Hamlet and old Fortinbras. The associations of the ghost with memory are too well established to merit lengthy treatment; it does of course command Hamlet to 'remember me' and appear to Hamlet again commanding 'Do not forget. This Visitation | Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose'. (Q2.III.4.100–01)[332] The linking of mental image, memory and the mind's eye is again evident in the exchange of Hamlet and Horatio prompted by Hamlet's recollection of his father:

> HAMLET: My father - methinkes I see my father.
>
> HORATIO: O where, my Lord?
>
> HAMLET: In my mindes eye Horatio. (*Hamlet,* Q2.I.2.182–85)

The ghost in its turn creates striking images but which seem not to adhere to the classical rules. It tells Hamlet:

> GHOST: And duller should'st thou be then the fat weede

332 For more on the ghost in relation to memory see Garret A. Sullivan Jr., *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Stephen Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); James P. Hammersmith, 'Hamlet and the Myth of Memory', *ELH*, 45 (1978), 597–605.

That rots it selfe in ease, on Lethe Wharfe,

Would'st thou not stirre in this. (*Hamlet,* F1.I.5.32–34)

If Hamlet does not remember, then he will be akin to one of the many reeds not stirring in the wind on the bank of the river of forgetting. The image to spur Hamlet to action is one of lethargy and forgetfulness; he must in a sense remember forgetfulness to stir his action. This stands in relation to Garrett A. Sullivan Jr's suggestion that 'forgetting can be understood in terms of action'.[333] To explicate this idea it is useful to consider other critical voices broadly in sympathy to Sullivan. Marjorie Garber suggests that: 'it might seem natural to assume that remembering would facilitate reparation, restitution and recuperation — that the way to rectify an error, or expiate a crime, is through a memory of the act, and even of the historical circumstances that produced, provoked or surrounded the act. Yet this is precisely what the play of *Hamlet* does *not* tell us' [emphasis in original].[334] For Garber, memory in Hamlet is essentially a block upon revenge, a view shared by John Kerrigan. Writing of revenge, Kerrigan notes that 'it is far less important to Hamlet than is the impulse to remember'.[335] Whilst significant and compelling, these accounts could all potentially be furthered by considering two possibilities. The first is the way in which in *Hamlet*, the insistent fictionality that I have shown previously to be attendant on acts of memory gives rise to story-telling and to secondary memories divorced from their origin. These new memories and fictions function as replacements and overwritings of the originary memory. Secondly, the disruption of space and time introduced by the loss of Old Hamlet leads to a concomitant disruption of the order necessary for memory. This has the effect of complicating the division between memory and forgetting: it is not always forgetting that enables action, nor is it always remembering that prevents it.

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As has been seen in Chapter Five, traumas of memory and the disruption of things associated with memory entails fiction and story-telling as attempts to bridge the gap created by the loss. The destruction of the communal memorial space of Purgatory led to fictions increasingly divorced from

333 Sullivan Jr., *Memory and Forgetting in English Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 14.

334 Marjorie Garber, *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers: Literature as Uncanny Causality* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 154.

335 John Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy: Aeschylus to Armageddon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996; repr. 2001), p. 186.

that initial *locus*. So too in *Hamlet* the death of Old Hamlet functions as an example of a memorial trauma; Hamlet of course bitterly laments his father's death, Claudius broods upon his murder in soliloquy and even the sentries of the watch discuss Old Hamlet, albeit in the context of a previous war with Norway. These early exchanges exemplify the process of story-telling as a response to memorial trauma, and the havoc that the loss of familiar memorial structures wreaks on the conceptualisation of time and space.

At the very beginning, we encounter Marcellus, Barnardo and Horatio sitting on the ground, whereupon Barnardo begins a relation of the visit of the ghost the previous evening, in itself an act of memory and again in relation to time and space. He relates:

> BARNARDO: Last night of all,
>
> When yon same star that's westward from the pole
>
> Had made his course t'illume that part of heaven
>
> Where now it burns, Marcellus and myself,
>
> The bell then beating one
>
> (*Enter the GHOST in complete armour, holding a*
>
> *truncheon, with his beaver up.*) (*Hamlet,* Q2.I.1.33–38)

The disordered time of *Hamlet* is of course a critical commonplace. Two approaches in particular inform the current reading however. Jonathan Gil Harris considers time through the perspective of things, specifically untimely things, treating Old Hamlet as an explosion shattering the current temporal order.[336] Although the current reading differs by treating the ghost as more of an agent of undermining certainties within the play, the focus upon the time of things is apt, particularly given the associations between persons and objects undertaken later in the chapter and the reading of the ghost as akin to a black hole provided earlier in the chapter. Secondly, Heather Hirschfeld's essay on trauma and *Hamlet* identifies that the import of memorial traumas lies beyond the original incident and depends upon the very inability to fully understand and incorporate the trauma.[337] The reading adopted here draws upon *Hamlet* and the immediate material memorial context discussed in Chapter

336 Jonathan Gil Harris, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), p. 93.

337 Heather Hirschfeld, 'Hamlet's "First Corse": Repetition, Trauma, and the Displacement of Redemptive Typology', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 54 (2003), 424–48.

Five rather than typology; *Hamlet* is situated amidst a broader culture of memorial trauma, as discussed in that chapter, as well as again exemplifying the ways in which attempts to secure memory give rise to the creation of new second-order memories and story-telling. However, the dynamic Hirschfeld identifies forms one of the structural principles of this chapter.

At this point in *Hamlet* however, (i.e. when the ghost story is being related) the time seems very much in joint. The ghost is expected and appears when Barnardo and Marcellus are present and when the polestar is at the same point as it is this night — 'where now it burns'. The ghost is right on cue. When Marcellus observes, 'Thus twice before, and just at this dead houre, | With Martiall stalke, hathe he gone by our watch' (*Hamlet,* F1. I.1.65–66) the dominant feeling is of order. Yet there is a slightly curious aspect in the conflation of circumstances — that is to say, that this night is almost exactly like the previous one, and when the ghost does appear, its armour reminds Horatio of a memory and a strangely conflated image of past and present:

> HORATIO: Such was the very Armor he had on
>
> When he the ambitious Norway combatted:
>
> So frownd he once, when in an angry parle
>
> He smot the sledded pollax on the Ice. (*Hamlet,* Q2.I.1.76–79)

As R.A. Foakes usefully notes, this single combat occurred thirty years previously: provided that Horatio is of a comparable age to Hamlet (a reasonable supposition given their status as students) then Horatio cannot have actually witnessed the events he seems to relate.[338] The story is a memorial reconstruction, or a narrative spun out of a memory he has heard related. Such curious dealings with time, to some extent, are typical of the workings of memory. Artificial memory systems in both the architectural and mind-as-tablet formulation engage in nuanced and complex uses of temporal sequence. The artificial memory systems rely upon not just regularity and repetition but order; that is to say, that although the architectural systems are dynamic and can be explored in any direction, the sequence of stored memories must remain. Both approaches require both an appreciation that that which is to be recalled is both past and present: a calling-to-mind of memory occurring in an

338 R.A. Foakes, *Shakespeare and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 118. For further discussion of Horatio in relation to subjectivity and observation see Christopher Warley, 'Specters of Horatio', *ELH*, 75 (2008), 1023–50.

awareness of the present, be it through the act of a mental reading suggested by the mind-as-tablet device, or the immediacy of vision required by the architectural motif. In both conceptualisations, the preservation of the memory requires repetition and order: a patterned bringing-to-the-present of that which is past. In this respect a certain multi-temporality is inherent in the workings of memory, and therefore in artificial memory systems, and disorders of time can be expected to have concomitant impacts upon ordered memory motifs. This manipulation of time demands our attention: although it is well known that in *Hamlet* 'The time is out of joint' (F1.I.5.188), the very familiarity of this fact can lead to a complacency towards its significance.

So when Horatio suggests that their sighting of the ghost was of one 'Whose Image even but now appear'd to us' (*Hamlet,* F1. I.1.98), what it does to memory is problematic — the immediate past is becoming present. That oddity is heightened by certain curious temporal features of the scene. Although we learn from Barnardo and Marcellus that the ghost appears at one am and that at line 65 it is still 'this dead houre', by line 147 a cock has crown for dawn. In isolation this can be attributed to the simple dramatic necessity of staging the play, but this aspect forms part of a broader pattern. When Horatio relates the appearance to Hamlet, Hamlet asks how long the ghost remained. The reply runs:

HORATIO*:* While one with moderate hast might tell a hundred

ALL: Longer, longer

HORATIO: Not when I saw't. (*Hamlet,* F1.I.2.237–39)

Most modern editions apply the Q2 speech prefix for the second line i.e. Marcellus and Barnardo instead of 'All', but whichever is adopted the confusion is apparent. Marcellus and Barnardo explicitly tell Horatio that the ghost has not appeared that night before they witness it together and the ghost makes no appearances on stage that Horatio does not see. The only window for a discrepancy would seem to be the few seconds of the ghost's departure, itself a temporally (and spatially) confused event:

BARNARDO: 'Tis here

HORATIO: 'Tis here

Exit GHOST

MARCELLUS: 'Tis gone. (*Hamlet,* F1.I.1.121–23)

This odd exit and Marcellus and Barnardo's interjection against Horatio's count of a hundred

suggests a state of confusion. Indeed, the second entry of the ghost follows a long and curious discourse on Roman history from Horatio, one of several such in the play and which exemplifies the differing and contrasting 'time zones' of the play as well as the capacity of memory to provoke story-telling. He remarks:

> HORATIO: A mote it is to trouble the mind's eye:
> In the most high and palmy state of Rome,
> A little ere the mightiest Julius fell
> The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead
> Did squeake and gibber in the Roman streets
> At stars with trains of fire, and dews of blood
> Disasters in the sun; and the moist star,
> Upon whose influence Neptune's Empire stands,
> Was sicke almost to doomsday with eclipse.
> And even the like precurse of feared events
> As harbingers preceding still the fates
> And prologue to the Omen coming on
> Have heaven and earth together demonstrated
> Unto our Climature and countrymen.
> *Enter the GHOST [as before]* (*Hamlet,* Q1.I.1.106.5–106.18)

Multiple frames of temporal reference are at work here. The 'mote' of the mind's eye suggests a biblical frame of reference, with the concomitant oddity of picturing the 'life-sized' ghost as akin to a 'mote', a tiny speck, whilst the idea of getting something into the 'mind's eye' interrelates the internal and external worlds. In a similar vein is the suggestion of the moon being 'sicke almost to Doomsday with eclipse'. Planetary and eschatological time is conflated. Levy notes a distinction between reiterative and teleological models in *Hamlet*, that is, between time marked by the regular repetition of hours and day and night and notions of a life unfolding towards a directed end, suggesting that Hamlet develops towards the latter model as the play progresses.[339] However, this early conflation of what I have called planetary time (reiterative in Levy's model) and the eschatological recurs at the

339 Levy, *Hamlet and the Rethinking of Man*, pp. 150–66.

end of the play — Hamlet's purpose is achieved, but is accompanied by more story-telling, potentially undermining Levy's reading of teleology within the play, with the expected end proving to be subverted. The reference to Rome and Caesar is similarly complex. The tidy classical reference is disturbed by the fact that in this account the spaces of memory of the Roman dead, their graves, are disturbed and broken open, whilst the selection of the death of a usurper of power (i.e. Caesar) seems to foreshadow the main action of *Hamlet.* Amidst all of these differing frames of references is that of the stage. *Julius Caesar* was of course staged at the Globe shortly before *Hamlet* is believed to have been and these lines harken back to that play, associating this speech with the memories of the audience and the temporal duration of *Julius Caesar.* The ghost is in some respects a culmination of all of these, being similar to the Roman 'sheeted dead', an ecclesiastical figure 'for the day confined to fast in fires' (*Hamlet,* Q2.I.5.11), an inherited memorial story retold, and a 'prologue to the Omen coming on' in *Hamlet*. When the ghost appears 'on cue' on this occasion after Horatio's description, the preceding text seems to establish it as a figure of temporal confusion enmeshed in Horatio's confused memorial story.

Thus far the confused ontology of the ghost and the impact of trauma on memory have been discussed. The odd nature of the ghost complicates its incorporation into memory whilst the narratives generated about Old Hamlet partake of a confused temporal order common both to memorial traumas (as discussed in the analysis of the Purgatory texts and *Beware the Cat* in Chapter Five) and the disorderly figure of the ghost, a thing out of time. As also seen in Chapter Five, the drive towards the use of fiction to address the losses that threaten memory is accompanied by attempts to reify and reimpose memory and memorial structures. This dynamic can be observed in *Hamlet* and will be chiefly explored through the lens of Chapter Four, namely the effect that compiling commonplace books of things to be remembered has upon the memory.

In one of *Hamlet's* most famous passages the prince laments:

> HAMLET: […] Remember thee?
>
> I, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat
>
> In this distracted Globe: Remember thee?
>
> Yea, from the table of my memory,
>
> I'll wipe away all trivial fond Records,

All saws of Books, all form, all pressures past,
That youth and observation copied there;
And thy Commandment all alone shall live
Within the Book and Volume of my Brain,
Unmixed with baser matter; yes yes, by Heaven:
Oh most pernicious woman!
Oh Villain, Villain, smiling damned Villain!
My Tables, my Tables; meet it is I set it down,
That one may smile, and smile and be a villain;
At least I'm sure it may be so in Denmark. (*Hamlet,* F1.I.5.95–110)

The suggestion of the tablets of the mind and the memory-as-writing is apparent, supported by the notion of the book and volume of Hamlet's brain. Equally, the tables here could of course refer to a commonplace book of sententiae, a handheld object for marking down observations for retention. Given the interrelationship between internal and external in the play, it is probably profitable to imagine both, so what the play in general appears to exhibit is a slippage between the things of the mind and the things of the body, the internal and external.

In Chapter Four the effect of the commonplace books upon memory in a grammar school context was discussed. It was seen that the resurgence of early modern humanism led to the adoption of classical texts and language practices (such as attempts to fit English into a Latin tense for which it has no equivalent) into an early modern context, leading to a curious temporal juxtaposition. *Lily's Grammar*, for instance, listed exemplars drawn both from early modern England and classical Rome. Alongside this, the form of the commonplace book as an *aide- mémoire* meant that *sententiae* were drawn from disparate places, divorcing them from their immediate textual contexts. Finally, the effect of this upon texts and memory was considered through a schoolroom reading of *Titus Andronicus*, an approach echoed in the work of Hester Lees-Jeffries, who considers *Titus Andronicus* as an implied critique of the classicism inculcated in the early modern schoolroom.[340] Indeed, Lees-Jeffries's work is part of a number of recent critical approaches that touch upon pedagogical issues and commonplacing.

340 Lees-Jeffries, *Shakespeare and Memory*, pp. 36–61.

Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass's recent essay associates Q1 *Hamlet* with the rise of commonplacing, observing that this edition saw the noting of *sententiae* in the text.[341] Although the article mentions pedagogical practice, it does not attend in detail to the nature of commonplace book memorialising, a subject that will be considered below.[342]

Before attending to Hamlet's tables however, it will be productive to consider the 'words, words, words' that are the substratum of commonplace books and which contribute in the play to the complexities of memory. The flexibility and range of the language of *Hamlet* has of course long been established.[343] As with so much of *Hamlet,* the reading of the words is subject to lively debate. The reading adopted here is of the words as confusing and contributing to the air of ineffability that seems to haunt *Hamlet,* complicating attempts to usefully employ the commonplace book conceptualisation of memory.[344]

In this regard, the much commented upon rhetorical figure of hendiadys provides a useful means for considering the play.[345] Hendiadys incorporates the use of two terms linked by 'and' to convey a single but complicated idea. For example 'a tyrannous and damned light' (*Hamlet,* F1.II.2.482) and 'the whiff and wind of his fell sword' (*Hamlet,* F1.II.2.495) both qualify as hendiadys — the two terms are discrete but complementary. In a seminal article, George Wright identifies over sixty six uses of this rhetorical trope in *Hamlet*, a figure double that of any other play, with Hamlet himself using this idiom the most.[346] This effect of doubling around a common idea reverberates throughout the play in characterisation — the doubles of Laertes and Hamlet and Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are of course critical commonplaces. The effect of this doubling contributes to the strangeness of the play. As Wright offers:

> In effect, the play calls into question — and hendiadys helps it to do so — all relationships, familial, political, cosmic, and even artistic. As a tragic hero of

341 Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, 'The First Literary"Hamlet" and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 59 (2008), 371–420.
342 Lesser and Stallybrass,'The First Literary "Hamlet", p. 387.
343 See Alfred Hart, 'Vocabularies of Shakespeare's Plays', *Review of English Studies,* 19 (1943), 128–40.
344 A useful oppositional view — that is, arguing that the language in the play is not ambiguous and misleading — is provided by Inga-Stine Ewbank, 'Hamlet and The Power of Words', in *Shakespeare and Language,* ed. by Catherine M.S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 151–79.
345 See Frank Kermode, *Shakespeare's Language* (London: Penguin, 2000) and Ruth Stevenson, '*Hamlet*'s Mice, Motes, Moles, and Minching Malecho, *New Literary History*, 33 (2002), 435–59.
346 George T. Wright, 'Hendiadys and "Hamlet"', *PMLA,* 96 (1981), 168–193.

> unprecedented intelligence and awareness, Hamlet doubts not only his own personal relationships and the relations of powers in a state but also the relation of human beings to the whole cosmos in which they live, the unity of one's own personal identity, and even the relations of individuals to one another in conversation, in the dialogue of plays, in aesthetic roles.[347]

Such doubt would of course, as with the ontological instability of the ghost, make accurate memorialising impossible. This linguistic oddity is discernible elsewhere however and is by no means confined to hendiadys. In the following early exchange Hamlet firstly recognises the fluid uses and meanings of 'common', before denying the same property to 'seems'.

> GERTRUDE: Thou know'st 'tis common; all that lives must die,
>
> Passing through nature to eternity.
>
> HAMLET: I Madam, it is common.
>
> GERTRUDE: If it be;
>
> Why seemes it so particular with thee.
>
> HAMLET: Seemes Madam? Nay, it is: I know not Seemes
>
> (*Hamlet,* F1.I.2.74–76)

Here the double meanings of terms are accepted and then swiftly rejected. Although it does not qualify as hendiadys, Hamlet's cry of 'Hic et ubique?' seems to draw upon doubling: the two components express a single strange idea of unfixed locality, again potentially subverting accurate memorisation through complicating the place of the thing that is to be remembered. The frequency of the word 'mark' in the play is also notable, further suggesting the importance and complexity of textual models of memory. Outside of *Antony and Cleopatra* (which is skewed for obvious reasons), the word occurs most frequently in *Hamlet* of all the plays of the Shakespearian canon.[348] In its etymology, 'mark' indicates a desire for fixity, 'to trace out a boundary'.[349] Here we see an association between the instructions of the ghost and Polonius to 'mark' things in the memory, marking as architectural presence and textual inscription, as well as 'mark' as an individual endeavour — to make

347 Wright, 'Hendiadys and "Hamlet"', p. 179.

348<http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/concordance/o/?i=763839&pleasewait=1&msg=sr> accessed on 27.06.2013.

349<http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=mark&_searchBtn=Search>accessed on 27.06.2013.

one's mark. Yet all such attempts are deeply vulnerable and open to questioning, with the fluidity of the term seeming to undermine the insistence with which it is commanded. As with the example of hendiadys considered above, the multiplicity here functions as another kind of doubling. This impulse leads both to an emphasis upon the need to remember through repetition, and also a concomitant difficulty: ambiguity equates to a lack of specificity upon which memorisation depends.

If we return now to Hamlet speaking of 'the table of my memory', the shortcomings of both words as vehicles of memory and the model of the memory as a tablet to be written upon within the play become apparent. Immediately after stating that he will wipe his memory clean of all saws, all trivial fond records, all pressures past and insisting that the ghost's commandment 'all alone shall live' within his memorial tables, Hamlet immediately decides that it is suitable to set down 'That one may smile, and smile and be a villaine' (*Hamlet,* Q2.I.5.787–93). Although this is linked to the ghost's mission, it is an observation divergent from the main aim, and despite the energy of the passage a statement that amounts to 'not everyone is what they seem' does not seem much different in kind from any other trivial fond record. Indeed, Hamlet himself promptly forgets this new commonplace. Memorialising through commonplaces proves to be more destructive and fragmentary than stabilizing and unifying. He is appalled with the travelling player's ability to summon tears when speaking of Hecuba, and despite the fact that he has inscribed that appearance does not always equate to reality, he takes Claudius's reactions to the Mousetrap as absolute proof. After stating that his uncle is a smiling villain, he tells Horatio:

> HAMLET: […] Give him heedful note,
>
> For I mine eyes will rivet to his face,
>
> And after, we will both our judgements join
>
> To censure of his seeming. (*Hamlet,* F1.III.3.76–79)

The ghost's appearance later in the play to instruct Hamlet to 'mark' and 'not forget' suggests the inadequacies of any such attempts at the recovery of the certain and the absolute — it seems as if Hamlet's book and volume of his brain are insufficient or damaged. A more general scepticism about tables as memory is discernible in two other incidents of the play. Polonius introduces his twenty-one lines of aphorisms and commonplaces to his son with the words 'And these few Precepts in thy memory, | See thou Character' (F1.I.3.523-524). However, Polonius himself promptly forgets his

place.

POLONIUS: And then Sir does he this?

He does: what was I about to say?

I was about to say something: where did I leave?

(*Hamlet,* F1.II.1.49–50)

In this didactic speech of sententiae Polonius echoes the practices of the grammar school and at once tellingly forgets, suggesting the ineffectualness of such an approach.

A more explicitly sceptical approach is adopted by Hamlet in Q1 in regard to his advice to the players not to allow their clown to speak more than his lines:

HAMLET: And Gentlemen quotes his jeasts downe in their tables,

before they come to the play, as thus:

Cannot you stay till I eate my porrige? and, you owe me

A quarters wages: and, my coate wants a cullison:

And, your beere is sowre […]. (*Hamlet,* Q1.1240–44)

The suggestion seems to be that memorial tables as well as being fallible can be inscribed with gibberish. This is reinforced by Polonius's earlier contribution of useless *sententiae* to Laertes; instructions suitable for a commonplace book that are instantly forgettable. In this regard the treatment of writing and memory in *Hamlet* echoes the enduring scepticism of this relationship discussed in Chapter One and Chapter Two.

From a consideration of words and texts, it is useful to return to the issue of space at this point, since this description also re-emphasises the link between stage, text and memory — words in performance are marked down on memorial tables. In the last chapter the capacity of the early modern stage to participate and contribute to memory was discussed, and this relationship can be further considered in a reading of *Hamlet'*s treatment of the space of performance, the Globe and the means by which it contributes to attempts to form memorial architecture.

It is widely noted by critics that Hamlet's frequent references to Hercules probably gesture to the iconography of Hercules and the globe on the stage of the Globe theatre. His lament that his uncle is 'no more like my father | than I to Hercules' (F1.I.2.152-153) draws on the iconography of Hercules with his load for its import. Confusingly however, Hamlet draws upon the memory of a similarly

Hercules-related incident to muster his courage; before confronting the ghost he declares that his fate has made his arteries 'As hardy as the Nemean lion's nerve' (F1.I.4.60). As will be seen in so much of the memorial architecture in the play, the icon of Hercules provides an example of an unstable memorial anchor. Similarly, in his discussion about the children's acting company, a thinly veiled contemporary allusion is notable.

HAMLET: Do the boys carry it away?

ROSENCRANTZ: Ay, that they do, my lord, Hercules and his load too. (*Hamlet,* F1.II.2.344–45)

This is of course an allusion to the war of the stages involving the boy players, suggesting both the impermanence of the Globe and adding a confused temporality to the discussion. This is also added to when Hamlet announces to Polonius 'My lord, I have news to tell you. When Roscius was | an actor in Rome —' (*Hamlet,* F1.II.2.373–74). This suggests again a classical Rome, and like Horatio's reference earlier in the play, provides another trigger to remind audiences of the recent performance of *Julius Caesar* on the same stage. In this regard the incident both draws upon and expands the confused sense of temporal order that haunts accurate memorisation throughout the play. Equally it provides a further example to the discussion undertaken in the previous chapter of the ironies and scepticism of memory thrown up by the collision of early modern present and classical past within the space of the theatre. Given this treatment of the stage and memory, Hamlet's pledge to the ghost to remember seems decidedly uncertain — an inadequate guarantee of either stability or permanence.

HAMLET: […] Remember thee?

Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat

In this distracted Globe. (*Hamlet,* F1.I.5.95–97)

One of Hamlet's discourses with Rosencrantz is notable for the imagery of architectural strangeness, and demonstrates the futility of architectural conceptualisations of memory in the play. We learn:

HAMLET: Denmark's a prison.

ROSENCRANTZ: Then is the world one.

HAMLET: A goodly one; in which there are many confines,

wards and dungeons, Denmark being one o' the

worst. (*Hamlet,* F1.II.2.246–49)

In this dialogue, Hamlet conceptualises the world in architectural terms; it is characterised as a large ('goodly') building containing a variety of rooms, albeit ultimately a place of confinement. Immediately apparent are the similarities to the artificial memory systems, through notions of categorised and divided space and Hamlet's sense of reflection on the state of the nation. The motif of unpleasant architecture is not confined to this one example however. This nascent trend is further demonstrated by Hamlet's observation:

> HAMLET: I will tell you why; so shall my anticipation
> prevent your discovery, and your secrecy to the king
> and queen moult no feather. I have of late — but
> wherefore I know not — lost all my mirth, forgone all
> custom of exercises; and indeed it goes so heavily
> with my disposition that this goodly frame, the
> earth, seems to me a sterile promontory, this most
> excellent canopy, the air, look you, this brave
> o'erhanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted
> with golden fire, why, it appears no other thing to
> me than a foul and pestilent congregation of vapours. (*Hamlet,*
> F1.II.2.294–304)

In this account, once again the whole world has become reduced to a deflated architectural form — a 'frame' and a 'roof', a change presumably effected by Hamlet's grief but also perhaps the anxieties of recollection; 'must I remember?'. This association of memory and building is of course redolent of artificial memory systems. The architectural conceptualisation seems to form a part of the play's structural imagery which informs the actions of the plot. In Chapter Five Purgatory was discussed in relation to memorial trauma, and established as a place of not only memory and of forgetting but also of shifting and uncertain spatial dimension in the Reformation. A similar process seems to be at work here. Hamlet's melancholia leads him to see the world as not only a memorial place but a shifting one prone to dissolution ('congregation of vapours') and collapse. The association of memorial place with prisons and sterile promontories is best exemplified in the treatment of

memory and places of burial in *Hamlet*, an aspect of the play that also further illustrates the complexities of the relationship between fiction and memory, and it is to this aspect that we now turn.

***

The ghost is linked with disrupted memorial architecture from its first appearance. Hamlet suggests that the ghost has been cast up from the ground and from the sepulchre created to memorialise the dead king.

HAMLET: Let me not burst in Ignorance; but tell
Why thy canonized bones hearsèd in death,
Have burst their cerements, why the sepulchre
Wherein we saw thee quietly enurn'd,
Hath oped his ponderous and Marble jaws,
To cast thee up again? What may this mean?
(*Hamlet,* F1.I.4.28-32)

Chapter Five begins with a discussion of the rites of burial in the pre-Reformation church, and traces how the disruption of these memorial rituals was tied to both fiction and attempts to reapply memory, often with complex results. This pattern is explored through *Hamlet*. For example, Laertes pledges that

LEARTES: You haue prevail'd my Lord, a while I'le strive,
To bury griefe within a tombe of wrath,
Which once vnhearsed, then the world shall heare
Leartes had a father he held deere. (*Hamlet,* Q1.1802–05)

Here again is a son with a dead father in a tomb that is to be unhearsed; following Claudius's advice however, for the moment Laertes's memories of his father will remain entombed, his relation of the memory of his father deferred. Indeed Laertes similarly laments:

LAERTES: His means of death, his obscure burial;
No Trophy, Sword, nor Hatchment o'er his bones,
No Noble rite, nor formal ostentation,
Cry to be heard, as 'twere from Heaven to Earth,
That I must call in question. (*Hamlet,* F1.IV.5.207–12)

Here are failures of memory in an architectural sense, namely the lack of rites; the absence of the hatchment or ornamental memorial-grave-image and the obscurity of the burial 'cry to be heard', like Old Hamlet under the stage. Although less developed than the previous example, here again the ignoble circumstance of Polonius's burial is a tale that cries to be heard. It suggests that, in line with the argument traced in Chapter Five, memory is inextricably linked to narrative relation and indeed to memorial space. Unstable (or as in this case, absent) memorial architecture gives rise to the need to narrate that is here temporarily deferred.

Indeed, even when stories are able to be related they serve to obscure the initial memory. A good example is provided by the disputed memorial space of Ophelia's grave. Jumping into the grave Laertes asks: 'Now pile your dust upon the quick and dead, | Till of this flat a mountain you have made | To o'ertop Pelion, or the skyish head | of blue Olympus' (*Hamlet,* F1.V.1.235–38), before he is promptly joined by Hamlet. Although such judgements are by nature subjective, Laertes's surging rhetoric and invocation of the memory of blue Olympus seem entirely out of place here; he is drawing upon the wrong memory to create a grandiose vision. Hamlet in his turn both takes the time to announce himself as 'Hamlet the Dane' and to argue:

> Dost thou come here to whine;
> To outface me with leaping in her Grave?
> Be buried quick with her, and so will I.
> And if thou prate of mountains; let them throw
> Millions of Acres on us; till our ground
> Singeing his pate against the burning Zone,
> Make *Ossa* like a wart. Nay, and thou'lt mouth,
> Ile rant as well as thou. (*Hamlet,* F1.V.1.262–69)

Here again is the disputed grave as the site of disputing stories drawn from odd memories. Indeed, Hamlet stages a specifically memorial and rhetorical outdoing of Laertes through the image of Mount Ossa, the mountain placed by Aloadaes atop Mount Pelion. Given the prominence of both Laertes and Hamlet — Hamlet asks whether Laertes came to his own sister's funeral to 'outface' him — it is unclear exactly to who this new memorial architecture would be dedicated — Ophelia, Laertes or Hamlet? Indeed, by the end of the play the memory of Ophelia has seemingly vanished for Laertes,

or rather has been overlain with other memories. Dying he asks: 'Exchange forgiveness with me, noble Hamlet: | Mine and my father's death come not upon thee' (*Hamlet,* F1.V.2.315-16). Ophelia is not mentioned.

Another shared characteristic between the disruptions of burial practices discussed in Chapter Five and within *Hamlet* lies in the effects upon conceptualisations of space and time. The disruption of Purgatory as a *locus* for memory led to texts of confused and variable time and space structures, and a similar dynamic is at work here: maimed rites give rise to a strange fluidity of space and time. As a good example of disturbed memorial grounds, the graveyard scene provides a natural *locus* for this discussion. In dwelling upon what is permanent, the First Clown remarks:

> FIRST CLOWN: Cudgel thy brains no more about it, for your dull
> ass will not mend his pace with beating; and, when
> you are asked this question next, say "a
> grave-maker: the houses that he makes last till
> doomsday [...]". (*Hamlet,* F1.V.1.56–59)

It seems that the notion of an enduring space has become explicitly associated with the dead and with loss, as the Ghost's earlier recitation of its 'prison-house' suggested. In the graveyard, a site of communal remembrance, both physical and memorial place have been colonised by the dead — the 'grounds' of the world and of the mind have become fully associated with death. However, even the apparent stability offered by the Clown's jocular answer is ultimately unsatisfactory. The gravediggers's own actions of disinterring the dead stand against the supposed enduring strength of the grave. Furthermore we learn:

> HAMLET: How long will a man lie i' the earth ere he rot?
> FIRST CLOWN: I' faith, if he be not rotten before he die — as we
> have many pocky corses now-a-days, that will scarce
> hold the laying in — he will last you some eight year
> or nine year: a tanner will last you nine year.
> HAMLET: Why he more than another?
> FIRST CLOWN: Why, sir, his hide is so tanned with his trade, that
> he will keep out water a great while; and your water is a

sore decayer of your whoreson dead body.

Here's a skull now; this skull has lain in the earth.

three and twenty years. (*Hamlet,* F1.V.1.158–69)

It seems therefore that the answers the gravedigger is able to provide are constrained and contingent upon mutable factors. A normal body will endure for eight years, a tanner's for nine; some bodies are rotten before they are buried and will 'scarce hold the laying in', whilst Yorick's skull has survived twenty three years in the ground. Once again epistemology and memory are in the process of collapse; the space of the grave, instead of providing an orderly space of memory, rather seems to serve as a dark place of confused time, dimensions and memory. Indeed this process is continued until architecture and the body are interdependent and interchangeable. Hamlet reasons:

HAMLET: [...] thus: Alexander died, Alexander was buried,

Alexander returneth into dust; the dust is earth; of

earth we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he

was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?

Imperious Caesar, dead and turn'd to clay,

Might stop a hole to keep the wind away:

O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,

Should patch a wall to expel the winter flaw! (F1.V.1.204– 11)

What emerges from this bleak picture is a general scepticism about the body and memory-as-architecture. The great figures who endure in the memory are reducible to clay to serve to maintain a wall. This line of thought is also further evident in the comic exchanges of the gravediggers:

FIRST CLOWN: Is she to be buried in Christian burial that

wilfully seeks her own salvation?

SECOND CLOWN: I tell thee she is: and therefore make her grave

straight: the crowner hath sat on her, and finds it

Christian burial. (*Hamlet,* F1.V.1.1–5)

Although humorous, the malapropisms ('wilfully seeks her own salvation') exemplify the confusions and ambiguities that characterise the scene. Similarly, the notion of a 'crowner' sitting 'on' a corpse serves to foreshadow the manner in which the scene later conflates the living and the dead

through Laertes leaping into Ophelia's grave. The unstable grounds of the graveyard are but one example of the disorderly nature of ground in *Hamlet.* The fluidity of the term is captured in the comic exchange between Hamlet and the gravedigger.

HAMLET: How came he mad?

CLOWN: Very strangely they say.

HAMLET: How strangely?

CLOWN: Faith e'en with losing his wits.

HAMLET: Upon what ground?

CLOWN: Why heere in Denmarke. (*Hamlet,* F1.V.1.144–49)

Hamlet's 'ground' for madness is Denmark. In a similar vein, in meeting the soldiers preparing for war Hamlet remarks on:

The imminent death of twenty thousand men,

That for a fantasie and tricke of fame

Goe to their graves like beds, fight for a plot

Whereon the numbers cannot try the cause,

Which is not tombe enough and continent

To hide the slaine, ô from this time forth,

My thoughts be bloody, or be nothing worth. (*Hamlet,* Q2. 2797–2803)

Once again, the Danish soil is unstable. It provides the grounds for dispute, but the grounds are not large enough for all the bodies — the continent is a tomb and even then is of insufficient size.

A final instance of the mutability of grounds (and therefore the elusive spatiality of memory) in *Hamlet* can be seen in the animal imagery employed, such as the 'old mole'. De Grazia provides a comprehensive summary of the mole in *Hamlet*, touching upon the mutability in the period between mole as creature, earth (mould) and physical mark, an aspect similar to the point above about the association of grounds and people. [350] Perhaps most significantly for this reading is Hamlet's antic comment about the crab. He remarks to Polonius: 'For you your selfe Sir, | should be as old as I am, if like a Crab you could go backward' (*Hamlet,* F1.II.2.201–02). Here is provided a neat conflation of temporal and spatial movement, although characteristically the image is complex. An immediate

350 See de Grazia, *Hamlet Without Hamlet,* pp. 23–45.

analogue seems to be a speech from Ferdinand in *The Duchess of Malfi:*

FERDINAND : Think 't the best voyage
That e'er you made ; like the irregular crab,
Which, though't goes backward, thinks that it goes
right
Because it goes its own way. [351]

The crab is a retrograde creature characterised by disorderly movement; Richards and Thorne suggest that '"The arseward" or backward movement of the 'retrograde crab' made the crab itself a familiar figure for the preposterous [...]'.[352] The crab which moves backward through space and time captures the confusions of both in *Hamlet.*

A brief excursion into etymology illuminates the ways in which the spectral and the spatial conspire to turn memory into a 'questionable shape'. 'Haunt' has as one of its earliest meanings both as noun and verb the suggestion of the frequenting of a place.[353] The etymology of 'ground' links it to foundation as one meaning and 'surface of the earth' as another, and its foundational significance for *Hamlet* is apparent. [354] Whilst allowance must be made for the sheer length of *Hamlet* distorting these statistics, they are nevertheless significant given the weight that architectural structures of memory take in *Hamlet*. Notably, this confusion is echoed in the ghost's narration of its tale, which is characterised by physical constraint. The ghost tells Hamlet:

GHOST: I am thy father's spirit,
Doom'd for a certain term to walk the night,
And for the day confined to fast in fires,
Till the foul crimes done in my days of nature
Are burnt and purged away. But that I am forbid

351 John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, in *Renaissance Drama: An Anthology of Plays and Entertainments* ed. by Arthur F Kinney, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007),I.2.250-253.
352 Patricia Parker, 'Spelling Backwards', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England,* ed. by Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), pp. 25-31 (p. 31).
353< http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=haunt&_searchBtn=Search> accessed on 26.06.2013.
30< http://www.oed.com/search?searchType=dictionary&q=ground&_searchBtn=Search> accessed on 26.06.2013. In the play, 'ground' occurs 10 times, placing it third in the list of Shakespearian plays in which this term occurs most frequently. 'Earth' appears twenty-one times, placing it second in the list of plays for frequency of this term.

To tell the secrets of my prison-house,

I could a tale unfold whose lightest word

Would harrow up thy soul, freeze thy young blood [...].

(*Hamlet,* F1.I.5.9–16)

In the ghost's account, knowledge and memory are characterised by a physical and architectural component (for example, the 'secrets of my prison-house' and 'lightest word' both associate knowledge with materiality). However, as with the younger Hamlet the focus is now upon stricture and incomplete knowledge; the ghost is 'confined' in a 'prison-house' and is not permitted to 'unfold' his tale. In a sense this is a kind of denied memory. The play begins with a tale of the appearance of Old Hamlet and ends with Hamlet instructing Horatio to tell his tale, the first an account of memory and the second an invocation to share the memory of Hamlet junior. Here, however, the ghost is forbidden to tell the memory of its prison-house. This inability is redolent of the schisms that appear in Reformation accounts of memory that are filled with fictions and texts. This dynamic is also at work in the structure of the play. *Hamlet* exemplifies the manner in which disrupted memories give rise both to story -telling and disorderly memorial architecture by conflating memory-as-text and memory-as-architecture. After being handed a skull, Hamlet muses aloud upon it, couching his language in terms of documents.

HAMLET: Is this the fine of his Fines, and the recovery of his recoveries,

to have his fine Pate full of fine dirt? Will his vouchers vouch

him no more of his Purchases, and double ones too, then the

length and breadth of a pair of indentures? The very

conveyances of his Lands will hardly lye in this box; and must

th' inheritor himselfe have no more, ha? (*Hamlet,* F1.V.1.97–

102)

The texts of his fines, vouchers and recoveries have come to nothing, have been forgotten, whilst their spatial dimensions have been warped. 'Lands' have become documents, documents will scarcely fit into a grave; each stage sees a shrinking of something memorial into a smaller space. This scepticism about memory and documents is only further confirmed by the subsequent exchange with Horatio:

HORATIO: Not a jot more, my Lord.

HAMLET: Is not Parchment made of Sheep-skins?

HORATIO: Ay, my Lord, and of Calf-skins too.

HAMLET: They are Sheep and Calves that seek out assurance in that. (*Hamlet,* F1.V.1.103-107)

The irony is that this is all precipitated by the gravediggers throwing up a skull — they throw up three in the scene. When they finally throw up Yorick's skull, Hamlet is able to relate nine lines about his memories of Yorick; but only once he has been told that this is Yorick's skull. In this scene the skull as vivid image to trigger memory is subverted. One skull is indistinguishable from another. Unless one is reminded to whom a skull belongs it cannot trigger memory. Text, body and image are all located in the strange space of the grave in which space and time are in flux; the gravediggers different accounts of how long a body will last in a grave have already been considered, whilst the temporal variability is also apparent. In F1, Hamlet was born on the day on which the gravedigger started work and Old Hamlet slew Old Fortinbras; in Q1 Yorick was buried on that day. In Q1 this happened twelve years ago, in F1 twenty-three years ago. Although these are differing versions of the play this fact captures the memorial confusions of *Hamlet*. Indeed, performed on stage with a prop skull shared with other stage productions this layering and indeterminacy of memory would be only more apparent — one skull is much like any other.

This conflation of memorial text and place can also be identified elsewhere in the play, where again it is associated with death, or rather the ghost. In the closet scene it is notable that the appearance of the ghost is preceded by Hamlet showing the queen pictures of the two kings, old Hamlet and Claudius; he commands: 'Look here upon this picture, and on this, | The counterfeit presentment of two brothers' (*Hamlet,* F1.II.4.52–53) and that immediately before this, perplexed by Hamlet's whirling words, Gertrude demands 'Ay me, what act, | That roars so loud and thunders in the index?' (*Hamlet,* F1.III.3.50–51). Gertrude's allusion to the book and volume of Hamlet's memory is accompanied by images in miniature, leading to the ghost appearing.

***

The disruption of memory in the play can be linked to the strange nature of the ghost, the odd multi-dimensional nature of commonplace book memory and the concomitant effects of disturbed memorial practices and spaces. If the play's entanglement in memory turns both time and space into shifting *loci*,

it has an equally unsettling influence on the relationships it maps out among objects, places and people. In Old Hamlet's commandment to be remembered and avenged he requires that Hamlet 'Taint not thy mind […]' (*Hamlet,* F1.I.5.85), whilst in Polonius's *sententiae* to Laertes to be memorised he instructs 'This above all: to thine own self be true: | And it must follow, as the Night the Day, |Thou canst not then be false to any man' (*Hamlet,* F1.I.3.78–80). It seems that remembering oneself or one's nature is something that must be reiterated and repeated and is perhaps liable to be forgotten. Faced with disrupted spaces of memory, particularly the disturbed graves of fathers, both Hamlet and Laertes promptly forget this advice. Hamlet is sorry that prompted by Ophelia's disturbed grave 'That to Laertes I forgot my selfe'(*Hamlet,* F1.V.2.71), whilst Laertes, prompted by the same fractured space of memory and his own father's obscure death and burial (hindered by Hamlet hiding the body of Polonius) is indeed 'false' to a man, namely Hamlet; an assassination under cover of a fencing contest cannot be accounted as straight dealing.

This ontological fluidity can be observed in the relationship between things and people. Denmark for example can be a king or a country, whilst 'The body is with the King, but the King is not | with the body. The King is a thing' (*Hamlet,* Q2.IV.2.26-27). This unstable ontological nexus, of course, is one we have seen taking shape already in artificial memory systems, which, both through architectural memory and memory-as-writing, rely on the substitution of one thing for another. That is to say, the system of writing relies upon the placement of abstract symbols to signify concepts — Quintilian gives the example of an anchor. The architectural devices necessitate the appropriation of images drawn from real life but applied to one's own memorial ends, and made visually striking; Cicero gives the example in the *De Oratore* of placing a friend named Decimus in every tenth 'place' of the mind as a placeholder. In this sense the images are simulacra; they are objects to denote things. Whilst the mental image may look 'In the same figure, like the King that's dead' (*Hamlet,* F1.I.1.39), they are not the same thing. This distinction is important as a conflation of people and things would seem to suggest a concomitant confusion of the artificial memory system; since such devices require making a correspondence between mental 'thing' and an external object (or person) to be remembered, a confusion of the two categories would suggest a confusion of memory.

The events of the play, memory and its traumas and the internal / external world relationship reach their culmination and seeming conclusion in the appearance of Fortinbras upon the stage, a

figure almost forgotten during the main action. Playing with stage symbolism, Horatio suggests that the bodies be put on show:

HORATIO: But since so jump upon this bloody question,
You from the Polack wars, and you from England ,
Are here arrived, give order that these bodies
High on a stage be placèd to the view;
And let me speak to th' yet unknowing world,
How these things came about. So shall you hear
Of carnal, bloody, and unnatural acts,
Of accidental judgements, casual slaughters
Of deaths put on by cunning, and forced cause,
And in this upshot, purposes mistook,
Fall'n on th' inventors heads. All this can I
Truly deliver. (*Hamlet,* F1.V.2.329 –339)

Although as with the start of the play the end will feature a tale of memory, given the ambiguities of memory in the play, it is by no means clear that Horatio can 'truly deliver' what has happened, not least because he has not witnessed many of the play's most significant events. It seems as if memories will again give rise to fiction and partial attempts to remember. Indeed, given the insufficiency and mutability of images as stimulators of memory in the play and the implied impermanence of the Globe, the suggestion that the presentation of the bodies on a stage will prove useful is doubtful. Fortinbras continues the discourse with:

FORTINBRAS: Let us haste to hear it,
And call the Noblest to the Audience.
For me, with sorrow, I embrace my Fortune,
I have some rights of memory in this Kingdom,
Which now to claim, my vantage doth invite me. (*Hamlet,*
F1.V.2.340–44)

The homonym of 'rights of memory' and 'rites of memory' is instructive. Old Hamlet, Ophelia, Polonius, Hamlet, Laertes, Claudius and Gertrude have all had disturbed rites of memory in one

fashion or another — compromised or non-existent memorial architecture. Despite Hamlet's 'voice' in his favour, Fortinbras's rights of memory in Denmark, given the martial history between the two nations do seem equally contested. This play on 'rites' is further developed in almost the concluding lines of *Hamlet*.

HORATIO: Of that I shall have always cause to speak,
And from his mouth
Whose voice will draw on more:
But let this same be presently performed,
Even whiles men's minds are wild, lest more
mischance
On plots, and errors happen.
FORTINBRAS: Let four captains
Bear Hamlet like a Soldier to the Stage,
For he was likely, had he been put on
To have proved most royally; and for his passage,
The soldiers' music and the rites of war
Speak loudly for him. (*Hamlet,* F1.V.2.319–44)

Even here the textual ambiguity of *Hamlet* endures — Q2 has 'rights' of war, lending the speech a less memorial and more judicial aspect. Just as the play began with a fireside account of old Hamlet and his appearance, voiceless to the guards, so too here Hamlet has become a voiceless image on a stage, for whom the music and rites of war must speak as well as the partial memorial narrative of Horatio — the rest is silence. Given the confusions of time and space in the play and the concomitant distortions of memory as place and memory of word, Hamlet's famous lines acquire the quality of a dirge: 'Remember thee? | I, thou poor Ghost, while memory holds a seat | In this distracted Globe' (*Hamlet,* F1.I.5.95–97).

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Coda

From Simonides and the crushed dead of the banqueting hall to Hamlet's tale in early modern England, this thesis has followed the evolution of an idea. Artificial memory systems emerged from classical Greek thought, and from their inception they were associated with myth. This is apparent both in the classic formulation of the myth of Simonides and the collapsing roof of the banqueting hall and in the Platonic dialogue *Phaedrus.* Both of these texts, discussed in the first chapter of the thesis, provide key and recurring themes. The tale of Simonides suggests the ever-present threat of collapse that surrounds the artificial memory systems, and through Simonides's identification of the bodies in the wreckage the possibility of a partial reconstitution and remembering associated with that collapse. The Platonic *Phaedrus*, similarly couched in terms of mythology, provides an early and seminal example of scepticism towards the efficacy of writing as prompt and model of memory. Equally, the Platonic approach to memory as in its proper sense a recollection of eternal truths and forms known from before birth provides an undersong to the main thrust of the thesis, which is the inherent instabilities of the rhetorically derived artificial memory systems and the complexities to which this gives rise.

This main idea takes form in Chapter One, which after identifying the Greek origins of the artificial memory systems argued that these approaches are intimately linked with their external surroundings. This is particularly apparent with the architectural model of memory which of course requires conceptualising the memory as a building drawn from everyday experience, stocked with striking visual images and populated by people put to memorial use, such as Cicero's suggestion that every tenth place of memory be marked by a friend named Decimus. As this chapter identified, when the external world is subject to memorial upheaval, so too are artificial memory systems. The illegal imposition of Pompey's theatre upon the memorial statuary and architecture of late Republican Rome formed part of a broader context of disruption and this can be identified in the instabilities of the artificial memory systems. Chapters five and six returned to this idea to show how it could illuminate the early modern context, identifying the ways that memorial trauma is associated with the collapse of memorial spaces, and suggesting that the insistent relationship between internal and external memorial architectures is perennial, an idea followed throughout the thesis. Equally significant is the way in

which that exploration showed how trauma gives rise in turn to insistent story-telling and attempts to plug the memorial gap with new second-order memories and suggests fiction making in its turn as an inevitable companion to memorial trauma.

Chapter Two followed the evolution of Platonic approaches to memory through late classical Neoplatonism to major Neoplatonic thinkers of Renaissance Europe. In describing the development of Neoplatonic approaches towards increasing physicality, this chapter followed the contours of the main argument in positing the problematic materiality of artificial approaches to memory. Rather than abstract thinking, Neoplatonic memory systems are entwined with physicality which complicates their attempts to memorise: devices such as Lull's art posit abstract symbolic logic and memory and yet are invariably mired in a materialism that subverts their supposed universalism.

Chapter Three attended to the path of transmission of artificial memory systems through secular and ecclesiastical contexts from late antiquity to medieval England, identifying this pattern of thought as strong and recurrent. In so doing, it paid particular attention to the interrelationship of literary memorial dreams and memorial texts, and argued that memorial texts serve as authorising *loci* of memory within medieval dream visions. In itself this draws out another recurrent strand within the thesis, namely, the complex relationship between textual predecessor and successor. From Quintilian and Cicero to Camden and Geoffrey of Monmouth, this complicated model of influence shaped the artificial memory systems.Equally, the chapter traced the enduring viability of the rhetorically derived artificial memory systems through a consideration of their influence upon the memorial thought of Augustine and their influence upon the pageant play tradition. This aspect is crucial in that it established a clearly identifiable path of both transmission and enduring influence for the artificial memory systems towards early modern England, as well as providing a new means of reading medieval memory as a meeting place of secular, ecclesiastical and classical trends.

The potential overlapping of memorial text and memorial place nascent in this chapter was further developed in Chapter Four, which focused upon the early modern grammar school as a site of memory and identified the relationship of memorial space and text at work within the grammar school inflected *Titus Andronicus*. In itself this provides another instance of the role and influence of artificial memory in didactic and pedagogical process, a notion explored in texts as diverse as *The Orator*'s *Education* and *Pearl*. Equally, the discussion of the relationship and interdependence of memorial

texts undertaken in Chapter Three in relation to memorial dreams served as a prelude to the argument here. It was suggested that the commonplace book and *Lily's Grammar,* two central grammar school texts, both partook of unusual formal qualities. The *Grammar* acquired examples for its prescriptive rules from disparate spatial and temporal locales, often with little obvious structure, whilst the commonplace book required the student to gather sententiae divorced from context. It is perhaps in this vein that Ben Jonson has his comic pedant Sir Jack Daw declare:

> There's *Aristotle,* a meer Common-place Fellow; *Plato,*
> a discourser; *Thucidides,* and *Livie,* tedious and dry;
> *Tacitus,* an entire knot: sometimes worth the untying,
> very seldom.[355]

The grammar school memory, shaped by these structures in its turn, began to lose the originary point of textual memories amidst a cyclone of dislocated sententiae. Once again, *Titus Andronicus* demonstrates this idea with frequently irrelevant or inane quotations offered in response to circumstances patterned on past textual precedents such as the rape of Lucrece.

The collocation of memorial texts and the instability between memorial text and memorial place was considered in Chapter Five which provides a reading of the English Reformation through the lens of memorial trauma, and in this sense functions as a further exposition of the idea expounded in Chapter One that the disruption of an external memorial context has concomitant effects upon internal ways of remembering. This argument is pursued through the example of Purgatory; external sites of memory such as churches were subject to iconoclasm whilst the place of Purgatory itself was challenged. The loss of this originary memorial point led to a confused welter of texts that echoed this sense of spatial and memorial dislocation. The pamphlet debates lost sight (and indeed site) of the issue being discussed, becoming increasingly meta-textual and referential, whilst the example of *Beware the Cat* explicitly demonstrated the playful uses that such memorial confusions could be put to in the services of fiction. Rather than the Reformation as memorial loss or a restoration of true memory, memory is here in flux, situated amidst shifting texts and places and tied to story-telling.

Along with the fluid and problematic relationship between memorial text and memorial space (that is to say, the difficulties of maintaining the distinction in periods of memorial trauma) this focus

355 Ben Jonson, *Epicene,* ed. by Richard Dutton (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), II. 3. 56–59.

upon story-telling and memory serves as a major structuring thread for the final two chapters. In this sense this marks a return to the emphasis in Chapter One, which began with the account of Simonides; the thesis ends with *Hamlet* and his request that Horatio 'tell my story'.[356] Chapter Six traced the insistent relationship between memorial text and architecture, beginning with the memorial texts of Holinshed and Camden and showing how they are intermeshed with memorial architecture both figurative and literal, before arguing that the theatre provided a locus of memory in early modern England and exploring the ways in which memory is played out in the classically-inflected plays of Jonson and Shakespeare, which stage and expand the ironies of memory and the multiplicity of view point nascent in Holinshed and Camden. In this too we see a return to the themes of Chapter One, namely the discussion undertaken there of Pompey's imposed theatre upon the landscape of memory, an icon explicitly mentioned in several of the plays discussed, such as *Julius Caesar*.

Finally, the discussion of memory as text and memory as architecture culminates in a close reading of *Hamlet*, where it was argued that the play presents a setting of memorial trauma and is staged within a broader context of cultural memorial trauma, and as such partakes of the chaotic overlapping of memorial text and place discussed previously, Equally, bouts of fiction making accompany this memorial trauma, enmeshing the process and anxieties of remembering within a context of persistent story-telling.

This return to the creation of tales and the persistence with which notions of the overlapping of text have occurred in the thesis suggests three potential lines for future enquiry in particular, dealing respectively with the textual, the corporeal, and the incorporeal. *Hamlet* emerges from a confused welter of texts, a multiplicity of early editions, with the suspicion of the existence of Ur-Hamlet(s) haunting readings of the play and attempts to excavate its origins.[357] As Maxwell notes, critics have been aware of the influence of Saxo Grammaticus's version of the Amleth legend and Belleforest's much later French translation of the same on Shakespeare's *Hamlet* since the eighteenth century.[358]

356 William Shakespeare, *Hamlet,* ed. by Philip Edwards (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), V. 2. 327.

357 For evidence pointing towards an Ur-Hamlet see Maxwell E. Foster, *The Play Behind The Play*: *Hamlet and Quarto One,* ed. by Anne Shiras (Portsmouth , NH: Heinemann, 1998) and Thomas Nashe's anachronistic references to *Hamlet* before the first known quarto, Thomas Nashe, 'To The Gentlemen Students of Both Universities', in Robert Greene, *Menaphon* (London, 1589).

358 Julie Maxwell, 'Counter-Reformation Versions of Saxo: A New Source for "Hamlet?"', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 57 (2004), 518–60 (p. 518).

Evidence points towards a lost revenge tragedy as a source for Shakespeare's *Hamlet.* In this sense, *Hamlet* is already a derivative with originary points that have almost disappeared from view, a vestigial textual memory that testifies to something lost. Indeed, the difficulty in pinning *Hamlet* down — when does *Hamlet* become *Hamlet*? — and its unstable spatial and temporal boundaries (as it exists across disparate texts) further lends it ghostly aspects, and in this of course it once again points backwards to the beginnings of the arts of memory and the myths of Simonides and Plato, most particularly Simonides and the dead. As Leah Marcus remarks, 'modern editors have been driven almost to a version of Hamlet's madness: which textual ghost speaks the truth of Shakespeare's meaning? Or do all of them bear treacherous false witness to the author's intent?'[359] In this thesis I have not exorcised these ghosts, nor indeed have I even evoked them. But attending to memory and memory's inextricable relationship to materiality and to text, as I have done here, prepares the ground for subsequent work. Articles such as Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass's 'The First Literary "Hamlet" and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays' suggest at the possibilities of such a reading of both texts in dialogue and the relationship between text and material culture.[360]

The textual, as we have seen throughout this thesis, is linked repeatedly and inevitably to the corporeal and the material. In Chapter One memory is considered in relation to material culture and the bodies of the people of Rome (that is to say, that the artificial memory systems were stocked with people, such as Cicero's friend Decimus who marks every tenth memorial place). Given these facts and the development of the artificial memory systems as an aspect of public rhetoric, which also employed an extensive and codified body language (i.e. manuals of rhetoric focused upon issues of delivery, including posture, movement of the hands and control of the face), my research illuminates the role of the body in relation to rhetoric and points the way towards fresh areas of exploration.[361] This is particularly true given the focus in Chapter Four upon regulation of the body, in particular within the classically-aligned early modern school room, and within *Titus Andronicus*. Similarly, Chapter Six discusses memory as a product of distributed cognition around The Globe following the model of Evelyn Tribble, and further attention to the body language of the actors as a contributing

359 Leah Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 135.
360 Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass, 'The First Literary "Hamlet" and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays', 371-420.
361 Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, XI.

factor would allow this reading to be pushed further.[362] Indeed, attention to Mary Thomas Crane's *Shakespeare's Brain: Reading with Cognitive Theory* also suggests a potentially fruitful line of enquiry.[363] Crane's book deals of course with readings of the Shakespearian text not just through semantic webs and through cognitive analysis but particularly (and importantly) through embodied cognitive theory, and in relation to the material conditions of early modern culture. In this regard it provides a reading not only of words but of words, body, place and memory in dialogue.

Finally, the thesis as a whole has been occupied with literary ghosts, the incorporeal, the elusive, and the phantasmagorical. Simonides's memory ensured proper burial for the dead party-goers crushed by falling masonry, and in another narrative he was warned of an impending marine disaster by the spirit of a man whom he had buried. In Chapter Three, Albertus Magnus, imagining how to remember at night, pictures a menacing ghostly bull, whilst texts such as *Pearl* and Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* take as their point of origin bereavement and loss. Chapter Five deals with literary ghosts of the Reformation and the loss of their place in the destruction of Purgatory. This all suggests the potential of a reading of ghostly narratives in relation to artificial memory systems, with medieval ghost stories suggesting themselves as a potential source for investigation. These popular narratives were often recorded by ecclesiastical writers and often contain religious injunctions. Given the overlapping of the artificial memory systems with both ecclesiastical and secular practices of memory discussed in Chapter Five, medieval ghost stories may provide a further case study regarding whether and to what extend artificial memory practices can be discerned in them.

Ultimately, this thesis follows the path of transmission of the idea of artificial memory systems across disparate times and places, pursuing its development through material cultures and witnessing the often uneasy ways in which things are remembered; problematically and with the perennial threat of collapse. I have argued that internal and external memories are also closely and problematically associated, with a disruption to an external memorial context leading to a disruption of internal practices of memory. I have also established the enduring influence of classical artificial memory systems through to early modern England and their utility for readings of early modern English culture, historiography and theatre. Finally, I have suggested from the first chapter onwards that

362 Evelyn Tribble, 'Distributing Cognition in the Globe', *Shakespeare Quarterly,* 56 (2005), 135–155.
363 Mary Thomas Crane, *Shakespeare's Brain: Reading with Cognitive Theory* (Woodstock: Princeton University Press, 2001).

narrative and fiction accompany memorial trauma, plugging the gap with story-telling and complicating any projected return to a lost originary point. In all of these arguments, the problematic nature of memory and forgetting is present, and given the insistence with which story-telling recurs, it may be fairly said that 'Purpose is but the slave to memory'.[364]

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364 Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, III. 2. 169.

Figures

Figure 1. Ramon Lull, *Ars Brevis* ([Montpellier (?)], 1308), cited in *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Lull Reader,* ed. by Anthony Bonner (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 300.

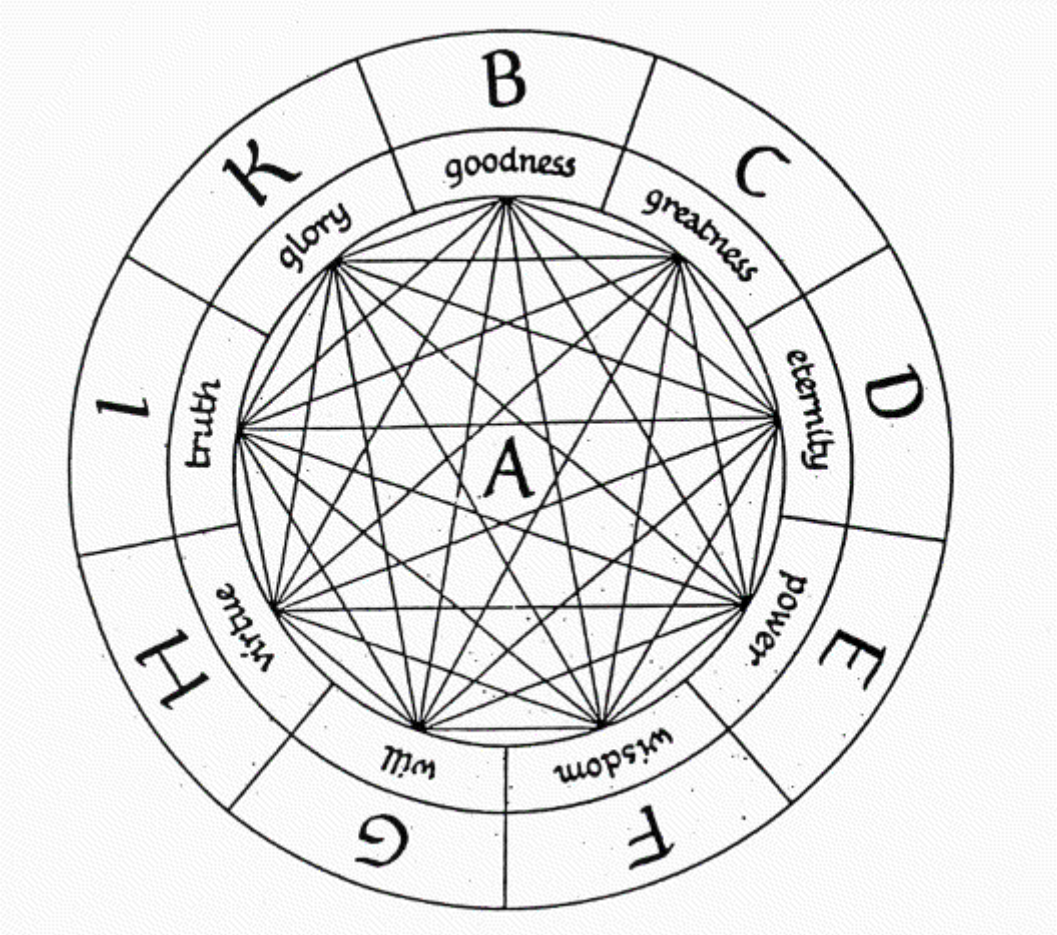


Figure 2. Ramon Lull, *Ars Brevis* ([Montpellier (?)], 1308), cited in *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Lull Reader,* ed. by Anthony Bonner (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 302.

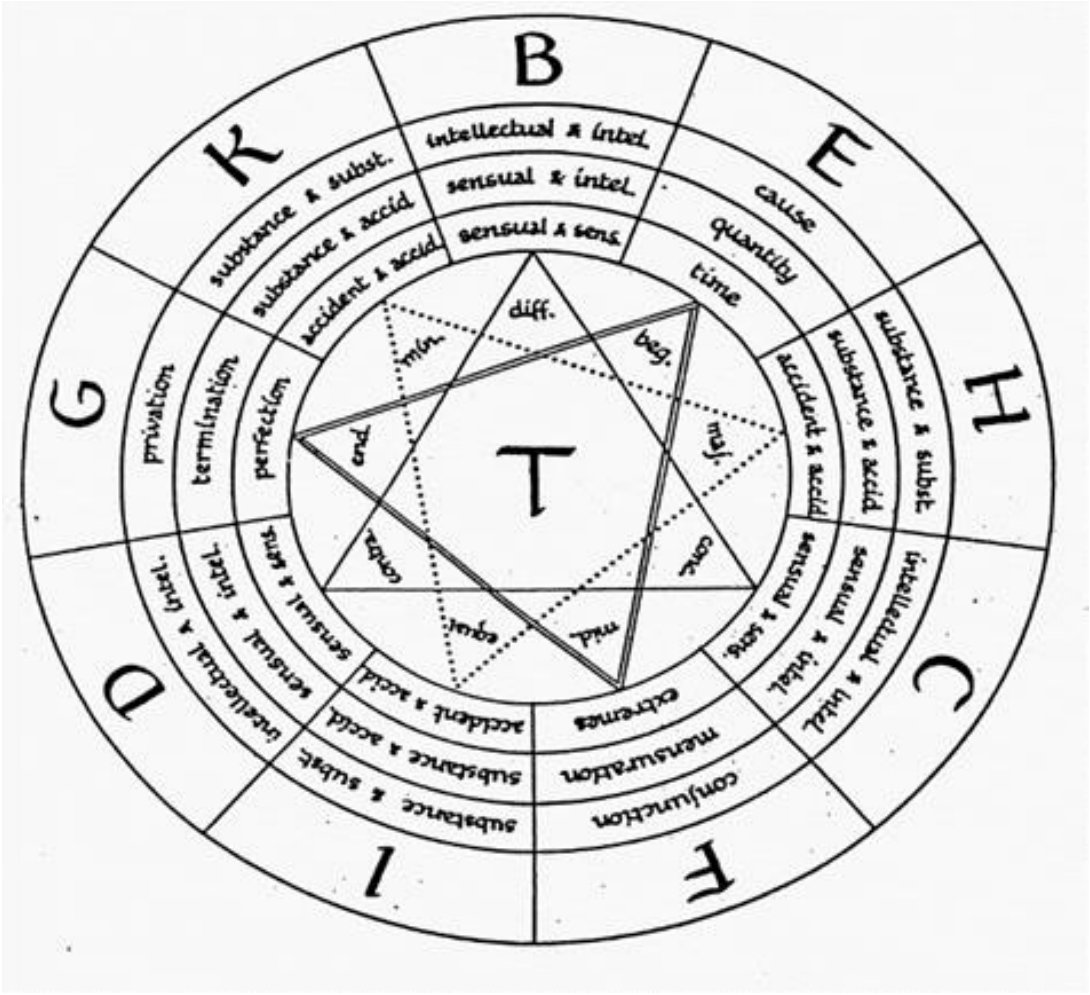


Figure 3. Ramon Lull, *Ars Brevis* ([Montpellier (?)], 1308), cited in *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Lull Reader,* ed. by Anthony Bonner (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 305.

Figure 4. Ramon Lull, *Ars Brevis* ([Montpellier (?)], 1308), cited in *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Lull Reader,* ed. by Anthony Bonner (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 307.

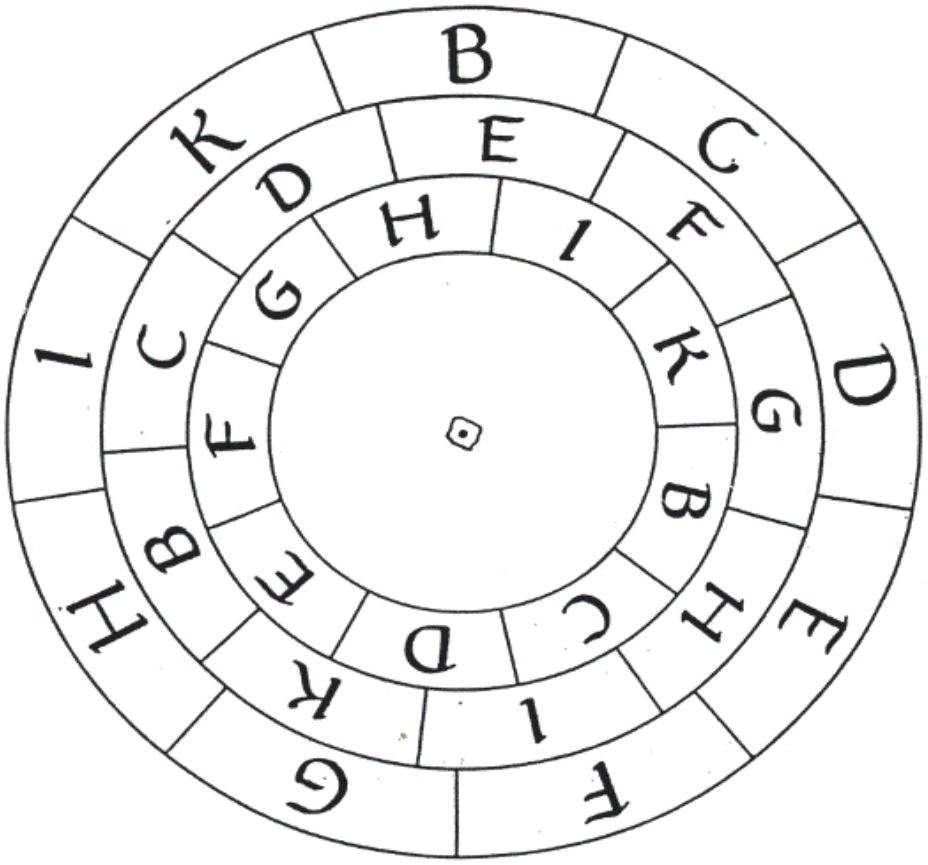


Figure 5. Jehan de Beau-Chesne, *A Book Containing Divers Sortes of Handes* (London, 1587), p. 5.

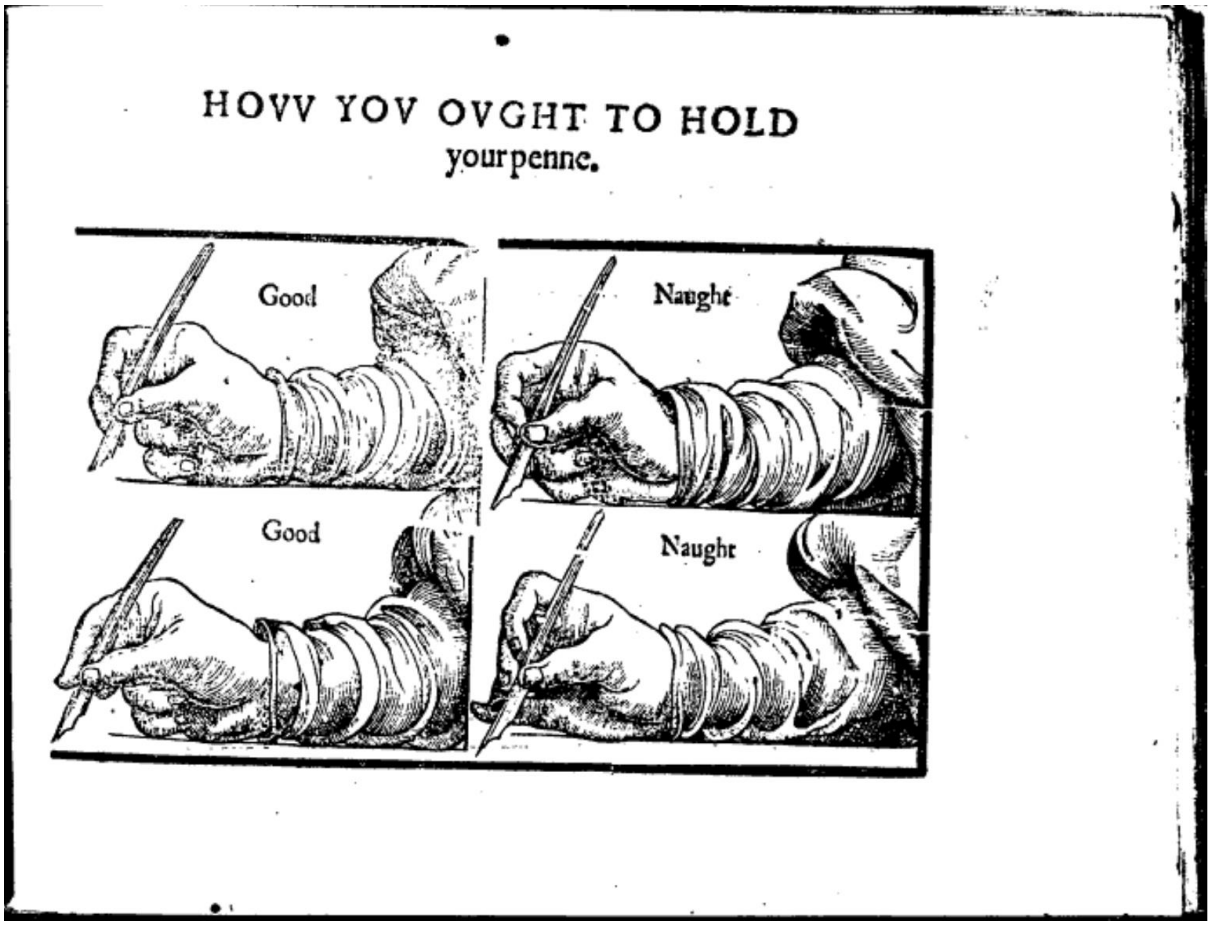


Figure 6. Peacham Drawing of *Titus Andronicus,* from *Titus Andronicus,* ed. by Eugene M. Waith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 21.

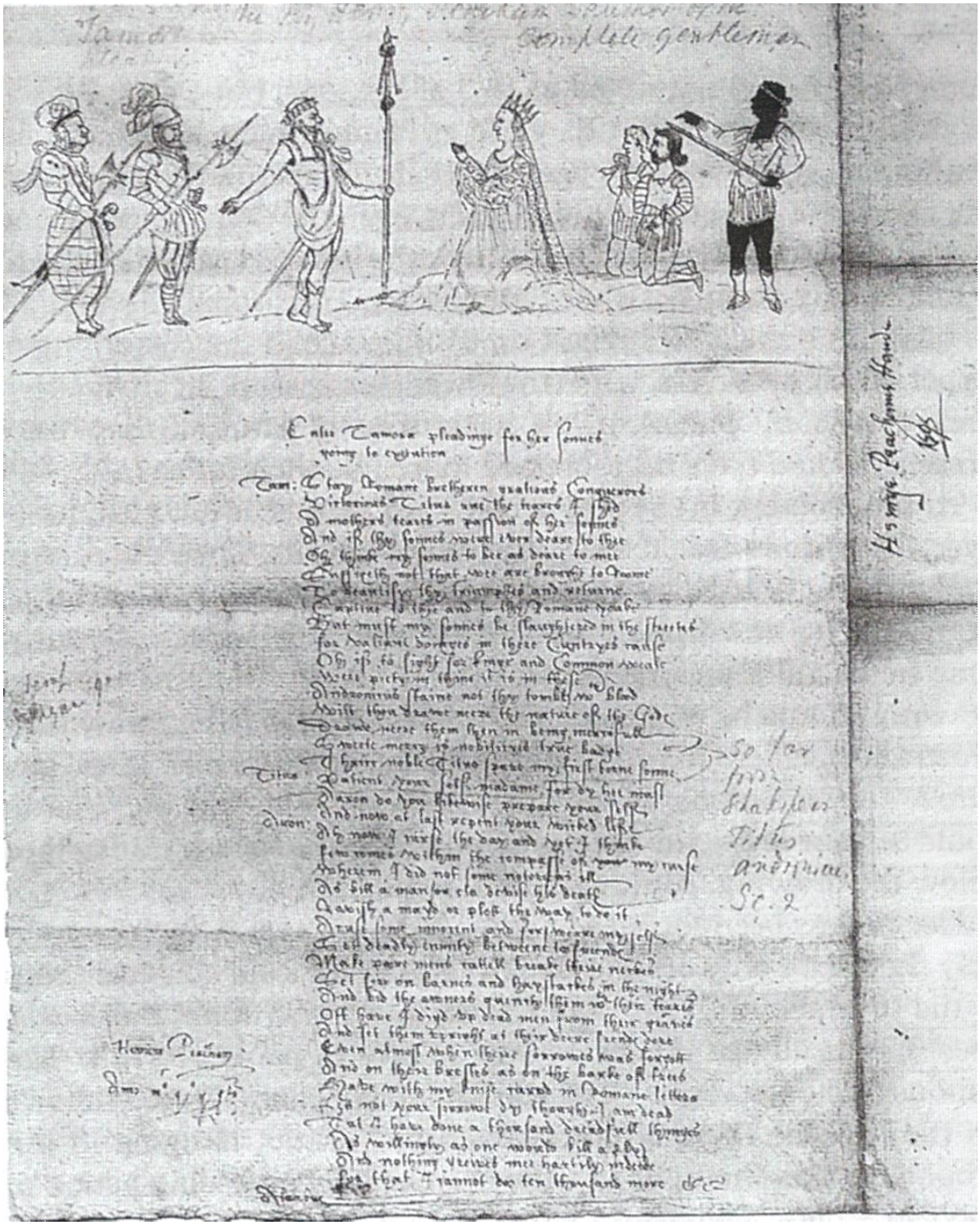
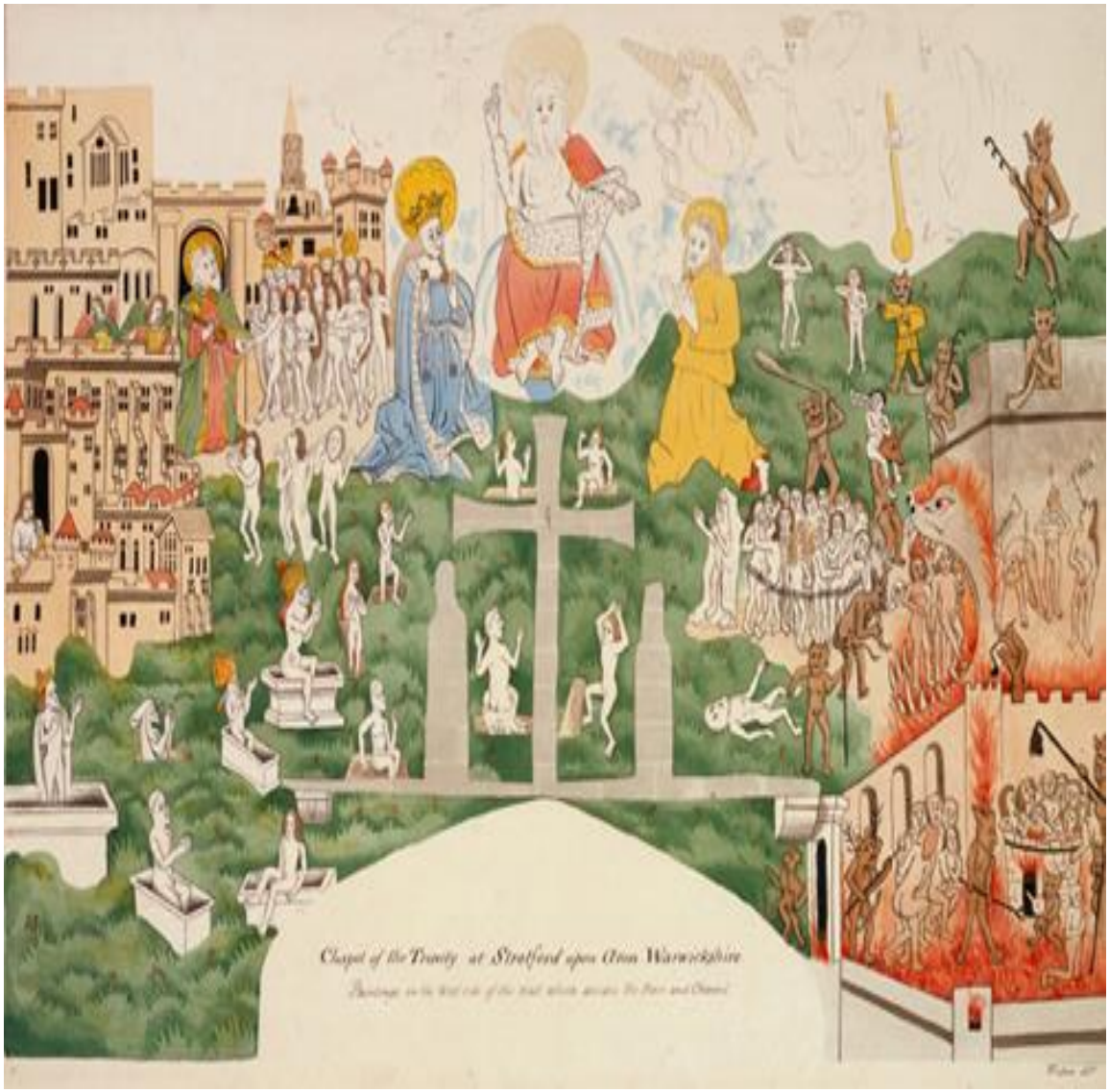


Figure 7, Thomas Fisher, *Chapel of the Trinity at Stratford upon Avon, Warwickshire* [1804?], ART Vol. d58 nos.1, 3. Reproduced at <http://www.folger.edu/html/folger_institute/cultural_stress/church_idolatry_1.html>, accessed on 3.12.12.



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